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THE
ROMANE
HISTORIE

WRITTEN BY

T. LIVIUS
of PADUA.

Also,

The Breviaries of L. FLORVS:
with a Chronology to the vvhole Historie;
and the Topography of *ROME* in old time.

Translated out of Latine into English, by PHILEMON HOLLAND,
Doctor in Physick.

To which is now added,

A Supplement of the Second Decad of *LIVY*
(which was lost.)

Lately written in Latine by

I. FREINSHEMIVS,
and now newly Translated into English.

. LONDON.

Printed by *W. Hunt*, for *Abel Roper*, at the Sun against *St Dun-*
stons Church in Fleetstreet. 1659.



To the most High and Mighty Monarch, ELIZABETH,
(my dread Sovereign) by the Grace of God, Queen of England
France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.



AL my labour whatsoeuer, in translating another mans work, I present here unto your Highness, and consecrate to the happy and immortal memory of your most sacred Majesty. An attempt (I confess) in regard of mine own imperfections, venturous and overbold; as the first enterprise, right hard and exposed to perill. Yet, most Worthy and Powerfull Empress; Who is there so unsufficient, that by the favourable aspect of your countenance, may not be graced and enabled? What so difficult and dangerous, which under the fortunate auspices of your Majesty, cannot be effected with ease and pass in safety?

Accept then, most gracious Lady, the first fruits of a few years study, for the benefit enjoyed of life and liberty. An offering, as well in that respect, as of myself the meanest of many thousands, under all proportion; but considering either the argument or the first Author, not much unfitting. He, in penning the History of the greatest State in his time, for exquisite eloquence had not his equall; no more than your Highness in glorious government at this day any second: Such are the incomparable perfections resplendent in your Royall person; the wonder of the world.

Vouchsafe also, of your accustomed clemency shewed to aliens, of your fervent zeal to learning and good letters, wherein (among other rare virtues and singular gifts seated in your Heroick mind) no Prince cometh near unto your Excellency, to reach forth your gracious hand to T. Livius: who having arrived long since and conversed as a meer stranger in this your famous Island, and now for love thereof learned in some sort the language, humbly craveth your Majesties favour to be ranged with other free denizens of that kind: so long to live under your Princely protection, as he shall duly keep his own allegiance, and acquaint your liege subjects with religious devotion after his manner, with wisdom, policy, virtues, valour, loyalty, and not other wise.

And the Almighty guard your Majesty alwaies with his holy Angels, prolong your life among us in perfect health, adorn your noble heart with divine graces, maintain your Regall estate in all honour: bless the rest of your daies (and infinite may they be) with sweet repose and firm peace, to the joy of your true-hearted and loving people; and finally, accomplish all your desires, for present prosperity and future felicity.

Your sacred Majesties most humble
and obedient subject,
Philemon Holland.





*Ad Anglicam Livianæ Historiæ versio-
nem, Interpretis Prolopopæa.*

Næc (decem decies fusi) fastidia mones,
Longa nimis; matri dum grave pondus eras;
Quid lucem refugis? (nascit pater isse parentis)
Atria quid fugis? regis? siste pedem.
Siste pedem, audientes sequitur fortuna; mea ausus
Excidere è sanguis dictum esse reor.
Horridum populi si rustica Nymphæ paternum
Te genus aut virtus nobilitare potest.
Nempe Decem Patavi genuit te Livius ingens:
Sanæ animam, tanto es qui genitore satum.
Et, quæ fuit opemque tulit Lucina vocantis,
Eiusdum potens, dua Diana mihi;
Hæc oculis, hæc temantibus refovetis aletque:
Audiet, ipsa leget, sanctæque virba dabit.
Agnesces proprias, Princeps ter maximo, laudes;
Sivantes pacis, seu fera bella referes.
Quid si nunquid, quid si non, dæmon & orbis
Mirandum Decus, hæc Elizabetha tenes,
Quæ iussit in Latium Patavinum, transfudit inde
Teutonum, Hetruscum, Gallus, Iberum, Arabes &
At patrias movent audire & reddere voces,
Quæ patria princeps, alma parensque sua est.
(Scilicet ille Ithacum sapiens optavit Ulysses
Velsumum & patriæ posse videre facem.)
Illius aspectu vitalis, nūminetutus,
Auspicis felix atque beatum eris.
Anlam sive colas, seu Sacra, aut Castra sequarur:
Sanctior (ecce) vocat Curia; gratum eris.
Sive rogata legas gens ingeniosa, placibus:
Sive magis civilis turba frequensque poli.
Aulicæ, Antistes, Miles, prudensque Senator,
Consilicæ, Civis, formosæ, virgo, puer,
Hinc documenta potens: discit juvenisque senexque
Vir bonus, & patria commodum esse sua.
Ergo matre animi; nec te gens Critica laudet:
Candidior, quo quis delictor, esse solet.

Ἰὼ δὲ χαλκήρεα (τὰ γὰρ ἔτι διονύσιος ἀγέρῃ)
Τίμων. οὐκ ἀντιφύσιν ἐν αὐτῷ πινυμένη καμάρῃ
ὅς τοι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅ μιν μέγα χέρεα γυμνὰ
Τὸ καὶ τίμω τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.



TO THE READER.

This is that Axiome received from Philosophy, *Thū ē ὁ αἴματις ἄλλου ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος.* The corruption of blood is the generation of another. Thus out of the ashes and ruins of Troy sprung the City of Rome: and by the woful fall of that one state, arose not only the most glorious empire of the Romans, but also the best writer of their history, *Titus Livius*. For whereas after the fatal destruction of Troy, two principal men of name remained alive, *Aeneas* and *Antenor*: the one with his fleet arriving in that coast of Italy where Tybre runneth, built *Latium*, and became the first father of the Romans, according to *Virgil* in the first *Æneid*:

— genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, alta mœnia Romæ:

— from whence are Latines come,
The noble Albanes eke, and walls of stately Rome.

Antenor entered the Venice gulf, & founded the City of *Padua*, the native place of *Livy* their historiographer, as the same Poet writeth a little after:

Hic tandem ille urbem Paduæ I sedesque locavit
Troverorum, &c.

Yet here the City *Padua* built he: therein to plant
His Trojanes, left when Troy was lost, who resting seat did want.

And I wot not well, whether they were more beholden to that fortune of theirs, (whereof so much they boasted) for *Aeneas* the author of their beginning and admirable greatnes: than for this writer *Livy*, who commended their deeds to everlasting fame. For from their very first rising [even with *Aeneas*] unto their sensible declining and decay, were not 1200 years compleat: but since *Livy* enchronicled their acts, sixteen hundred are come and gone: yet continue they as fresh this day as at the first, and spread stil far and neer into all parts of the world: So much more durable and permanent are the memorialls recorded by learned Historians, than either any Monarchy be ienever so great, or all those wondrous Pyramides and Obeliskes, reared by most magnificent Kings, and mighty Emperors, to immortalize their name and memory. This *T. Livius* then, was born at *Padua*, in the year 694 after the foundation of Rome, when *L. Afranius* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer* were Consuls. He flourished

To the Reader.

ished all the time of *Augustus Caesar*, and died in the fourth year of *Tiberius*. By which account, he lived full *LXXVI*. years: as appeareth by an ancient Epitaph upon his tomb at *Padua*, (where it is thought he died) with the pourtraict of his visage: whereof the one is reprinted here, and the other immediately before the beginning of the History.



TITVS LIVIVS PATAVINVS.

Cujus invicta calamo, invicta Romanorum
facta scripta sunt.

TITE LIVI OF PADVA.

Who wrote long since with peer-less pen,
The acts of Romans, match-less men,

To the Reader.

Other evidences there be concerning the same, which needless it were to call to witness: for no Epitaph nor inscription either enchased in stone or cut in brass, is there left, better than the monuments of his own writings (if they had come entire to our hands) and the testimony of good and approved authors. For during the time of *Augustus*, he wrote the worthy deeds of the Romans, and continued the narration thereof from the very foundation of the City of *Rome* unto the one and twentieth year of his Empire. A story of 750 years, and a peece of work for the artificiall frame and elegant setting out, comparable to the best in that kind. My purpose is not here, to enter into a large field and Rhetorical discourse of his praises in regard of any gifts of fortune wherewith he was plentifully enriched: namely, the place of his nativity, a City more ancient by 400 years than *Rome*; flourishing in martiall puissance, able to set out and maintain 100000 fighting men for the wars; in stately port at home, having a nobility of 400 in number; in gorgeous and costly buildings; in traffique and frequent affluence of Marchants thither; as also, that *Venice* was a Colony deducted and drawn from thence; and, which is not the least, how at this day the famous Vniversity there, affordeth excellent Professors in all kind of learning: nor his happines and felicity to live and die with the glory and beauty of *Rome*, and not to behold with his eyes those daies of her declining state & deformity, which in great wisdom he foresaw in his spirit, and denounced accordingly: ne yet the special favour wherein he stood with his Prince *Augustus*, and *Livia* the Emperess: much less then mean I to set forth the singular qualities and perfections of his mind, and namely his rare and passing eloquence, which my pen is more able now to describe and amplify to the worthiness thereof, than it was to imitate and expresse the same in translating of his story. Moreover, if I should set into his commendation, besides that I must needs come far short of his merit, the thing it self would but renew the just grief, that all learned men have taken for the piteous maim and defect of that notable peece of work & uniform compulsion which he left unto posterity. For having digested the whole history into an hundred and two and forty books, as *Petrarch* was of opinion, and as *Sigonius* therein well collecteth: like as also it is evident by the *Breviaries* of *L. Florus* the Epitomist, wherof we have 140, with an evident flaw and default of twain, to wit, the 126 and 137: see the partiall injury of the time, the crooked and malignant destiny of the man! Books of far less moment and importance, yea, & those of greater antiquity, have been spared & remain safe: but of that work of his, one fourth part hath not escaped the envy of fortune: and that which now is extant, hath been delivered unto us either by fragments of old copies unperfect, or by the over-curious meddling of some busy *Aristarches* of late daies depraved, who with their correcting have corrupted; and in stead of reforming words, have deformed the natural sense and primitive construction. Where, by the way, I must advertise the Reader of that which *Petru Crinitus* hath observed, even against the common opinion proved by those who otherwise

are well learned, namely that our Author dispensed not this history into Decades: that is to say, suted and sorted them not into several Tomes and Sections of ten books a peece. For *Priscian* and other old Grammarians, when they cite any testimony out of *Livy*, quote the book, and make no mention at all of any Decade; and with him the above-named *Petrarch*, *Florus*, and *Politiano* do agree. Now in these 35 books, so few as they be, preserved as another Palladium out of a generall skare-fire, we may conceive the rare and wonderfull eloquence of our writer in the whole; for the farther he proceedeth into a world, as it were, of matter, the more copious still he floweth; and with such variety, as that he never iterateth one thing twice; but at every change of new affairs, returneth alwaies fresh and gay, furnished with new devices, inventions, and phrases; much like a second *Anteu*, gathering greater strength and more forces still at every turn; or after the manner of a little hill, which issuing from a small source, is maintained with fresh springs and new riverets; and hasting toward the vast Ocean, carrieth a deeper channell and broader stream. For the form of his stile, I refer the readers to the sound and staid judgment rather of *Quintilian*, who compareth him with *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and the best Greeks; than to the fantastick conceits of some Criticks of our time, who seeking *nodum in scirpo*, have dreamed of I wot not what Patavinity in him. What should I speak of that Patheticall spirit of his in moving affections? But, that which most of all commendeth an history, which being *lux veritatis*, ought especially to deliver with sincerity the whole truth and nothing but the truth, without respect of face or person; to keep only to the substance and train of the subject argument; the due and orderly regard of the important circumstances thereto belonging, without inserting extravagant and impertinent by-matters, much less than fabulous tales; therein he hath the prick and price above all others. For, neither forbeareth he to reprove (as occasion is offered) the Romans, in whose favour he might be thought to have written; nor doubteth to praise the good parts and the valiant exploits of their mortall enemies. The Gauls he may seem to gall more bitterly upon a sinister affection, glancing at them, as he doth, in many places for their greedy desire of gold and idle sloath, as not able to endure any long travell, and heat least of all; yet so, as the French, now living, seem not much offended therewith; for above other Nations they have given him most friendly entertainment, and twice enfranchised him among them. I am not unwilling to touch by the way this principall point and vertue of an Historiographer, I mean the delivery of a simple truth in his narrations; for that I have observed in him throughout, that he hath been most modest in reporting from others by hearsay any thing that foundeth on an untruth; so little deserveth he to be noted with the infamous brand of liew. The wary circumspection of his in that behalf which I dare be bold to recommend unto the Reader, I proposed unto my self in making him English; endeavouring by conference especially of the select copies in Latine, yet not rejecting other translations (such as

• I had some little skill in) to come as near as possibly I could, to the true meaning of the Author; making this account, that if I could approve my diligence that way to men of reason and understanding, all other my wants and defects might sooner be passed by and pardoned. A desire I had to perform, in some sort, that which is profitable to the most, namely, an english History of that C.W. which of all others (if I have any judgment) affordeth most plenteous examples of devout zeal in their kind, of wisdom, policy, justice, valour, and all vertues whatsoever. According to this purpose and intent of mine I framed my pen, not to any affected phrase, but a mean and popular stile. Wherein, if I have called again into use some old words, let it be attributed to the love of my country language: if the sentence be not so concise, couched and knit together, as the originall, loath I was to be obscure and dark; have I not englished every word aptly? Each Nation hath severall manners, yea, and terms appropriate by themselves; have I varied in some places from the French or Italian? Censured I look to be, and haply reproved; but like as *Alcibiades* said to one, *mirator in se deservis, i.e. Strike hardly (Euribiades) so you bear me speak*; even so I say, Find fault and spare not; but withall, read the originall better before ye give sentence. And howsoever I have faulted otherwise by oversight, let against it my affection and desire to do some good, while I live to my sweet native country; add thereto the long travell that I have taken to tellise the same; and if that will not bring down the ballance, let the profit and delight both, which you shall find in the argument and discourse of the history, counterpoise and overweigh my wants, more or less. And thus I recommend unto my countrymen *Livy* in english habit; *Livy* (I say) who, whether he were more honored while he lived, than beloved at this day of forraign nations, I cannot easily determine; for like as then (by the testimony of *S. Hieron*, and *Pliny* in his Epistles) there repaired many great and noble personages from the farthest parts of *Spain* and *France*, only to see his face, for the admiration they conceived of him by the fame of his incomparable eloquence; even so of late time his spirit (which yet liveth in his writings) hath made a voyage by *Florence* into the same *France* and *Spain*; and hath passed as far as into *Arabia* one way, and *Almain* another. In which distant and remote parts he hath found such kind entertainment, not only in Courts of Emperors and Kings, in palaces of Princes and great Potentates; but also with the people in generall; that they seem to strive no less (who may endow him with most ample franchises and free bourgeoisie) than those seven cities in old time who every one challenged to themselves the birth of the Poet *Homer*. Since then, he hath thus long been desirous to cross the seas into this noble Island, not as a traveller to sojourn for a time in the Court only or the Universties, but to remain here still both in City and country, and thereto hath learned our language indifferently; let it now appear that this nation of ours (like to reap as great fruit and benefit by his acquaintance as any other) is ready to receive and embrace him as friendly as the rest.




THE EPITAPH.

V. R.
TITUS LIVIUS
LIVIAE T. F.
QUARTUS. L.
HALYS.
CONCORDIAE
PATAVIL
SIBI ET SUIS
OMNIBUS
OBIT IIII. KIBERII
CESARIS. ANNO
NATUS LXXXV.
ANNOS.



THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE HISTORIES
OF
TITUS LIVIUS
OF PADUA, FROM THE FOUNDATION
OF THE CITY OF ROME.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the First Book,

- A**  He coming of Eneas into Italy, and his after there: the reign of Ancianus in Alba: of Sylvius Eneas, and so forth of other Sylvii, Kings thereof, are contained in the first Book. The daughter of Numitor with child by Mars, Romulus and Remus are born, Amulius killed, The City of Rome built by Romulus. The Senate by him chosen. He made war with the Sabines. He presented unto Jupiter Feretrius the royal spoils of their King, whom he slew with his own hands. He divided the people into Centuries, vanquished the Fidenates and Veientians, and was canonized a god. Numa Pompilius taught the rites and ceremonies of sacrifice and divine service, erected a Temple to Janus, and was the first that shut the doors thereof, after he had made peace with all the Nations thereabout: and gaining that he had secret company and conference by night with the goddess Egeria, won the stout and fierce hearts of the people to Religion. Tullus Hostilius warred upon the Albans, whereupon ensued the combat of the three brethren, twins on both sides, Horatius was acquit for killing his sister. The execution of Metius Suffetius. Alba rased and destroyed. The Albans made free denizens of Rome, and there dwelt. War denounced against the Sabines. Finally, Tullus was consumed with lightning. Ancus Martius renewed the ceremonies by Numa first ordained. He to the Latines, being conquered and made Citizens of Rome, he assigned the mount Aventine to inhabit. He won again by force a town of the Latines called Politorium, which the old Latines had surprised and possessed themselves of and utterly destroyed. He made the Sublician or wooden bridge over Tybris, and adjourned to the City the hill Janiculum. He enlarged the bounds of the Empire, built Ostia, and reigned three and thirty years. In the time of his reign, Lucumo the son of Demaratus a Corinthian, removed from Tarquins, a City of Tuscany, and came to Rome: and there entering into amity with Ancus, began to bear the name of Tarquinius, and so to be called: and after the death of Ancus took the Kingdom upon him. He increased the number of the Senators by one hundred, subdued the Latines, appointed the Circus or Theatre, set forth the public games and places: and being warred upon by the Sabines, he augmented the centuries of the horsemen. And for to make proof and triall of Accius Navius the Angur his cunning, he demaied of him, as they say, whether that which he conceived in his mind were possible to be effected: and when he made answer that it was, he commanded him to cut a whetstone in two with a razor, which out of hand was by Accius done. Moreover, he won the field of the Sabines, and defeated themselves the City about made the walled city: and when he had reigned eight and thirty years, was murdered by the son of Ancus. There succeeded after him Servius Tullius, the son of a Captive, and the Lady of Corniculum, who being a child, and lying foundled in the cradle, had a flaming fire (as the report goeth) burning about his head. He discomfited the Veientians and Tuscanes in battell. He was the first that numbered the people of Rome, valued their goods, and instituted the Lustrum every five years, in which were reputed to have been numbered eighty thousand Citizens. He described the Classes and Centuries: set out further the bounds of the Pomarine, without and within the City walls: and put to the City the hills Quirinalis, Viminalis, and Esquilinus. He together with the Latines founded the Temple of Diana in mount Aventine, and when he had reigned four and thirty years, he was, with the privacy, and by the counsel of his daughter Tullia, murdered by L. Tarquinius, the son of Priscus. After him L. Tarquinius Superbus usurped the Kingdom, without the election, either of the Senators or the people. On which day Tullia (most wicked and cursed wretch that she was) caused her Coach to be driven over the Corps of her father, lying dead on the ground. He had about him a troop of armed men for the guard of his person. By a fable while he put to death Turnus Herdonius. He hid war with the Volscians, and of their spoils edified a Temple to Jupiter on the hill Capitol, where the god Terminus and goddess Juventas, agreed not to be displaced, whose altars could not be stirred nor removed, as the others. By
- Remus 1.*
Numa Pompilius 2.
Tullus Hostilius 3.
Ancus Martius 4.
Tarquinius Priscus 5.
Servius Tullius 6.
Tarquinius Superbus 7.

the fraudulent practise of his son Sex. Tarquinius he brought the Gabians to his obedience. Unto his other two sons being gone to Delphi, and consulting there the Oracle, whether of them should be King of Rome, answer was made, That he should reign who first kissed his mother: which answer they interpreting wrong, Junius Brutus, who accompanied them in their voyages, made as though he caught a fall, and kissed the ground, the mother indeed of all: which proved true on his part, as it fell out in the end. For when as Tarquinius Superbus by his proud tyrannicall demeanour, had incurred the hatred of all men: he as left upon the forcible outrage and villany done by Sex. Tarquinius (his son) in the night season upon the body of Lucretia: who sending for her sister Tricipitinus, and her husband Collatinus, brought them earnestly not to see her death unrevenged, and so with a knife killed her self: he, I say, by the means of Brutus, especially was driven and expelled out of Rome, when he had reigned five and twenty years. Then were the Consuls first created, Lu. Jun. Brutus, and Lu. Tarquinius Collatinus.

The Preface of Titus Livius to his whole Work.

WHether in writing the acts and affairs of the people of Rome, from the first foundation of the City, I shall perform a work of importance and worth my travail, neither wot I well, nor if I will, dare I avouch: seeing it is a thing both old and usual, that new Writers alwayes perfwade themselves, either in matter to deliver more truth and certainty, or in manner of curious penning thereof, to outgo the rudenesse of elder time. Howsoever it fall out, this yet will do me good, that even I also, to the utmost of my power, have endeavoured to eternize the worthy deeds of that people which is the soveraign of the whole world. And if, among so many Writers, my fame chance to be obscure, yet may I comfort my selfe in this, That they who shall darken and shadow the fame, are men so highly reputed and renowned. Besides, the thing it self is of infinite toyle and labour, as counting and comprizing from above 700 years past, and which arising from small beginning hath proceeded and grown to great, as now the bignesse thereof is combrous to it self: and I doubt not, but the Readers for the most part will take but small delight and pleasure, either in those far-fetched Originals, or in the times next ensuing, for haste they make to their novelties of later daies, wherein the puffance of that so mighty people hath wrought long since their own downfall and overthrow. But I contrariwise will seek even this for guerdon of my pains, namely, to turn away from beholding these calamities, which this our Age for many years hath seen, so long at least: whilst I call to remembrance, and wholly employ my spirits in considering those ancient monuments of old time, exempt from care and trouble, which were able, if not to with draw my mind as I write from the truth, yet to make it pensive and heavy. As for in such things as are reported, either before, or at the Foundation of the City, more beautified and set out with Poets Fables, than grounded upon pure and faithfull Records, I mean neither to aver nor disprove. This leave and privilege hath antiquity, by interlarding the acts of gods and men together, to make the first rising of Cities more sacred and venerable. And if it may be lawfull for any people under heaven to consecrate and ascribe unto the gods their Original, surely, such is the renowned martiall prowess of the Romans, that all nations of the world may as well abide them to report Mars above the rest, to be the prime father both of themselves and of their first founder, as they can be content to live in subjection under them. But these and such like matters, howsoever they shall hereafter be censured or esteemed, I will not greatly weigh and regard. This would I have every man rather to think upon in good earnest, and consider with me what their life, and what their carriage was, by what men and means, both in war and peace, their dominion was achieved and enlarged. Afterward as their discipline began by little and little to shrink, let him mark how at the very first their behavior and manners sunk withall: and how still they fell more and more to decay and ruin yea, and began soon after to tumble down right even until these our daies, wherein we can neither endure our own foires, nor selves for the cure. For this is it that is so good and profitable in an history, when a man may see and behold, as in a conspicuous monument and lightfull memoriall the lively examples of all foires, set up in open view for his instruction, whereout he may chuse for himself and his Country what to follow, as also learn how to eschew a foul enterprise, and avoid a shamefull end. But unless he be deceived with the affectionate love of mine own commended work, never was there Common-weal, either more mighty, more holy and devout, better ordered of good prebidents, or into which covetousnesse and encrease more lately crept, or wherein poverty and frugality were so greatly or so long time honoured, in somuch as the more they wanted, the lesse they desired. Now of late daies wealth hath brought in avarice, abundant pleasures have kindled a desire by riot, lust, and loose life, to destroy and bring all to naught. But these complaints, which will be nothing pleasant, no not when perhaps they shall be needfull, banish we must (howsoever we do) at our first entrance of so weighty a matter: when as we rather should begin (if as the Poets use it, or were our manner also) with good prefaces and lucky and happy pre-earings, with vows and prayers to gods and goddesses, to vouchsafe their furtherance and happy successe to the enterprise of so great a Work.

The

The First Book OF TITUS LIVIUS.

AFT of all, this is generally held for certain, That the *Greeks*, after the winning of *Troy*, dealt cruelly with all the *Trojans*, save only *Aeneas* and *Antenor*: to whom, as well in regard of the bond of mutual entertainment, as also for that they ever perfwaded peace and the rendring again of *Helen*, they wholly forbore to shew any rigour at all, as by martiall right of war they might have done: And how *Antenor* afterwards, accompanied with a number of *Henetiens*, who driven by civill discord out of *Papilagonia*, and having lost at *Troy* their King *Pylmenes*, were to seek both a resting place, and a Captain in the *Adriatick* sea: and after they had expelled the *Eugeniens* that inhabited between the sea and the Alps, those *Henetiens* together with the *Trojans*, kept those parts and there remained. The place where first they landed, called *Troy*, whereof the Territory and Seigniory thereabout was also named *Troy*, and the whole people in general called *Henetiens*. Moreover, how *Aeneas* upon like misfortune, having fled his country, yet aspiring by the fatal direction of the detinies to greater affairs, came first into *Macedony*: and after into *Sicily*, seeking an abiding place: and sailing with a fleet from *Sicily* arrived at length, and landed in the countrey of *Laurentum*: which place likewise was termed *Troy*. Where the *Trojans* being set a shore, having after their long wandering nothing in a manner left them but ships and armour, as they foraged and drave booties out of the Countrey, King *Latinus* with the *Aborigines*, who at that time inhabited those parts, ran forth in warlike manner out of town and countrey, to withstand the violent invasion of these strangers. But what beell thereupon is, two manner of waies reported. Some say, that *Latinus* being in a battell vanquished, first made peace with *Aeneas*, and after that allied himself to him by marriage. Others affirm, that as both armies stood ranged in battell array, before the trumpets sounded the battell, *Latinus* came forth into the Vanguard, and called out the Generall of the strangers to parle: demanding who they were, from whence they came, by what chance they departed from their own home, and to what end they entred the *Laurentine* borders? After that he heard the company were *Trojans*, the Captain *Aeneas*, son of *Venus* and *Anchises*, and that upon the burning of their City, they having forgone their countrey, sought some place to abide and build them a City in: wondered much, not only at the nobleness of the people and their leader, but also at their courageous hearts, resolved either for war or peace: whereupon, by giving his right hand he plight his troth, and faithfully promised them friendship and amity. So the two Generals made a League, and each host saluted other. And *Aeneas* was by *Latinus* entertained and lodged in the Court, where *Latinus* solemnly in presence of his familiar household gods, by giving his daughter in marriage to *Aeneas*, joyned private alliance to the former publick confederacy. Which thing truly put the *Trojans* in good hope and full assurance to end one day their wandering and flitting to and fro, and to settle themselves in one certain place of abode. Hereupon, a Town they built, which *Aeneas* of his wives name called *Lavinium*. Within a while, by this new marriage, he had issue a son: whom the parents named *Ascanius*. But after all this, were both *Trojans* and *Aborigines* warrd upon. For *Turnus* King of the *Rutilians*, unto whom *Lavinia*, before *Aeneas* his coming, had been espoused, taking it to heart that a stranger was preferred before him, made war both upon *Aeneas* and *Latinus*: but neither Army departed from the battell with joy and well appaid. For the *Rutians* iwere vanquished: the *Aborigines* and *Trojans* with indeed the field, but lost their Captain *Latinus*. Then *Turnus* and the *Rutilians* mistrusting their own strength, fled for succour to the puissant and mighty *Tuiscans*, and to their King *Mecentius*, who keeping his Royall Court at *Cere*, a town in those daies of great wealth, nor well pleased even from the first beginning, with the foundation of a new City, and supposing the *Trojans* power was already much more encreased than might well stand with the safety of the borderers, joynd full willingly his forces with the *Rutilians*, *Aeneas* to win the hearts of the *Aborigines* against so dreadful and dangerous war, to the end they all should not only live under one government, but also be all of one name, called both Nations *Latines*. And from that time forth were the *Aborigines* no more faithful in the valiant and faithfull hearts of these two States, growing up daily more and more in mutual amity, albeit *Hetruria* was so mighty, that the name thereof was renowned not only throughout the inland parts, but the sea coasts also, even from one end of *Italy* to the other, from the

The death
and sepulture
of Lavinia.
Lavinia's life.

The wife
government of
Lavinia.
Queen Mo-
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Jules or Af-
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The family of
the Julii.

Long Affe-
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Lavinia.
The Kingdom
of Alba.

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the Alpes to the narrow seas of Sicily; yet whereas he might well have resisted the force of his enemies, and maintained a defensive year within his walls, he brought his Army forth into the open field. This was the second battle that the Latines fought, and the last that ever *Aeneas*, whilst he was man, achieved. And howsoever by right he ought to be named the first inter upon the river *Nimicus*, and *Jupiter Indigement* him call. Now was not *Aeneas*, *Eneas* his son, times yet for age to sway the Scepter, Howbeit the Royall Crown remained whole and safe for him, until he came to fourteen years of age. So long continued the state of the Latines, and the Kingdom by grandire and father descended, unto the child's behoof, under the government only of a woman, as Prote-
dressed: of so virtuous disposition and princely carriage was Dame *Lavinia*, Doubtfull much I find (for who can certainly avouch a thing to long ago?) whether this was that *Aeneas*, or one elder than he, who had to his mother *Creusa*, which *Them* flourished, and who fled with his father from the flames, and whom being named also *Lavinia* the honour and family of the *Julii* do fetch their name and pedigree. That same *Aeneas*, wheresoever, or of whomsoever he was born, (but *Aeneas* his son of a truth he was) when *Lavinia* grew exceeding populous, left that City now flourishing and wealthy (as the world went then) unto his mother or stepmother, I wot not whether. He himself built another out of the ground under the mountain *Alba*, which of the signification thereof, reaching out in length on the side of the hill, was named *Long Alba*. Between the building of *Lachnum* and *Long Alba*, which became an under-town or Colony drawn out of the other, and peopled from thence, were almost thirty years. But so mighty grew they, especially after the discomfiture of the *Tuicans*, that neither upon the death of *Eneas*, nor during the time of a woman's government, nor all the while that the young Prince learned to be a King, durst either *Messapus*, or the *Tuicans*, or any other of the borderers once stir or rise in arms. But peace was concluded upon these termes. That the river *Alba*, which now they call *Tiberis*, should divide the *Tuicans* from the *Latines*, and limit to either of them their own bounds. After this reigned *Sylvius*, the son of *Aeneas*, born by chance within the forests: who begat *Eneas Sylvius*, and he had issue *Lavinia Sylvius*, by whom were certain Colonies or petty Townships creeded, and the inhabitants named *Prisci Latini*. And from thenceforth all the Kings of *Alba* continued the surname of *Sylvius*. This *Lavinia* begat *Alba* of *Alba* came *Atrius*, *Atrius* begat *Cepis*, and of *Cepis* descended *Capatius*: whose son *Tiberinus* in ferrying over the river *Alba* was drowned, and by his name renowned that river unto all posterity. Next unto him reigned *Ascrippa* his son, and after him succeeded *Romulus Sylvius* in his fathers King-
dom, who being stricken dead with a thunderbolt, left the Crown to *Ascanius*. This *Ascanius* was buried in that hill, which now is part of the City of *Rome*, and beareth his name. Then reigned *Procas*, who had two sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. And unto *Numitor*, because he was the elder, he bequeathed by his last will and testament the ancient Kingdom of the *Sylvians* line. Howbeit, might prevailed more than either the will of the father, or the reverend regard of elder brother. For *Amulius* having driven out *Numitor*, reigneth himself: and not herewith content, he hath one mischief upon another. For first he murdered the issue male of his brother: then by making *Rhea Sylvia* his brother's daughter a Vestall Nun, and under colour of honour and dignity, by perpetual vowed virginity, he bereft her of all hope of child-bearing. But it was a fatal thing, and (as I think) which God would have, that so great a City should be built for to yeeld the ground and beginning of that Empire, which next under the gods is most mighty. For behold, the Vestall Virgin was by force deflowered, and after delivered of two twins: and were it that the thought to in very deed, or because the name and credit of a god might carry away and cloake the fault more cleanly, shee the-
re her ballad children upon *Mars*. But neither god nor man was able to save herself or her children from the Kings cruelty. For the Votary was committed to close prison, and there kept bound in irons: as for the babes he commanded they should be cast into the stream of the river. But (as God would) by good hap the *Tiber* overflowed the banks, and the standing waters on either side was nothing roarer, yet so, as there was no coming to the deep current or channell of the very river: and they that brought the infants, hoped well they might be drowned in any place of the water, were it never so still and low. So to fulfill after the Kings commandment, they laid the children in the next place they came to: even whereas now standeth the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, called, as they say, *Rumulus*: but all that ground then was nothing but waste deserts, and a very wilderness. The report yet goeth, that when the ebbe and shallow water was gone, and had left on dry ground the floating trough or vessel, wherein the babes were put forth, a she-Wolf from out of the mountains there being athirst, turned towards the childrens cry, and with her pendant teats so gently gave the infants suck, that *Fausulus* the head Reeve and overseer of the Kings Cattell found her licking them with her tongue: who brought them to his homestead, and gave them to his wife *Laurentia* to be fostered. There be that think, that *Laurentia* being a common flumper among these herdmen and shepherds, was usually called *Lupa*. Whereupon arose the occasion of this strange tale and wondrous miracle. Well, so were they born and so brought up. And as soon as they grew once to some big-
ness, it was no boot to keep them within doores, nor to let them idly to tend the cattell, for they would use to hunt abroad in the forest: whereby having gotten strength of body, and courage with-
all, they were able now, not only to withstand the violence of wild beasts, and to kill them, but also to set upon common robbers by the high-ways side, laden as they were with booties, and to spoil them thereof, yea, and divide the prey among the shepherds, and as the number of youngers daily encreased with them to keep holidays, to make merry, and follow their disports. And even thus the

daies (as men say) was the festival pastime *Luperale*, used in mount *Palatine*, which of *Palatium*, a City in *Aradia*, was first called *Palantium*, and after *Palatine*, wherein *Evander*, who defended the from the *Aradians*, long before reigned in that country, and ordained a solemn game and recreation yearly to be held, as aforetime in *Aradia*, in this manner: that young men in the honor of *Pan Lycus*, whom the Romans after called *Lupus*, should loosely and wantonly run naked. Now whilst they were busily occupied in this kind of sport, which by vow yearly they performed: there lay in ambush the robbers afore said, in revenge and for anger of the prizes which they had lost: Where *Romulus* manfully cut himself, but *Remus* they took prisoner: and being thus taken, they brought him before King *Amulius*, accusing him grievously, and laying especially to his charge, that he with his others invaded and murdered into *Numitor* his Land, and with a power of lusty youths, assembled in warlike sort, had foraged and spoiled the same. Thus was *Remus* delivered unto *Numitor* to be put to death. Now had *Fausulus* even since the first day conceived some hope, that there were in his household children of royal blood: For well he wist, that both by the Kings commandment the babes were cast forth to perish, and also that the time when he took them up left out fully their enormity: this would he in no wise should be known in hate, and before due time; unless it were either upon good occasion or great necessity. Necessity hapned first: and so for very fear he was driven to reveal the whole matter to *Romulus*. It hapned also, that *Numitor* himself, having *Remus* in durance, and hearing they were brethren twins, by comparing their age, and viewing withall their very countenance and countenances, proceeding from no servile and base parentage, be thought himself of his children: and by farther enquiry and computation came to so, as he seemed well-near to acknowledge *Romulus* for his nephew. Thus on all hands were means wrought to circumvent and surprize King *Amulius*. For *Romulus* on the one side not accompanied with a troop of tall fellows, for he was not able in open fight to make his part good: but giving the herdmen his assistants, in charge to come at a time appointed, some one way, and some another, to the Kings Palace, he let upon the King. On the other side, *Remus* with another crew from *Numitor* his house, came to secound him: and so they flew the King. *Numitor* at the first upon giving out estoons, that the enemies had entered the City, and assailed the Kings Palace, and thereupon having called the youth of *Alba* into the Citadell, to keep it by force with a good guard, and spying the two young men after the murder done, coming towards him with joy: forthwith assembled the people together, and declared openly before them all the wicked dealings of his brother against him, the parentage of his Nephews, the manner of their birth and bringing up, and how they came to be known: after that he reported the murder of the Tyrant, and took it upon himself as the author thereof. The two young men passing with their companies through the midst of the people, saluted their grandfire King, wherein the whole multitude also with one accord and voice ratified the same: so was his royall name and estate by them established. Thus was the whole Regiment or Kingdom of the *Albans* committed to *Nu-
mitor*. Then *Romulus* and *Remus* had a great desire to found themselves a City in the very place where they had been cast forth and fostered: Now were there of *Albas* and *Latines* both, very many that might be spared: besides a number of herdmen: who all set together, put them in good hope, that *Alba* and *Lavinium* too, would be but small Cities in comparison of that which now was a building. Whilst they were devising of these things, an old canker came between to mar all, even desire of rule and sovereignty, the same which had troubled their grandfathers before them: and thereupon a sould fray, which arose from a small and slight occasion. Forasmuch as they were both twins at one birth, and the respect of their age might yield no choice and difference, it was thought good and agreed upon, that the gods, who had the tuition of those places, should by Angury or flight of birds declare and shew whether of the twain should both name the City, and also rule the same. *Romulus* chose the mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* the *Agentine*, for their temples or religious quarters, to mark the bird-flight, and each one apart to receive their Angury. First (as they say) had *Romulus* appearing in flight six vultures or gripeast, and as tidings came unto him of this Angury it hapned that the number unto *Romulus* was presented double: whereupon they were both of them by their assistants and favorites saluted Kings. The one side took the vantage of the time: the other of the number, for the prerogative of the Kingdom. Thus they fell to hot words first, and from cholerick words to blows and bloudshed: in which fit and press of the people, *Remus* was wounded and slain in the place. The more common report goeth, that *Remus* in scorn of his brother, leapt over the new walls: whereupon *Romulus* in great choler due his brother with his own hands, and in menacing voice, added these words withall, So perish he, whatever else he be, that shall once dare to leap over my walls. Thus *Romulus* alone became King, and the City new built of the founders name was called *Rome*. Wherein first he fortified mount *Palatium*, in which he was himself retired. To all the rest of the gods he sacrificed after the rule and custom of the *Albans*: only to *Hercules* after the manner of the Greeks, according to the first institution of *Evander*. For the time goeth, that *Hercules* upon a time, after he had slain *Geryon*, drove that way exceeding far Oxen, and near the River *Tybris*, where he had dwom over with his drove afore him, laid him down in a fair green meadow, as well to refresh himself, being weary of his way, as also to rest and bait his cattell in so plentifull grasse and forrage. There, fallett he into a sound sleep, as having well charged himself with wine and viands: and one *Cacus* a shepherd dwelling there-by, a man right fierce, and bearing him proudly of his strength, being greatly in love with the fairness of the beasts, had a good will, and minded to fetch away that booty: but for that if he

Imperial, Evander.
Pan Lycus
of Lycus.

Romus taken
prisoner.

Amulius
slain by
Romulus.

Numerius
King
of Alba.
The foundation
of Rome.

Dissection
between
Romulus
and
Evander.

Angury.

Romulus
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Romulus
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of Rome.

The story
of the
foundation
of
Rome.

had driven the beasts into his own cave, the very tracks would have led the owner of them thither, H he drew the goodliest and biggest of them backward by their tails into his hole. *Hercules* early in the morning when he awoke, and beheld his drove, and missed some of his count, went on towards the next cave, if haply their footing would traile him thither: But seeing all traces forwards, and leading no other way: as one troubled in spirit, and doubtfull what to do, he began to drive farther out of that theif and dangerous corner. But as some of the Oxen in driving, mist their fellows beheld and honing after them, bellowed as their nature is: *Hercules* chanced to heare them low again, and answer from out of the cave wherein they had been bellowed: whereat he turned back, and made haste thither. But as *Cacus* forcibly made head against him, and would have kept him from entrance, *Hercules* smote him with his club: and for all his calling upon other herdmen for help, slew him outright. At the same time *Evander*, who fled out of *Peloponnesus*, governed that Countrey, rather by a kind of countenance and authority, than by force and Lordly command. A man much honored for his wonderful invention of Letters, a strange and rare thing among those rude and unlearned sort: but more honored for the opinion that the people had of his mother *Carmentis*, reputed to be a goddess, whom for her spirit of prophesie, those Countreies, before that *Sybilis* came into *Italy*, had in great reverence and admiration. This *Evander* being raised with the concourse of the shepherds, afrighted about the stranger, guilty of manifest murder, and hearing of the fact committed, and the occasion thereof: viewing well therewith the perion of the man, his feature and favour, and more lately a good deal, and carrying a greater Majesty than the ordinary proportion of men: demerit of him who he was. And as soon as he understood his name, his father, and native Countrey: O *Hercules* (quoth he) the son of *Jupiter*, All hail: my mother a most true Prophesie hath fore-shewed unto me, that thou shalt enclose the number of heavenly wights, and that in this place an Altar shall be reared and dedicated unto thee, which the most mighty and richest nation one day of the world shall quoth *Hercules* and the preface I gladly accept: and so giving him his hand, faithfully promised to accomplish the will of the gods, and erected it straightway and consecrated an Altar in the place. There and then first, he sacrificed one of the fairest Oxen, chosen out of the whole drove, calling to the ministry of that divine service and feast, the *Patris* and *Pinaris*, two most noble houses at that time in those parts. It happened so, by chance, that the *Patris* were ready at hand in due time, and the inward sacrifices were set before them: which being eaten, the *Pinaris* came to the good cheer behind: whereupon the custom he held, (as long as the family of the *Pinaris* continued) they might not feed of the sacred inward. But the *Patris*, instructed by *Evander*, became the Priests of that holy sacrifice many ages after: until the solemn service and ministry of this family was put over to public servants, and the whole stock of the *Patris* utterly worn out and dead. There were the only fountaines of immortality, by his own prowess achieved, and whereunto his fortune conducted him. Having in this manner religiously performed and established the service of the gods, he assembled the multitude to an audience: and for that they could by no means but by Laws be united together into one body and society of a people, he devised Statutes, and ministered justice unto them. And supposing that those Laws would be accounted sacred and inviolable of the wild and rusticall sort of men, in case he shewed himself by some regall ensigne venerable: he carried with him a greater port and Majesty, not only in his robes and princely habit, but most of all in the attendance of twelve Officers and Sergeants, called *Lictors*, whom he caused to go ordinarily before his person. Some think he chose this number according to the birds, which by Augury did foretold and prognosticate his reign: I rather am of their opinion, who think that Sergeants at Arms, and this kind of Officers came from the Tuscans their neighbours, from whence also the Ivory chair of estate, called *Sella curulis*, and the Royall purple robe embroidered, named *Toga praetoria*, was fetched, as also the very number of Sergeants or Lictors. For that the Tuscans had this manner, when they chose their King by the common voices of their twelve principal States, each one found a Sergeant. All this while grew the City more and more to be fortified with Ramparts and Bulwarks, as men still built in sundry places where they liked best, seeming thereby to provide rather for a future multitude in time to come, than for the present number wherewith it was then peopled. Furthermore, lest that the City, so large in compass, should stand void and vacante, *Romulus* for to encrease the number of the Inhabitants (according to the old practise of the founders of Cities, who by gathering about them the base multitude and obscure, feigned that they were an off-spring born out of the earth) set up a Sanctuary, or lawfull Church, called *Astyrum* in that place which at this day between the two groves, is enclosed and fenced round about with thick briars and brambles. Thither resorted (as to a place of refuge) out of the neighbor Countreies, a rabble and confused medley of all sorts, rag and rag, bond and free, one with another's folk desirous of change and novelty.

So began first the City according to the plot of large buildings, to be well peopled and grow mighty. Thus being provided of power sufficient: he thought, then upon a Councill and policy to his power. And so created a hundred Senators: either because that number seemed great enough, or for that there were no more but one hundred that were of worth to be elected counsellors or (wise) fathers. These men certainly for honor and dignity were called *Patres* or Sage fathers: and their lineall descent *Patris* or Nobles. Now by this time was the State of *Rome* so mighty and

puissant,

A puissant, that it was able in fight to match any City neer adjoining whatsoever. But for default of woman kind, this puissance was to endure but the age of one man: for neither had they hope offit from among themselves at home, nor yet made marriages with their neighbors abroad. Whereupon *Romulus* by the advice of his Senators, sent Embassadors to the Countreies thereabout, to treat for society and alliance for his new people, by way of marriage. Alledging that Cities also, as well as other things, arose of base beginnings, and in process of time by their own prowess, and help of God willed, grow to great power and reputation: "Whereas therefore they were full well assured, that as the gods were gracious to their first uprising, so to their own virtue and valor should not be wanting: their neighbors ought not, in regard of common humanity, and as they were men, think much and disdain to join in blood and kindred with them, being also men as well as they. Howbeit, this embassage in no place had gentle audience and courteous entertainment. For they all in general despised them, and were in fear for themselves and their posterity, by reason of so mighty a State, encroaching in the midst of them, and under their very noses. And from the most of them the Embassadors were dismissed and sent away, with this trump and demand, Whether they had set up a Sanctuary or lawfull place for women too? For that were alone, and a fit marriage indeed to be tried by knocks. But *Romulus* dissembling his inward heart-burning, to the end he might find time and place meet for the purpose, prepareth to let forth certain iolemn playes and games, which he named *Consualis*, to the honor of *Nepesne Eques*. Hereupon he commanded to proclaime these games all over the country adjoining: and with as great preparation and furniture, as in these days of their skill or ability might afford, they celebrate the same, and all to make the show more glorious and worthy to great expectation. Thither resorted many a one, desirous also to see this new City, but their next neighbors especially of *Cenina*, *Crustumium*, and *Antenna*: The whole multitude of Sabins likewise came with their wives and children. Who being friendly invited to the houses, from one to another, and courteously entertained: when they beheld the situation of the City, the strong walls and fair buildings, so thick standing wound how in so short a space the City of *Rome* was grown to great. Now when the time of this solemn fight was come, and that their minds were buied, and their eyes bent thereon: then at once, as it was agreed before, there arose an uproar. And the youth of *Rome* upon a token and watch-word given, fell on every side contrary away the Sabin Maidens. A great many of them were ravished by hap hazzard, as they did fall upon them, and as they came next to their hands. Other some more beautiful then the rest, were appointed for the chief of the Senators, and by certain of the Commons, as they had given them in charge, conveyed home to their houses. But one passing fair and lovely above all others, was hurried by the company or one of one *Thalassius* (they say) and when as any asked to whom they carried her, they ever vied out (for she should be loved or beloved) *Thalassius*, i.e. unto *Thalassius*. Whereupon *Thalassius* became a common by-word at Weddings ever after. Thus their sport and pastime upon this fit and slight, was marred, and the Parents of the Virgins stood away with heavy cheer, blaming them highly, and complaining of their breach of hospitality: as calling upon the god for vengeance, to whole festive games they being come, were under colour of religion and truth, beguiled. The Damels likewise that were ravished, conceived neither better of themselves, nor less indignation against them. But *Romulus* himself in person went from place to another, declaring, "That their fathers pride, who denied their neighbors marriage was the cause of all this, promising nevertheless that they should be linked in lawfull wedlock, made partakers of all worldly goods, obtain the freedom of a City, and (then, which nothing is more deer to mankind) enjoy the blessing of children: exhorting them to appease their anger, and quiet themselves, and to give them their hearts, whose hap it was to have their bodies. For oftentimes upon wrong and injury there groweth love and reconciliation. Alledging moreover, that they should find their spouses to much more loving and kind, as every one of them for his part would endeavour, after they had in their turn and course fulfilled the duty to them of good husbands, for to make amends, and supply the miss they have of father, mother, and native countrey. Their husbands which used fair speeches, and flattering words, excusing the matter, and laying all the weight upon fervent affection and pure love: which kind overpersuasion of all other, prevaileth most with womens nature. Thus were the ravished young Wives in some sort quietted in mind, and held themselves well contented. But their fathers then most of all arrayed in mourning weed, with tears and heavy complaints, stirred up the Cities where they dwelt: neither contained their mood within home, but assembled themselves from all parts unto *Tatius* the King of the Sabins: and to him repaired their Embassages, for that the name of *Tatius* was highly renowned in those countreies. They of *Cenina*, *Crustumium*, and *Antenna*, who were partly touched and grieved for that wrong done, thought that *Tatius* and the Sabins dealt but coldly in the action, and went but slowly about revenge. These three Nations therefore banded themselves, and agreed to prepare for war. But so sharp set were the Ceninians that the men of *Crustumium* and *Antenna*, bestirred not themselves quick enough for them. So they of *Cenina* entered alone by force of arms the Territories of the Romans. As they waited and spoiled without order and measure, *Romulus* met them with an army, and in one small skirmish made proof, how Mood without Might is vain and bootles. For he discomfited, put to flight, and pursued in chase their whole host: slew their King in battle, and him deposed: and having slain their General, at the first assault he won the town: and after he had from thence

The Embassadors of Rome, treating for marriage.

The games Consualis.

The Sabin maidens ravished.

Thalassius.

Romulus his speech to the Sabin maidens ravished.

Tatius King of the Sabins.

The Centinians defeated their King Tatius.

Founders the inventors of Letters, Carmentis mother of Evander.

John Marcius dedicated to Hercules.

Patris and Pinaris.

Tuscan or Etruscan Laws.

Romulus robes Lictors.

Chair of State called Sella curulis. The purple robe, called, Toga praetoria.

The Astyrum still needed.

The institution of a Senate.

Patres, Fathers.

A cruel battle
between Ro-
mans and Sa-
bins.
*Messus Curti-
us.*
*Hoffins Ho-
stius.*
The prayer
of Romulus
to Jupiter Sta-
tor.

The first Book of T. Livius.

ratagem

feit. For whilst the Cavalry stood unresolved, as it were, in a hammering whether to fly or fight, and the Infantry withal began to retire: all at once the enemies in thronging manner sallied forth of the gates, and chafed the Romans so fiercely, that in their eager pursuit they were drawn to the very place of ambush. Thence the Romans suddenly arose, and charged the flank of the enemies: And to encrease their fright, they likewise that were left behind to guard the camp, shewed themselves with banners displayed. So the Fidenates terrified sundry ways, before well neer that *Romulus* and his men of arms could rein about their horse-heads, turned their backs, and rode full gallop towards the town again, and so much the faster, for that they fled now in good earnest themselves, that pursued them, who a little before made but semblance thereof. Yet for all this could they not escape the enemy: for the Romans hard at their heels, rushed together with them pel-mel into the town, before the gates could be shut against them. At this Fidenatian war spreading so dangerously, the Veientians grew angry in their hearts, and began to chafe. Touched they were also in regard of kindred and alliance: for the Fidenates were likewise *Tulcans*. And fearing left (if the Roman forces should thus distress and lie upon all the borders) they being so neer should not go free, they were the rather pricked forward, and thereupon made rodes, and entered in arms the confines of *Rome*, spoiling and sifting, more like robbers then professed warriors. So without pitching any tents, or abiding the coming of their enemies, but only driving and carrying away great booties out of the fields, they return again to *Vei*. The Romans contrariwise, not finding the enemies in the field, but yet provided and resolved to give battle, and to hazard all, passed over the *Tiber*. Whom the Veientians understanding to be encamping themselves, fully minded to come against their City: issued forth and met them, intending to try the quarrel by dint of sword, and in open field, rather then to be mied up within the town, and to fight and defend themselves from off their houses and walls. There the Roman King with the strength only of his old beaten souldiers, without any other help and supply whatsoever, without policy or stratagem, had the better: and having thus discomfited the enemies, he chafed them even to their very walls. And for that the City was exceeding strongly fortified as well by natural situation, as by walls, he forbore to assault it. But in his return homeward, he wasted the country, more upon a mind to revenge, than hope of spoil. With this desolating the Veientians no less subdued then if they had lost a field, sent Orators to *Rome* to sue for peace: unto whom Truce was granted for an hundred years, but they were amerced to lose part of their lands. These were in manner all the ads that were done both at home and abroad, during the reign of *Romulus*. Whereof none seemed to derogate any jot from the opinion, both of his divine birth and beginning, and also of his immortality or deification after his death. Such was his courageous heart in recovering his Grandfathers Kingdom: his policy and wisdom in founding the City first, and after in establishing and governing the same, as well in war as in peace. By whose good proceedings it got such strength, and so sure footing, that for forty years space after, it enjoyed peace with safety. Nevertheless of his Commons he was better beloved then of his Nobles: but above all, his Souldiers most heartily affected him: of whom he had always about him, as Elquires of the body, three hundred Pensioners armed, not only in time of war, but also of peace, whom he called *Celeres*. Thus having achieved these noble and immortal deeds, as he upon a time assembled all his people upon the plain, at the marsh *Capra*, there to number or muster his army: behold upon a sudden there arose a tempest with great cracks of thunder, which with so thick and cloudy a form, covered the King, that the people lost the sight of him. And never after was *Romulus* seen on earth. The Roman youth, after their fear was at length past, and that upon so dark and troublesome weather, it proved a fair day again, and calm withal, gave the Kings Throne empty, albeit they credited the Senators that stood next about him, who gave out he was taken up aloft in the storm: yet strucken into bad dumps, as it were for the loss of their father, held their peace a good while. But afterwards, when some few of them had once begun, they all set on and cried aloud, *All hail, god Romulus the son of a god, King and Father of the City of Rome*: With earnest prayer beseeching him of his grace, that he would vouchsafe to be propitious, and save their off-spring and posterity forever. I am of this mind, that some there were even then, that suspected and secretly surmised, that the King was pulled in pieces by the hands of the Nobles. For this rumor also was bruited abroad, although in very dark and obscure terms. But by reason of the high admiration of the man, and the present fear withal, the former opinion took place, and was more current. Over and besides, it grew the rather credible, through the politick practise of one person. For as the whole City was penitive and sorrowful for the mis of their King, and sore displeased with the Senators, one *Proculus Julius*, a substantial good author (as men say) and to be believed in a matter of great importance, stepped forth into the assembly. *Romulus* (quoth he) *O Quirites*, the Founder and Patron of this City, even *at this very morning at the day break, defended suddenly down from Heaven and met me, and as I stood all quaking for fear, ready to worship him, and humbly beseeching that I might behold him face to face: Away* (quoth he) *and tell the Romans that the will of the gods in heaven is, that my City of Rome shall be the head and chief of the whole world: will them therefore to follow and practise chivalry, and the knowledge thereof: and wot this well, and so let them teach their posterity to wit. That no power in the world shall be able to withstand the puissance of the Romans. Which* (said he) *was not so soon spoken, but he ascended on high, and departed. A wonder it was to see, how much they gave credit to this mans tale, and how greatly the mis of Romulus both among the Commons and the Army, was by this belief of his immortality, digested,*

In

A In this mean while the Senators fell to strive who should be King, and the desire of sovereignty troubled much and perplexed their minds. But yet, there was no banding nor siding from any one person in particular: for that in a State so newly risen, and of so small continuance, there was not one that far excelled another in authority. All the contention was between the two several factions in general. For they that were deluded of the Sabins, fearing left because after the death of *Tarquin* there was none of their party, that had reigned with *Romulus* in equal jurisdiction, they should now lose their possession and title to the Crown, were desirous to have a King chosen out of their corporation. The old Romans again might not abide an alien or forrainer to be King. Howbeit, thus diversly affected as they were, a King they all will needs have, as who (God wot) had not yet raised the sweetness of liberty and freedom. Besides, the Nobles began to fear left per adventure in case the hearts of many Cities thereabouts, should not be well disposed, but left against them, some forraign power would make invasion, finding the City without government, and the army without a Captain. Therefore they all liked well to have one head, but none could find in his heart to give place unto another. Whereupon the hundred Senators associate and combine together in the rule of the Common-wealth, by dividing themselves into ten Decuries, and for every Decury chusing one to bear the chiefe authority. So that ten governed at once, but one alone had the regal Ensigns and the Victors before him. This sovereignty and preeminence determined every five days: and thus went it through them all round in course. After which manner, they continued the space of one year. And the government upon this occasion was (as it is still at this day) called *Interregnum*. Then after a year began the Commons to grudge and mutter, that their servitude was greater then before, having now Lords over them, an hundred for one: and feared they would no longer endure, but have a King again, yea, and one of their own choosing. The Senators seeing them thereabouts, and taking it to be good policy for to offer that of their own accord, which they were otherwise like to forgo, turned to say unto them in this wise, to wit, by granting the chief prerogative unto the people (in chusing a King) yet so, as they gave them no greater privilege, then they reserved to themselves. Forthus it was decreed, that when the people had elected a King, it should stand firm and ratified, if the Senators liked thereof, and gave thereto their royal assent. And even at this day in making of Laws, and chusing of Magistrates or Rulers, the same right is in some sort observed, setting aside the violence of Tribunes. For that now before the people give their voices, the Senators passe by their authority, that which they would have done, fall it out in the assembly of people, by *acrimony*, doubtful as it will. To proceed then, the Interregent having called a general Parliament: In the name of God (quoth he) *O Quirites*, and which may be to you good, lucky, and prosperous, elect, or nominate ye a new King: for so is the good pleasing of the Nobles and Senators: and in case ye shall elect a man of such quality, as may be deemed worthy to succeed *Romulus*, then will they by their assent paie the same, and allow thereof. This pleased and contented the Commons so highly, that because they would not seem behind in bounty and courtesy, they answered again, that this only they ordained and agreed upon, to wit, that the Senate should determine who should be King of *Rome*. There was in those days one *Numa Pompilius*, much renowned and esteemed for his just life and religious: for he dwelt in *Cures*, a City of the Sabins, a man right skilful and very well seen (as any one might be in that age) in all Laws both divine and humane: whose reacher and first matter, for want of other Author of his Science and Knowledge (they say) but yet untrue, was *Pythagoras of Samos*. Concerning whom, this is well known, that he 100 years after and above, in the days of *Servius Tullius King of Rome*, held a School of young men Students, that were his Disciples, and followed his Sect. In the utmost and farthest coast of *Italy*, about *Metapontum*, *Heraclaea*, and *Croton*. From which places (albeit he had lived in that time) whatfame of him could spread so far as to the Sabins? or by what enter-courte and assiduity of language might he possibly have trained any man unto him for desire of learning at his hands? or by what good means and help, could *Numa* travel alone unto him in safety, through so many countries, of divers tongues and sundry manners? I am of this opinion rather, that the man by nature was framed and disposed to vertue, and that he was instructed, not so much in strange and forraign Sciences, as after that strict rule, that stern and severe discipline of the ancient Sabins: then whom, the Senators hearing the name of *Numa*, although they saw well enough, that the Sabins were like to prove of great reputation and power, by chusing their King from among them, yet was there none of them so audacious, as to prefer either themselves, or any one of their party and faction, nor any one, I say, Senator or Citizen, before that man: but all in general with one accord, agreed to confer the Kingdom upon *Numa Pompilius*. V. he being first for and come like as *Romulus* at the founding of the City was inaugurate King, or attained to the Crown by means of *Augurys* also he would needs, that the will and counsel of God should be sought for, touching his own election. Whereupon he was by the *Augur* (unto whom for ever after that public Ministry or Priesthood, in regard of honor and reverence by patent be owed) brought unto the Cattle hill, and there he set him down upon a stone, with his face toward the South. Then the *Augur* on his left side, with head covered, took his place: holding in his right hand a smooth staff without knot or knob, and hooded towards the top, which they called *lituus*. From whence after that he had with good advice, taken a prospect and view towards the City and Country, and made his prayers unto the gods, he limited the quarters of the Heaven, from East to West: and the parts Southward he appointed for the

Strife between the Romans and Sabins for the Crown.

The Veientians are discomfited by Romulus.

Truce between Romulus and Veientians for an hundred years. The common compilation of Romulus.

Celeres.

Romulus his end.

The speech of Proculus Julius.

the right hand, and thole Northward for the left. And fo far as ever he could caſt his eye and fee H forward, he imagined to himſelf a mark: then ſticking his ſtaff into his left hand, and laying the right hand upon *Numa* his head, he prayed in this form: O Father *Jupiter*, if it may be right and law- ful, that this *Numa Pompilius*, whole head I lay my hand upon, ſhall be King of *Rome*, ſhew I be- ſeech thee ſome certain and manifeſt ſigns within that compaſs and thole precincts, that I conceived and ſet out. Then pronounced he in plain words what tokens by ſight or ſight of fowls he would have to appear. Which being once ſeen, *Numa* was declared King, and ſo came down from the Temple or place of proſpect aboveſaid.

XIX

In this manner, being inaugurate and inveſted in the Kingdom, he provideth by good Orders, Laws, and Cuſtoms, to re-ediſe, as it were, that City, which beforetime had been new built by force and arms. Whereunto, he ſeeing that they might not be brought and framed in time of war, whole hearts were already by continual warfare grown wild and ſavage: and ſuppoſing that this fierce people might be made more gentle and tractable, through uſe of arms, he therefore built the Temple of *Janus* in the nether end of the ſtreet *Argiletum*, in token both of war and peace: with this invention, that being open it ſhould ſignifie, that the City was in arms: and ſtanding ſhut, that all the neighbor countries were in peace and quiet. Twice only after the reign of *Numa* was this Temple ſhut: once, when *T. Manlius* was Conſul, after the firſt Carthaginian war was done and ended: and a ſecond time (as God would) in our age for us to ſee, when as the Emperor *Cæſar Auguſtus*, after the battel of *Actium* (with *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*) had obtained peace both by Land and Sea. *Numatus* having knit the hearts of the borders about him in firm league and amity, K and thereupon, cloſed up the doors of *Janus*, ſecured now from all fear and care of dangers abroad, yet doubting left through eaſe and idleneſs their minds might fall to looſeneſs and riot, whom the dread of enemies and martial diſcipline had held in awe and good order: deviſed above all things to ſtrike ſome fear of God into them, and to plant religion in their hearts: policy no doubt, with the ſimple multitude (rude in thoſe days and ignorant) moſt effectual. Which reverence of God, for that it could not ſink nor enter well into their heads, and take a deep impreſſion, without ſome device of a ſeined miracle, he made ſemblance, and gave out, that he converted in the night ſeaſon, and had, I wot not what, ſecret conference with the goddeſs *Ægeria*. By whole counſel and direction forſooth, he ordained ſuch divine ſervice and ſacrifices to the gods, as to them was moſt acceptable: and to every god appointed ſeveral Prieſts for the miniſtry thereof accordingly. But firſt A he have all other things he divided the year, according to the courſe of the Moon, into twelve months: and for as much as the Moon hath not full thirty days to every month, whereby ſome days are wanting to make up the juſt year, after the revolution and circle of the Sun: he, by putting the odd days between every month, diſpoſed and ordered the year, that in every three and twenty years ſpace the days agreed juſt to the ſame point of the Sun from whence they began, and ſo made up the void ſpaces, and accompliſhed fully the term of every year. He appointed likewiſe law days and days of vacation, called *Faſti* and *Neſtaſti*, thinking it good, that otherwiſe there ſhould be reſt from attendance on the Courts, and no dealing with the people. After this, he ſet his mind about the creation of Prieſts, albeit in his own perſon he performed very many ſacrifices, eſpecially thoſe which at this day pertain to the Prieſt of *Jupiter*, called *Flamen Dialis*. And ſuppoſing that in a City ſo martial, there ſhould ſucceed more Kings like to *Romulus* than *Numa*, who in proper perſon would go forth to war: left haply the divine miniſtry that belonged to the King, might be neglected, he created a Flamine to *Jupiter*, for to be a ſacrificer continually reſident: endued and adorned him with a rich cope or veſtment, and with an ivory chair ſet off upon wheels, called *Sella curulis*. Unto him he adjoined two Flamines more: one for *Mars*, another for *Quirinus*. He inſtituted alſo a Num- mery, as it were, of religious Veſtal Virgins. A Prieſthood that had the beginning from *Alba*, and ſured well with the houſe, from whom the firſt foundation of the City was defended. And to the end they ſhould attend continually about the Church, as reſeant Chaplains, he allowed them an ordinary ſee or penſion, at the publick charges of the City: and made them by perpetual vowed virginity and other ceremonies to be revered and accounted holy. Likewiſe unto *Mars Gradivus* he N elected twelve Prieſts called *Salii*, and gave unto them a rich purple cope, embroidered for an ornament, and to wear upon that coat a brazen breſt-plate, and to bear certain cutcheions or bucklers that fell from heaven, called *Ancilia*: commanding them to run about the City, chanting hymns and ſongs, with dancing and leaping full ſolemnly. Moreover, he choſe for a Superintendent or high Prieſt, *Numa Ma- nus*, the ſon of *Marcus*, one of the Senators: and to him he gave in writing ſet down under his hand and ſeal, a rule, whereby he might know what beaſts ſhould be killed for ſacrifice, upon what days, and at which Temples, and how the money ſhould be levied and diſburſed for the defraying of all charges. All other ſacred rites as well publick as private, he ſubmitted and referred to the diſcretion and ordering of that high Prieſt: to this end, that the common people might know unto whom they were to reſort for counſel and inſtruction, and that no part of O Gods worſhip and ſervice ſhould by neglect of the ancient rites and traditions of their own country, be confounded and corrupted by bringing in any ſtrange and forſaigen ſuperſtitions. He ordained beſides, that the ſame Arch-Prieſt ſhould teach, not only the heavenly ceremonies, but alſo ſeſonal obſequies, and how the ſpirits beneath, and ghoſts of bodies departed, ſhould be quiered and pacified: and what ſtrange and prodigious tokens, that came by way of lightning, thunder, or any other fearful ſight whatſoever, ſhould be expiate and purged by ſacrifice accordingly. And for

Salii.

Ancilia.

A for to know the truth, potted by theſe tokens even from the minds of heavenly ſpirits above, he conſecrated unto *Jupiter Elicus* an altar upon the mount *Acetivus*. And by the means of Augury, he conſulted with that god, what things he was to enterprize and go about. Whilst the whole multitude was thus drawn away, and even turned from thinking of force and arms, and buſied about deviling and ordering of theſe matters, not only their minds were occupied in doing ſomewhat, but alſo the continual fear of God now ſetled in them; (as being perſwaded that the heavenly power was preſent in the managing of mens affairs) had poſſeſſed now all their hearts with ſuch piety and religious holineſs, that faithful promiſe once made, and the reverence of an oath taken, abandoning all fear of law and puniſhment, was able to rule and govern the City. And B as the people ſealed and reformed themſelves to the ſaſhions and manners of their King, as the only and ſpecial pattern to follow: ſo the nations likewiſe bordering upon them, who beforetime verily thought that City to be built, and as it were, enſlaved in the midſt of them to the dilu- biance and diſquieting of all their peace, were now become ſo reſpective of them, that they thought it an impious and ſinful deed, once to offend or offer abuſe to that City, ſo well given, and devo- ted to the worſhip and ſervice of God. Furthermore, there was a grove, the midſt whereof was watered continually by a ſpring that iſſued out of a dark and ſhadowed cave: into which, becauſe *Numa* C was very oft to retire himſelf alone, without any other, as it were, to have familiar com- pany with *Ægeria*, he dedicated that grove unto the Muſes, for that, their affluence alſo in coun- ſel and advice he deſired together with his wife *Ægeria*. And to *Faſtulus* he inſtituted a ſo- lemn yearly feſtival day, and erected a chapel: Unto which he commanded the Flamines to ride in an arched or embowed cloſe Chariot, drawn with two horſes, and to ſacrifice and execute their function, with their hands covered and wrapped cloſe to their fingers ends: ſignifying there- by, that ſuch is to be kept and preſerved: and that her ſeat was ſacred and conſecrated even upon their ſight hands. Many other ſacrifices, and places for ſacrifice, which the Prieſts call *Argeæ*, did he appoint and dedicate. But of all his acts this was moſt worthy and memorable, that during the time of his reign he had no leſſe regard to preſerve peace, than to maintain royalty and domi- nion: Thus two Kings one after another, taking either of them a ſeſeral courſe by himſelf, that one by war, this other by peace, mightily promoted the welfare of the City. *Romulus* reigned 37 years, *Numa* 43. So that now the City became very populous, as being well and equally tem- D pered both with ſeats of arms, alſo with diſcipline of peace.

Upon the death of *Numa* the regiment returned again to an inter-reign. Then the people no- minated and elected for their King, with the royal aſſent of the Senators *Tullius Hoſtilius*, the Ne- phew or Grandſon of that *Hoſtilius*, who had in times paſt fought valiantly againſt the Sabines, at the foot of the Caſtle hill. This man was no, only unlike the former King, but alſo more fierce and hardy than *Romulus* himſelf. For beſides the heat of youth, and ſtrength of body withal, the glorious remembrance of his Grandfather ſet him on, and pricked him forward. Suppoſing therefore that the City through reſt and eaſe began to age, as it were, and to decay, he ſought every way to pick quarrels, and to give occaſion to make war. It ſortuned, that the Peaſants about *Rome*, and thoſe of *Alba* likewiſe, preyed upon and ſpoiled one anothers land. At that time *C. Clautius* was Lord E and King of *Alba*. From both parts well near at one time, were Embaſſadors addreſſed to demand reſtitution of goods, and ſatisfaction for their harms. *Tullius Hoſtilius* he had ſtrictly charged his meſſengers to have no dealing with the Alban Prince, before they had delivered unto him their meſſage. For well he wiſt, that he would make denial, and yeeld no amends: and then might he with ſafe conſcience juſtly proclaim war againſt him. On the contrary ſide, the Alban Embaſſadors followed their buſineſs but ſlackly, for being courteouſly invited, and friendly entertained by *Tullius*, and lodged within his palace, they were well content to be ſeated by the King, and were his daily gueſts ſo long, that the *Romans* had by this time both challenged their own right, and the ſeſeral demand made by the Alban King, given defiance and proclaimed open war within thirty days next enſuing. Upon which tidings by them related to *Tullius*, he gave the Alban Embaſſadors audience, per- mitting them to declare what their errand was, that they came about. "They (ſimple men) ignorant F of that was done, firſt ſpent time in excuſing themſelves, ſaying they were very loth & unwilling to ſpeak ought that might diſpleaſe *Tullius*, but being commanded by authority, they might not ſo wil nor chuſe: and therupon were come to make claim of goods & amends for wrongs, and if they were not reſtored and recompence made they had comiſſion to denounce war againſt him. Whereunto *Tullius* made answer in this wiſe, "Tell your King and Maſter (quoth he) that the Roman King calleth the gods to witneſs, whether of the two Nations ſent the Embaſſadors away firſt, and rejected them when they demanded reſtitution, that upon his head they might bring the miſery, loſs, and calamity of the preſent war. With this diſpatch the Albans returned home. So they made preparation of forces on both ſides all that they could, moſt like all the G world to a civil war, between fathers and ſons, proceeding both from the Trojan race: conſidering that by Trojans *Lavinium* was founded: ſrom *Laſtium* came the people of *Alba*: and from the Alban Kings were the Romans in right line deſcended. But the final end and of this war, made the war it ſelf leſs woeful and lamentable, both becauſe they came not to a ſeſel field, and alſo for that by raſing the houſes only of the one City, two nations were intermingled & united in one. The Albans firſt with a mighty power entered the Territory of *Rome*, and encamped themſelves not paſt five miles from the City, where they ſtrongly entrenched themſelves: which place

Ægeria.

XIX

Ægeria.
The Temple of
Faſtus.

Tullius Hoſtilius.

The Embaſſadors
of the Albans to
King Tullius.

* *Chullus his felix**Albanus Suffering
Dictator of the
Albans.**The Orator of
Albanus unto the
Romans.*

XXIV

*Curatius
Horatius.*

of the Captains name was called * *Foffus Chullus*, many years after until both it and the name with-
 ended his days, in whose stead the Alban army created *Mettius Sufferius* their Dictator. *Tullius* in
 the mean time became haughty and proud, especially upon the death of the King, oftentimes giving
 out and saying, that the mighty power of the gods, having thus begun as the very head, would
 likewise take vengeance on the whole body of the Alban Nation, for their unjust and godless
 war: and one night above the rest passed secretly by the camp of his enemies, and in warlike man-
 ner invaded the Alban land. This news raised *Mettius* out of his standing camp. Who led forth
 his army and marched on as near to his enemies as he could, dispatching abroad an Herald un-
 to *Tullus*, to notify unto him thus much from him, that it was needful and expedient before they
 joined battle to parle and commune together. If he would vouchsafe to confer, he knew very well, that
 he should allege and lay forth such matters, as might concern the Weale of the Romans, as
 well as of the Albans. *Tullus* refused not the offer, albeit they were but vain toiles that were pre-
 tended, and therefore set his men in battell array. The Albans in like manner came forth against him.
 After they were thus ranged and embattelled ready to fight, the Generals on both sides, accom-
 panied with a few of their principal Nobles, advanced between both armies. Then began the Alban
 Dictator in this wise: "Me thinks (quoth he) I hear already of injury and wrongs done, and how
 such goods as were demanded are not restored again according to the form of the league, as also
 that *Chullus* our King was cause of this war: neither doubt I, O *Tullus*, but even you pretend,
 and are about to allege as much. But what we would as we ought to do, stand upon the truth of
 things, rather then upon I wot not what glosses, and goodly shewes of words: it is ambition and
 desire of rule only and nothing else, that putteth on two nations of one blood and next neigh-
 bors to take arms and war one with another: justly or unjustly, I am not able to say. Let him on
 Gods name that first began the quarrel, in conscience see to that. As for me, the Albans indeed
 have made me their General. But this one point *Tullus*, I would have you to remember and
 consider: How strong about us and you especially the Tuscans are, you know better, the nearer
 they are unto them: mighty they are by land, much more by sea. Then wot well this, that when
 you shall cause the Trumpet to sound unto battle, these two armies will be to them a fair mark
 and spectacle to behold: that they may give assault to both at once, as well the victors, as
 them that are vanquished, whilst they are wearied and toiled out of heart. For the love of God,
 if there be any park of grace in us, since we not contented with that liberty which we surely en-
 joy, will needs venture and put in doubtful hazard, which of us shall rule and command, and
 who shall serve and obey the other, let us take some good course whereby it may be decided
 without great loss or bloodshed on both sides, whether shall be Lord and Sovereign. The mo-
 tion *Tullus* liked not, albeit both for disposition of nature, and hope of victory, he were the
 haughtier of the twain. And as they fought on both parts what way to take, this means at length
 they found, whereunto fortune it self presented fit matter and occasion. For by good hap even
 then, in either host three brethren twins there were born at one birth, and thofe neither in age
 nor strength unlike. Their names were *Curatius* and *Horatius*, that is very certain, neither is there
 any thing of ancient record more famous and notable. Yet as clear in substance as it is, there re-
 maineth still some doubt and error in their names: of whether people the *Curatius* and the *Horatius*
 were. Writers there be on both sides, but the greater number say, as I find, that *Horatius* were
 the Romans, to whom I rather incline, and my mind giveth me to follow them. With these three
 brethren the Kings were in hand, perswading them to fight for the honor of their country, and
 try the quarrel by dint of sword: shewing them, that on whether side the victory fell, there should
 remain the sovereign dominion. Nothing refused they to do, the time and place both were agreed
 upon and appointed. But before the combat, it was covenanted between the Romans and Al-
 bans, and these conditions drawn: That whose champions in fight should have the better, that
 nation should peaceably command the other. There are of covenants many and sundry. Capitu-
 lations far different in matter: but they run all after one manner and form. As for this, it was N
 made, as we have heard in this wise, neither is there extant a more ancient record of any compo-
 sition whatsoever. The Herald (called *Fecialis*) demandeth of King *Tullus* in this wise: Is it your
 will and commandment my Lord, That I make a covenant and accord with the *Paterpatre* of
 the Alban people? It is (quoth the King.) Then (quoth he) I demand of you sacred herbs, The
 King answered again, Take them pure and clean. The *Fecialis* then reached from the Castle hill pure
 herbs from among the grass: which done, he thus asked the King: Do you (my Lord) ordain me
 the Messenger Royal of the Commons of the people of Rome? and allow necessary implements,
 all furniture for my self, and my retinue and train? The King answered: I do, so far forth as may
 be, without the harm or detriment of my self, and of the Citizens of the people of Rome. The *Feci-*
 al or Herald for that time, was *Marcus Valerius*, who created *Paterpatre* a King at Arms. *Sp. O-*
Fusus, by touching his head and hair with Vervain. Now the *Paterpatre* is for to confirm the
 agreement with an oath, and so he read out the covenant and oath, and that with many words:
 which to rehearse, as they were in a long prescript form pronounced, were very needles. After
 this having recited all the Articles and conditions thereof. "Hearken (quoth he) O *Jupiter*, listen
 thou Herald for the Albans, attend also and give ear ye the Alban people, how these conditions
 from the first to the last, have been read aloud out of those Books or Tables of wax, without
 covin

A "coven, or fraud, and how at this day they are most rightly meant and understood, according to
 the tenure of the words: from these articles I say, shall not the people of Rome start back hirt,
 nor make default: If they shall first go back and fail therein by publick consent, and fraudulent-
 ly: that day, O *Jupiter*, imite thou the City of Rome, as I to day will strike this swine: yea, and
 imite thou home to much more, as thou art more able and powerful then my self. And after he
 had thus said, he smote the swine with a flint stone. The Albans likewise repeated their prescript
 form of words, and the oath, by their Dictator and Priests for the purpose. The complements of
 the covenant and composition thus performed, and all concluded, then thofe three brethren of
 both sides, as it was before agreed, buckle to arm themselves. And being encouraged on both hands,
 by their well-willers and friends, that put them in mind of their country gods, their native soile
 and parents, saying, that all their fellow Citizens and country men whatsoever, both at home in
 the City, and abroad in the camp, every one had their eye only upon them, their weapons and
 their hands: the young men being both of themselves by nature forward and lusty, and also em-
 boldened with the comfortable words of their friends, advanced forth between both armies. Now
 were the two hosts set on both sides before their camps, rid of present danger, rather then void of
 care and pensiveness. For why? the whole trial of sovereignty and rule, rested in the valour and
 good speed of a few. Whereupon they longing to see the sequel and issue, were wholly bent to be-
 hold, and only minded this unpleasant sight and spectacle. At found of Trumpet these brave bre-
 thren, three to three like as they had been two to two battels, and carrying the stomachs very of two
 great armies, affronted one another and with cruel and mortal weapons gave the charge. Neither
 regarded they their own proper peril, but first before their eyes, only the rule or servitude of the
 Common-weal as if the fate of their country from thenceforth lay wholly upon their good or bad
 success in this action. So soon as they began to cope together and make assault, that their helmets
 and weapons once clattered, and their drawn swords home and glittered again, behold such an
 exceeding fear came upon the beholders, that they trembled and quaked withal: and during the
 time of equal combat, seeing no inclination of victory to the one side or the other, they were lo-
 atoned, that hardly they could well speak or freely take their wind. Afterwards, when as they
 were come to hand-to-hoaks, and that now not only the stirring of their bodies, and the doubtful
 handling of their weapons and armor, but bloody wounds also were seen, two of the Romans
 D (having fore wounded all the three Albans) fell down one upon the other, and yielded up the
 ghost. At whose fall, the Alban host shouted again for joy: but the Roman legions, albeit they
 were now past hope of victory, yet they were not void of care being amazed, and an extasie as it
 were, with very fear what should become of him, who being but one, had three *Curatius* upon him
 at once. But as good hap was, he as yet was fresh and unwounded. And as he was not able alone
 to make his part good with them altogether, so in single fight, man to man, he thought himself
 good enough for them all, one after another. To single therefore, and to part them in fight, he
 begins to flie, thinking thereby they would follow after him, each one as his hurt body would
 give him leave. Now when he was retired a pretty good way from the place where they fought,
 and looking behind him, espied them following far afunder, and one of them not much behind
 E himself, he turned again upon him with great violence. And whilst the host of the Albans cried
 out to the *Curatius* to rescue and succour their brother, *Horatius* by that time had slain his foremost
 enemy, and was in hand with the second. Then the Romans with such a shout, as they are wont
 to make, who after a great fight recover themselves and take heart again, encourage their cham-
 pions: and he himself hasteneth to finish the combat. And before that the third, who was not far
 off, could get to the other, he had slain the second *Curatius*. So that now there was but one to
 one, left to fight on even hand: and they, neither in hope nor strength equally matched. As for the
 one of them, his body as yet not wounded, and his double victory withal, caused him to attempt
 the third conflict stoutly and courageously. The other faint and feeble of his hurt, tired with run-
 ning, had much ado to come forward, and quite out of heart, seeing his two brethren lie slain at
 F his feet, offered himself as a prey to his victorious enemy: for surely between them was no fight
 at all to speak of. The Roman he triumphing and crying out for joy. Two brethren already (quoth
 he) have I sent to the Divil, the third likewise shall I send after them, that a Roman may command
 an Alban, which is the cause of all this war. And therewith he thrust his sword aloft into his
 throat, who had much ado to hold his weapons: and so soon as he was down, stript and rifled him.
 The Romans with great triumph and gratulation, receive *Horatius* rejoicing to much the more,
 as his safe was more dangerous and well need deperate. Then of both sides address they them-
 selves to bury their champions, but not with like cheer and alacrity of heart. For why? they of
 the one part were become Lords, and they of the other, Subjects. Their tombs remain yet to be
 seen in the very places where they were each of them slain, two of the Romans entombed together
 G in one place near unto *Alba*: the three Albans towards *Rome*, but distant afunder, like as they
 fought and left their lives. Before they dislodged and departed thence the one from another, *Mettius*,
 according as it was capitulated in the composition, asked and demanded what *Tullus* would
 command him to do: who enjoined him to keep his youth ready in arms at an hours warning, for
 that he would employ them in service, in case he should war with the Veientians. So were the ar-
 mies dismissed home. And *Horatius* he went forth, bearing afore him the threefold spoile of three
 brethren, Whom his Sister a maid affianced before to one of the *Curatius*, met before *Capena* gate: &
 clipping

*The cruel com-
bat between the
brethren Curatius
and Horatius.*

Horatius killed his sister.

The judgment of Horatius.

P. Horatius the Father to the people.

clipping upon her brothers shoulders, the coat of arms of her espoused husband, which the her self had wrought with her own hands; the unbowed her head, let her hair loose, and pitiously caud upon her dead spouse by name. This lamentable wailing of the sister presently upon victory, and amidst to great and public joy, moved the proud and haughty young man to wrath, and drawing out his sword therewith, ran the silly damsel through: and with these bitter words rebuketh her also, Get thee hence (quoth he) to thy spouse with thy unseasonable and foolish love, forgetful as thou art, of thy two brethren dead, and him that is alive: forgetful of thy native country, and the honor thereof: and so with a mischief go she, whatever she be, that shall bewail an enemy of Rome. A cruel and horrible fact this seemed, as well to the Senators, as to the Commons: but his late and fresh desert made it the less trespass: yet for all that was he apprehended, and brought before the King. The King, that he might not seem the author of a judgment so unpleasant and odious unto the people, and consequently of punishment according to the doom, assembled the people together and said: I ordain Duumvirs to sit upon Horatius, in trial of a criminal cause of felony, and to judge him according to the law, in that case provided. The tenor of the law runneth thus, in dreadful kind of form, [The Magistrates called Duumvirs shall judge the party accused in a capital action of felony, if he shall appeal from the Duumvirs, let him traverse his appeal, if they overthrow him, then hoodwink him, or cover his head, hang him upon a cursed Gallows tree by a rope, and strangle him, having whipped and scourged him before, either with him the Pomary or without.] By virtue of this law were the Duumvirs created, who by their power of that law thought they might not quit so much as a guileless person: and having once condemned him, then one of them gave sentence and said: I judge thee O Publius Horatius a murderer and an enemy to the state of Rome. Go Liſtor therefore, and bind his hands together. Then came the Liſtor and cast a cord about them, but Horatius, by the advice of Tullius, a gentle and mild interpreter of the Law, I appeal (quoth he.) So upon his appeal was the matter debated, and to be tried before the people: who were not a little troubled in deciding or judging this cause, and most of all in regard of Publius Horatius the Father, crying out and saying, "That he deemed his daughter was justly and worthily killed: otherwise he would himself have punished his son by his fatherly authority. Being moreover, that they would not now make him childless, whom erewhile they saw with a goodly company of children about him. And therewithal the old father embracing the young man, and shewing the spoils of the Curvatis, set up and hanging in that very place which now is called Pila Horatia, i.e. Horatius his Pillar. And can ye indeed (O ye Romans, quoth he) abide to see him bound under a Gallows, yea, and whipped and tormented, whom a while afore ye beheld to march in great glory and jollity for his achieved victory? So unfeemly and foul a sight as which, the Albans themselves can hardly suffer. Go Liſtor, go bind those hands fast, which "armed a little before, won the people of Rome their dominion: Go I say, and hoodwink his head "who saved and delivered this City from bondage, hang him by the necks, and strangle him upon "a cursed tree: scourge him and spare not, either within the circuit of the walls, so it be among "those javelins and spoils of the enemies: or without the walls, so it be within the compass of the "Curvatis Sepulchres. For to what place can ye lead this young gentleman, where his honorable acts may not save him from so unworthy and shameful punishment? The people could no longer endure, either the tears of the old father, or the constant resolution of the youth his son, who shewed himself still the same, and not to change for any danger. So they quit him, in the honorable regard rather of his prowess and valor, than in the right and equity of his cause. Yet to the end that the murder so manifest and openly known, should be in some sort expiated, and satisfaction made therefore, his father was charged to purge his sons sin, and make amends, at the expences of the City. Who having performed certain purgatory sacrifices, which afterward belonged to the house and family of the Horatii, put a rafters or beam cross overthwart the street, and caused the young man with his head covered to go under, as under a yoke of gallows: which remaineth yet unto this day, from time to time at the City charges repaired, and they call it Sororium Trogillum, i.e. The Sisters beam. And in that very place where Horatius was wounded and fell down, her tomb was erected of four square stones.

But not long continued the Albans in quiet and peace. For the common people finding fault and greatly discontented, that the whole state of the Weale-publick was put into the hands of three soldiers, infected so, and poisoned the vain and brittle head of the Dictator: that for as much as plain and upright dealing sped no better, he began to win again the hearts of his Commons by crooked means, and indirect courses. Seeking therefore war in time of peace, as before in time of war he fought peace: and seeing his people had more heart then hand, and their strength not answerable to their stomachs: he stirred up other nations, openly by way of proclamation and defiance to make war, and reserved his own men under a colour of league and confederacy, for to practise treason and falsehood. The Fidenates, a Colony of the Romans, having made the Veientians partakers of their counsel, and combined with the Albans to forsake the Romans, when time came, and turn unto them, brake out and took arms. When Fidene had thus openly revolted, Tullius sent for Metius and his power from Alba, and lesteeth forward against his enemies: and passing over the river Anio, encamped near the confluence, where both streams meet together. Between which place and Fidene, the army of the Veientians had crossed the Tiber, who put themselves in the right wing of the battel fast by the river, and the Fidenates in the left,

A left nearer to the mountains. Tullius directly opposeth his own forces against the Veientians, and placeth the Albans to affront the Fidenates. The Alban Captain having as little heart as honesty and truth, neither durst keep his standing, nor openly turn unto the enemy, but by little and little withdrew himself toward the mountains: and when he thought he had gained vantage enough, he mounted up the hill with all his companies, and with a wavering mind to spend the time, displayeth his ranks. His intent and purpose, as on what side fortune seemed to give the better, with them to join and take their part. The Romans that stood next, perceiving their flanks naked by reason of the departure of their friends and allies, at first marvelled much at the matter: but afterwards there galloped an horseman, and advertised the King that the Albans were gone away. Tullius in this so fearful and dangerous case, vowed twelve Priests Salus and two Temples to Palor and Pavor, i.e. to Paleness and Fear: and with a loud voice cried out in the hearing of his enemies, commanding the said horseman to return to the battel, saying, There was no cause at all to fear, for that himself had commanded the Alban host to wheel and lurch about, and so to charge the Fidenates on their backs where they lay open. Willing him especially moreover, to cause the men of arms to hold up their lances on end. By which means, a great part of the footmen could not see the Albans as they departed and went their ways. And those that had seen them, thinking it was a truth which they heard the King to speak, fought so much the more boldly. So the King turned now from them, and fell upon the enemies: for they heard the King when he spake so loud, and also a great many of the Fidenates being co-habitants with the Romans, under Tullius Latine. For fear therefore, that the Albans should all on a sudden run down from the hills, and stop their passage to the town, they turned their backs and fled. Then Tullius prefieth hard upon them, and having discomfited the Fidenates wing, cometh back more fiercely upon the Veientians, being already amazed at the flight of the other. Neither were they able to withstand the brunt. Howbeit the river behind at their backs kept them at first from flying away, but afterwards when their flight bended thitherward: some flinging their weapons shamefully away, like blind men, ran headlong into the water: other lingering till, and taying on the bank side, doubtful whether to flee, or to stick to it and fight, were trod under foot, and hewne in pieces. Never had the Romans before that day a more cruel battel. Then the Alban army, which beheld and saw all this conflict, defended down into the plain. And Metius, forthwith, rejoiceth much on D Tullius behalf for this victory. Tullius again speaketh Metius fairly, and gave order, that the Albans in a good hour should join their camp to the Romans: and against the next day, prepared a purging or Lustral sacrifice. The morrow when it was day, and that all things were in a readines, according to the manner, he commandeth both armies to assemble together to an audience. The Criers, beginning at the farthest part of the camp, summoned the Albans first. Who also for the strangeness of the matter, and desirous to hear the Roman King to make his Oration, pressed forward to stand next. The Roman legion on purpose, as it was before decreed, stood armed round about, and hemmed them in: and the Centurions had in charge without delay to execute whatsoever they were commanded.

Then began Tullius to speak in this wise, "If ever in any war heretofore had cause, O Romans, The Oration
E "to render thanks, first to the immortal gods, and then to your own manhood and valor, certainly it was in yesterdays battel. For ye fought not then with the force of your enemies more than with the treachery and falsehood of your friends and confederates, which is the greater conflict and far more dangerous. For to put you clean out of doubt, and to bear you no longer in hand with a wrong persuasion: The Albans went up toward the hills without my commission, neither was that my commandment, but a policy and countenance only of command: to this end, that ye not knowing how ye were forsaken, might not withdraw your hearts from fight, and also that your enemies weening they were environed behind, should be afraid and so enforced to flee. Yet are not the Albans all in general to be charged with this fault which I reprove. They did but follow their leader, as ye likewise would have done, if I had willed the march to have turned any whither from thence. It is Metius that was the guide and leader of F this journey, Metius is he that is the worker and deviser of this war, Metius I say it is, and none but Metius, the breaker of the Roman and Alban league. Butler who that will from henceforth presume hard to do the like, if I make not him a notable example to all the world. The Centurions stood armed round about Metius, and the King stoode on with the rest of his speech as he began, and said: "That which I pray God may turn to the good prosperity and happiness of the people of Rome, of my self, and you the Albans, I am minded to reduce all the Alban nation to Rome: to endue the Commons with the freedom of the City: to advance their chief Gentlemen to the order of Senators, and to make one uniform City and Common-wealth: that as in times past the Albans state, out of one body was divided into twain, so now it may be united and become one again. At these words the Alban youth unarmed, and beset on every side with armed men, albeit they were distracted in mind, yet were they forced with a general ear to keep silence, and hold their peace. "Metius Sufsums (quoth Tullius then) If thou couldst have learned to keep allegiance promise, and covenants, thou mightst have been taught it at my hands with life. But now since thy forward nature is incurable, teach thou by thy fearful example and death all mankind, to hold and repute those things for sacred and holy, which have by thee been broken and violate. Like as therefore erewilles thou barest a double heart in doubt,

ful balance, between the Fidenates and the Romans state: even so streightways shalt thou yield thy body to be drawn alunder, and plucked into two peeces accordingly. Then forthwith he called two teames of four houltes to belet to, and *Meius* to be stretched out and tied unto the chariots to them belonging. Afterwards were the hories driven a contrary way, and carried with them in both chariots the body torn in peeces as far forth as the limbs hung fast together by their cords and ligaments: which made all men avert their eyes from beholding so cruel and horrible a spectacle. This was the first and last punishment that ever the Romans executed with so little respect or none at all (to say a truth) of the laws of humanity. In all other they may lawfully make their boast, that no nation in the world hath been lesse delighted and pleased with extremity of torment.

While the thetethings were in doing, there had been certain horsemen sent afore to *Alba*, to translatte the multitude to *Rome*. After whom were the legions also of the toomten thither led, to rafe and destroy the city. At whose entrance within the gates, there was not that stir nor fearful hurry, as usually is seen when cities are loft: and when with breaking down the gates, beating and battering the wals with rams and other engines, forcing the citadel, the enemies shout, and the armed souldiers, run to and fro in the city, killing and slaying, firing and burning all afore them as they go: but a sad silence, and a fill kind of sorrow and penitencels so possessed and attonied all their minds; that for fear forgetting what to leave behind them, or what to take with them, without advice and counsel, one asking another what to do, they one while stood in their house entrees, another while ran up and down wandering in their houltes, as if their last day had been come. But so soon as they heard the horsemen cry aloud, and command them with menacing to void and depart, and that now the rattling of the tiles and flates from off the houltes, as they were a pulling down, was from the furthest part of the town heard: and that the dust raised from places far off had as it were with a cloud overcast and filled all: then every man came flying up hastily, and carrying forth what he could, leaving their domestic algods, leaving their houltes wherein they had been born, bred, and brought up, departed forth: so that now they filled the streets as they went close on a row together, and the light one of another with mutual committeration, redoubled their tears and wofull complaints. Yea, and pious mone and lamentations were heard of women especially, as they passed by their fair and itately husbands, bder with souldiers, and abandoned their gods as it were captives and prisoners. After the *Albans* had thus quitted the city, down went the Romans every where with the buildings as well publick as private, and laid them even with the ground, and so in one hour destroyed and raised four hundred years work, for so long had *Alba* stood and flourished. Howbeit the temples or the gods they spared, for so the king had given commandment, *Rome* all this while rich by the fall of *Alba*. The number of Citizens increased double: to enlarge the city the mount *Celuis* was annexed to it: and that it should be better peopled and more inhabited, *Tullus* added his royal seat and palace there, and therein from that time forth he kept his court. The chief Citizens of the *Albans* he advanced to the order of Senators: that he might augment that state also of the Commonweal: namely, the houltes of the *Tullij*, *Servilij*, *Quintij*, *Geganij*, *Curius*, *Celsij*: and for that degree and order of Senators by him encreased, he built an hall or new court, called until our fathers dayes *Hofilia curia*, *i. Hofilia* court. And that all estates and degrees might out of this new people be somewhat strengthened, he chose from out of the *Albans* ten troops or cornets of horsemen, and with the same supply he both fulfilled the number of the old legions, and also made and enrolled new.

War with the Sabins.

Tullus upon this affiance he had in his strength and power denounceth war against the Sabins, a people in those dayes of all other most puissant and mighty, both in men and munition next the *Tuscans*. Wrongs had been done, and outrages committed on both parts, and restitution or amends demanded, but to no effect. *Tullus* found himself grieved, that divers occupiers or merchants of *Rome*, at an open mart or fair of great resort before the temple of *Verona* were laid hold upon and apprehended. The Sabins on the other side complained, that their men notwithstanding they took sanctuary in a certain sacred and priviledged grove, were arrested and in hold at *Rome*. These were the quarrels and occasions pretended of the war. The Sabins well remembering, that not only part of their own forces was by *Tullus* translated to *Rome*, and there planted, but also that now of late the puissance of the Romans was well amended by the supplement of the *Albans*, began likewise for their part to cast about, and seek for help abroad, and forraign aids. Now was *Tuscan* their neighbour nation, and of the *Tuscans* the nearest unto them were the *Veientians*. From thence they gat certain volunteers to take their part: by reason that their minds already were well disposed to revolt upon old grudges and ran our remaining (till of the former war past) otherwise also vagarant and idle persons of the rascal sort, and needy commons, were faine hired for money. But as for any succour from thence by publick consent of the state they had none at all. So much prevailed even with the *Veientians* (for in the rest it was less marvel) the faithful covenant of race concluded with *Romulus*. Now when these preparations of war were made on both sides to the uttermost of their power, and that it stood upon this point, That they were like to have the odds and vantage, who should begin first, and enter the field: *Tullus* prevented the enemies and invaded the Sabine land. A sharp and bloody battel was there fought under the wood *Aracusa*. Where the Romans bare themselves bravely that day, much upon the valour of the Legiatory foot-

A footmen, but more upon the strength of their men of arms, whose number lately was augmented: for by the suddain and forcible charge of the horsemen, the battel of the Sabins was broken, their ranks so disordered, that they could neither hand nor foot together to fight it out, nor yet spirited themselves to fly, without great slaughter and bloodshed.

The Sabins, defraved by the Romans,

The Sabins thus vanquished, and the kingdom of *Tullus* and the whole state of *Rome*, being very glorious and wealthy: behold, news came to the King and Senators, that in the *Alba* mount it rained stones: which hardly was believed, and therefore certain men were sent of purpose to see this strange and prodigious sight: who might plainly behold stones to fall thick out of the skie like as when some terrible winds drive hail in big round balls upon the earth. They imagined mourning, that they heard a great and mighty voice out of the grove from the very top of the hill crying unto them, and warning the *Albans* to do sacrifice and divine service according to the rites and ancient manner of their forefathers: which they had discomitted and forgotten as if together with their country they had abandoned their gods; and either taken to the Roman fashion, or eliebearing angry with fortune (as it is commonly seen) forgot and neglected the worship of the gods altogether. The Romans likewise upon that miraculous sign, for the purging and expiation thereof, celebrated solemn publick sacrifices for the space of nine dayes, called a *Novendia*: either because they were moved thereto by that voice from heaven (for that also is reported) or took direction from the Soothsayers that pry into the inward of beasts. Certain it is, that a solemn custom remained still unto this day, that whensoever word cometh of the like wonder, they keep holiday nine dayes together. Not long after this, the pestilence rained in the city, and albeit the people began thereby to slack souldery and military service: yet would not this martial principle give them rest and respite from war: being of this mind, that the bodies of young men were more healthy in armour, abroad in the open field, than at home in the city under covert: until home at length fell sick of a long and lingering disease. Then that haughty and congruous to make of his, together with his lully and able body, became so abated, that he would scarce before thought nothing lesse bestowing a king, than to let his mind, and busy his brains about religious ceremonies: now all upon a sudden became wholly devoted to all kind of superstition both more and lesse; yea, and filled the peoples heads besides with holiness and devotion. So as now the very common sort withing again for the old world, under the reign of king *Numa*, were fully perfwaded, that there was no other remedy left for their sick and diseased bodies, but to obtain at Gods hands grace and pardon. Men say, that the king himself in perusing and turning over the Commentaries and registers of *Numa* his predecessor, and therein finding certain hidden and solemn sacrifices that had been unto *Jupiter Elius* retired himself, and kept close within a house to celebrate the same. But for that this holy service was neither begun aright, nor duly administered, he had not only no divine apparition and heavenly vision presented unto him, but also incurred the heavy displeasure and wrath of *Jupiter*, whom by his preposterous religion he had thus disquieted: and so both himself and his whole houlte were consumed with lightning. This *Tullus*, in great glory and renown of martial prowels, reigned two and thirty years.

When *Tullus* was dead, the government returned again, as it was from the first beginning ordained unto the Senators: who named an Interregent, and he called a Parliament, wherein the people elected *Ancus Martinus* for their King, and the Senators gave their assent thereto. This *Ancus Martinus*, was *Numa Pompilius* his daughters son, who so soon as he was come to the crown, both in remembrance of his grand-fathers glorious government, and also in regard of the reign of his next predecessor, which in other points right excellent and commendable, in this onely failed, and was not so happy: either for that religion was neglected, or not with due ceremonies exercised: and thinking it a thing most necessary, and of greatest moment, to redound all publick divine service and sacrifices to the first institution of *Numa*, he commanded the Arch-priest or High-priest to make an extract, and transcript of all the sacred rites and mysteries out of *Numa* his Commentaries, and ingrois them into one table, and to publish them a-ford unto the people: whereby both his subjects and citizens desirous of peace, as also the States thereby adjoining, were in good hope, that the king would altogether conform himself, and take after the customs and ordinances of his grand-father.

Hereupon the *Latin*, with whom in King *Tullus* his dayes a league was made, took heart unto them, made inroads into the country about *Rome*, and fetched out booties. And when the Romans demanded restitution, they made them a proud answer, supposing belike, That the King of *Rome* would pass the whole consue of his reign in ease and idleness, sitting still in his chappels, and by his holy altars. But *Ancus* was of a meane and indifferent disposition by nature, having an eye as well to *Numa*, as to *Romulus*, and compelled as it were of both. For over and besides, that he thought peace more expedient and necessary for his grandfathers reign, the people being as then but new risen, unsettled, and fickle: considering also, that himself should not easily, without taking wrong, enjoy the quietness which to him happened: for that his patience was already tried, and not onely tried, but also despised: and seeing that the State of the present time was fitter for a *Tullus* to be King, than a *Numa*: yet to the end that, as *Numa* in time of peace instituted ceremonies of religion, so he might likewise set out to posterity others concerning war: and that wars should not be onely made, but also denounced and proclaimed orderly, and in some religious form of solemnity: he

he set down in writing that law and formal order, by virtue whereof restitution is demanded (which at this day the Feciales or Herald observe) like as he received it from the ancient people *Egrii*.

The Embassador Feial, coming to their borders, at whose hands the goods are required again, covering his head with a bonnet or vail of woollen yarn, saith thus: *Hear O Jupiter, give ear ye limits and confines* (naming them of such and such a Country) *let Justice and Right bearken also to what I shall say: I am the publick messenger of the people of Rome, of a just and religious embassage am I come, and so my words give credit.* After this, rehearseth he all his demands, and then calleth *Jupiter* to witnes, saying, *If I unjustly and impiously demands, that such persons should be delivered, or such and such goods be rendered unto me, the publick messenger of the people of Rome: then let me never return again to enjoy mine own country.* These words rehearseth he, as he fetterth foot, and steps into the confines: the same also he speaketh to him whomsoever he meeteth first: the fellest words he pronounceth, as he entrench within the gate of the City: yea, and when he is come into the market place he saith the same, changing and varying in some few tearms, from the prescript form of the demand, and taking the solemn oath. In case then, the persons whom he requirerh, be not yielded after 33. days expired (for so many juls are usually granted) then proclaimeth he war in this wise. *Hear O Jupiter, and thou Juno, Quirinus thou: ye celestial Saincs all, and terrestrial powers, ye infernal spirits also, listen and give ear. I call you all to witnes, and protest before you, that this nation* (naming them whosoever they be) *is unjust, and doth not according to right and equity. But of these matters will we consult at home in our own country, with our elders, and ask their advice how we may come by our own.* Herewith returneth the messenger unto Rome for counsell, and presently the King would in these or such like words, sitting in Council with his Peers, move them in this manner. *Whereas the Paterpatrat or Herald, in the behalf of the people of Rome, and their Quirites, hath treated with the Paterpatrat, or Herald, in the name of the ancient Latines, and with the folk of the ancient Latines, concerning certain things, differences, suets, and causes thereupon depending: which things they have neither yielded nor paid, nor performed and done: which ought to have been paid, yielded, performed, and done: what is your judgment? speaking to him, whose opinion first he asketh in this case. Then* (saith he) *My advice is, that those things be sought for, and recovered by mere force, by just and lawful war. This do I fully agree unto, this do I determine resolutely.* After him were the other asked in counsell: and when the greater number of them who were present accord thereunto, then by general consent, they were wont to proclaim war in this order: That the Feial or King at Arms should go with a javelin, having an iron head, or with a red bloody spear burnt at the end, as far as to their borders or marches: and there in the presence of three witnesses at the least, not under fourteen years of age, should say thus: *Whereas the people of the old Latines, and the old Latine folk, have perjured and trespass'd against the people of Rome and the Quirites, and whereas the people of Rome and the Quirites have so determined, consented, and agreed, that war should be made with the ancient Latines: I therefore together with the people of Rome, do denounce and proclaim, and make war with the nations of the old Latines, and with the old Latine folk. And when he had thus said, he lanced his spear or javelin within the confines of the enemies. After this manner then, was restitution demanded of the Latines, and war denounced or proclaimed: which order of proceeding, M their posterity by tradition received.*

Anus having committed the charge of divine service and sacrifice unto the Flamins, and the other Priests, levied a new Army, went forth into the field, and by force won *Peltorinum*, a City of the Latines. And following the usual manner of the former Kings his progenitors, who had mightily increased the Roman State, by admitting their enemies into the number of Citizens, transported the whole multitude from thence to Rome. And because the ancient natural Romans inhabited *Palatium*, the Sabins about the Capitol and rock *Tarpeia*, and the Albans dwelled in the mount *Calvus*: therefore the hill *Aventine* was allowed this new company to dwell in. Unto whom not long after, there came fresh inhabitants to people it, upon the winning of *Tellene* and *Ficava*. But after this, the Romans were driven to recover by war *Peltorinum* again: for that whilst it stood void and empty, the old Latines had surprised and taken it. Which was the cause, that the Romans destroyed that City quite, that it should not be at all times a receptacle for the enemies. Last of all, when as now the Latines war was driven wholly and brought before *Medullia*, there for a good while was much ado, and doubtful issue of fight, and interchangeably victory: for that the Town was both well fortified with bulwarks, and furnished with a strong garrison of men: and also by reason that the army of the Latines being incamped in plain and open ground, had sundry times with banners displayed, encountered hand to hand with the Romans. At the last *Anus* bending his whole power against them, first gave them an overthrow in a set battel: and so having gained rich pillage, returned to Rome. At that time also were many thousands of the Latines received into the City: Who to the end, that the *Aventine* and *Palatium* should meet together, were appointed to seat themselves about the Temple of *Mars*. The *Janiculum* likewise was adjoined unto the City, not for want of ground, but because it might not be at any time a fortress and hold for the enemies: which was thought good to be united unto the City, not only with a wall, but also for more commodious passage to and fro, with a wooden bridge over *Tyber*. The *Quirites* foils or ditch also, no small defence against the easie access from the plain grounds, was a work of *Anus*. Thus the state being grown

* *Palatium*.

A grown to exceeding strength and bigness: when as now in so huge a multitude of people there was much confusion, and no difference of well doing or ill, and thereby many mischiefes and outrages began secretly to be committed: for to refrain therefore with some terror, such boldness increasing daily more and more, there was a goal or common prison built in the heart of the City, even over against the common place of assembly. And in this Kings days not only the circuit of the City was enlarged, but also their Lands and Territories. For by reason that the forrest *Macra* was conquered from the Valentians, their Signory reached to the Sea: where, in the very mouth of *Tyber* was the town *H. flus* built, and the salt pits made there about, and upon such noble exploits by arms achieved, the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, was in more ample and glorious manner repaired.

In the reign of *Anus*, there came to dwell at Rome one *Lucumo*, a pregnant nimble headed man, and a wealthy, upon a desire especially and hope of advancement and honor, which at *Tarquinius* (where he was born, although defended of foreign parentage) he had no means to attain unto. The Son he was of *D. marcius* the Corinthian, who upon civil troubles and dissensions having fled his country, and by chance planting himself in *Tarquinius*, there married a wife and had issue by her two sons, named *Lucumo* and *Aruns*. *Lucumo* survived his father, and became heir of all his goods. *Aruns* died before his father, leaving his wife behind him, conceived with child: neither lived the father *Dema-tus* long after his son, who not knowing that his daughter-in-law and sons wife was with child, made no mention at all of his Nephew in his Will, and so departed this world. Whereupon the child after his Grandires decease being born to no part of his goods, for his poor condition, was called *Egerius*. But *Lucumo* on the other side the sole heir and inheritor of all, as he began by his wealth to be haughty enough, and to look aloof, so he grew much more proud for his matching in marriage with *Tanquilida* dame of a right noble house defended, and who could hardly bear a lower estate and degree than that wherein she was born. When she was one married, and saw the *Tulcan* to disdain *Lucumo*, for that his father was a stranger and banished person, she could not endure that indignity. But forgetting all kind of affection to her native country, so she might see her husband raised to high promotion, she resolved and plotted to leave *Tarquinius* and depart. To which purpose and design, Rome seemed a place most fit and convenient of all others. For thus she projected and discurf: That in a City lately founded, where D all kind of Nobility suddenly cometh up, and ariseth from virtue and prowess, her husband a valorous and industrious man must needs have place, and be entertained: that King *Tantius* a Sabin born, had reigned there: that *Numa* was from *Tures* sent for thither, and called to the Crown: that *Anus* also a Sabin by his mothers side, had the only image of *Numa* to shew for his Nobility. Thus the soon periwaded him, as being a man ambitious and desirous of honor, and whose mother only was a Tarquinian born, and therefore he was to make less scruple of abandoning the place of his Nativity. Thereupon they removed with all they had to Rome. And it turned that to *Janiculum* they came. Where, as *Tarquinius* sat with his wife in the chariot, behold an Eagle came gently flying down from aloft, and took up his bonnet from his head, and soaring over the chariot with a great noise, and clapping of her wings, as if she had been sent from Heaven to do this feat, set it gently and handsomly on his head again: which done, she mounted on high, and flew away. *Tanquil*, as they say, embraced this Augury with great joy, being a womankind, as commonly all the *Tulcan* are, in such prodigious sights and apparitions from heaven: and therewith taking her husband about the neck, wished him to be of good cheer, and to hope for great matters and high preferments: saying, how that bird came from such a quarter of the heaven addressed as a messenger from such a god, and shewed a divine token and preface upon the highest part of man, even the top of the Crown, and lifted up the ornament that stood upon his mortal head, to give it him again immortal, as from God above. In these hopes and cogitations which they entertained by the way, they entered the City: where they took an house, and from thence forth he was commonly called *L. Tarquinius*. Now within a while both his new coming, and his wealth withal, made him well known: and himself also besides, for forward his good fortune by courteous and fair speech and affable language to every man, by friendly envying, and liberal seating, and by making what friends he could by gifts, favours, and good turns: so far forth, as the fame of him came into the Kings Court: where, by his willing service and singular dexterity, in short time he had not only access to the Kings knowledge, but also entered into familiar acquaintance and friendship with his Highness. Insomuch, that both in private Councils and publick consultations, as well at home as abroad, he was always present, and bare a great flock. And having in all kind of offices carried himself with credit, was in the end by the Kings last Will and Testament made Tutor or Protector of his children: Thus reigned *Anus* 24. years, for glory and reputation of his age government, as well in war as in peace, equal to any of the former Kings his predecessors.

Now were his sons near 14. years of age when he died, *Tarquinius* therefore made the more haste, that the high Court of Parliament should with all speed possibly be summoned for creation of a King, which being against a day proclaimed, he sent away the boys to the chafe a hunting, at the very instant of the said election. He himself (as men say) was the first, that both ambitiously fought for the Crown, and also for to win the hearts of the Commons, devised and framed an eloquent Oration, "Saying, it was no new and strange thing that he stood for: And why he was not the

The end of *Anus*.

"the first (that any man should be offended, or make any wonder) but the third alien that in Rome
 "affected and aspired to the Kingdom: that both *Tullius*, not of a foreigner only, but of an ene-
 "my became King: and *Numa* likewise, a man unacquainted with the City and matters of State,
 "was without any sute or seeking of his party by the Romans sent for: & advanced to the crown.
 "As for himself, he alleged and said, that from thence time that he was at his own liberty and dispose
 "of himself, he with his wife & all that he had, removed and came to Rome: and of that age wherein
 "men are employed in civil affairs, he had spent a greater part in Rome, then in his own ancient
 "country. Moreover, that he was trained up both at home in the City and in war abroad, to the
 "knowledge of the Roman laws, orders, and customs, and that under no mean person but an ex-
 "cellent master, even King *Ancus* himself. And finally, for faithful service and diligent attendance
 "about the King, he had endeavored to pass all others: and for liberality and courtesie towards
 "all others, he had striven to go beyond the King. These and such like allegations, as he laid forth
 "and pleaded, and that right truly: the people of Rome with exceeding great content elected him
 "their King. Who being a man other wise of singular parts and of great worth, as he was ambitious
 "in seeking the kingdom, so continued he still, when he wore the crown: and minding no less to es-
 "tablish his own state and throne, than to maintain the good estate of the Common-wealth, he ad-
 "vanced one hundred more to the order of Senators, who afterwards were called *Minorum* *Patres*, as a men would say, Senators of a later sort, and meaner quality. A fiction, no doubt to take
 "part and side with the King, by whose means they had been admitted into the Senate. The first war
 "he made, was with the Latins: from whom by force he won the town *Ardea*: from thence ha-
 "ving brought away a greater pillage in proportion, than the war imported in brute, he set forth ga-
 "mings and plays more stately and with greater furniture and provision, than the other Kings before
 "his time, Then was the plot or compals of ground first let out & appointed for the lists or theater,
 "called now *Circus maximus* wherein were assigned scaffolds for the Senators, and for the Gentle-
 "men or Knights severally by themselves, called *Fori*, where they might make them places to see the
 "pastimes at their ease and pleasure. And in this manner stood they to behold: namely, upon scaf-
 "folds born up twelve foot high from the ground with forked perches or props. The gamings were
 "running of horses, ... fighting at fists and buffets: for performance whereof, there were champions
 "sent for of purpose, especially out of *Tuscan*. These sports continued afterwards from year to
 "year in great solemnity, and named diversely, either the Roman games, or the great Games. This
 "King moreover assigned certain places about the *Forum* or common place for private men to build
 "in where the galleries and shops were made. He went in hand likewise to wall the City about with
 "a stone wall, but the Sabin war staid him in the beginning, that he went not forward with that
 "work. This came so suddenly upon him, that the enemies were passed over the river *Anio*, before
 "the power of the Romans could meet them, and make head against them. Whereupon great fear
 "there was at Rome. And at the first a cruel conflict there was, and much blood shed on both parts,
 "but no appearance of victory. But after the enemies were retired once into the camp, and that the
 "Romans had time to gather fresh forces, *Tarquinus* supposing his only want was in his cavalry,
 "determined to join unto the *Rhamneses*, *Tuicenes*, and *Luceres*, which *Romulus* had ordained, other
 "Centuries or Cornets of horsemen, and then to leave unto the posterity after him, bearing his M
 "own name. Which because *Romulus* had done sometime by the counsel and advice of *Angus*, *Ancus*
 "*Navius* renowned and famous in those days for his skill that way, oppoed himself and gave
 "out plainly, that there might be nothing changed or newly ordained in that behalf, unless the birds
 "first approved and allowed the same. Whereat the King was wroth, and in scorn and derision of his
 "art, as they lay: Come on Sir Soothsayer (quoth he) agreed, and tell me by the flight of your birds,
 "whether that may possibly be done, which I now conceive in my mind. To which demand *Navius*,
 "who had first made proof thereof by his learning, answered resolutely, that it might in a very deed be
 "effected. Why then (quoth he) I have imagined in my conceit, that thou shalt cut a whetstone a-
 "sunder with a razor: Heretake them to thee, and dispatch that which thy fowls forewarn may be
 "done: then as the report goeth, without more ado, he cut the whetstone quite in two. And in that
 "very place where this feat was done, the Statue or Image of *Ancus* was erected, with his head co-
 "vered, even in the *Comitium*, at the stairs thereof on the left hand of the *Curia* or Council house. It is
 "reported that the whetstone also was set up in the same place, for a memorial to all posterity fol-
 "lowing, of that miracle. Certainly, both Anguries, and the Priesthood and Colledge of Augurs from
 "that time forward was so highly honored, and had in such reverence, that never after was there
 "ought done, either in war abroad, or in peace at home, but by their counsel and advice. Assemblies
 "of people summoned were dismissed, armies levied and ready to take the field were discharged,
 "yea, and the greatest affairs of State, were given over and laid aside, when the birds allowed not
 "thereof. Neither did *Tarquinus* for that time alter the Centuries of the horsemen any whit, only he
 "redoubled the number, so that in three Centuries or Cornets there were 1300, horse: and those
 "later sort who were added to the others, bare the names of the former, which at this day, because
 "they be double, are called the six Centuries, *Tarquinus* thus having encreased that part of his power,
 "bade the Sabins battle the second time. And over and besides, that the Romans army was in
 "strength well amended, he devised also privily a subtil stratagem, and set certain men to let on fire
 "a mighty flock of wood, lying upon the bank of *Anio*, and so to cast it into the river: the wood
 "burning still by the help of the wind, and most of it being driven against the piles of the bridge,
 "and

A and there sticking close together with the boats and planks, fired and consumed it clean. This ac-
 "cident both terrified the Sabins in their flight, and when they were discomfited, troubled them
 "much, and hindered their flight: so that many a man having escaped the enemy, yet perished in the
 "very river. Whose armor and weapons floating down the river, were known at Rome, and brought
 "news thither of this victory, in manner before word could be brought thereof by land. In this
 "conflict the horsemen won greatest price and praise. For being placed at the skirts of both the
 "wings, at what time as the main battel of their own footmen, were now at the point to retire
 "they charged so forcibly upon the enemy (as it is reported) from the flanks where they were mar-
 "shalled, that they not only stayed the Sabin Legions pressing hard and fiercely upon those that be-
 "gan to shrink and give back, but all at once put them to flight. The Sabins stay again towards the
 "mountains, but few got thither: for the greater number, as we said before, were by the horsemen
 "driven into the river. *Tarquinus* thinking it good so take the time, and follow hard upon them
 "whiles they were frighted, after he had sent to Rome, the booty with the prisoners, and burned on
 "a great heap together (as he had vowed to *Vulcan*) the spoils of the enemies, marched on still for-
 "ward, and led his army into the Territory of the Sabins: who albeit they had already sustained an
 "overthrow, and could not hope for better success, yet because they had no time to consult and ad-
 "vise with themselves, with such a power as might on a sudden in that fit be raised, met with him.
 "Where they once again were defeated and vanquished, and in the end being in despair to make
 "their part good, they sued for peace. Then was *Collatia*, and all the lands about it taken from the
 "Sabins, *Egerius* the Kings brothers son, was left with a garison at *Collatia* to keep that place. And
 "as I find upon record) the Collatins were yielded into his hands, and the manner of their sur-
 "render went in this order. First, the King demanded thus and said: Aye ye Embassadors, or de-
 "puted assigns sent from the people of *Collatia* to make surrender both of your selves and the Colla-
 "tines? We are (quoth they.) And are the people of *Collatia* in their own power, and at liberty to do
 "what they will? They are (say they.) Do ye also render up your selves, the people of *Collatia*
 "their town, their territory and lands, their waters, their limits, their temples, their household stuff
 "and implements, and all thing else, as well sacred as profane, unto my power and the peoples of
 "Rome. We do yield (say they.) Then (quoth he) do I accept thereof, and receive all into my hands.
 "The Sabin war thus finished, *Tarquinus* returned to Rome in triumph. After this, he waited
 "upon the old Latines, but they never proceeded so far on any side, as to join issue in a general bat-
 "tle, and one set field for all. But bringing his power first to one town, and after to another, he
 "made a conquest of the whole nation of the Latins. So as the towns, *Corniculum*, old *Ficulna*,
 "*Camptia*, *Crustumium*, *Ameriola*, *Medullia*, *Nomentum*, were recovered from the old Latines,
 "or from those that had revolted unto them.

After all this ended peace, Then was he more earnestly bent to go forward with his works,
 "begun in time of peace, then he was before busied in managing of his wars: inasmuch, as he gave
 "the people no more repose at home, then he had in wars abroad. For besides that he prepared to
 "compals the City (which as yet he had not fortified) round about with a stone wall, the beginning
 "of which piece of work was by the Sabin war interrupted and broken off: he devised also certain
 "E draughts or vaulted finks from aloft into the *Tyber*, whereby he drained and kept dry the bafe City,
 "or lowest grounds about the market place, and the other vallies between hill and hill, for that
 "out of the plains and flats, they might not easily make riddance and conveyance away of the wa-
 "ter. Moreover, he levelled a large court or plot of ground, ready for the foundation of the Tem-
 "ple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabin war, his mind even then giving him,
 "that one day it should be a stately place.

At the same time there hapned in the court a wonderful strange thing, both in present view,
 "and also in consequence. For as the report went, a young lad, whose name was *Servius Tullius*,
 "he lay asleep, in the sight of many persons had his head all on a light fire. And upon an outcry raised
 "at the wondering of so great a matter, the King arose: and when one of the household brought wa-
 "ter to quench the flame, he was by the Queen stayed. And after the fire was somewhat appeased,
 "she forbade the boy to be disquieted, until such time as he awoke of himself: and within a while
 "as the sleep deeped, the blaze likewise went out, and vanished away. Then *Tanquil* the Queen
 "taking her husband aside into a secret room. "See you this boy (quoth she) whom we so homely
 "keep, and in so poor and mean estate bring up? Wot well this, and know for certain: that he will
 "one day be a light to direct us in our dangerous troubles and doubtful affairs: he will be the chief
 "pillar and support of the afflicted state of the Kings house. Let us therefore cherish and foster with
 "all kindness and indulgence the subject matter of so great a publick and private ornament. Where-
 "upon, they began to make much of the boy, as if he had been one of their own children, and to in-
 "struct and train him up in those arts, whereby forward wits are stirred to great enterprises, and to
 "C achieve high place of wealth and honor. And soon came to that pass, which pleased the almighty
 "gods. For he proved a young man indeed of princely nature and towards in such sort that when
 "there should be a son in law sought out to match with *Tanquil* his daughter in marriage, that
 "was not one of all the young gentlemen of Rome to be found comparable to him in any respect. So
 "as the King affianced his daughter unto him. This forgot he not whereunto he was advanced upon
 "whatsoever cause or occasion it was, in duemth me to think he was not the son of a bond woman,
 "nor that he served whilst he was a little one, as a slave, I am of their mind rather, that report thus:
 "When

The form of fur-
 rending a City.

Tanquil the
 Queen was King
 Tarquinus.

Pomery what
it is.

44.

elder and younger fort, according to the computation set down by *Servius Tullius*, considering their numbers is now doubled. For having divided the City into four Wards, according to the quarters and hills; those parts which were inhabited he called Tribes, of the word *Tribute* (as *Livius* saith.) For he it was that devised and brought up the manner of equal contribution and payment, proportionably to the assessment and rate of mens goods. Neither were these Tribes any waies at all respective to the division or number of the Centuries aforesaid. When this Levy and taxation was finished, which he dispatched the sooner, by reason of the peoples fear of an act by him made, concerning those that should not come in to be registered and enrolled in the Subsidy book; he published an Edict, under pain of imprisonment and death, that all Citizens of *Rome*, as well horsemen as footmen, should the morrow after at the break of day, every one in his own Century, I shew himself in *Campus Martius*, as in *Mars* field. There, after he had mustered and embattailed the whole Army, he assailed and purged the same with the sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull. And this was called *Condium Lastrum*. Which was the very cloing up and accomplishment of the assessment. In this *Lastrum* there were numbered and assessed 80000 Citizens. *Fabius Pictor*, a most ancient writer saith moreover, that so many there were of able men to bear arms. For to contain this multitude, it was thought good the City should be enlarged. Whereupon he adjourned unto it two hills more, to wit, *Quirinalis*, and *Viminalis*. After this, he proceeded to augment the mount *Esquilis*; and to grace that hill, and make it of more reputation, there he dwelt himself, and had his Court. He cast a trench and ditch, and raised a rampire about the City, and then walled it; by occasion whereof, he let out the Pomery further. *Pomary*, according to the Etymology and literal signification of the word, is as much to say as *Postmarium*, or the *Arrivance*, that is a plot of ground behind, or without the wall. But indeed it is rather a space about the wall on either side, which the *Tullians* in old time, when they built their Cities, used by advice of *Augurs*, to hallow and consecrate in certain bounds and limits, all along where they minded to set the wall: that neither within, the houses might joy upon the wall (whereas now adays they build close to and without all there might be a void piece of ground, lying common, free, and unoccupied of men. This vacant space, that neither might lawfully be inhabited, nor yet eared and plowed, as well because it was without the wall, as the wall without it, the Romans called *Pomary*. And ever as the circuit of the City was made larger, look how much the walls should be set out further, so far those hallowed and consecrated bounds of the Pomery were extended.

Thus the City being much increased in compass of building, and all things disposed in good order, requisite as well for war as peace; to the end, that he should not always seek to purchase wealth and puissance by war and martial prowess only, he attempted to amplify his dominion by policy, and withall to bestow upon the City some glorious ornament to beautifie the same. And even at that time was the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, of great fame, and much renowned: which as the report went, was built in common by all the states and princes of *Asia*. When as therefore *Servius* would use highly to praise and commend unto the Lords and heads of the *Latines* (with whom of purpose he had both in public and private, mutual entertainment and familiar acquaintance) that general agreement of the Princes of *Asia*, in matters of religion, and in the uniform worship of the same gods: at length, by much iterating and following (till that them, he prevailed with them so far, that the nations of the *Latines*, and the people of *Rome* together, built at *Rome* a Temple unto *Diana*: which was a plain confession, and clear case, that *Rome* was now the impeded neglected quite, and made no care at all thereof, seeing they had so often attempted it by force of arms, and sped to badly: yet fortune seemed to one only man to cast a favourable aspect, and yield good hope, by his private policy and industry, to recover again the imperial dignity unto the *Latines*. A certain householder, forsooth, of the *Sabins*, had, as they say, a cow bred with him of a wonderful bigness, and faire withall. (For a memorial of which so rare and wonderful beast the horns were set up, and remained fast fixed in the porch of *Dianas* Temple, many a hundred years after.) This was supposed (as it was no less in very deed) a strange and prodigious thing: and the *N*ew men or wizards prophesied, that the sovereignty and Empire should be settled and established in that State, whereof any one Citizen sacrificed that cow unto *Diana*. This prophetic came to the ears of the Priest of *Dianas* Temple. The *Sabin* above said, so soon as he had espied a meet and convenient day for sacrifice, drives the cow to *Rome*, and leads her to the Temple of *Diana*, and there presented her before the Altar: where the Roman Priest wondering to see a huge beast, the *Sabin* in this wise. My friend (quoth he) what mean you to sacrifice so uncleanly unto *Diana*, and do not rather pursue and wash your self all over in some running stream, before you come thither? Lo where *Tiber* runneth in the valley beneath. The stranger then, moved with some scruple of conscience, who desired nothing more, than that all should be well and orderly done, than a happy success might be correspondent and answerable to so prodigious a beast, forthwith went pleased the King and the whole City wonderful well.

Servius, albeit he were now without all question by so long continuance, fully and really invested in the Kingdom yet because he heard say, that young *Tarquinius* other while gave out speeches of him; that he reigned without the nomination and election of the people: therefore after he had

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A first wan the hearts of the Commons, by dividing among them every one certain lands gotten by conquest from the enemies, he ventured to propound unto the people, and put it to their suffrages and voices, Whether their will and pleasure was, that he should reign over them. Thus was he declared King with as great content, as never any before with the like. But *Tarquinius* for all this, had nevertheless hope to aspire and attain unto the Crown: nay, rather so much the more, because he understood the said division of the lands among the Commons, was a thing concluded and passed against the will and mind of the Senators. Taking therefore occasion thereby to accuse and blame *Servius* before them, he supposed he had good means offered to wind himself into favor with the Lords of the Senate, and so to become strong in the Council-house. Over and besides, he chose both himself a young man of great courage and hot stomachs, and his wife likewise at home, dame *Tullia*, lay ever upon him, and picked forward his discontented and troubled mind: for you must think, that the royal Court of *Rome* also hath brought forth and conceived against the Kings governments, licentious and horrible acts: that by a weariness and loathing conceived against the Kings government, liberty and freedom might the sooner grieve: and that reign be the last, which was by mischief gotten. In this *L. Tarquinius*, whether he were the son or nephew of *Priscus Tarquinius*, is not very clear, howbeit, I would rather think with most writers, that he was his son. A brother he had, *Aruns Tarquinius*, a young gentleman of a mild nature. These two (as is aforesaid) had married the two *Tullias*, the Kings daughters; and they also themselves were in conditions far unlike. And happily it so fell out, that two froward and violent natures were not coupled together in wedlock: such was the good fortune, I believe, of the Roman people, that thereby the reign of *Servius* might continue the longer, and the City brought and settled in good order. The younger *Tullia*, a stout dame and a proud grieved and vexed much that her husband had nothing in him, no metal or matter at all, either to covet and desire, or to enterprise and adventure: her mind was fully set upon the other *Targin*, him she esteemed highly, and had in admiration, him she said to be a man indeed, and defender of royal blood. As for her sister, she despised and checked her, for that the having a forward and valorous Knight to her husband, at first, and seconded him not in audacity and boldness, as a woman should do. Well, in short time likeness and disposition soon brought them together, and as it is commonly seen, Naught will to naughts and fort be together. But the mischief and trouble that brought all up-side down, arose from the woman. For the using to have conference with her sisters husband, never ceased to speak badly, and to rail of her own husband unto his brother, and of her sister unto her husband. Affirming in good earnest, it were better both for her self to be a widow, and for him to live single, and without a wife, than for to be matched as they were, and through the craven cowardice of others to languish and come to nothing. As for her self, if the gods had given her an husband according to her own quality and worthiness, she doubted not to see, and that very shortly, the Crown in her own house, that now she feeth in her fathers. In this manner possesseth she quickly the humorous young man, and filled his head with her own rashness and follies. Now when *Aruns Tarquinius*, and the elder *Tullia*, who died just in a manner both at one time, had well rid their own houses, and made way and overture for a new marriage, it was not long but they were married, with *Servius* his leave and niversity, rather than his good liking. But then every day more than other began *Tullius* to be a continual mote in their eyes, his old age hateful, and his reign more odious: for now the woman minded nothing but one mischief upon another: and would not suffer her husband to be at rest night nor day, lest peradventure the former murders done and paid, should serve to no purpose, and mis the effect of their designments. And thus he brake out and said, That she wanted not before one that carried the name of an husband, with whom she served, and kept her self quiet and said nothing. But he had a want of one, that thought himself worthy of a kingdom: that remembered he was the son of *Tarquinius Priscus*, that loved better to be seized of a Crown and scepter indeed, than hope for a kingdom, and hear thereof. But first quoth the *King* if you be the man to whom I take my self wedded, then I call you both husband and king: it is not, then is our case changed for the worse, in that cowardliness is accompanied now with wickedness. Why resolve you not? why arm you not your self, and go about this business? you need not go so far as to *Corinth* or *Tarquinii*, for to seek and compels forrain kingdoms, as your father did. The gods of your own house and native country, the image and example of your father, the Kings Palace, and therein the royal seat and throne of estate, yea, the very name of *Tarquin*, createth, nameth, and sautech thee King. But an if your heart will not serve you to these designs, why bear you the world in hand and deceive them? why take you so upon you as you do, to shew your self as a kings son? Get you hence to *Corinth* again, away to *Tarquinii*, turn backward to your former flock and condition, more like to your brother than to your father. With these and such like motives, by way of reproof, she checked the young man, let him on, and picked him forwards, and the her self for her part, could be no more for thinking that *Tanquil*, an alien and stranger born, could contrive in her head, and effect to great a matter, as to make two kings together. one after other, namely, her husband first and afterwards her son in law: and the her own self, a Kings daughter, could bear no stroke either in giving or taking away a kingdom, *Tarquinius* kindled with these furies and temptations of a woman went about, laboured and made court to the Nobles, especially those that were *Munus gentium*: oftentimes putting them in mind of the pleasures and favours that his father had done them, and requiring now of duty the like good turn at their hands. The young men the flower

flower and manhood in general of the City, he wrought and won to himself with gifts: and so partly with great promises, what wonders would he do, and partly with railing slanders upon the King in all places, and charging upon him odious crimes, he grew very great and mighty. At the last, chusing a convenient time to let on foot, and put in execution his intended projects, with a strong guard of armed men, he entered forcibly into the Forum or common place of assembly, whereto the people all surprized with great feare, he fat him down upon the King's throne, even at the entrance of the *Curia* or Senate house, and there, by the voice of the crier summoned the Senators to counsell before King *Tarquinius*. Who forthwith there assembled together: Some, thereto made and prepared aforehand others, for fear lest their not coming might turn them to displease. And as they were all seated at this strange and wonderful sight, so they thought *Servius* utterly undone, and his case desperate. There *Tarquinius* began an invective in spitefull & reproachfull terms, touching the first pedigree or parentage of *Servius*: saying, that he being a slave, born of a bondswoman, after the cruel and shameful death of his father *Tarquius*, usurped the Kingdom: not by means of an Interregnum as the order was aforetime, nor by a solemn assembly, and the free voices of the people, nor yet by the assent of the nobles, but only through the wile and fraud of one woman. And as he was quoth he thus born and thus created King, so hath he been a partial favourer of the basest sort even such as himself: and in hatred of the noble birth of others hath divided among the vilest persons, lands taken from the chief men of the City: and all such burdens and charges as had been in times past common to all, he hath call upon great personages of quality and worth, and let up an assailing or taxing, that the state of the wealthier persons being made known and exposed to envy, he might bring them into disgrace with the people, and below their goods upon the poorest and neediest at his pleasure. Amidst this Oration of his came *Servius* in place, advertised of the matter by a fearful messenger in all haste. And presently began to cry out with a loud voice at the very porch or entry of the *Curia*: What is here ado, (quoth he) and what meaneth this Oration? how darest thou during my life, assemble the Senators or sit on my seat? Whereunto he stoutly made a prond answer that he did but keep his fathers throne, and being as he was, a King's son, he deemed himself more worthy to be inheritor of the Kingdom than a bondslave: and as for him, he had been suffering long enough to play with his good Masters, and to insult over his betters. With this arose a great clamour from the partakers and complices of both sides: the people they ran from all parts to the Councill-house, and like it was, that the stronger should be King. Then *Tarquinius* being put to his shifts, and forced to try the utmost, seeing no other remedy, took *Servius* by the middle, as being himself much younger and stronger far, carried him out of the Councill-house and threw him down from the stairs head to the foot: and so returned again into the Senate-house, to get the Senators together. The Kings Officers with the guard attending upon him, fled. Himself well near dead, with certain of his outriers and train, breathless also for fear, made speed, and retired towards his Pallace as far as to the top of *Cyprius* street, where he was overtaken by them that were sent by *Tarquinius*, and so slain outright. And it is verily thought that this was done by the suggestion and procurement of *Tullius*: so little disagreeth it from other wicked pranks of hers. But this one thing is known for certainty, that she came riding in her coach into the common place of assembly, and nothing dismayed or abashed at the presence of so many men there met together, called forth her husband out of the Senate-house, and was the first that filled him with the title of King. By whom she being willing to depart away out of that throng and uprore as she returned homeward as far as the pitch of *Cyprius* street, where was of late a place consecrated unto *Diana*, called *Dianium*, the coachman that had the guiding and driving of the steeds as he turned the chariot on the right hand up to the cliff *Vulturnus*, for to pass up to the hill *Esquilus*: suddenly staid for fear and reined in his horses, and shewed unto his Lady and Mistress *Servius* lying there murdered. And hereof followed (as the report goeth) a beastly part, and beyond all fence of humanity, which the very place doth witness still at this day, called thereupon *Sceleratus Pons*: i.e. the wicked street: wherein the raging and frantic woman *Tullius*, hurried with the furies and haunted with the ghosts of her fitter and husband, caused (men say) her chariot to be driven over her fathers dead corps; and being herself besprinkled and beset with the bloody chariot, carried home with her some part of it in token and witness, that her hand was in this parricide and murder of her own father: to the end, that she might provoke her own domesticall gods and her husbands to wrath and displeasure: and so consequently, as they entered their reign with mischief and wickedness, they might soon after be turned out thereof with shame and infamy. *Servius Tullius* reigned four and forty years, in such wise carrying himself, as it were hard, even for a good and kind Prince that should succeed him, to follow his steps. This made moreover for his glory and fame, that together with him died all right and lawfull government of Roman Kings. And even that regiment of his, so mild, so gracious, and temperate as it was: yet because it given over had not this wicked intestine practise from his own family come between, to prevent and cut off his good designs and intent to let his country free.

After him began to reign *Tarquinius*, for his insolent acts (turnamed *Superbus*, i.e. the proud. For he would not suffer his wives father (unkind son in law he) to be interred: saying oftentimes in jibing manner, that *Romulus* also died and was never buried. Moreover, the principall heads of his Peers and Nobles, such (as he thought) had favoured *Servius* his proceedings, and took

L. *Tarquinius*
his speech to
the Senators,

Servius Tullius
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A part with him, thole he made away and flew. Afterwards, fearing upon the guilt of his own conscience, that he had given an ill precedent for others, to take vantage against himself, attaining to the Crown so lowly; he retained therefore a guard of armed men about his body: and in every truth, setting only might aside, no other right had he to wear the diadem, as who reigned neither by peoples election nor Senators approbation. Over and besides all this, to the end he might fit lately in his seat by fear, let awe, and dread, who reposed no trust nor hope in the love of his subjects; therefore to strike the greater terror into them, and hold them in awe, he by himself alone without assistance of any counsell, late upon all matters of life and death: by means whereof he was able to kill, banish, and condemn in forfeiture of lands and goods, not thole only whom he suspected and hated, but also to them, from whom he could look for nothing else but spoi. Thus when he had decaied the number of the nobles especially, he purposed to chuse no new in their place, for to make supply: to the end, that the fewer they were, the more contemptible the whole order might grow: and with less discontent put up the indignity, that they were not employed in the State, nor ought done by their advi. For this King was the first that abolished the custome received and continued by all others afore him, of consulting with the Senate in all matters, & managing nothing without them. He governed the Commonweale by himself, and after his own waies: with whom it pleased him he made war and peace, league and society, even of his own head: & would break the lame as himself thought good: thus he did and urdid all at his pleasure, without regard of the peoples mind, or the Senates authority. Above all, he thought to win the hearts and good wills of the Latine nation, that by support or to retain power also, he might be more secure and safe among his own people: neither entertained he with their Prince friendship and amity only, but entered also into alliance and affinity with them. For unto *Oetavius M. Minius* a Tusculan, he gave his daughter in marriage. Thus *Tullius* was to all Latines the principall and noblest person, lineally descended (if we may believe true, common bruit and report) from *Ulysses* and *Circé*. By this marriage he gained many kinsfolk and friends of his new law. So that now *Tarquinius* was in great authority and reputation among the Lords and Barons of the Latines. Whereupon he gave them knowledge, and proclaimed, that upon a certain day they should all meet him at the sacred grove of *Feronia*, to treat and commune together about matters concerning the common good of both States. Thither resorted they in great number betimes in the morning. And *Tarquinius* himself staid not for his part to keep the very day appointed, but it was functioning well near before he came. There, in that assembly all day long before his coming, was much talk and reasoning, pro & contra, touching him. *Tullius Herdonius* of *Ardea*, had inveighed spitefully against *Tarquinius* in his absence (for his being away) saying, It was no marvel indeed that he was at *Rome* intramed *Superbus* (for even then commonly they termed him so, although secretly, and in whispering wise). For could there be (quoth he) a prouder part plaid, than thus to mock delude and abuse the whole state of *Latiunum*, that when their princes and nobles were cited there to appear, far from the Cities and dwelling houses he only shoud be absent that summoned the assembly? Which verily was but a device, to this to try their patience, that if they once took the yoke, he might keep them still under, as his vassals: for who leeth not what he reacheth at? even to command and Lord it over the Latins. And in such his own Citizens have done well, in trusting him in the rule over them (if a man may say they trusted him, and not rather that he came foully and forbaitly to them with shame, ill murder) the Latines also may put themselves into his hands with security. And yet like not why they should so do, considering he is a meer stranger and alien. But how and if, as own (inbreds) repents, and are discontented with him, being one after another by him murdered, banished, deprived, and spoiled of their goods? What better dealings may the Latines hope and look for? Therefore if they would be ruled by him they should depart home every man and not keep the day of the Diet no more than he doth that published and proclaimed it. Whilist this seditious and dangerous person, who by these and like factitious courtes was grown to be a great man and powerful in his country, stood arguing thus, inforcing and following hard upon other points, tending to the same effect in cometh *Tarquinius*. Whereupon he brake off his speech, and all was hushed. Then turned every man to salute and welcome *Tarquinius*: Who after silence made (being advise) by some of his familiars that were next unto him, to excuse himself for coming at that time of the day) said that he had been taken to be an arbitrator or daiesman between the father and the son: and because he was desirous and carefull to procure an attornment between them, and to make them good friends: he made the longer stay and came the later. Whilist this occasion of business, seeing it had disappointed them of that day, therefore the morrow after he would deliver that which he had in purpose and intended to move unto them. But *Tullius* (as they say) could not hold nor put up so much as this with silence: but brake out and said again there was no speedier deciding, and taking up of any matter, than between the father and the son: a thing that might be digested in few words: for if he would not obey and give place unto his father, he should abide the smart of it with a mischief. And thus the *Ardeine* having girded as it were, and glowed at the Roman King, departed out of the Assembly. Whilist this *Tarquinius* taking more patiently a good deal than he made semblance of, forth with devised and practised to bring *Tullius* to his death, that he might strike the same terror into the hearts of the Latines, whereupon he had kept under his own subjects at home. And for that he had no absolute power to cause him openly to be slain, he framed most fallily a criminall action against the guiltless man; thereby

Tullius Herdonius his
Oration against
Tarquinius Superbus.

Tarquinus
against Turnus
Herdennius.

wrongfully to work his destruction. By means of certain *Aricians* of a contrary faction, he wrought a bondslave of *Turnus* with a sum of money, to suffer a number of swords privily to be conveyed into his Masters Inn or Lodging: which being done in that one night accordingly, *Tarquinus* (somewhat before day) sent for the chief Lords of the Latines to come unto him; and pretending as though he were might by some strange accident, said, "That his long tarrying the day before, (by Gods special providence, as it were,) appointed was for the safety of him and them all. For he was informed that *Turnus* contrived to maffacre both him and the heads of their nation, to the end that he alone might reign over the Latines: That he minded yesterday to have put this plot in execution, even in the very afternoon; but the deed was deferred, for that him- self (the principal author of that meeting) whose life he fought for above all other, was not in place; and hereupon it was (saith he) that he fared so as he did, and railed against him so bitterly the day before in his absence; for that he by his long tarrying had put him by his hope and the effect of his designs: and if all were true that was told him, he nothing doubted but early in the morning at break of day, to foen as they were fet in Council together, he would come armed and well appointed with a crew of his adherents and sworn confederates: for reported it is, (quoth he) that a number of swords & other weapons are brought into his lodging; which whether it be so or no might soon be known. And therewith he desired them to take the pains to go with him thither. And verily, considering the proud nature and haughty spirit of *Turnus* together with his yesterday's Oration, and the long stay of *Tarquinus* besides, for that the pretended maffacre seemed thereby to have been put off and prolonged, the matter became very suspicious and pregnant. Thus go they with minds verily (somewhat enclined and disposed to believe all, and yet so, as they would think all the rest but tales and lies, unless they found the swords aforesaid. Being come to the house, and *Turnus* awakened out of sleep, certain warders were set to keep him on every side: and when they had laid hold upon his servants, who for love of their Lord and Master began to make resistance, the swords were brought forth out of all the blind corners of the hostelry openly to be seen: then was it a clear case and past all peradventures: and *Turnus* was apprehended and irons clapt upon him. And immediately in all haste the Latines assembled together to council in that great tumult and uproar: Where, upon bringing forth the swords in sight before them all, they were so incensed and deadly bent against him, that he was not suffered to answer and plead for himself, but was presently at the source or spring head of the *Ferentine* water plunged down, and a hurdle done aloft upon him, and great stones heaped thereon, and so after a new kind of death stifled and drowned. *Tarquinus* then, after he had called the Latines again to the place of council, and much commended them for duly executing *Turnus*, who practising thus to alter and trouble the state, was detected of manifest intended murder, made this speech unto them: "I might quoth he if I would, by virtue of ancient rites alledge and plead, that forasmuch as all the Latines are descended from *Alba*, they are comprised within that confederacy and league, whereby in the reign of *Tudus* the whole Commonweal and State of *Alba*, together with their inhabitants, became incorporate into the Empire of *Rome*. Howbeit, in regard rather of the com- modity and weal-publike of all, I judge it requisite, that the league were renewed, and that the Latines might enjoy and be partakers of the prosperity and happy fortune of the people of *Rome*, rather than evermore to beizard and suffer the destruction and desolation of their Cities, with the spoiling and waiting of their lands, which first in *Ancus* daies they tasted, and after in my fathers time they had abidden & suffered. The Latines were heretofore periwaded. And although in that league the preeminence and sovereignty rested in the Romans, yet they saw well enough that both the Heads and Rulers of the Latine Nation stood with the Roman King, and were wrought unto his hand, to side with him: and also *Turnus* unto them was a fresh precedent and example, to teach them what danger might betide every one that should make a part against him and cross his intention. So the alliance was renewed and proclamation made according as it was capitulated, that all the serviceable men of the Latines should at a day appointed repair in good number with their armour unto the grove of *Ferentina*. Who when they were thereto met together from all parts according to the Edict of the Roman King, to the end they should have no Captain of their own to lead them, no privy watchword or regiment by themselves to direct them, nor private ensignes distinct from the rest to keep them together; he shuffled or mingled the bands and companies of Latines and Romans one with another, making one of twain, and two of one: and when he had thus doubled the bands, he set Centurions over them. And albeit he was in peace an unjust Prince, yet was he in war no bad Captain; nay, for martial prowess he had been equal to the former Kings, had he not failed and degenerated in other things, and thereby stained and hurt his glory even in that behalf. He was the first that warred upon the Volcians, which war after his time lasted more than 200 years: and was from by force *Suffa Pometia*, where having made portofale of the pillage and raised as much gold and silver as amounted to 40 talents, he conceived in his mind to build so stately a Temple of *Jupiter* as might become the sovereign King of gods and men become the noble Empire of *Rome*, and answer the Majesty also of the very place where it was to stand. And for the rearing and finishing of this Temple, he laid that money apart, that came of the spoil aforesaid. But presently upon this was he surprised with a war that held longer than he hoped it would. For having made one assault in vain upon *Gabii*, a neighbour City to *Rome*, and despairing also of any good success by beleaguering the town,

Suffa Pometia
won by the
Romans.
Soyro li. lxxii.

A for that he was valiantly repulsed from the wals, at the last he devised and resolved to get it by wile and deceit: a counse that Romans had not usually practised. For making as though he had given over and abandoned this war, as being now earnestly bent and busily occupied about laying the foundations of the Temple, and following other publique works in the City: *Sextus* his son, the youngest of three, fled on purpose to *Gabii*, complaining of his fathers intollerable rigour and cruelty against him: saying, "That now he had turned his accustomed pride from strangers upon his own blood, and was grown to be weary of so many children: that as he had made good hand and clean riddance of his Nobles, and left the Senate desolate, so he might bring it to pass in his own house, to leave behind him no issue nor inheritor of the Kingdom. And for his own person B verily he was elcaped from among the pikes and swords of his father, and was periwaded fully, "he might no where be safe in safety, but with the capital enemies of *T. Tarquinus*. For to put them out of doubt, and that they might be no longer abided, the war continued still against them, which seemed in outward shew given over and laid away: and his father would not fail, but whensoever he could spy his vantage and fit opportunity, come upon them at unawares. But in case there were no place of refuge and protection for poor & humble suppliants amongst them, "he would wander & travel all over *Latium*, and if he might not rest there, he would from thence go to the Volcians, *Equians*, and *Hernicks*, until he came to them that knew how to save the children from the cruelty and inhumane persecution of the fathers. Perhaps he should find means to stir coals and kindle war, yea, and perform himself good service against that most proud C King, and that most stout and insolent people. And seeming withall in great anger and discontentment, (if they would not regard his complaints) ready to depart and go his waies, he was kindly entertained and friendly entreated by the *Gabians*: who willed him to be of good cheer and not to marvel at all, that *Tarquinus* became now at length so ill affected against his own children, like as he had tyrannized already upon his subjects and confederates: for he would no doubt in the end exercise his fell homack even upon himself, for want of other subject matter to work upon. And as to him, right welcome he was to them, assuring themselves that within a while it would come to pass, that if he with them would set to his helping hand, they should remove the war from the gates of *Gabii* unto the very wals of *Rome*. After this he was admitted to sit with them in common counsell. In which he used oftentimes to say, "That in other matters he gave place, and referred himself to be advised by the ancient *Gabins*, as men more practised and experienced than himself; but for the war, which ever and anon he periwaded them upon, himself took upon him a special insight and skill therein, as that he knew the strength of both nations, and was fully periwaded in his conscience, that the Kings pride must needs be odious to his subjects, which his very own children could not brook and endure. Thus whiles by little and little he solicited the principall Citizens to rebell, and went himself daily in person with a crew of the most forward and able young men, foraging spoiling, and making rodes into the Territory of the Romans, and that now through his words and deeds, which tended to fraud and deceit in the end, they began more and more to give credit unto him that one day would deceive them: he was at last chosen General for the war. And having made certain small skirmishes between *Rome* and *Gabii*, in which for the most part the *Gabins* had the better (whiles the simple people, God wot, saw not his drift, and how he carried the matter:) then all the *Gabins* from the highest to the lowest, thought verily and in good earnest, that *Sextus Tarquinus* was sent them by special grace even from God above to be their Captain and Protector. But with the soldiers, what with attempting painful enterprises and performing dangerous service, and what with dealing prizes liberally amongst them, he passed how he grew into credit, and how dearly he was beloved: inasmuch as *Tarquinus* the Father was of no greater command at *Rome*, than *Tarquinus* the Son at *Gabii*. Thus when he saw he had gathered strength sufficient, and was fully furnished against all affairs; he dispatched unto his father at *Rome*, one of his trusty servants with a redence, to know his will and pleasure, seeing that the gods had done him this grace, that he at *Gabii* was able to do all in all. F This message made the King no answer at all by word of mouth, taking the man belike, as I verily think, for one hardly to be trusted. But as one musing with himself and in a deep study what answer to shape, he went into a garden on the back side of the house and his sons messenger followed after. There walked he up and down, and said never a word: only with his rod or walking staff, as it is reported, he knapt off the uttermost heads and tops of the poppies. The messenger weary with calling for an answer and waiting such attendance returned to *Gabii* as he came, and without effect of his errand. He reported what he had laid and seen, namely, how the King whether upon anger or hatred, or pride ingrafted by nature, uttered no speech at all. But *Sextus* knowing by these myttical and secret circumstances, his fathers will and direction made no more ado but flew the chief of the Citizens: some by accusations unto the people, and others by reason of dislike. G they were already in, and thereby exposed unto violence, were soon overthrown. Many of them were openly executed, and some, whom there was little appearance or colour of justice or none at all to accuse, were secretly murdered. Divers of their own accord fled into voluntary exile: or else they were forced into banishment; whose goods as well as theirs that were put to death were divided among the people, by sweetnets of this largesse of spoil by the profit and wealth that grew to private persons: the publick woe and calamity was nothing felt and keen: until such time as the *Gabii* whole estate despoiled of counsell, bereft of aid and succour, yielded without dint of sword unto the King of *Rome*.

Sextus Tarquinus
to the Gabians.

The Gabins to
Sextus Tarquinus.

Se. Tarquinus
to the Senators
of the Gabins.

The Citie of
Gabi was
ded to T. Tarquinus

Tarquinus having thus gained the town of *Galer*, made peace with the nation of the *Æquians*, and remitted the league with the *Tusculans*. After this he converted his mind to the affairs of the City, among which this was the principal, to leave behind him the Temple of *Jupiter*, upon the mount *Tarpeius*, for a monument and memoriall of his reign and name. That of two *Tarquinus*, Kings both, it might be said another day, that the father vowed it, and the son finished the same. And to the end that the floor and plot of ground, freed and exempted from all other kind of religions might wholly be dedicated to *Jupiter* and his Temple, there to be built: he determined to exaugurate and to unhallow certain Churches and Chapells, which having been first vowed, by King *Tatius*, in the very extremity of the battle against *Romulus*, were after by him consecrated and hallowed. In the very beginning and founding of which work, it is said, that the divine power and sovereignty deity moved the gods to declare the future mightiness of so great an Empire. For when as the birds by signs out of the Augurs learning, admitted and allowed the exauguration and unhallowing of all other cels and chapells besides, only in that of *Terminus*, they gave no token to confirm the unhallowing thereof: which was taken for an ominous preface, and thus interpreted, That seeing the fear and house of *Terminus* was not stirred, and he the god alone that was not displaced and called forth of the limits to him consecrated; it shewed that all should remain there firm and stable for ever. This divine token of perpetuity being received for good and current: there followed another strange and prodigious sign, portending the greatness also of the Empire. For as they digged for the foundation of the Temple, there appeared, as they lay a mans head, face and all whole and found: which sight imported no doubt, and plainly foretold, that it should be the chief Cattle of the Empire and the Capitall place of the whole world. To this effect prophesied the wizards, as well they of the City as those whom they sent for out of *Tuscan*, to know their opinion and judgment. Thus was the Kings mind all wholly left upon sumptuous building, and spared no cost. So that the pillage taken at *Pometia*, which was laid by for the accomplishment of the whole work, would hard and scant serve for the very foundation. And therefore I would rather give credit unto *Fabius Pictor* (to say nothing that he is the more ancient author of the twain) that there were but 40 talents, and no more, than to *P. a.* who writeth, that there was 4000 pound weight of silver set by for that use. Which sum or mals of money could never be looked for to arise out of the fackage of one only City in those daies: and mult needs exceed the charges of the foundation of any of these lately ad magnificent buildings in this our age. The King being thus wholly minded and bent to the finishing of the Temple, and sending for Carpenters, Masons, and other workmen, out of all parts of *Italy*, employed not only the Cities money and stock thereabout, but also had the work and labour of the common people withall, which was no small toil of theirs; considering the travell of warfare besides: yet were they less aggrieved and discontented therewith, so long as they founded and reared with their own hands the Temples of the immortal gods. But afterwards they were employed and set to other works, which as they were less in shew, so were they more painful and of greater trouble, namely, the making of scaffolds or standing-places in the *Cirque* or Theater; and to the conveyance of a mighty great sinke or vault under the ground for to receive and carry away all the filth and corruption of the City. To which two pieces of work, scarcely is the magnificence of our new modern buildings, in any respect comparable. Having in this wise held the commons in continual labour, because he thought that a multitude of people would but over-charge and pester the City, when they were not employed some way or other, and also minded by erecting Colonies, to enlarge the Confiners of his Dominions, he therefore sent part of them to inhabit and people *Signa* and *Circeti*, two strong forts and frontier towns for the defence of the City by sea and land.

Whilst he was busied in these affairs, there appeared unto him a strange and fearful sight, namely, a serpent gliding down a pillar of wood, which having put the beholders in great fright, and caused them to flee into the Kings palace, did not so much amaze the Kings heart with sudden and momentary fear for the present, as fill his head with perplexed cares what the thing might portend. Whereas therefore the manner was to use the *Calebars* and wise men of *Tuscan* about N publicke prodigions tokens only: he being much troubled in spirit, and terrified at this fearful sight, being domestick, and as it were touching and concerning his own person: purposed to send out as far as *D Iphi* to the most famous and renowned Oracle in the world. And for that he durst not put any other in trust with the answers that should be delivered by the fatal Iolls, he addressed two of his sons, to take a voyage through unknown lands in those daies, and more unknown seas into *Greece*. *Tatius* and *Arms* were they that went this journey, having to bear them company all the way, *Iunius Brutus*. This *Brutus* was the son of *Tarquinia*, the Kings sister, a young gentleman of a far other nature and disposition than he seemed in outward shew and semblance. He having heard say, that certain principall Citizens, and his own brother among, had been by this his uncle put to death: to the intent that himself might have nothing left, either in the parts of his mind for the King to fear, or in his outward state for him to covet and desire: resolved under the cloak of bale contempt to save himself, since that in right or justice he might repose small or no safeguard at all. And therefore composing and framing himself of purpose to counterfeit a noddy and a very innocent, as suffering himself and all that he had to fall into the Kings hands as an elcheat, he refused not to be misnamed *Brutus*, a name appropriate to unreasonable creatures; that under the shadow & colour of that surname, that courage of his lying cloathed,

Terminus the
god of bounds
and meers.

Tarquinus
Pictor found
the Temple of
the Capitol.
* 75000 lib.
+ 150000 lib.
filii.

Jun. Brutus
counterfeited
a fool.

A which should one day set free the City of *Rome*, might abide the full time and appear in due season. This *Brutus* being by the *Tarquin* brought to *Delphi*, as their laughing lock to make them parttime by the way, rather than a meet mate to accompany them, carried with him (as men say) for to offer and present unto *Apollo* a golden rod within a staffe of cornell wood, made hollow for the purpose: the very type and resemblance by secret circumstances, of his naturall disposition. Thither being arrived, the young men having done their fathers commission accordingly, were very desirous and earnest to inquire and learn of the Oracle, which of them should be King of *Rome*. And from the bottom of the deep Vault, this answer, as men say, was delivered in their hearing: [Which of you (young men) shall first kiss your mothers shall be an chief and sovereign rule in Rome.] B The *Tarquin* then intending that *Sextus* their brother who was left behind at *Rome*, might neither know the answer, nor yet obtain the kingdom, willed the matter should by all possible means be carried to secret as might be, and concealed from him. They themselves agreed upon this together, to draw Iolls whether of them twain, when they were returned to *Rome*, should first kiss his mother. But *Brutus* supposing the speech of *Apollo* his Priest, tended to another sense, made as though he tumbled forward and took a fall, and so touched the ground with his mouth and kissed the earth, thinking this with himself, that she was common mother of all mortall men. Then returned they to *Rome*, where they found great preparation for war against the *Rutians*.

The *Rutians* then were Lords of *Ardea*. A people in those parts, and for those times, very rich and wealthy: and that was it that gave the very occasion and was the first motive of war. The Roman King was desirous both to enrich himself, as having about the sumptuous building of publicke works emptied his coffers: and also by some spoil, to mollifie and win again the hearts of his naturall subjects: being much discontented (besides their general milke of his pride otherwise) at his manner of government: and disdaining greatly that they were by the King made labourers, to serve carpenters and masons, and held so long to servile toil and painful labour. The Romans afflicted at the beginning to surprize and win *Ardea* by assault: but when that way sped but ill, then began they to annoy and distress the enemies by laying siege, by casting trenches, raising forts, and labricks about the town. During this siege, and the standing camp lying there, (as it falleth out commonly, when the war is rather long and late than hot and cruell) there were granted large licencies and passports to and fro between the Camp and *Rome*, with much liberty: and yet more to the Principals of the Army than to the common Soldiers, And the Kings sons had otherwhile good leisure to feast and banquet one with another. Upon a time it hapned whilst they were drinking and making merry with *Sextus Tarquinus* in his pavilion, where *Collatinus Tarquinus* the son of *Egeria* sat at supper: there arose among other good table-talk, some arguing about their wives: whilst every man highly praised and wondrously commended his own. And growing to some heat and contention thereabout: There need not many words for this matter, quoth *Collatinus*, for in few hours it may be known how far my *Lucretia* surpasseth all the rest. And therefore if there be any lustiness and courage of youth in us, why mount we not on horseback, and in our own persons go and see the natures and dispositions of our wives? And as they shall be found and seen, taken of a sudden, and not looking for their husbands coming, so let every man judge of them, and let that down for the only trial of this controversie. They had all taken their drink well, and were prettily heat with wine: *Mary*, content say they all, and to horic they go, and away they gallop on the spur to *Rome*. Thither were they come by the flutting in of the evening when it grew to be dark: and so forward without any stay to *Collatinus* they ride. Where they find dame *Lucretia*, not as the Kings sons wives, whom they had surprized and seen afore, passing the time away in feasting and rioting with their minions and companions: but sitting up far within the night in the midst of her house amongst her maidens, hard at wooll-work by candle-light. Whereupon, in this debate about their wives, the entire praise and commendation rested in *Lucretia*: Her Husband and the *Tarquin* had a loving and courteous welcome at her hands. And he again for joy of the victory, invited the Kings sons kindly and made them friendly cheate. There at that instant *Sextus Tarquinus* was bewitched and possessed with wicked wanton lust, for to offer violence and villany unto *Lucretia*: her passing beauty and her approved chastity set him on fire and provoked him thereto. But for the present, when they had disposed themselves all night long like lully and pleasurable youths, they returned betimes in the morning to the Camp. A few daies after, *Sextus Tarquinus*, unwitting to *Collatinus* attended with one *Publius* man came to *Collatia*, where he was again in good and friendly sort received by them in the house, that suspected nothing less than that whereabouts he was come. And being after supper brought up into the guest chamber, when he thought all about him sure, and that every body was fast asleep all set on fire and burning in love, he leppeth with naked sword in hand to *Lucretia*, as she lay sleeping full soundly, and bearing down the womans breast with his left hand. Peace (quoth he) *Lucretia*: Be not a word: I am *Sextus Tarquinus*. Have my drawn sword in hand if thou once speak thou shalt surely die. The silly woman thus starting out of sleep, was fore affright, as feeling no remedy but in a manner present death, in case she had cried for help. Then uttered *Tarquinus* and confessed his amorous passion, fell to entreat and entreat again, and with his prayers intermeddled threats, and went every way about her, not ceasing by all means to sit, to found and tempt the womans heart. But when he saw her obstinate and invincible, and (to disloer it) not relenting one jot: then, besides the fear of death, he presented unto her dishonour and shame: pretending

Ardea besieged
by the Romans

The story of
dame Lucretia.

Lucretia forced
by Tarquinius
Sextus.

The pitifull
plaints of
chaste Lucretia.

Lus elick-
lens her le f.

The Remon-
strances of Ju-
Brutus, incit-
ing the peo-
ple against the
King and his
blood.

pretending that after he had massacred her, he would lay by her side in naked bed, her own man-
levrant with his throat cut; that it might be voiced abroad, that he was taken and killed in filthy
adultery. For fear of this reproach and infamy, few how fittest he was the victory, and conquered
constant chastity: and Tarquinius in great pride and jollity, that he had by assault won the fort of
a woman's honour, departed thence. But wofull Lucretia, all forrowing for to heavy a mischance,
dispatched a messenger to her father at Rome, and so forward to her husband at Ardea, with this
errand: That they should come unto her, each of them with one faithful and true friend,
and herself they must not fail, but make all the speed they could, for that there was befallen a grievous
chance and horrible. So there repaired to her Sp. Lucretius her father, accompanied with P. Vale-
rius the son of Vol. furi, and Collatinus her husband, with L. Jun. Brutus. Who both together by
chance going back to Rome, encountered in the way his wives messenger. Lucretia they found sit-
ting alone in her bed-chamber, all heavy and sad: and she at the coming of these her dearer friends,
shed tears and wept apace. How now my dear (quoth her husband) is all well? No God wot sir,
" (quoth she again.) For how can ought be well with a woman that is despoiled of her honour
" and womanhood? The print, Collatinus, of another man is to be seen in thy own bed. Howbeit,
" my body only is defiled: my mind and heart remaineth yet unspotted: and that my death shall
" make good and justifie. But give me first your right hands, and make faithful promise that the
" adulterer shall not escape unpunished. Sex. Tarquinius is the man, he it is, who this night past, en-
" tertained as a friend, but indeed a very foe in the highest degree, hath by force and violence taken
" from hence with him his pleasure, a deadly pleasure, I may say, to me: and to himselfe also no less, K
" if ye be men of courage. All of them one after another give their assured word, comforted the
" wofull hearted woman, excused her that was but forced, and laid all the blame upon him that
" committed the shameful act: saying, It is the mind that sinneth, and not the body: and where there
" was no will and consent, there could be no fault at all. Well (quoth she) what is his due to have,
" (see you to that: as for me, howsoever I quit and avenge my self of him, yet I will not be freed from
" punishment. And never shall there be example of Lucretia, any unchaste woman or wanton har-
" lot live a day: & thus having said, with a knife which she had close hidden under her cloaths, she
" stabbed her self to the heart, and sinking down forward, fell upon the floor ready to yield up the
" ghost. Out alas, cried her husband and father hereat: and whilst they two were in their plaints
" and moans, Brutus drew forth the knife out of the wound of Lucretia, & holding it out afore him, L
" all embraced and dropping with blood. Now I swear (quoth he) by this blood, by this most chaste
" and pure blood, before the villany wrought by the Kings son, and here before the gods I protest,
" whom I call to witness, that I will by fire and sword, and with all my might and main persecute
" and drive the country of L. Tarquinius the proud, and his ungracious wife, and the whole brood
" of his children, and suffer neither him nor any else for his sake to reign as King at Rome. Then
" gave he the knife to Collatinus, and so to Lucretius & Valerius, who greatly amazed at this so strange
" current, and wondering how it came to pass, that Brutus should of a sudden be so changed, and
" become so stout of stomach and courageous, took the same form of oath that he swore afore: and
" so leaving their wailing and lamentation, and wholly set upon anger and revenge, they followed
" Brutus as their Captain and Leader to put down and overthrow the government of Kings, and ut-
" terly to root out their race. The dead corps of Lucretia, was had out of doors, brought into the
" market place, and there shewed. And thither, what with wondering (as the manner is) at so strange
" a sight, and what with the indignation of so unworthy a fact, they railed much people together.
" Every man for his part was ready enough to complain of the wickedness and violence done by the
" Kings blood. The sorrow of Lucretia the father on the one side, the resolution of Brutus on the o-
" ther side, who rebuked and blamed all vain weeping and foolish moaning, moved and perswaded
" all that were present, that like men of valour, like true hearted Romans, they would take arms a-
" gainst them that demeaned themselves no better, nay, worse than ordinary enemies. And presently,
" the bravest and tallest young men shewed themselves forward, ready in armour, and voluntary. The
" rest of the youths followed straight after. And having left at Collatia the one half of their forces in N
" garrison, toward the gates, and set certain watches, that no man brought tidings or news unto the
" King and his sons of this rising and commotion, all the other were appointed in warlike manner,
" followed their leader Brutus, from thence directly to Rome. At the sudden coming thither of this ar-
" med multitude: no marvel if all the way whereas they passed and marched, there arose a fear
" and trouble among the people. But when they perceived the most substantiall and principall Ci-
" tizens in the forefront, they judged what over the matter meant, it was not for naught. And verily
" this famous fact disquieted the minds of men no less at Rome, than it had before at Collatia. There-
" fore from all parts of the City there was flocking and running into the market place. And being
" thither come, the Bedell or common Crier, summoned the people to appear before the Tri-
" bute of the Censors or Captain of the guard: which office haply Brutus bare at that time. Where
" he made an Oration not proceeding from that spirit, nor resembling that quality of nature which
" unto that day he had pretended and made shew of unto the world, for he inveighed against
" the violence and filthy lust of Sextus Tarquinius: the shameful villany and not to be named,
" done upon the body of Lucretia: " he discoursed of her lamentable end and piteous death, and
" the desolate case of Tricipitinus, bereft now of all his children: who accounted the occasion of
" his daughters death a greater indignity, and more pitifull, than her very death. Moreover he
" laid

A " laid abroad the pride of the King himself, the miseries, the infinite toils and pains of the Com-
" mons, buried as it were under the ground, with cleaning and casting of ditches, voiding and far-
" ming of the finks. Saying, that the men of Rome which were the conquerors of all nations about
" them, were now of warriors become quarriers, hewers of stone and day-laborers. He reckoned
" up also and put them in mind of the unworthy death and cruell murder of Servius Tullius: and
" how his daughter (oh abominable act!) rode over the corps of her father in her chariot chariot:
" And herewith he called on the gods that are revengers of outrages and wrongs done to parents.
" Thus rehearsing these and other matters, much more grievous and horrible, (I verily beleve) ac-
" cording as the present indignity at the very time doth minifie and give utterance for, not so easily
" B penned and set down by writers that come after, he so mightily inflamed the multitude, that he
" caused them to depole the King, to deprive him of his royall state and dignity, yea, and to decree
" and enact, that L. Tarquinius with his wife and children should be banished for ever. Himself
" having selected and armed the younger gallants who offered their service, and willingly entred
" their names, set forward in person to the Camp lying before Ardea, to excite the Army there against
" the King: leaving the government of the City unto Lucretius, who had before been appointed
" Deputy and Lieutenant there, by the King. In this time of garboile, Tullia left the palace and fled,
" and all the way as she went, both men and women cursed and cried out upon her, and besought the
" ghostly spirits and furies of parents to be avenged. When news hereof was brought into the Camp,
" and that the King upon these strange tidings made haste towards Rome, to stay and suppress these
" C broyles: Brutus having intelligence of his coming, turned another way because he would not meet
" with him. And so at one instant in a manner by contrary journey came Brutus to Ardea, and Tar-
" quinius to Rome. But the gates were shut against Tarquinius, and instead of entrance, warned he
" was, and commanded into exile. The whole Camp received with joy Brutus the redeemer of their
" City. From thence were also the Kings sons driven: two of them followed after their father and
" departed into banishment unto Cere, a town of the Tuscans: as for Sextus Tarquinius, he retired
" himself to Gaes as it were into his own Kingdom: where he was murdered in revenge of old
" quarrels, upon malice and hatred of the people which he had brought upon himself in times past.
" L. Tarquinius Superbus reigned 25 years. Thus continued the Kings Regiment at Rome, from the
" foundation of the City, unto their freedom and redemption thereof 244 years. Then in a solemn
" D assembly and election by the Centuries, held by the Provost of the City, according to the ordi-
" nance of Servius Tullius, in his Commentaries, two Consuls were created: L. Junius Brutus, and
" L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

Tarquinius the
King banished.

Consuls first
created.

The Second Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Second Book.

B RUTUS took an oath of the people, that they should not suffer any to reign King at Rome. He com-
" pelled his fellow Consul Tarquinius Collatinus, a suspected man to take part with the Tarquins, by
" reason of the affinity he had with them, to give over the Consulship, and to depart the City. The goods of
" the King and his sons he commanded to be seized upon, and rifled. A field of theirs he consecrated to
" Mars, which was named afterwards Campus Martius, or Mats field. He beheaded certain young Gen-
" tlemen of the Nobility, together with his own and his brothers sons, for conspiring to receive the King and
" his Complex again into the City. Who the bondslave Vindictus, that bewayed the plot, he gave his
" freedom, if whom Vindictus took the name. Having led an Army against the King, who had assembled
" a power of Volentians and Tarquiniens, and made war, he died in battell together with Brutus, the son
" of Superbus: and for his death the dames of Rome mourned one whole year. P. Valerius the Consul
" proposed and made a Law concerning Appealing unto the people. The Capitol was dedicated. Por-
" cenna King of the Cluins, warring in the quarrell of the Tarquins, and being come to the Janiculum,
" was by the valour of Cocles Horatius, impeached that he passed not the Tyber: who alone whilst others
" heaved down the Sublician bridge, withstood the Tuscans: and when it was broken down, leapt armed as
" he was into the river, and swam over to his fellows. Another example of manhood is reported of Mutius,
" G who being entered the Camp of the enemies with full intent to kill Porcenna, and having slain his prin-
" cipall Secretary whom he took for the King, was apprehended: and thrusting his hand into the fire of the
" Altar, whereupon they had burned sacrifices, suffered it there to fry untill it was consumed: and laid
" without, that there were behind him three hundred men besides, that had sworn the oath of the King
" himself. Who wondering at their resolution, was driven to offer conditions of peace, and upon taking of
" hostages gave over war: amongst whom, one virgin Cloelia, beguiled her keepers, made an escape, and
" swam over Tyber to her friends: and being rendered again, was by Porcennas sent honourably home, and had
" her

rest; he made no great account of them: but afterwards, upon further consideration he admired the enterprise, and plainly said, it surpassed far all the adventures of the *Caelia* and the *Munio*: as he pretended that if the maid were not rendered again, he would take the league as broken, and being yielded, he would send her back to her friends, undefiled, and without any abuse or violence done unto her. On both parts was promise faithfully kept: For both the Romans restored the pledge of peace according to covenant, and seen also it was, that venue was not only secured, but also highly regarded and honoured with the *Tuscan* King. For after he had commended and praised the damsel, he promised to give her part of the hostages, chide whom she would. And when they were all brought forth before her, she made choice (they say) of those young boies that were under 14 years of age: which was not only most befitting her virginity, but also by the accord of the hostages themselves best approved: namely, that that age especially should be delivered out of the enemies hands, which was most subject to injury and taking wrong. The peace thus renewed and confirmed, the Romans rewarded this rare valour in that sex, with as new and strange an honour, for, in remembrance of her, in the top of *Via sacra*, there was erected her statue, *[A maiden sitting on horseback]*.

There remaineth yet even unto our daies amongst other solemn ceremonies, this one custome received from our ancestors, far differing and disagreeing from this peaceable and friendly departure of the *Tuscan* King from before the City of *Rome*, and this it is: In the portale of goods they use to proclaim first aloud, *The sale of King Porfena his goods*. This ceremonial custome must needs either begin in time of war, and so was not afterwards forgotten in peace: or else arose from some more gracious and gentle occasion at the first, then this title or outward form pretendeth, of selling goods by way of hostility, and after the manner of enemies. But the likeliest conjecture and nearest to the truth of all those that are given out is this: that *Porfena* a lodging from the *Janicle*, gave freely unto the Romans, (the City at that time being after long siege distressed and in great straits) his rich Camp furnished with victual and provision, conveyed thither out of the plentiful countries of *Hernia* near adjoining: which goods, for fear there should have been some havoc and spoil made thereof in warlike wise, in case the people had been left looke to the rifling of the tents, were after sold, and called *Porfena* his goods: which title signified rather their thankful acceptance of the gift, and remembrance of the giver, than any open and overt sale of the Kings goods, which were not so much as in the Romans power, nor at their disposition.

Thus *Porfena* having given over the Roman war, because he would not seem to have brought an host of men into those parts, and performed no exploit, sent his son *Arus* with part of his forces to surprize and assault *Aricia*. At the first this sudden and unexpected enterprize much troubled the *Aricins*, but afterwards when he had gotten aid both from the Latine Nations & also from *Cumes*, they took such heart again, that they durst enter into the field & bid the enemy battle. In the beginning of the conflict, the *Tuscan* charged them so hotly, that at the very first encounter, they brake the armies of the *Aricins*. But the troops of the *Cumes* setting policy against force, went a little aside, made way and gave some ground, and when the enemies had outstripped them & were rashly and disorderly passed beyond them, they turned their ensignes, and let upon their backs: so were the *Tuscan*, being in the very train of their victory, beset round about and slain in the midst between. Only a small remnant of them after the loss of their Captain, because they had no other place of refuge nearer, were fain to trudge to *Rome* without weapons and disarmed, like suppliants both in deed and shew. Where they were kindly entertained and bestowed in several lodgings. Some of them when they were cured of their wounds repaired home reporting the hospitality & courteous usage they have found. Many remained still at *Rome* for love of their hosts and the City: who had a place allotted them to dwell in, which after they called *Thufens vicus*, the *Tuscan* street.

After this, were *P. Lucretius* and *P. Valerius* the third time created Coss. In that year, for a small end, there came Embassadors from *Porfena*, to treat about the restoring of the *Turians* into their Realm: to whom this answer was returned: that the Senate would send Embassadors to the King himself: whereupon there were immediately addressed unto him in Embassy the most honourable personages of all the Nobility, who in the name of the people of *Rome* delivered this speech: That the chief of their Nobles were sent, rather than any dispatch given by word of mouth unto his Embassadors at *Rome*; nor for that they could not have shapen them this short answer, "They would no Kings have: But to this end that for ever after there should be no more renewed of that matter, nor in so great mutual benefits, and favours passed between them, some discontent arise on either side. whilst he might be thought to request that which was repugnant and prejudicial to the liberty of *Rome*, and the Romans again, unless they would be executors of their own wrongs, and seek their own mischief, to make denial unto him, whom by their good will they would not seem to deny ought for any thing in the world. But as to the substance in the matter, this was the point: namely, that the people of *Rome* were not under the regiment of a King, but were a free state: and fully settled in this purpose. To let open their gates to the enemies sooner than to Kings: and were all generally of this mind and resolution. That look when the freedom of that City had an end, then should the City come to an end also. To conclude therefore they were to entreat him, that if he tendered the weal and safety of *Rome*, he would permit them to be free still and at their own liberty.

The Roman
Embassadors
to King Porfena.

A The King overcome with very modesty, and much abashed in himself, answered thus again: "Since you are so fully minded and stily bent (quoth he) neither will I importune you, nor dull your ears with harping till upon this unpleasant string, and do no good: nor bear the *Turians* any longer in hand, and deceive them of that hope of aid, which nothing at all is in my power to perform. Let them from henceforth seek some other place of exile, either for peace or war, as they shall think more expedient: that there may be nothing to let and hinder the free course of amity, and alliance between me and you. To the good and kind words he joynted better and more friendly deeds. For all the hostages that remained in his hand he sent home: and the *Veientians* lands which by the covenants indented at *Janiculum*, were taken away, he restored to the *Romans* again. This *Turquin* feeling all hope of return cut off, removed unto *Tusculum* to his son in law *Manlius Orestes*, there to live and spend the rest of his daies in banishment. So there continued faithful peace between the Romans and King *Porfena*.

Then were Coss. *M. Valerius* and *P. Posthumus*. In that year the Romans fought with the *Sabins* fortunately, and the Consuls triumphed. But afterwards the *Sabins* made greater preparation of war: to withstand whom, as also for fear of some sudden danger that might arise from *Tusculum*, from whence they suspected war, although none was openly seen, were *P. Valerius* the fourth time, and *T. Lucretius* the second time created Coss. But among the *Sabins* there grew some civil discord between that part that would have war, and the contrary that sought peace: which gained the Romans some strength even from thence. For *Appius Claudius* (who afterwards at *Rome* was named *Appius Claudius*) a periwade himself of quietness and repose, being overwatched and not able to make his part good with the adverse faction that minded and stirred up troubles, accompanied with a great power of friends and followers, from *Regillum* fled to *Rome*, who were enfranchised Citizens, and possessed of those lands that lye beyond the river *Anio*. And from thence came the name of the old trade *Appia*: after that other new Citizens were put unto them, those I mean, that defended of that race, and out of the same territory. This *Appius* was admitted into the number of the Senators, and not long after advanced to be one of the chief men and heads of the City. The Coss. went with a strong power into the *Sabins* lands, where after they had first waited the Country, and after in battle abated the strength and puissance of the enemy; so, as for a long time after they needed not to fear any rebellion from thence, they returned to *Rome* in triumph.

The year following, when *Agrippa Menenius* and *P. Posthumus* were Coss. *P. Valerius* ended his daies in great glory, reputed the only singular man in those times, by all mens judgment, for skill and knowledge as well in martiall feats, as in civil affairs: but too poor was his estate, that he had not wherewith to defray his funeral expences, and therefore at the Cities charge right honourably entred. And the Dames of *Rome* mourned for him as they did for *Brunus*.

The same year two Colonies of the Latines, *Pometia* and *Coras*, revolted to the *Auruncans*. The Romans first began to war upon the *Auruncans*. And after they had discomfited a great host of them, who met with the Consuls as they entered the borders, and fiercely made head against them, then all the *Auruncan* war was driven and translated wholly to *Pometia*. The slaughter and execution was no less after the conflict, than during the fight: for whereas there were many more of them slain outright in the place than taken prisoners, those also that were prisoners they spared not, but murdered every where as they went: neither itaid the furious rage of war therewith, but even the very hostages whom they had received, to the number of 300, they put to the sword. In this year also was a triumph at *Rome*.

The Consuls *Opter Virginis*, and *Sp. Cassius*, that followed the next year, assailed *Pometia*, first by meer force to scale the walls, after with pavoises, mantelets, platforms, and other fabricks, raised against it. Upon whom the *Auruncans* sallied forth, rather of a carkred and malicious hatred than for any hope or vantage given them of good exploit: the greater part of them furnished better with fire-works than armed with sword and spear, killed and burned all aore them: and having thus fired their fabricks afore said, hurt and slain a great number of their enemies, one of the Consuls also (but his name precisely is not by any author set down) was sore wounded, stricken down from his horse and well-near slain. Whereupon the Romans returned back to *Rome* thus unhappily defeated, leaving the Consul behind them amongst many that were hurt, like to dye. Soon after, and no longer than whilst their wounds might be healed, and a new supply ofouldiers made, they came against *Pometia*, in more furious manner than before, and also with a stronger power. And when by making of new mantelets and other warlike instruments of assault, they were proceeded thus forward that theouldiers were ready to scale and got up the wall, then they within yielded: and notwithstanding the Town was thus surrendered up, yet there was no more mercy shewed unto it, than if it had been forced by assault. The chief and principal Citizens shamefully got their heads, the rest of the inhabitants were sold at the spear in open market like slaves. The Town sacked and razed to the ground yea, and money made of the lands belonging to it. The Consuls for that they had to wreaked their anger, and sharply revenged themselves, more than for any great war they had finished, obtained triumph.

The year following, were *Posthumus Caninius* and *T. Lartius* Consuls. In this year, during the games and plaies at *Rome*, certain yokners of the *Sabins*, went about in a wanton jollity to carry away and ravish the *Curtuzans* and common Strumpets of the City. Whereupon the people ran together

* At this day
Tusculum.
Tribe Appia.

The poverty
of P. Valerius,
elects Consul.

Dictator first
created at
Rome.

together, and made a riot, grew to words, and from words to brawls, inasmuch, as they went to-
gether by the ears, and made a fray in manner of a battell: upon which small occasion there was a
rebellion like to ensue. Over and besides the fear of the Latines war, (for to encrease their troubles
the more, news came, and it was certainly known, that by the soliciting and practise of *Ostius*
Manlius, there were already thirty nations banded together against the Romans. The City thus
being perplexed for the event and expectation of these so great occurrences, there arose the first oc-
casion and mention made of creating a Dictator. But neither in what year, nor in what Consuls
time (for that it can hardly be believed, that they should be of the *Tarquinius* faction, and yet that
also is reported) nor yet who was first created Dictator, is it certainly known: Howbeit, in
the most ancient writers I find that *T. Lartius* was created the first Dictator, and *Cneius Calpurnius* Gene-
ral of the horsemen: and *Consular* men, (i.e. such as had been Consuls afore) they were that elected
him: for so the law provided that was enacted, concerning the creation of a Dictator. And this
inducteth me the rather to believe, that *Lartius* an ancient man, and one who had been Consul be-
fore, was appointed as a Controller and Master over the Consuls, and not *M. Valerius* the son of
Marcus, and grandson of *Volsus*, who as yet had not attained to the Consular dignity. For if these
Consular men aforesaid had been minded to have chosen a Dictator out of that house above all o-
thers, surely they would have made choice rather of his father *M. Valerius*, a noble personage, of ap-
proved prowess and valour, and one besides that had been Consul. When the Dictator was once
chosen at Rome, and the axes were seen borne before him, the Commoners stood in great awe, and
took better regard to be obedient at every beck and command. For neither could they make ac-
count of any help (as they might under the Consuls, who were both in commission alike, and of equal
authority, when they had recourse from the one to the other) nor yet appeal unto the peo-
ple: no nor look for succour at all, but in their own double diligence and care of obedience. The
Sabines likewise were afraid of the Dictator thus created at Rome: and so much the more, because
they were verily persuaded he was made of purpose for them: and thereupon, they sent Embassa-
dors to treat for peace, who beseeching the Dictator and the Senate to pardon so small a fault, and
being but a trick of youth, received this answer: That youth indeed might well be pardoned, but
such old babes as they might not, who never rested to fow debate, and minister occasion of one
war after another. Howbeit, they fare in consultation about a peace, and obtained it had been, if the
Sabines could have found in their hearts and condescended to make good and repay the expenses
that the Romans had disbursed about the war: for that was the thing demanded at their hands.
So, defence was sent and war proclaimed. And yet for that year all was quiet, as it were in time of
a secret truce, during the Consulship of *Servilius Pulpitius*, and *M. Manlius Tullius*, in whose year
there was nothing done worthy of remembrance.

* Castell Fabiana.
* Palmaria, vel Monti Ro-
muli.
* Palustris,
Ortel.
Thufidius.

The famous
battell at the
Lake Regillus.

After them were *L. Ebutius*, and *C. Velsus*. In their time *Fidene* was besieged, * *Crosumeria*
won, and *Prosestis* revolted from the Latines unto the Romans. And the Latine war, which had
been a breeding and budding for certain years, was no longer delayed, but brake forth. *A. Posthu-
mius* the Dictator, and *T. Ebutius* General of the Cavalry, with great power of foot and horse, set
forward and advanced as far as the Lake *Regillus*, in the Territory of *Tusculum*, and there encoun-
tered the Army of the enemies in their march. And because they heard say that the *Tarquinius* were
in the host of the Latines, they could not for anger forbear any longer, but presently fell to it, and
began battell. This field was fought right fiercely, and cost more bloodshed a good deal, than o-
thers usually before: because the Generals and chief Commanders were there present, not only
to give direction by their counsel and advice, but also in person themselves hazarded their own
bodies, and fought bravely in the medley. And not one almost of the principall leaders escaped out of
the skirmish, either of one side or of the other, safe and sound, save only the Roman Dictator.
For as *Posthumius* was encouraging his men, and setting them in array in the vanguard, *Tarquinius*
Suppibus (albeit he was now very aged and unweildy, and notable to bestir himself) yet spurred to his
horse, and ran full butt against him. But having caught a thrust from above, was rescued by his men
that came about him, and retired to a place of safety. And in the other wing, *Ebutius* General of
the horsemen, set upon *Ost. Manlius*: but he, the Captain I mean of the Tusculans, was well ware
of him, and espyed him coming, and ran his horse with full career likewise upon him, and so de-
sperately they beat their Lances one against the other, that *Ebutius* was run quite through the
arm, and *Manlius* wounded in the breast, whom the Latines succoured and received into the
middle ward. As for *Ebutius*, not able any longer to bear his staff, with his arm fore hurt, with-
drew himself out of the battell. The Leader of the Latines nothing dismayed at all his hurt, main-
tained fight still: and seeing his souldiers somewhat distressed, he lenteth for the Regiment of
the Roman exiles, that were under the leading of *L. Tarquinius* his son: who flicking more cou-
ragiously unto it for anger that their goods were spoiled, and they driven out of their own coun-
trei, renewed the combat afresh for awhile. And as the Romans from that quarter began to
recoile, and give ground, *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, espying young *Tarquinius* vanishing
himself gloriously in the fore-front of the exiles, with a desire of domestical glory
of his house: that the same family, which had the praise of expelling the Kings, might like-
wise win the honour of killing them, spurred his horse, and with deadly spear ran against *Tarquinius*,
who giving way to his mortal enemy, retired back to his own Regiment. But *Valerius*
by this time was disbanded from his company, and rashly ridden into the battell of the exiles,
and

A and there a common souldier hapned to charge upon him a flank, and run him through. The horse
flaid not a jot for all the rider was wounded, and so the Roman Knight ready to die, fell to the
ground with his armour upon his body, and paid nature her debt. *Posthumius* the Dictator, after he
perceived so valiant a man slain, and the banished man advancing lustily forward with full trot,
and his own souldiers distressed, at point to turn their backs gave express commandment un-
to his own band, which he had about him of choise tall men for to guard his person, that as many
by reason of a counter-terror the Romans made head again and renewed the battell. Then began the
Dictators cohort to fight, and coming with fresh bodies and courageous stomacks, charged upon
the wearied exiles, and killed them on every side. Whereupon began another combat also between
the Colonels and Captains of quality and mark. The General of the Latines seeing the battallion
of the banished well near environed round by the Roman Dictator, speedily took with him in-
to the forefront of the battell certain squadrons of those that were appointed in the rear-guard to
succour and aid: whom *T. Herminius*, a lieutenant, espyed to come marching in good order, and
knowing amongst them *Manlius* by his gorgeous harness, and goodly coat-armour, with far greater
violence than the General of the horsemen a little before encountered the Colonel of his ene-
mies so hotly that both he ran *Manlius* through his sides, and flue him outright, and also whilst
he was disarming and rifling his body, he was wounded himself with a short javelin, and being
brought back with victory into the Camp, and at first dressing yielded to nature and died. Then
C rode the Dictator apace to the horsemen, and earnestly cried unto them, that seeing the footmen
were too ed out and wearied, they would alight from their horses, and take the matter into their
hands. The horsemen soon obeyed, leapt from horseback, and set forward, as it they had flown, to
the forefront, where they exposed their targets in defence of them that fought before the ensigns.
Whereat presently the Infantry began again to take heart, seeing the principall men of arms, and
noble young Gentlemen in the like kind of service, exposed to the same danger, and ready to take
part with them. Then at the last were the Latines put back, and their whole battell began to shrink.
The Gentlemen had their horses brought to them again, and they mounted on horseback to pur-
sue their enemies. The footmen likewise followed after. There the Dictator omitting no help
of God and man, vowed as men say a Temple to *Castor*, and openly promised and propoled rewards
D to that souldier that made either first or second entry into the enemies Camp. Whereupon they
bestirred themselves so courageously, that the Romans at one brunt both vanquished their ene-
mies, and also were possessed of their tents. This was the noble field fought at the Lake *Regillus*.
The Dictator and the General of horsemen returned into the City with triumph. For three years
after, there was neither assured peace between them, nor yet professed war.

Consuls were *Q. Cloelius*, and *T. Lartius*. After them *A. Sempronius*, and *M. Minutius*. Whiles
these two were Consuls, the Temple to *Saturn* was dedicated, and the feast called *Saturnalia* in-
stituted. After them succeeded *A. Posthumius*, and *T. Virginus*. And in this year and not before, I find
in some authors, that the said battell was stricken near the Lake *Regillus*, and that *A. Posthumius*
suspecting the fidelity of his brother Consul gave over his place, and so was made Dictator. The
E account of times doth so vary and is so intricate and confused, whiles writers diversly set down
the chief Magistrates, that in so great antiquity, not of acts only, but also of authors, man cannot
orderly and directly distinguish, according to some writers, who were Consuls, and what was done
in every year.

Afterwards were *Ap. Claudius*, and *P. Servilius* created Consuls. This year was famous for the
news of *Tarquinius* his death. He died at *Cumes*, to which place after the defeiture of the Latines pow-
er, he went to *Ardea*, the Tyrant. At which tidings the hearts of the Nobles were well light-
ened the Commons also began to look up. But the joy in the Nobility was above measure too ex-
cessive and licentious. For why? the great men began now to wrong and wring the commonalty,
when until that day they had favoured and pleased to their full power. In the same year the
F Colony *Signis*, which King *Tarquinius* had created, was now stored again the second time, and
the number supplied with new inhabitants. And the tribes or wards at Rome were now made up
21. The temple of *Mercury* was dedicated in the * Ides of May. With the Nation of the Volscians
in the time of the Latine war, neither was there peace nor war: for both the Volscians had levied
a power for aid to lend unto the Latines, if the Roman Dictator had not made good speed: and al-
so the Roman Dictator hastned the more for fear he should in one battell have to deal with La-
tines and Volscians both at once. Upon this quarrell, the Consuls led forth their Legions into
the Volscians Country. The Volscians fearing no revenge for their disfigurement (that was intended
only, and never came in action) were much troubled with this sudden and unlooked for occur-
rent. Not minding therefore to make resistance and forgetfull of warlike prowels, they delivered
G 300 of their Noblemen children out of *Coras* and *Pometia* for hostages. Whereupon the Roman
Legions from thence without any fight were withdrawn. But not long after the Volscians being
somewhat eased and delivered of their fear, came again to their old place strentured to their won-
der nature, and secretly under-hand made preparation anew for war, joining with them as con-
federates in this quarrell the Hernikes. They sent also their Embassadors all about, to move and
incite *Latin* But the Latines, for their late overthrow at the Lake *Regillus*, took such a spleen and
hated against him whosoever, that should once put into their heads and persuade them to take
arms,

Temple of Sa-
turn dedicated,
Saturnalia
instituted.

*Tarquinius Su-
ppibus* dieth.

Wards 21.
* 15 of May.

Compagnia de
Rome.

arms, that they could not forbear the very Embassadors, but offer them abuse. They apprehended H therefore the Volscians, conveyed them to Rome, and delivered them to the Consuls: where they revealed and gave intelligence, that the Volscians and Hernicks were out in arms, ready to war upon the Romans. Which being reported unto the Senators they were so well pleased and contented therewith, that they set at liberty 6000 Latines, prisoners, and sent them home. And concerning a league to be concluded with them, which was like before to have been denied for ever, they referred the consultation thereof, unto the new Magistrates that should next enter. And in good sooth pleasant & glad were the Latins then, for that they had done, and the authors of peace were magnified and had in great reputation. They sent moreover a Crown of gold into the Capitol, for a present to Jupiter. With these Embassadors and the present, those prisoners which before were set free came in greater number. Who repaired straight ways to every man his home, where they had been prisoners, yielding them great thanks for their kind usage and friendly entertainment in time of their calamities and miseries, and promised therewith the like courteous and mutual hospitality. Never were the Latines at any time afore, both publicly and privately, united more neerly to the Roman Empire.

But as the Volscian war was now at hand, so the City was at discord among themselves. The Senators and Commons hated one another at the heart, and all this arose by occasion especially of certain persons that were indebted and in danger of their creditors: who muttered and gave out in murmuring wise, how that abroad they adorned themselves and fought for the liberty and dominion of the City, and at home by their own neighbors they were held prisoners and oppressed: saying that the freedom of the Commons was more late in time of war, than of peace, among the enemies rather than their own fellow Citizens. This inward grudge and heart-burning, which of it self still kindled more and more, the notable calamity of one man above all others, set on a light fire. A certain aged person, called to break prison, and with the arms, badges, and ornaments of all his ancestors ran into the market place. His apparel was all to tattered, soiled, and loathsome, but the habit or plight of his body much more filthy: so pale, so wan, so lean withall, as if he had been over-pined and starved, his long shaggy beard and hair of his head so overgrown, that they made his visage and countenance wild and gaily. Howbeit, for all he was thus disfigured by this deformity, he was a man well known, and as some said, he had done good service in the wars, had been a chief Centurion, and had the charge and leading of bands in the field: and the common people, as pitying his estate, and to move compassion, recounted many worthy exploits of his, to his great credit and singular commendation. Himself likewise shewed the scars of wounds, which in his breast and fore-part of his body in divers places he had received that might testify his valiant service. The people flocking about him as it were in a common assembly to hear a solemn Oration enquired of him, how he came to be in that taking, so poor, so disfigured and deformed? He answered, that whilst he served in the Sabine war, he by reason of the continual foraging, and wasting of the Territory, not only lost the revenues and increase of his lands, but also his Manor-house was burnt, all his goods ranlack and spoiled, his cattell driven away: and when a levy and tribute was exacted in a time when he might have been driven to take up money and run in debt: which growing more and more by payment of interest, first he was constrained to sell his land, that his father and grandfather had left him, and to turn himself out of all, by making a clean hand of the rest of his goods: untill at length his body also began to winder away in a consumption, Complaining moreover how by his creditor he was not only brought into bondage and thralldom, but also imprisoned, and whipped, and tormented in most cruel and but herlike manner. With that he shewed before them all, his back lately scourged, with the fresh wounds of the lashes newly given him. At the sight and hearing hereof, there arose a great outcry of the people, so that anon the uprore kept not within the compass of the market place, but spread over all the City: in such sort, that as well they that were bound, as they that were loofe came forth from all parts into the open streets, calling the Quiriter and the people pitifully to help. In no corner wanted any companions to take part willingly in this seditious rout, and every where in all the streets they run by companies into the common place. Those Senators who chanced to be abroad, at their no small perill light upon this multitude: and had not the Consuls P. Servilius, and App. Claudius, made the better speed, and come upon them to appeale the commotion, there would have been some knocks, for hardly could they have held their hands. At whose coming the multitude turned upon them, shewing their irons and all their other shameful misusage and misery, saying, This is all the good we have gotten for our warfare: upbraiding every man the services they had performed, some in one place, some in another, requiring them in threatening wise rather than by way of supplication, to call the Senate together. And they the while stood about the Curia, as if they would be judges and moderators of their public counsel. Very few of the Senators, such only as by chance came that way, could be brought to repair to the Consuls: as for the rest, they were afraid not only to come into the Consular house, but also to venture abroad into the market place, so that by reason of their small assembly, there could be nothing done nor determined. Then thought the people indeed they were mocked and dashed withall, and driven off with delays, surmising, that the Senators which were away, abated themselves not by chance, nor for fear, but only to hinder the proceeding of their cause: and that the Consuls themselves did dissemble and shrink, and without all question made

A dangerous
sedition in
Rome.

A made but a scorn and game at their miseries. This broil so increased, that hardly could the reverence and Majesty of the Consuls restrain the peoples rage. But the Senators standing in doubtful terms, whether to tarry behind or to come forward would be more dangerous, at length they resolved to repair into the Senate, and being now at last a full and diligent house gathered, neither the Lords there assembled, nor yet the Consuls, could well agree amongst themselves what to do in this case. Appius a man of a hot spirit, was of opinion to order the matter by Consular authority and commandment, saying, That if one or two of them were laid hold on, the rest would be quiet. But Servilius more inclined to mild and gentle remedies, thought it a more safe and easy course too, rather to bend than to break their angry and fell stomachs. But amidst these troubles there happened a greater and more fearful occurrence: For certain Latin on horribable trouble in post, and brought news in hasty and tumultuous manner, that the Volscians were coming with a mighty and cruel army against the City to assault the same. Which news being heard (see how discord had of one City made twain) wrought far other effect in the Nobles, than in the Commons. The commonality leapt for joy, and said the gods were now come down from Heaven to be revenged of the Senators pride, and encouraged one another not to take premonition, or to enter their names in the Muller-masters book, saying that they had rather dye at once with all, than perish alone and none but they: "Let the Nobles (quoth they) serve as soldiers: let them take weapon in hand, and abide the brunts and hazards of war, who receive the profits, the prizes and rewards thereof. But contrary-wise the Senate pensive and discharged with this twofold fear, as well from citizen as enemy, be sought the Consul Servilius (a man by nature more affable and popular) That he would provide for the safety of the Common-wealth, better as it were round with to fearful perils. Then the Consul dismissed the Senate, and came forth into the assembly of the people, where he shewed what care the LL. of the Senate had for the good of the commons: But whilst they were (quoth he) busy in consultation for the greater part of the commons of the City, and yet in truth no more but a part, it fell out so in the mean while, that of necessity they must see to the whole body of the Common-wealth, whereof they stand in exceeding fear. Seeing therefore the enemies were almost hard at the gates, they could not possibly do or intend any thing before war. Neither (if there should be any respite and leisure granted) were it either for the commons credit and honesty, nor to fight for their Country, unless they had their pay before hand: nor well becoming the Nobles and for their reputation, to look unto and take order hastily, to redress the miseries and calamities of their citizens upon fear, rather than afterwards with good deliberation, for love and of willing mind. This speech of his he confirmed with an edict, by virtue whereof, he gave freight commandment: Inprimis, that no man should keep bound or in prison, any citizen of Rome, but that he might be enrolled before the Consuls. Item, that no person should hold in possession, or sell the goods of any soldier, so long as he abode in the camp, nor arrest his children or childrens children. This edict being once published and proclaimed, not only the enthralled debtors their presents were immediately by name enrolled, but also from all parts of the City, they leapt quickly out of their houses, seeing that now their creditors had no right nor power to detain and arrest them, and ran into the market place for to take a military oath of allegiance, to be true soldiers and faithful to the State. A number there was of these: neither was there any that more manfully behaved and quoth themselves or took more pains in the Volscian war. Then the Consul forth with his power against the enemies, and within a little of them incamped himself. The night following, the Volscians presuming upon the variance and discord of the Romans, assailed the tents, if in the night season any of them might have been wrought to abandon the camp and come to them, or to practise any treason. But the Sentinels delricted them, and upon alarm given, the whole army arose, and every man made halt to his weapons. Thus came that enterprise of the Volscians to nothing. The rest of the night both parties rested, and were quiet. On the morrow by break of day, the Volscians having filled up the trench, assailed the bulwarks and rampiers: And by that time they had on every side plucked up the fences, palisades, and other fortifications, the Consul who for all he was called unto instantly on foot, made some way on purpose to try the courage of his men: and seeing well how they stood, as eager to fight as might at length gave them a token to rush forth, and to let them loose, as eager to fight as might be. So at the very first onset the enemies were presently discomfited and put to flight: the footmen followed hard upon them in chase, and as they could reach, wounded them behind on their backs, and killed them: the horsemen likewise pursued them even to their pavilions, who till feared exceedingly what might become of them: and within a while their very camp also, environed about with the legions, and abandoned of the Volscians themselves for fear, were forced and rifled. The next day following, the legions marched to Suessa Pometia, for thither the enemies were fled: and within few days the Town was won, and put to the sack, and the spoil and pillage given away: whereby the needy soldiers were somewhat refreshed. The Consul in great glory and honour brought back his victorious army to Rome. Upon the looting of Pometia, came unto dooms of the Etrurian Volscians disruling their own State, and a decree passed, peace was granted: him. To whom after consultation had with the Senate, and a decree passed, peace was granted: but they were fined to part with their Lands. Immediately upon this, the Sabines also put the

Diverse opinions in the Senate house.

Romans in a fright, and in every deed it might be called a tumult, rather than a war. For word H was brought in the night season, that an army of the Sabines were come in a rode, as far as the river Anio, robbing, spoiling, and burning all the villages and hamlets as they went. Forthwith was sent thither the whole power of hories under the conduct of *A. Postumius*, who in the Latin war had been Dictator. After him followed the Consul *Servilius* with a choien regiment of footmen. Most of the enemies as they ranged abroad a foraging in scattering wile, were by the horsemen surprised and inclosed. And when the Infantry besides marched against the Sabines legion, they were not able to resist: for being tired out, partly with their long journey, and partly with plundering all might long, and many of them having overcharged themselves with meat and wine within the villages, had hardly strength enough to run away. Thus the Sabins war in one night was heard of and ended. I The day following, when as now the Romans were in good hope that they had peace on every side, beheld the *Auruncian* Embassadors came into the Senate proclaiming war, unless they would forgo the Volturnian lands, and restore them to their rightful owners. And even at one time with the Embassadors was the army also of the Auruncans abroad, and had taken the field. The news whereof, and namely, that they were now in fight not far from *Aricia*, raised up the Romans in so great a broil and hubbub, that the Senators could neither be consulted with, and deliver their opinions in order, nor yet give a peaceable answer to those that came as it were with weapon in hand, being thus forced to take arms themselves. So to *Aricia* directly in warlike manner they march, and not far from thence they joined battle with the Auruncans. And in one day that war had also an end.

Thus when the Roman souldiers had gotten victory within so few days in so many places, and had now defeated the Auruncans, they looked for the promise of the Consul, and the faithful performance of it by the Senate. At what time *Appius* both upon a proud stomach, and arrogant spirit, of his own by nature, and also to discredit and disanul the word of his fellow Consul, in all actions of debt proceeded, and gave judgement with rigor against the debtors. Whereupon, both they that had been before imprisoned, were delivered again into their creditors hands, and other also became prisoners anew. Whereat when as a souldier, whole care it was thus hardly to be dealt withal, called upon the Consul his fellow for help, they ran all at once to *Servilius*, at his hands they claimed a promise: every one upbraided and reproached him with their service in war, with their fears there gotten, requiring that he would propose the matter again unto the Senate, and as a Consul, succour and protect his Citizens: or like a General, maintain his souldiers. These matters no doubt, moved the Consul: but so flood the care that he could neither will nor chuse, but dissemble, deal double, and temporize with them: to fully bent and wholly wedded to the other party, was not only his colleague, but also the whole faction of the Nobility. Thus by bearing himself as a Neuter, and going as they say, between the bark and the tree, he neither avoided the hatred of the Commons, nor yet won favour with the Nobles: whiles the Nobles took him for a soft and base minded Consul, seeking to please all parties; and the Commons for as crafty and false dissembler: in somuch as within a short time it appeared he was as much hated of the people as *Appius*. For, the Consuls hapned on a time to strive, whether of them twain M should dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*. The Senate put over the deciding of this matter from themselves unto the people: and decreed withal, that to whether of them the dedication of the Temple was by the people election granted, he should over and besides have the charge to purvey corn and victuals, he should erect and institute a Colledge, or fellowship of Merchants; and he in stead of the high Priest, should undertake the solemn feasts or festival days. Then the people gave the dedication of the Temple to *M. Le Flornius*, principal Centurion of the vanguard; which as it easily appeared, was done not so much to grace the man, as who had an higher office bestowed upon him, then was fit for one of his degree and calling: as to disgrace and deface the Consuls. Hereat, one of the Consuls, yea, and the *Patricii* stormed and fumed exceedingly against the Commons. But the Commons took heart unto them more and more, and began to proceed far otherwise, and to take another course then they purposed at the beginning: for despairing of N the Consuls and Senats help, when they saw a debtor sued and brought to the bar, they would run flocking from all parts together, so that the Consuls sentence and decree could not be heard for the noise and clamour, And de reoer judge what he would, no man would obey. And so violently they went to work, that in presence of the Consul, the creditors were singled out, evil-treated, and misused of the Commons. Leing many together. So the whole fear and hazzard of the main chance, even of liberty it self, was now all together translated from the debtors to the creditors. In the very neck of thier troubles, there arose a fear of the Sabins war, and when it was determined there should be a muster of souldiers, no man would answer to his name and be enrolled. All this while *Appius* raged and took on, as if envying bitterly against the nicety and popularity of his brother Consul, who with his keeping silence for displeasing the people, by his post carriage of himself, had betrayed the Weak-pollid, and over and besides that, he had not minimized justice for the loan of money, nor dealt according to law in that behalf, he had brought the matter for to pass that he could take no musters by virtue of the decree of the Senate. Howbeit (saith he) the Common-wealth is not wholly forsaken and forlorn, nor yet the Consular authority utterly cast down and trodden under foot: for he would himself alone, if there were no more but he, defend and maintain both his own place, and the Senators dignity, When as the multitude

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A multitude therefore stood, this malapertly, as their daily manner was, about the bar, he commanded one principal Captain of sedition to be attached and had away, as he was haled to prison by the Sergeants and Licitors he appealed. Neither would the Consul have given place to the appeal (for all he knew the people how they were bent, and what their doom would be) had not his obstinate stiffness with much ado been overwayed more through the discreet advice & authority of the chief nobles & Lords of the Senate, than by the clamorous noise & menaces of the multitude: so resolute was he, and his heart so courageous, to undergo either ill will and heavy displeasure. This grew the mischief more & more daily, testified not with open mouth & broad speeches only, but also (which was more pernicious and dangerous) by conventicles, secret meetings, and confabulations. At length these Colls, so odious unto the Commons, went out of their office, to wit, *Appius*, a man wondrous well affected of the Nobles; *Servilius* like neither of them nor the Commons. After whom *A. Virginii*, and *T. Volumnius* entered their Consulship. But then the Commons noting what manner of Consuls they should have, began to assemble together by night, some in *Eggnis*, others in the *Aventine*: to the end, they might not be unprovided and to seek upon a sudden, what to do in the common place, nor manage their business hand over head, and at a venture. Which the Consuls supposing (as it was indeed) a perilous example, and of ill consequence, propounded the matter before the Senators: but when they had proposed it, they could not orderly ask their advise what was to be done: they took to on, and kept such outcry and clamour at it, on all hands fretting and fuming, that the Consuls should lay upon the Senate the burden and heavy load of that, which properly they by virtue of their authority and office should execute and perform themselves: and surely, if there were any Magistrates in the City (say they) there would not be thus suffered in Rome any other tumult but publick; whereas now the State is divided into a thousand Courts and conventicles: whiles some have their meetings and assemblies in *Eggnis*, others in *Aventine*: assuredly one only man indeed (for that is more than a Consul) such a one as *Appius Claudius* was, would soon dispatch, and in one minute of an hour scatter these their unlawful assemblies. The Consuls upon this rebuke and check, replied again and demanded in this manner: And what would you have us to do (quoth they) for we are resolved to do nothing slackly and coldly, but with as great courage and diligence as shall be well liked of the Senators. Whereupon an order passed, that they should take muster and levy souldiers with all rigour and severity; yea D moreover, that the Commons with idleness and ease were grown over-malpert and too licentious. And when the Senate was dismissed, the Consuls went into the Tribunal & took their places, and summoned by name all the younger sort to appear: and none making answer to his name, the multitude standing about as it had been to hear some publick Oration, said plainly, that the Commons from thenceforth would be no longer deluded, and that the Consuls should never get so much as one souldier, unless they would stand to their word, and make good the promise that publickly before was made, and restore to every man again his liberty, before they caused them to take weapon in hand: to the end they might fight for their country and country-men, and not for their Lordlike Masters. The Consuls saw well what they had in commission from the Senate & that of all those who within the Council house walls spake so stoutly & gave out so great words, there E was not one present to take part of this odious malice of the people. And like they were to have a bitter fit and cruel broil with the Commons. They thought good therefore ere they tried the worst, and dealt by extremity, once again to ask advice of the Senate, and to confer with them. But then all the younger sort of the Senators, approached by multitudes, hard almost to the Consuls seats, willing them to give over their Consulship, and to resign up their rule and authority, to the maintenance whereof they lacked courage. Now when the Consuls had sufficiently weighed and tried both ways, thus at length began they and said, A great sedition and commotion is toward, my LL. To the end therefore that ye pretend no ignorance, and lay another day ye were not foretold of it, there is a great sedition and commotion toward. We require therefore that they who find greatest fault with ourr miselness and lack of courage, assist us and sit with us while we take F the musters: and since you will needs have it so, we will execute it according to their minds, that are most earnest and severest. Then come they back again unto the Tribunal, and commanded on set purpose, one of them that were there in fight to be cited and called by name. But bestiford still and held his peace, with a company of men gathered round about to guard him, for fear he should have some harm or violence done unto him. The Consul then lent a Sergeant to attach him, who being repulld off, then those Nobles which fate there on the bench to assist the Consuls, cried out upon the shameful indignity, and said it was intolerable, and so ran down in hift from the Tribunal seat, for to aid the Sergeant. But the violent rage of the multitude, who let the Licitor alone, and only stayed him from laying hold on the man, turned upon the *Patricians*. So that the Coll, were fain to step between, and then the fray was apparelled. In which, there being G no stones flying about their ears, nor weapon drawn, there was more clamor, bawling, and chaffing than any hurt done. Then was the Senate houle called in great hurry: and with more confusion far they there in Council: whiles they that pretended how they were beaten and misused, required that commissioners should fit upon this riot and make due inquisition: and the stoutest of them gave their determination as much by clamor and noise, as by sentence and opinion grounded upon reason. At last, when the tempest was overblown and their heat allayed, and that the Coll, hit them in the teeth, and reproved them, saying there was a little discretion and gravity in their

* From 17th
years of Augustus
47.

A sedition be-
tween the Con-
suls and the
people.

Romans in a fright, and in every deed it might be called a tumult; rather than a war. For word was brought in the night season, that an army of the Sabins were come in a rode, as far as the river *Anio* robbing, spoiling, and burning all the villages and hamlets as they went. Porcith was sent thither the whole power of horses under the conduct of *A. Postumius*, who in the Latin way had been Dictator. After him followed the Consul *Servilius* with a chosen regiment of footmen. Most of the enemies as they ranged abroad a foraging in scattering wile, were by the horsemen surprised and inclosed. And when the Infantry besides marched against the Sabins legion, they were not able to resist: for being tired out, partly with their long journey, and partly with plundering all night long, and many of them having overcharged themselves with meat and wine within the villages, had hardly strength enough to run away. Thus the Sabin war in one night was heard of and ended. The day following, when as now the Romans were in good hope, that they had peace on every side, behold the *Auruncan* Embassadors came into the Senate, proclaiming war, unless they would forgo the Volscian lands, and restore them to their rightful owners. And even at one time with the Embassadors was the army also of the Auficans abroad, and had taken the field. The news whereof, and namely, that they were now in fight not far from *Ardea*, raised up the Romans in so great a broil and hubbub, that the Senators could neither be consulted with, and deliver their opinions in order, nor yet give a peaceable answer to those that came as it were with weapon in hand, being thus forced to take arms themselves. So to *Ardea* directly in warlike manner they march, and not far from thence they joined battle with the Auruncans. And in one day that war had also an end.

Thus when the Roman soldiers had gotten victory within so few days in so many places, and had now defeated the Auruncans, they looked for the promise of the Consul, and the faithful performance of it by the Senate. At what time *Appius* both upon a proud stomach, and arrogant spirit of his own by nature, and also to discredit and dishonour the word of his fellow Consul, in all actions of debt proceeded, and gave judgement with rigor against the debtors. Whereupon, both they that had been before imprisoned, were delivered again into their creditors hands; and other also became prisoners anew. Whereat when as a soldier, whose care it was thus hardly to be dealt withal, called upon the Consul his fellow for help, they ran all at once to *Servilius*, for his hands they claimed a promise: every one upbraided and reproached him with their service in war, with their fears there gotten, requiring that he would propose the matter again unto the Senate, and as a Consul, succour and protect his Citizens; or like a General, maintain his soldiers. These matters no doubt, moved the Consul: but so stood the case that he could neither will nor chuse, but dissemble, deal double, and temporize with them: to fully bent, and wholly wedded to the other part, was not only his colleague, but also the whole faction of the Nobility. Thus by bearing himself as a Neuter, and going as they say, between the bark and the tree, he neither avoided the hatred of the Commons, nor yet won favour with the Nobles: whiles the Nobles took him for a soft and bafe minded Consul, seeking to please all parties, and the Commons for as crafty and false dissembler: in so much as within a short time it appeared he was as much hated of the people as *Appius*. For, the Consuls hapned on a time to strive, whether of them twain should dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*. The Senate put over the deciding of this matter from themselves unto the people: and decreed withal, that to whether of them the dedication of the Temple was by the people's election granted, he should over and besides have the charge to purvey corn and victuals, he should erect and institute a College or fellowship of Merchants, and he in stead of the high Priest, should undertake the solemn feasts or festival days. Then the people gave the dedication of the Temple to *M. Laetorius*, principal Centurion of the vanguard: which as it easily appeared, was done not so much to grace the man, as who had an higher office bestowed upon him, then was fit for one of his degree and calling: as to disgrace and deface the Consuls. Hereat, one of the Consuls, yea, and the *Patricians* formed and fumed exceedingly against the Commons. But the Commons took heart unto them more and more, and began to proceed far otherwise, and to take another course then they purposed at the beginning: for despairing of the Consuls and Senate's help, when they saw a debtor sued and brought to the bar, they would run flocking from all parts together, so that the Consuls sentence and decree could not be heard for the noise and clamour. And decree or judge what he would, no man would obey. And so violently they went to work, that in presence of the Consul, the creditors were singled out, evil entreated, and misused of the Commons, being many together. So the whole fear and hazard of the main chance, even of liberty it selfe, was now altogether translated from the debtors to the creditors. In the very neck of these troubles, there arose a fear of the Sabin war, and when it was determined, there should be a muster of soldiers, no man would answer to his name and be enrolled. All this while *Appius* raged and took on, "inveighing bitterly against the nicety and popularity of his brother Consul, who with his keeping silence for displeasing the people, by his soft carriage of himself, had betrayed the Weal-publick, and over and besides that, he had not omitted justice for the loans of money, nor dealt according to law in that behalf, he had brought the matter forso past that he could take no musters by virtue of the decree of the Senate. Howbeit (saith he) the Common-wealth is not wholly forsaken and forsorne, nor yet the Consular authority utterly cast down and trodden under foot: for he would himself alone, if there were no more but he, defend and maintain both his own place, and the Senators dignity. While the

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A multitude therefore stood this malapertly at their daily manner was about the bar, he commanded one principal Captain of sedition to be attached and hid away, and as he was haled to prison by the Sergeants and Lictors, he appealed. Neither would the Consul have given place to the appeal (for all he knew the people how they were bent, and what their doom would be) had not his obligation, (itself with much ado been overthrown more, through the direct authority of the chief nobles & Lords of the Senate, than by the clamorous noise & menaces of the multitude) so resolved him, and his heart so courageous to undergo their ill will and heavy displeasure. Thus grew the mischief more & more daily, testified not with open mouth & broad speeches only, but also (which was more pernicious and dangerous) by convenient, secret meetings, and consultations. At length these Colls, so odious unto the Commons, went one of their offices to wit, *Appius* man, wonderful well affected of the Nobles, *Servilius* liked neither of them nor the Commons. After whom *A. Virginii*, and *I. Junius* entered their Consulship. But then the Commons not knowing what manner of *Capituli* they should have, began to assemble together by night, some in *Elgylis*, others in the *Comitien* to the end, they might not be unprovided and to look upon a judgment, what to do in the common place, nor manage their business hand over head, and at a venture. Which the Consuls supposing (as it was indeed) a perilous example, and of ill consequence, propounded the matter before the Senators: but when they had proposed it, they could not orderly ask their advice what was to be done: they took to hand, kept such outcries and clamour at it, on all hands fretting and fuming, that the Consuls should lay upon the Senate, the burden and heavy load of that, which properly they by virtue of their authority, and office should execute and perform themselves; and surely if there were any Magistrates in the City (say they) there would not be thus suffered in Rome any other council, but publickly, whereas now the State is divided into a thousand Courts and conventicles; whiles some have their meetings and assemblies in *Elgylis*, others in *Aventine*: Affuredly, others only man indeed (for that is more than a Consul) such a one as *Appius Claudius* was, would soon slip out, and in one minute of an hour scatter these their unlawful assemblies. The Consuls upon this rebuke and check, replied again and demanded in this manner: And what would you have us to do (quoth they) for we are resolved to do nothing (sland and Gold), but with as great courage and diligence as shall be well liked of the Senators. Whereupon an order passed, that they should take muster, and levy soldiers with all rigour and fevering diligence. Moreover, that the Commons with idleness and ease were grown over-malpert and too licentious. And when the Senate was dismissed, the Consuls went into the Tribunal, & took their places, and summoned by name all the younger sort to appear: none making answer to his name, the multitude standing about as it had been to hear some publick Oration, said plainly, that the Commons from thenceforth would be no longer deluded, and that the Consuls should never get so much as one soldier, unless they would stand to their word, and make good the promise that publickly before was made, and restore to every man again his liberty, before they caused them to take weapon in hand: to the end they might fight for their country and country-men, and not for their Lordlike Matters. The Consuls saw well what they had in commission from the Senate & that of all those who within the Council house walls spake so stoutly & gave out to great waxes, there was not one present to take part of this odious malice of the people. And like they were to have a bitter fit and cruel broil with the Commons. They thought good therefore ere they tried the worst, and dealt by extremity, once again to ask advice of the Senate, and to confer with them. But then all the younger sort of the Senators, approached by multitudes, hard almost to the Consuls seats, willing them to give over their Consulship, and to resign up their rule and authority, to the maintenance whereof they lacked courage. Now when the Consuls had sufficiently weighed and tried both wayes, thus at length began they and said, A great sedition and commotion is toward, my LL. To the end therefore that ye pretend not ignorance, and lay another day ye were not foretold of it, there is a great indignation and commotion toward. We require therefore that they who find greatest fault with our remissness and lack of courage, assist us and fit with us while we take the musters: and since you will needs have us do, we will execute it according to their minds, that are most earnest and severest. Then come they back again unto the Tribunal, and commanded on self purpose, one of them that were there in fight to be cited and called by name. But he stood still and held his peace, with a company of men gathered round about to guard him, for fear he should have some harm or violence done unto him. The Consul then sent a Sergeant to attach him, who being repulsed off, then those Nobles which were there on the bench to assist the Consuls, cried out upon the shameful indignity, and said it was intolerable, and so ran down in haste from the Tribunal seat, for to aid the Sergeant. But the violent rage of the multitude, who let the Lictor alone, and only stayed him from laying hold on the man, turned upon the *Patricians*, so that the Coll, were fain to step between, and then the fray was appeased. In which, there being no stones flying about their ears, nor weapon drawn, there was more clamor, hawling and chaffing than any hurt done. Then was the Senate house called in a great hurry: and with more confusion than they there in Council: whiles they that pretended how they were beaten and thrust required that commissioners should fit upon this riot and make due inquisition: and the stoutest required that their determination as much by clamor and noise, as by sentence and opinion grounded upon reason. At last, when the tumult was overblown and their heat allayed, and that the Coll hit them in the teeth, and reproved them, saying there was a little discretion and gravity in their

* From 17
years of age to
47.

A sedition be-
tween the Con-
suls and the
people.

burns: as having carried with them such things only as were necessary for the sustenance of their life. Great fear there was in the City, and in this mutual and reciprocal fear, all men were perplexed and to seek what to do. The Commons follow'd of their fellow Commons doubted the violence of the Senators: the Senators again stood in fear and jealousy of the Commons that remained still behind: and wherein suspense whether it were better they abode still among them, or followed after their fellows. For how long a row ye, will a multitude once disbanded itself in quiet? Again, in case any forraign was should arise in the mean time, what might ensue thereupon in the end? In conclusion, there was no hope behind to be looked for, but in the concord of Citizens: and therefore the commons one way or other, either by reasonable conditions or unreasonable: were to be reconciled again and reduced into the City, there was no remedy, so it was thought good and agreed upon, that one *Munnius Agripae* (a fair spoken and eloquent man, gracious-witted and well-beloved among the commons, for that he was from them defended) should be sent as an Orator to treat with them. Who being received into the camp, after that old and harsh kind of salutation in those days, spake as men faith to this effect, and told this tale and parable: "Upon a time (quoth he, when as in mans body all the parts thereof agreed not, as now they do in one, but each member had a several intent and meaning; and yea, and a speech by itself: so I do beleve, that all other parts besides the belly, thought much and repined that by their carefulness, labor, and ministry, all was gotten, and yet all little enough to serve it: and the belly itself lying still in the mids of them did nothing else, but enjoy the delightful pleasures brought unto it. Whereupon they mutined and conspired altogether in this wise, That neither the hands should reach and convey food into the mouth, nor the mouth receive it as it came, nor yet the teeth grind and chew the fame. In this mood and fit, whilst they were minded to fashin the poor belly, behold the other limbs, yea, and the whole body besides, pined, waled, & fell into an extreme consumption. Then was it well seen, that even the very belly also did misall service, but leted the other parts as it received food it self: seeing that by working and concocting the meat thoroughly, it digested and distributed by the veins into all parts, that fresh and perfect blood whereby we live, we like, and have our full strength. Comparing herewith, and making his application to wit, how like this inefine and inward sedition of the body, was to the fell stomach of the commons, which they had taken and born against the Senators, he turned quoth the peoples hearts. Then began some treaty of unity and concord, and among other articles it was conditioned and granted, that the Commonalty should have certain sacred and inviolable Magistrates of their own among themselves, such as might have power to assist the Commons against the Consuls: Item, that it might not be lawful for any Senator to bear that office. So there were created two Tribunes of the Commons, *C. Licinius* and *Lo. Albius*. And these elected three other fellow officers unto them. Of whom *Sicinius*, the Author of the edition or insurrection was one, who were the other twain is not for certain known. Some say there were but two Tribunes created and no more in the mount *Sacer*, and that the sacred law was there made concerning their immunity.

Ag. Menenius
his Oration to
the Commons.

**Tribuns of the
common peo-
ple first crea-
ted.**

During this insurrection and revolt of the commons, *Syr. Caffius* and *Postumius Cominius* entered their Consulships. In whose time a league was made with the people of *Latium*. For the establishing whereof, one of the Consuls layed behind at *Rome*: the other was sent unto the Volscian war, who discomfited and put to flight the Volscians of *Amim*, chasing and driving them into the Town *Longula*, which he won. And immediately betook *Mucamites* a Town of the Volscians, and after that with great force assaulted *Coridi*.

There was in camp then among the flower of gallant youths, one *Caius Marius*, a Noble young Gentleman, right politic of advice, active besides, and tall of his hands, who afterwards was intitled *Coriolanus*. Whiles the Roman army lay at siege before *Corioli*, and were amazed wholly upon the Towne-men within, whom they kept fast shut up, and feared no present danger at all from any forraign war without: behold, all on a suddain, the Volscian legions that came from *Antium*, assailed them: at which very instant the enemy also fell out of the Towne. Which *Marius* seeing, who by good hap quartered and warded there, with a lusty band of elect men, N not repressed and stopped the violence of those that issued and brake upon him, but also whiles the gates stood open, fiercely rushed in himself: and having made a foill laughter of people thereby, at his fitt entrance into the City, and caught up fire at a venture, flung it upon the houses that stood upon and about the walls. Whereupon arose a great outcry of the folk within the Towne, together with lamentable weeping and wailing of women and children, as commonly is seen in such a fright. Which at the very first, both hardened the Romans, and also troubled the Volscians: and no marvel, seeing the City taken before their face, for which they were come to rescue. Thus were the Volscians of *Antium* defeated, and the Towne *Corioli* won, And *Marius* through his praise, so much oblitured and stopped the light of the Consul's fame, that had it not been ingraven in brasse for a remembrance and monument, That there was a league with the Latines, and the fame made by *Sp. Caelius* alone (for that his companion was absent) there had been no record at all, but forgotten quite it had been, that ever *Sp. Cominius* warred with the Volscians. O

Series forced.

The death of
Maurice A-
grippe, and his
poverty.

The fame year died *Menenius Agrippa*, a man all his life time before beloved indifferently of the Senators and the Commons: but after the insurrection, much more dear unto the Commons than before. This truce-maker, this mediator for civil atonement, this Ambassador and Messenger from the Senators to the Commons, this reconciler and reducer of the Commons home

A home again into the City, had not at his death sufficient to defray the charges of his funerals: the Commons therefore made a purse and a contribution of a Sextant by the poll, and were at the cost to inter and bury him worthily.

* The six parts
of As, half a
farthing or cue
with us,

After this were made *Conuls*, *T. Gregentius* and *P. Minutius*. In which year when all was quiet abroad for any war, and the different all home haled up clean; and skinned: another calamity or more grievous entered the City. First, a dearth of corn, and all manner of victuals, by reason that the grounds upon the departure of the Commons were neglected and untilld. Hereupon ensued famine, even such as usually is incident to men beleagued. And verily the household of bondsmen, yea, and the commons too, had utterly perished for hunger if the Consuls had not B. in time made the better provision: by lending unto every man all abroad to buy up corn, not only into *Hetruria*, by coasting along the river on the right hand from *Hoffia*, and on the left hand by Sea, (passing through the Volcians Country) even as far as *Cumes*: but also into *Sicily*, there to lay for grain. Such was the care of the borders, that *Rome* was enforced to have need of succor and relief from afar. Now when they had bought certain corn at *Cumes*, it was no sooner embarked, but the ships were wayed and arrested there by *Arifodentus* the tyrant, for the goods of the *Tarquins*, whose heir in remainder he was. In the Volcians Country and *Pomphilius* they could buy none for money. There, the very Partizels themselves were in danger of violence, by the men of the Country. Out of *Tuscan* there came out upon the *Tyber*, wherewith the Commons were furnished and refreshed. And considering the freights they were in for want of victuals, they had been fore distressed and vexed with wars besides, and that in a very ill time, and unseasonable for them: but that the Volcians, who now were in readines, and upon the point to make war: had a peltence that rained hot among them. Which heavy crois and affliction, the enemies were so discouraged with, that when the plague began to stay, even then they continued still afraid.

The Romans both at *Pellire* augmented the number of the inhabitants and also at *Norba*, sending a new Colony into the Mountains; to be a Fortress and strength for all the territory of *Pompinnum*. Moreover, when *M. Minutius* & *A. Sempronius* were Consuls, great store of corn was brought out of *Sicily*; and it was debated in the Senat-house at what price the Commons should be served therewith. Many thought the time was now come to wring the Commons, and keep

D them under, and to recover again those royalties, which by their departure were forcibly wrested and dimembered from the nobility. But above all others *Martinus Civiolumanus*, an utter and capital enemy to the Tribuns power and authority, “If they will (quoth he) have their corn and “visuals at the old price, let them resort unto the Senators their ancient right and prehe-
“mence. Why fee I (as one brought under the yoke of servitude, and put as it were unto a
“ransome, by Robbers and Thieves) these Magistrates of the Commons? why fee I *Scianus* fo
“mighty? Shall I endure these indignities longer than I needs must (I that could not bear *Tra-*
“*quanus* to be king, I shall brook and suffer *Steimus*? Let him depart aside now, and take his
“Commons with him: the way is open to Mount *Sacer* and other Hills: Let them carry away
“with them the corn out of our possessions and Lordships, as they did three years ago: let
“them enjoy, take for their use, and spend the store, which they in their foetry and fury have
“provided. I dare be bold to say, that when they are by this calamity once tamed, they will
“rather till and husband the ground themselves, than with weapon in hand, and by way of in-
“furrection, forbid and hinder the tillage thereof. I cannot so soon say, whether it had been as
“meet, as I suppose it was possible and easy to effect, that the Senators by offering more gentle
“conditions in the prices of corn and visuals, might have eased themselves of the Tribuns au-
“thority over them, and also have been disburdened of those impositions which will they, nil
“they, were laid upon them. Well, this seemed to the Senate a sharp censure and severe sen-
“tence, which it had like to have caused the Commons to rise up in

Coriolanus en-
vêyth against
the Tribuna.

of *Coriolanus*, and for very anger also it had like to have caused the death of *Arms*. For they muttered and gave it out in their tears, "That now they were laid at the P^rail'd with famine like enemies, defrauded and bereft of their meat and pittance: that the ourlandish corn, the only sustenance and food which fortune had mingled unto them beyond all hope, was snatched and plucked from their mouths, unless the Tribuns be delivered and yielded Prisoners hand and foot bound to *C. Martins*, unless he might have his pennyworth of the back and shoulders of the Commons of *Rome*. For he was now flart up and become their tormentor and hangman, to command them either to death, or to servitude. As he went out of the Council house, they had run upon him with violence, but that the Tribuns, as good luck was, served him with protests in time, to appear at a day, and come to his answer. Here-with, their furious anger was suppressed. For now every man saw, that he was himself to be the judge and Lord of his enemies life and death. *Martius* at the first scorned the Tribuns thundering G threats, and gave the hearing, as though he made small reckoning thereof, saying: That their authority had power granted by limitation, only to aid and not to punish: that the Tribuns were Tribuns to the Commons, and not to the Senators. But so spitefully were the Commons bent, and all so fit upon mischief, that there was no other remedy, but one man must pay for it to save & exale the rest of the Nobles. Howbeit, the Senators did what they could to withstand them: by opposing hatred and displeasure again and making all means, what either privately they were able of themselves, or jointly by their whole Order and degree to procure. And first, this countie they assayed

The murmur-
ing of the
commons a-
gainst *Coriola-*
nus.

assayed to stop and overthrow the suit commenced; namely, by setting their followers and retainers in sundry places to deal with the Commons severally one by one: & what they could to frighten them from meetings and assemblies together. Afterwards, they came all forth at once into the Forum or common place. A man that had seen them would have said they had been the parties themselves in trouble and accused, ready to hold up their hand at the bar: such praying, such a beseeching they made of the Commons, in the behalf of this one citizen, this only Senator; that if they would not in their love acquit him for their sakes, as innocent and unguilty; yet they would give him unto them as an offender and faulty person. In conclusion, when his day came, he made default and appeared not, yet continued they still in their angry mood against him. And being condemned in his absence, for contumacy, departed into banishment to the Volcians, I menacing his own country as he went, and carrying even then with him the revenging stomach of an enemy.

The Volcians at his coming received him courteously, and friendly intreated him every day more than others, as they perceived his anger more and more toward his country-men, by many complaints he made of them, and threats which that he oftentimes gave out against them in their hearing. He made his abode and sojourned in the house of *Accius Tullius*, who at that time was a mighty great man among the Volcians, and one that ever bare mortal malice unto the Romans. And whilst the one of them was provoked with an old cankered grudge, and the other set on and pricked forward upon a fresh quarrel and occasion of anger, they both laid their heads together and conspired to make war upon the Romans. This only thing stood in their way to cross their designs: They thought verily their Commons would hardly orkately at all be brought, to rise and take arms again, which they had so often unhappily attempted: And besides, their courages were well cooled, and their stomachs abated, by the loss of their youth in many and sundry wars often times afore, and now at last, by the late pestilence and mortality. They were therefore to go cunningly to work: that forasmuch as the old hatred against the Romans was grown out and worn away, their hearts upon some new anger might be kindled and galled again. There were by chance at that time in Rome, the great Games and Playes in hand, to be set out anew the second time: the occasion whereof was this: A certain householder one morning betimes before the fives and games began, had beaten with rods a poor slave of his under the fork which he carried on his shoulders, and driven him along through the mids of the Circus or Theatre: and with that began the playes, as if there had been no matter therein of frowle or Religion. But not long after, one *T. Laetius* a mean Commoner had a dream or vision: In which he thought that *Jupiter* complained and said, that the Dancer before the playes pleased him never a whit: and unless those games were newly exhibited again, and that very stately and sumptuously, some great danger should befall the City: willing him withal, to make relation hereof unto the Consul's. The man albeit in truth he was not without some fence and feeling of Religion and the fear of God: yet made he no such great scruple at the matter, but that the reverence he had of the Majesty and countenance of the Magistrates surmounted and dashed it clean: for fear lest haply he should become a talking stock in mens mouths, and be mocked for his labour. But this delay and sleeping of the matter, he bought full dear. For within few dayes his son happened to dye. And because he should be out of doubt what was the cause of this his losse and suddain misfortune, whilst he was troubled in spirit, with anguish and sorrow, behold, the same vision appeared to him again in his sleep, and seemed to ask him whether he had not yet sufficiently paid for this disobedience and contempt of God? threatening moreover, that in case he made no greater haste to certify the Consuls thereof, there was a greater judgement and plague toward, and that verneer. Now was the thing more evident than before, and past all peradventure. Howbeit he neglected and drave it off still, until he was himself overtaken with a grievous diselle, and brought to great weakness in all his joints. Then verily the wrath of the Gods taught him to be wiser. And being overworn with his pains past, and in fear of more presently to misse, he conferred with his kinsfolk and friends to be advised by them. When he had declared unto them what he had seen and heard: namely, how *Jupiter* had so often appeared unto him in his sleep, and that the fearful displeasure and threatnings of the heavenly Gods were shewed plainly by sundry mischances fallen upon him: by the full consent of all them that were about him, he was brought in a litter to the Consuls, into the Forum or common place, from whence by the Consuls commandment he was carried into the Council house. Where, when he had made report unto the Senators of the self-same things, to the exceeding wonder and admiration of them all, see another strange miracle: He that was brought into the Senate house a lame creeple of all his limbs, after he had once delivered his errand, returned home to his house (as it is recorded) sound upon his feet. Hereupon the Senate decreed, That the Games should be set out as magnificently as could be devised.

To these solemnities resorted, by the motion and perswasion of *Accius Tullius*, a great number of Volcians. But before they were begun, *Tullius* according to the complot between him and *Martius* at home, made a step or errand unto the Consuls at Rome, saying, that he would willingly commune and treat with them apart, of important affairs concerning the State. When the room was clear, and every man gone, he began in this wise: Loth I am (quoth he) if otherwise I could chuse, to speak ought but well of my country-men and fellow citizens. Yet come I

Accius Tullius
to the Roman
Consuls.

A "not to complain of any action of theirs already passed; but to give a caveat; and provide that nothing be practised hereafter. The nature and disposition (I may tell you) of our people, is too too uncontant and untayed; more I know than I would they were, a great deal: that have we found and felt to our great cost and manifold damage, we it say who verily at this day by your long inturance, and not by good desert of ours, do find in good times and peace of safety. There is now here a great multitude of Volcians, the Playes and Games ready to be represented and celebrate. Your City will be wholly amused in the beholding thereof: I remember upon the like occasion, what was sometimes enterprised and wrought in this City by the youth of the Sabines; and my heart doth tremble and quake for fear, lest some inconsiderate, rash and foolish part be played by ours: thus much, O ye Consuls, I thought good in our behalf and yours both, to give you notice of before hand. As for me, I am minded presently to go from hence home, lest I being here seen, might be thought in some word or deed accessory unto them, and so culpable. Having made this speech he departed. When the Consuls had declared in the Senate this thing so doubtful; and yet proceeding from the mouth of so sure and certain an Author: behold, the credit of the man (as commonly it is seen) rather than the likelihood of the matter, caused them to be wary and circumspect. Yea, although there was no such need or cause at all. Whereupon the Senate made an Act, that the Volcians should be jogging out of the City. And divers cryers or Bedles were sent out sundry wayes, to command them to avoid and be packing before night. At the first, the Volcians were only much affrighted, and ran every man to and fro into his Inn to fetch away his things: But afterwards in the way homeward, they began to think more and more of it, and to grow melancholy: thinking it a great indignity, that like polluted and polluted persons, they should be driven from the Games, on festival holidays, discarded (as a man would say) and excommunicate out of the company both of God and man. Thus as they went along all on a row, as it were in one continued and joynt train, *Tullius* (who was gone alone as far as the *Ferentina* head) received the worst and chief of them, as every one came, and entertained them with complaints and words of indignation, and drew both them who willingly gave ear to his words, so fitly framed and tending to stir more coles, and also by their means the rest of the multitude, into a plain field, lying hard under the high way side. Unto whom assembled together as it were to hear a sermon, he thus began to speak: Admit (quoth he) you could forget the old wrongs and abuses offered you by the people of Rome, the losses and overthrowes of the Volcan Nation; yea, and all the other quarrels whatsoever; how can ye put up this dayes (pightful reproach and dishonor received at their hands: who to our great disgrace and shame, have begun their solemn Games? Perceived you not how they have triumphed over you to day? how as ye departed, ye were a spectacle and pageant to all men, citizens and strangers, and to so many neighbour nations adjoyning: how your wives and children were brought as it were in a show, to make them sport and to laugh at what conceit was in their heads (think ye) that heard the voice of the Bedle? what thought they that beheld you as you did lodge? what imagined that they that happened to meet this ignominious troop as they marched? Even this & no other, that there was some wicked sin among us, not to be named, whereby we should as malefactors, have been flayed and polluted their games if we had been present at the sight of them, & have committed some heinous act, that would require by some satisfaction or sacrifice to be purged; and for that cause were driven from having any conversation, fellowship, and society of good and godly men. Over and besides, how can you chuse but think of this, That we enjoy our lives (still, only because we halted our remove, if this may be called a remove, and not rather a plain taking of a flight and running away.) And yet you reckon this no enemy City, where, it ye had stayed but one day longer, you had dyed for it every one. Defiance is given already, and war denounced against you: but if ye be men indeed of courage, to their great cost and mischief that have denounced it. Thus being of themselves kindled enough with indignation, and by their words enflamed and set on fire, they went every man his way from thence home: and so effectually solicited each one the people where he dwelt, that in fine the whole nation of the Volcians revolted and rebelled. To manage this war, were chosen General commanders by one consent of all the Cities, *Accius Tullius* and *Cn. Martius* the banished Roman: in whom of the twain they reposed greater hope and this their hope failed them not. So as it soon appeared that the puissance of the state of Rome, consisted more in the dexterity of good Captains, than in strong armies of soldiers. For first he went to *Circioles*, from whence he expelled the Roman Coloners, and delivered the City clear and free unto the Volcians. Then by croise wayes he passed into the Latin street, called *Via Latina*: and regained from the Romans, these their Towns newly gotten afore, *Saricium*, *Longula*, *Pollostia* and *Coridi*. After this he wan *Lanuvium* again, and so forward he forced *Corbio*, *Viteba*, *Trubi*, *Labinus*, and *Pedum*. And last of all from *Pedum*, he marched on toward the City of Rome, and at *Cluvia Fassa*, five miles off, he encamped and foraged the territory about, sending with the foragers certain guides, to keep them from spoiling and doing harm in the Nobleness Lands: were it that he were more pightful to the Commons, or that thereby some discord might arise between the Commonalty and the Senators: which doubtles had soon grown, so mightily had the Tribunes already by their complaints and accusations, provoked the Commons forward (who of themselves were shrewd enough) against the heads and Magistrates of the City, but that the fear of forraign dangers, the greatest bond of civil concord

Accius Tullius
to his Country-men,

Monte Cir-
cello,

Civita inde-
vina vique,

Coriolanus be-
siegeth Rome,

that can be, held them in and knit their hearts together, were they never so jealous, suspected, and hateful afore one to the other. Herein only was all their difference, that the Senate and Consuls, reposed hope in nothing else save only in war: the Commons on the other side were desirous of any thing whatsoever, but war.

Now were *S. Nautilus*, and *Sext. Furius* Consuls: who as they were surveying and mustering the legions, and disposing of a good *Corpus de guardapoon* the walls and other places wherein they thought it expedient to keep a standing watch and ward: behold a mighty number called and cried hard for peace, and with shew sedition clamors, put them in exceeding fear: yea, and afterwards forced them to assemble the Senate-house together, and to propose concerning the sending of certain Embassadors to *Cn. Marius*. The Lords of the Senate seeing evidently the commons hearts to fulfithem, accepted and granted the motion propounded. Whereupon were Orators sent unto *Marius* to treat for peace. At whose hands they received this heavy and stout answer: "If to be the Volcians had their Lands restored to them again, then there might be some parle and treaty of peace: but if they will needs at their pleasure still enjoy that booty which by war they have gotten, then would be in remembrance of private wrongs done unto him by his country-men, as also of the friendship and courtesy shewed him by strangers that had given him entertainment, do his best to make it known unto the World, that his courage and itomack is incensed, and not abated and quailed by his banishment. Then were the same Embassadors sent again the second time, but they might not be admitted once to set foot within the camp. It is reported moreover that the very Priests in their *Pontificatus*, in their rich vestiments and goodly ornaments, went with supplication to the tents of the enemies, and turned his heart no more than the Embassadors had done before them. Then the dames of the City came flocking all about *Veturia* the Mother, and *Voluntia* the wife of *Coriellanus*. Whether this proceeded from any publick Council and was done in Policy, or came only of womens fear, I find but little in any records. But howsoever it came about, this one thing is certain, they perswaded so effectually with them, that both *Veturia* an aged woman, and also *Voluntia* with her two little daughters that she had by *Marius*, went toward the enemies camp, to see if women by their prayers and tears, might save the City, which men with spear and shield could not defend. When they were come into the camp, and word brought to *Coriellanus*, that there was an exceeding great train of women thither arrived: at the first he, as one that had relaxed, neither for that publick Majesty in the Embassadors, nor yet at the religious reverence, which he both conceived in mind, and saw with his eyes in the clergy, stood much more stiffly bent against the tears of fifty women. But afterwards one of his familiar friends, who had seen and known *Veturia* there, mourning and bewailing exceedingly above the reit, as the flood betwixt her daughter in law and her little Nephews: "If mine eyes be matches (quoth he) and deceive me not, here is your mother, your wife, and children. Whereat, *Coriellanus*, turning like a man well near beside himself, arose from his seat, and ran to meet his mother, and to embrace her. But the woman falling in stead of prayers into a fit of choleric: "Let me know (quoth she) before I suffer thee to embrace me, whether I am come to an enemy or to a son, whether I be in thy camp as a captive prisoner, or as a natural mother. And have I lived indeed so long, and rubbed on still in this miserable old age of mine for this to see thee fifth M a banished man, and after that to become an enemy? Couldst thou find in thine heart to waste and spoil that country which bred thee, which fostered thee, and brought thee up? And be it that thou hither marched with a cruel intent and full of threats, would not thine anger and fell wrath slack, when thou didst set foot within the borders and marches thereof? And being come within the sight of *Rome*, arose not this in thy mind and thought, Within those walls yonder is my house, there are my house-holds, my mother, my wife, my children? Why then, belike it I had never been a mother, and born a child, *Rome* had not been assaulted. And if I had no son at all, I might have died well enough in my native country, whiles it remained free. But as for me, neither can I suffer ought, more for thy dishonesty and shame; nor more to mine own calamity and misery than this: and most wretched cause though I be, yet long time to I N cannot continue. But for thee here, look thou well to it, I advise thee, and have pity of them, who if thou go on as thou beginnest, are like to feel untimely death, or endure long captivity. Then his wife and children hung about him, and clipped him: wherat the women fell a weeping on all sides, bewailing their own case and the fate of their country. So as at length the man was overcome. And after he had taken them in his arms likewise, he let them go: and himself dislodged and removed his camp backward from the City. When he had withdrawn the legions out of the territory of *Rome*, he gave himself, men said, such hard and displeasure for this action, that it cost him his life: and murdered he was, some report one way, some another. But I find in *Fabius* a most ancient writer, that he lived until he was an old man: who reporteth this of him: That oftentimes in his latter dayes he used to utter this speech, *A heavy case, and most wretched, for an aged man to live banished*. The men of *Rome* envied not those women their due duty, served praises. So free was the world in those dayes, from depraving and detracting the glory of others. For in memorial hereof to all posterity, there was a Temple built and dedicated to *Fortuna Mulieribus*, i. Womens fortune.

After all this, the Volcians joynd the *Equians* unto them, and returned into the territory of *Rome*. But the *Equians* would no longer abide *Acim* to be their Commander. And upon this

The answer of
Coriellanus to
the Roman O
rators.

The speech of
Veturia unto
her son Marius
in Coriellanus.

A this strife between the Volcians and *Equians*, whether of them should appoint a General over the army raised jointly of them both, first they grew to a mitying, and afterwards to a cruel battle. Such was the good fortune of the people of *Rome*, that two armies of their enemies, were thus by civil discord and contention, no less mortal than obstinate, overthrown and brought to naught. Consuls then, were *T. Sennius* and *C. Aquilius*. To *Sennius* were allotted the Volcians, and to *Aquilius* the Herniks (who also were but and up in arms) for their several Province. That year were the Herniks vanquished, but with the Volcians they fought to, as they departed on even hand going and taking the like.

After them were *Sp. Cassius*, and *Proculus Virginius* made Consuls. Then was there a league concluded with the Herniks, and two third parts of their Lands were taken from them. Whereof the one moiety, *C. Cassius* the Consul was minded to distribute among the Latins, the other among the Commons. To this donation he laid out also a good portion of ground, which being Commons by right, he found much taste, that it was in the tenure and possession of private persons. This act of his made diversie of the Senators, namely, such as were great landed men and interested therein, to startle for fear of hazarding their estate. Over and besides, the Senators all in general were in great perplexity, lest that the Consul by this largess, should rise by popular favour to such greatness, as might prejudice their free holds, yea and endanger the very main chance of publick liberty. And this was the first time that the law *Agrovia* was published: And to forward unto this present hour, it was never debated of, but with exceeding great stir and troubles of the State. The other Consul withstood this largess, with the general consent of the Senators, and without contradiction of some Commons: who at the very first began to dislike, and utterly abhor, that the donation was so common, and from the natural citizens, extended to their allies and confederates. Moreover, they might offend them even the Consul himself *Virginius*, openly in his solemn Orations before the people, to deliver by way of prophetic, and as it were to prognosticate, "That this was a pitiful largess of his brother Consul, and that those grounds would in the end embroil the Latins therewith, and that it was the very high way to set up a Kingdom again. For to what other intent (I pray you) were their allies, and the nation of the Latins associate in the same? To what purpose either, was a third part of the Lands won by conquest, given again to the Herniks: profess themselves but a while before, but that these nations might have

C. Cassius to be such another *C. Claudius* of their allies as *Coriellanus* was. And thus by disavowing and crossing the law *Agrovia*, he became now to be popular and gracious with the people. Then both Consuls thrived much, who might please and gratify the Commons most. *Virginius*, by giving out that he would maintain and infer the Lands to be divided, so they were assigned to none but to the citizens of *Rome*. *Cassius* again, who in the largess of the Lands, seemed to Court and insinuate himself with the Latins and thereby was of the citizens less regarded and reputed to the end, that by some other benefit he might regain the hearts of his countrymen, was of opinion, and made a motive, that the money which was received for the *Stilian* can, should be repayed unto the people. But the Commons refused and abhorred that, as a very bribe and ready bait for a Scepter and Crown. So greatly were all his gifts, for the deep rooted suspicion and jealousy of his aspiring to a Kingdom, loathed in the conceits of men, as if they had flowed in wealth, and been rich enough. And for certain it is recorded, that so soon as he left his Office, he was condemned and put to death. Some report, that his own father did the execution: and that upon examination privately had at home within his house, he finding him faulty, whipped him first, and to killed him, and conferred the goods and chattels of his son, as a *Decuria* to *Ceres*, wherof a Statue or Image was made, with this Inscription or Title, Given out of the house of *Cassius*. I find in some records (which foundeth nearer to the truth) that he was by the Quetors of *Celo Fabius*, and *L. Valerius*, indicted of treason, and being convicted, was by a verdict of the people condemned, and his house by order from the whole City, rased and pulled down. And at this day, it is the voyd yard that lieth before the Temple of *Tellus*. But howsoever he had his tryal and judgement, privately or openly condemned he was when *Srr. Cornelius* and *Q. Fabius* were Consuls. Long continued not the peoples anger and spite against *Cassius*. So sweet was the law *Agrovia* in it self, that when the Author and Upholder thereof was out of the World, they longed to have it on foot again. Which desire of theirs was the rather set on fire, through the pinching niggardie of the Senators, who having that year subdued the Volcians and *Equians*, kept the soldiers sitting, and defrauded them of the spoil. For what prizes soever were gotten from the enemies, the Consul *Fabius* sold and brought into the Exchequer or Chamber of the City.

Now was the name of *Fabius* already odious to the Commonalty, for the last Consuls take yet obtained the Senators so much, and held their own so, as *Celo Fabius* was created Consul with *L. Aemilius*. This made the Commons more malicious and bent to mischief. And edition at home caused war abroad. For rain war restrained civil discord for a while. Both Senators and Commons with one accord, under the conduct of *Aemilius*, fought fortunately with the rebellious Volcians and *Equians*, and defeated them. Howbeit more enemies perished in the life, than were slain in the battle: so hotly the horsemen pursued them when they were on the fire, that they were not able to stand, and gave not over. The time year was the Temple of *C. Cassius* conscripted in the *Ides of Quinctilis*. It had been vowed afo. e. time in the Latin war by *Posthumus* the Dictator. His son was created *Dumvir*, for that purpose, and dedicated it.

The law *Agrovia* first published, concerning the division of walled lands among the Commons.

Virginius saw the law *Agrovia*.

Sp. Cassius put to death for seeking to be King.

Treasurer of the City.

Temple of *C. Cassius* dedicated, i. 13. of July. *Dumvir* was created, on the occasion of a temple.

This year also the Commons hearts were set upon the law *Agraria*, and longed afresh after the sweetness thereof. The Tribuns of the Commonalty graced and credited their popular authority, with propounding a law as popular and acceptable to the people. But the Senators supposing verily that the multitude was furious and outrageous enough, and too much of themselves, without any hire and reward, stood in great dread and horror of these largesses, as the very allurements and provocations of rash and heady attempts: the stoutest champions of their side to withstand the law, were the Consuls. That part therefore and State of the City had the better hand, not only this present year, but for the next ensuing. For they chose *M. Fabius Celer* his brother, for the one Consul, and *L. V. Ferius* for the other, a man of the twin more odious in the eyes of the Commons, in regard of his late accusation of *Sp. Cassius*. In which year also there was strife and much ado with the Tribuns. But both law and law-makers with their glorious bragging and vaunting of their goodly donative, which they could not effect, proved vain and came to nothing. Upon this, the name of *Fabij*, who after three Consulships together one after another, by them born continually without intermission, were inured and tried in the broils and contentions of Tribuns, was in great request and reputation: and in their house and family remained still for a good while after, that dignity, as an honor well and worthily bestowed upon them. Then began the Veientian war, and the Volscians likewise rebelled. But for any war abroad whatsoever, they had strength enough and to spare, if by jars at home among their own selves they had not abused the same.

Besides this disquietness and affliction of all mens minds, occasioned by these dissensions, there happened (to amend the matter well) prodigious, and strange tokens from Heaven, daily in a manner threatening both in City and Country the heavy hand of God. And when as the soothsayers and wizards were sent out unto, to search forth the cause of Gods wrath and indignation both in publick and private, as well by inspection of the inward of sacrificed beasts, as by aspect of birds and souls, they could assign it to nothing else but this, that there was some error committed in their sacrifices and divine liturgie. Those fearful and prodigious signs proceeded still so far, that one *Oppia* a vestal Nun, convicted and condemned of incest, suffered death.

After this, followed *Q. Fabius* and *C. Terentius* Consuls. In which year the discord at home was nothing leis, and the war abroad far greater. For the *Æquians* role up in arms: the *Veientians* all entered the confines, and made much spoil. And whilst they were more and more careful about these wars what order to take, *Celer* *Fabius* and *Sp. Ferius*, were made Consuls. By this time the *Æquians* assaulted *Ardea* a City in *Lavinium*, and the *Veientians* having spoiled themselves with prizes and booties, made great cracks that they would give an assault upon the very City of *Rome*. These fearful news, which ought to have abated and taken down the stomacks of the Commons, made them much more fierce and fell, and they returned of themselves unto their old biases of refusing warfare: but *Sp. Licinius* their Tribune, thinking now the time was come to enforce upon the Senators the law *Agraria*, upon this exigent and extreme point of necessity, had taken upon him to stop the levying and setting out of an army. But he drew upon his own head the whole hatred and displeasure of the Tribuns themselves and their authority. For the Consuls opposed themselves against him no more bitterly than his own companions in office: by whose assistance the Consuls went through with the matter. And for two wars at once, there were enrolled two armies. The one under the leading of *Fabius*, against the *Æquians*, the other, against the *Veientians* commanded by *Ferius*. Against whom there was nothing done worthy of remembrance. As for *Fabius*, he had somewhat more to do with his own men than with his enemies. That man himself alone was he, that being Consul upheld the Common-weal, which his army for hatred of their Consul, had as much as in them lay, utterly betrayed. For when as he (above many other warlike feats and parts of a right worthy General, whereof he shewed singular proof, both in preparation, and also in managing of the war) had so marshalled and ranged his battail, that with sending out the horsemen only, he disordered and brake the ranks of his enemies host: behold, the footmen would not follow on after that disarray: neither, when the exhortation of their leader whom they hated, prevailed not, could their own shame at least-wile, and the publick dishonor for the present: no, nor yet the imminent danger like to ensue (in case the enemy had taken heart again and made head) force them to amend their pace one jot, and make more speed. Neither could he possibly make them (if to do nothing else) so much as to march still in battail array: but full against his commandment they retire with their ensigns: and as men fory in their hearts and ill paid, (he that had seen them would have said they had lost the field) cursing their General one while, and the valiant service of the horsemen another while, they return to their Tents. Neither wist the General what way to remedy this so pestilent an example and dangerous precedent. Thus we may see, that brave men, of singular and excellent wits, have been more to seek and fail in their skill, how to govern a subject than to vanquish an enemy. The Consul returneth to *Rome*, having purchased more hatred of his forward and stubborn soldiery, than won honor by his martial prowess. Nevertheless, the Senators prevailed so much that the Consulship kept residence still in the name of the *Fabij*. So, they created *M. Fabius* Consul, and joyn with him *Cn. Manlius* for his colleague.

This year likewise, had one patron and maintainer of the law *Agraria*, to wit, *Tiberius Pontificius* a Tribune. He taking the same course, and following the steps of *Sp. Licinius*, hindered the

A the matters for a while. And when the Senators were herewith disquieted again, then *Clodius* arose up and said, "That the year before, the Tribunes power was overmatched, and the neck of it broken in proof, only for that present, but in example for ever hereafter: so much as 'as it was well seen then by experience, that of it felt even among their own selves it fell apieces: and never will there want at any time one good Tribune or other, that would be glad to get the start and victory of his fellow-yea, and the favour also of the better part for to purchase the good of the weal-publicke. And that there would be more Tribunes, if more were needfull, ready to assist the Consuls: and it there were but one. even that, one were sufficient to stand against all the rest. So that the Consuls and LL. of the Council would but do their endeavour, to

win unto the State and Senate, some certain of the Tribunes, if they might not compass all. The Senators being thus schooled and taught their lessons by *Appius*, both all ingenerally would courteously salute and friendly intreat the Tribunes, and also in particular as many of them as had been Consuls, according to that interest that each man had in any one of them privately, partly by favour and friendship and partly by countenance and authority, prevailed so with them, that they were willing and well content to enfore the Tribunes authority to the good and safety of the Common-weale. So by the help of foure Tribunes, against one that hindered the good of all, the Consul took matter of the soldiery. Then set they forward on their voyage to war with the *Veientians*: unto whom from all parts of *Hærutia* they came to aid and succour, not so much for any love that they bare to the *Veientians*, as in hope that the pusillanerie of *Rome* through intestine and civil dissention, would decay and come to nought. For in all the Diets and Assemblies of the States of *Hærutia*, the Princes and Peers gave it out and laid, That the power and greatness of the Romans was everlasting, if through mutual discord they warred not so among themselves: which hath been found the only bane of wealthy and flourishing Cities, where y^e mighty Empires became mortall and subject to a final end. "Which mischief (say they) this long time hath been prevented and delayed, partly through the sage advice and prudent government of the Senate partly by the patience and long sufferance of the Commons: but now they are come to a great extremity. Divided they are, and of one City become twain: each part have their severall Magistrats and laws by themselves. At the first, however they were wont to be at odds, and to fall out at the muttering of soldiery, yet in war they would hold together, and obey their Captains. Howsoever they tarred at home in the City, were they State never to far out of order, yet so long as martial discipline was on foot and took place, they might be reclaimed, and all troubles staid. But now, the former use and custom of disobeying Magistrats within the City, is taken up by the Roman soldiery in the very Camp. For no longer since than the last war of all, in the time of battell and conflict, their whole Army agreed of their own accord not forced by any extremity that they were put unto, for to give the *Veientians* as much as in them lay, even after they had lost the field, the entire victory and honour of the day. For they abandoned their ensigns, left their General alone in the skirmish, and against his will, retired themselves into the Camp. And surely, if they hold on still this course, *Rome* may be won by means of her own soldiery: there needs no more to do, but to proclaim

E "and make: shew of war: For even the very detinies and gods themselves would perforce all the rest. Upon these hopes and deep persuasions, the *Tuscan*, who afore were wont otherwise: to have the better, and sometimes to take the worse in their wars, put themselves in arms. The Roman Consuls likewise were in feast of nothing else so much, as of their own power, their own force and weapons: being affrighted at the remembrance of that foul and shameful example, and that lewd part played in the last war: lest peradventure they should put it upon this point of hazard, as to be in danger of two battels at once. And therefore in doubtfull and perilous a case they held off fight, and kept themselves within their Camp, if haply time and space would assuage their anger, bring them into the right way again, and reclaim them to good and reasonable order. The enemies hereat, as well *Veientians* as the other *Tuscan*, made the greater hate, and were more sharp set, and provoked them to the field: first by riding up and down before their Camp, hard at the gates thereof, braving and challenging them forth, at the last seeing they could not prevail, they left to rating and railing one while upon the Consuls themselves, another while upon the whole Army, in these and colour of civil dissention to cloak their "and a proper device to save their cowardice, and under a colour of civil dissention to cloak their "fearfulness: and the Consuls forthwith mistrust more the faithfulness and loyalty of their soldiery in service, than they doubted their valour and sufficiency of service. Many, here is indeed a "new kind of mutiny. What? Armed men to hold their peace, and sit still? Hitting them in their "teeth besides, with their new start-up rising, and late spring-bale beginning, letting fly against them "lies and truths, one with another, and spured not. For all this foule stir they kept flourishing and reviling them under their very trench, and hard at their gates, the Consuls themselves were not one jot troubled. But the foolish and ignorant multitude what with anger, and what for shame of their reprobate will terms, was much displeased: and one whilst wholly gave over to regard and think upon home troubles and dissentions, and had rather than their lives be revenged of their enemies: Among again, they would not in any case gratifie the Nobles and Consuls, nor with them good offices. Thus the hatred both against the enemies without, and the Consuls, within tore together in their hearts: untill at length forrain occasions got the mastery over them: so proudly,

The politike practice of *Appius Claudius* to abate the Tribunes authority.

The speeches of the *Tuscan* Princes in their Council.

The dissidence of soldiers to their Captain.

to insolently the enemy scorned and made a game of them. Whereupon they came thick by troops H to the Generals pavilion, calling upon them for to fight, requiring to put forth the banner and signall of battell. The Consuls laid their heads together, and as taking good advisement, conferred on the matter a good while. To fight they were most willing and desirous: but this desire was to be kept back and dissimiled, and thereby augmented: to the end, that by holding off by opposing themselves, and making some stay, they might let the souldiers on, and being once set on it, they might make them follow more eagerly at once. In conclusion, this answer was returned unto them: That they made too much haste: it was not yet full ripe, nor the time come, to give battell: they must hold themselves contented, and keep within their tents: proclaiming moreover, that no man be to hardy as to fight: and whosoever attempted it, without their warrant and commission, they would proceed against him with all rigour, as a professed enemy. Thus were they dismissed. And the less willing they thought the Consuls were, the more eager were they, and let upon a battell. The enemies besides, when they had intelligence, that the Consuls were not disposed to fight, and had taken order to the contrary, were incited and inflamed to much the more. For now they supposed they might brave it, and insult upon them safely without danger. For why? The Consuls durst not: truth the souldiers with weapon in hand: "now were their mutinies cometo the height, and to break forth in extremities: now and never before the Roman Empire and Dominion was at an end. Presuming confidently upon this ground, they run together unto the gates, redoubling a thousand villanous and opprobrious terms, and much ado they had to forbear afflicting the camp. Now could the Romans on the other side hold no longer & endure this continually and indignity, but came running from all parts of the camp unto the Consuls. And now not leisurely as before, make they request, and by mediation of their chief centurions: but all at once on every side piled them with outcries and clamors. Now was the matter come to ripeness, yet slow were the Consuls still and hold off. Then *Fabius*, seeing the tumult increased & that for fear of a mutiny his brother Consul had yielded already, aulcidence to be made by found of trumpet and thus he spake: "I know full well O *M. Minius*, that these fellows are able to win the victory: but that they will go to do I know not; and they themselves have caused me to doubt. I have therefore let down my rest and fully resolved not to give the signal of battell, unless they swear to return out of the field with victory. Once did the souldiers in battell deceive a Consul of Rome: but the gods in heaven shall they never deceive. Then *M. Flavius*, a Centurion, one of the foremost that called for battell to instantly, "Return will I (quoth he) O *M. Fabius* victor out of the field: and if I fail, then I beseech rather *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Gracchus* and other gods to make me a fearful example & show thee their wrathfull displeasure upon me. The same oath after him took the whole army, every man against himself. Thus when they had sworn in the trumpet sounded. Then buckled they themselves toward battell, full of anger, full of hope. Now they bid the Tuskans revile and rail their fill: now being at all points armed, they wished they had afore them man to man their enemies, those that were so lively and lusty with their tongues. Right valiantly bare themselves that day, as well the Commons as the Nobles. But the name of the *Fabii*, the *Fabii* I say, passed all the rest and won the spurs. Who in this piece of service purposed to gain again the hearts of the Commons, which in many civil contentions, were set against them. And so they embattelled themselves. The enemies likewise, both the Ventians and also the Tuskans legions were nothing behind, as making almost free reckoning that they should be fought withall no more than the *Equians* had been. Nay they were in hope of some greater disorder amongst them, and that, considering they were so malecontent, and the occasion to doubtfull they would play a more shameful part and shew their leaders a beastly cast. But it fell out otherwise. For never in any other war afore, gave the Romans a hotter charge upon the enemies: so much had they of the one side with pittefull taunts and reproaches nettled them, and the Consuls on the other side with their long delays what them on. Scarce had the Tuskans any time to put themselves in battell array, but at the very first encounter and shock, calling their javelins carefully from them (I know not how) rather than leysling and charging them against the enemy, they came presently pell-mell to hand-strokes, and to deal with their swords, which is the cruellest fight of all other. The *Fabii* among the foremost in the forefront fought valiantly, shewing their countenance a brave fight, and a noble example to follow. Where *Q. Fabius*, who had been Consul the third year before, the leader and forwardest of them all, whiles he advanced himself and rushed amongst the thickest of the Ventians and scuffled with many of them together, was not aware of his deadly enemy so near: but behold a certain Tuskans, a mighty man of strength and skillful at his weapon, ran him through the breast with his sword. Which was not so soon drawn forth of his body, but *Fabius* fell down headlong upon his wound and died. Both armies felt the fall of that one man: and therewith the Romans retired. With that *M. Fabius* the Consul leaped over his body as it lay along, and holding forth his target between: "Why, souldiers (quoth he) is the oath ye took to run away and retire thus in, to the Camp? And are ye more afraid indeed, of these most dastardly enemies, than of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, by whom ye swore? But I, who was not sworn at all, will either make return with victory, or else O *Q. Fabius*, fighting here by thee. I will live and die by thy side. To whom, *C. Fabius*, who the year afore was Consul, replied again: "Think you brother, with these words to make them to fight? Nay, the gods are they that must do it, by whom they have sworn. And let us like noble Knights, and for the honour of the *Fabian* house,

The speech of
Fabius to his
brother Consul.

A "stir up and animate our souldiers by fighting rather than by exhorting. Thus rode the two *Fabii* with lance in rest into the forefront, and drew the whole battell with them. The fight of one side being thus renewed, *Cn. Manlius* the Consul in the other wing betisred himself, and did for his part as valiantly: Where hapned almost the like fortune. For as in the one wing the souldiers followed *Q. Fabius*, so in this they cheerfully went with the Consul himself *Manlius*, chasing the enemies afore him as discomfited. And when he was fore wounded, and thereupon gone out of the battell, his men supposing him to be slain, drew back, and had indeed lost ground and given way to the enemy, but that the other Consul with certain Cornets of horsemen, galloped again into that quartex, and cried aloud that his fellow Consul was living: and that himself who had defeated the other point, was ready with victory to assist them, and so upheld the middle of the Army, that now began to shrink. *Manlius* also, to encourage his men, shewed himself in open fight. Thus the knowledge and presence of the two Consuls made the souldiers take heart afresh. Here withall besides, were the enemies battalions the thinner and weaker, because they trusting upon their exceeding number, had drawn out those that were to serve for succour and supply, and sent them away to assaile the Camp. In the surprising whereof, finding no great ado and small resistance, whiles they had more mind to stile it a pillage, than to fight for the victory, they lost time. In the mean space the Roman *Triarii*, who were not able to hold out the first assault and entrance, having dispatched to the Consuls certain messengers, to give knowledge in what terms they stood, cast themselves round in a ring, and retired themselves to the *Prætorium* or Generals lodging, and of themselves alone, made head and renewed the fight. Likewise *Manlius* the Consul being ridden back to the Camp, at every gate set certain souldiers in guard: and so enclosed them within, that they could not get forth. The Tuskans being in this desperate state, fared more like madmen than hardy souldiers. For when as they ran here and there every way, according as they had any hope to find issue and to escape, and had madeundry offers and attempts in vain: behold one troop of tall fellows in a body, made no more ado, but knowing the Consul, who by reason of brave and goodly armour was a fair mark, charged upon his own person. The first volley of their throw was received by those that stood about him, but their violence afterwards could not be endured. The Consul himself was wounded to death, and fell down in the place, and all the rest were discomfited. Whereupon the Tuskans took more heart unto them, but the Romans were so distressed, that they ran all about the Camping great fear. And in extrem jeopardy had they been, but that the Lieutenants caught up the Consul's body, and made passage at one gate for the enemy. Through which they rushed forth and discharged disorderly, untill they light upon the other Consul presently afore his victory: where they either fell again upon the edge of the sword, or were fastened and put to flight. This brave Victory thus achieved, was heavy yet and sorrowful for the death of two noble personages. And therefore when the Senate had decreed a Triumph, the Consul returned this answer: "That willingly he could allow thereof in regard of the passing good service performed in that war, to see an Army might triumph without a General. But as for himself, seeing that his house grieved and mourned for the death of his brother *Q. Fabius*, and that he

B "Common wealth was half fatherless as it were, for the loss of a Consul, he would not accept the Law itself deformed and foully blemished, both with publique and private sorrow. This Triumph, thus by him refused, was more honourable than all the Triumphs in the world. By which we may see that glory despised in the time returneth otherwhiles in greater measure. Then solemnized he with great honour the souldiers upon another, fitt of his fellow Consul, and then of his own brother. And he himself made the funeral Oration for them both. But so as in yielding unto them their due commendations, he went himself away with the greater pain. And not unmindful of that rule which he had learned in the beginning of the Consulship, namely, to win again the hearts and love of the Commons, he divided the cure of his hurt and wounded souldiers among the Senators. With most of them the *Fabii* were charged, and if none were they better tended and looked unto than others. Whereupon the *Fabii* now waxed popular, and that, for no other policy and intent, but only to do the Common wealth good: and therefore with the favour and good will of the Commons, as well as of the Nobles, *C. Fabius* was created Consul with *T. Virginus*. Whole principal care above all was this, even before war, before battles, before all things else, that seeing now in some measure there was good hope of concord begun already, the hearts of the Commons might be perfectly linked and united together with the Nobles, and that, with all speed possible. In the beginning therefore of this year, before that any Tribute of the Commons should prefer the law *Agrois*, he thought good and gave his advice, that the Nobles should prevent all, and go in hand first themselves to perform their part, and shew their bounty: namely in parting the lands gotten by conquest, and freely bestowing the same as equally as might be among the Commons. For it was meet and require that they should be possessed thereof, whose sweat of brows, nay, whose blood had paid for the purchase. But the Senators could not hear of that ear, but misliked of the motion: yea, some of them complained and said, that the lively spirit, and courageous disposition of *C. Fabius*, which sometimes he had, was now by reason of excessive glory, grown to be toytill and full of vanities. And there an end of civil factions for a time.

C But the Latines were much troubled with the incursions and irrodes of the *Equians*. Thither

Manlius the
Consul slain.

Fabius refused
triumph.

was *Cato* with an Army, who invaded and overran the very country of the *Æquians*, foraging and spoiling as he went. The *Æquians* thereupon retired, & put themselves into their towns, and kept close within the walls, whereby there was no memorable field fought. But at their enemies the *Veientians* hand, they received an overthrow, and that through the rashness of the other Consul: and had not *Cato Fabius* come to the rescue in good time, the whole Army had been utterly lost. From that time there was neither war nor peace with the *Veientians*: but their dealing was much what after the manner of robbing. For when the Roman Legions were abroad, they would leave the field, & take to their Cities: when they perceived the Legions were removed and gone, they would make excursions and waste the country. Thus plaid they mock-holiday, and dallied with them, shifting off war with quietness, and quietness again with war, by turns. So as the Romans could neither all wholly rest careless and secure for them, nor yet go through-fitch, & make an end once for all with them. Besides, other wars were either presently at hand, to wit, from the *Æquians* and the *Volscians*, who could no longer sit still, till until their fresh grief, and pain of the last defeature was over-past; or else the *Sabins*, never other but enemies, *yea*, and all *Hetruria*, were like all shortly to rise and take arms. But the *Veientian* a continual enemy, rather than dangerous, provoked them to anger with reproachful taunts, often than with any great peril or hurt. And yet as little as it was, it might not time be neglected, nor gave them leave to be employed in the mean while elsewhere. Then came the whole house and kindred of the *Fabii* unto the Senat, in the name of them all spake the Consul in this wise: "My Lords of the Senat, the *Veientian* war had need rather of a resident garison, as ye know well enough, to keep the frontiers, than great forces for expedition. As for yonise ye to other wars, let the *Fabii* alone to deal as private enemies with the *Veientians*. We dare undertake and warrant, that the State of *Rome* shall receive no dishonour nor danger there. We are fully minded and resolved at our own proper cost and charges, to maintain and manage that war, as appropriate and peculiar to our name and family: the City shall be charged neither with men nor money there. Great thanks were given them for this their forwardness. The Consul being come out of the Senat house, was attended home with the whole generation of the *Fabii* who stood at the porch of the Council Court, expecting the Senat's decree. And being commanded to be ready in armor well appointed the next day, and to give attendance at the Consuls door; they departed from thence home to their own houses. The bruit hereof spread all over the City. All men extoll the *Fabii* up to the skies, saying, "That one family had taken upon them the whole burden of the City. The *Veientian* war now is become (say they) a private charge, and requieth the power and force only of that private persons could make. Or that there were two such families more in *Rome* of that rock-like and valour: that one of them might take the *Volscians* in hand, and another the *Æquians*. Surely all the nations bordering hereabout might soon be subdued, and the people of *Rome* sit still the while and rest in peace. The day following, the *Fabii* armed themselves, mounted on horseback, and repaired to the *Rendevous* aforesaid, as they were commanded. Then came the Consul forth, clad in a rich coat of arms, and standing in his porch, beheld his whole blood and lineage armed and marshalled in order, and being received in the midst of them, caused the guidons and Cornets to be advanced. Never marched three along the City an Army either less in number, or more renowned for their fame and the admiration of men. Three hundred men of arms they were and six, all nobly defended, of one flock, of one race and name all. And of all them there was not one that a sage and prudent Senat would have refused at any time as insufficient, to be a Leader and Commander in the field. Thus furnished with the force and strength that one only Family could make, they advanced forward, threatening and menacing the ruin and destruction of the *Veientians*. There followed a number and multitude of Citizens: one private company by themselves of kinsfolk, allies, friends, and fellows, casting in their minds no mean matters, neither of hope nor fear, but all exceeding measure and surpassing another. Of the common people, moved with a careful regard, and astonished again in a favourable applause and admiration of their enterprise, crying with one voice, Hold on right valiant Knights, March on a Gods name in happy hour! God grant lucky speed, answerable to your magnanimous attempt and designments: and look for, at our hands from henceforth, Consulships, triumphs, all rewards and honourable dignities whatsoever. And all the way as they passed along the Capitol, the *Capitane* and other Temples, they besought the gods, as many as were presented to their eye, as many as they could conceive in their minds, to vouchsafe that Squadron to be attended upon with good success and fortunate felicity, and soon to return home again in safety to their native country and loving parents. But, alas the while, in vain were all these prayers made. Then set they forward on their journey, leaving *Jove* Church on their right hand, taking the ungracious and unlucky way, from the gate *Cermentalis*, until at length they came to the river *Cremera*. That was thought a convenient place to fortifie in, and there to plant a garison. After this were *L. Æmilius* and *C. Servilius* made Consuls. And so long as they adventured no farther than foraging the Country, the *Fabii* were good enough, not only to defend their hold and fort: but all their frontier parts and marches where the Tuscan Territory adjoyneth to the Roman, they so coursed and traversed, between the one confine and the other, that they kept all their own in safety, and mightily endamaged the enemies. Then furcised they a while, but it was not long from wasting and spoiling. By which time both the *Veientians* had gathered

Cato Fabius the Consul, to the Lords of the Senat.

The lineage of the *Fabii* after so much a war with the *Veientians* in their own persons, and at their proper charges.

* At this day *Papa* was.

A power out of *Hetruria*, and assaulted the fort of *Cremera*, and also the Roman Legions, under the conduct of the Consul *L. Æmilius*, encountered the *Tuscan* in open field. And yet the *Veientians* had hardly time enough to put themselves in order of battell: so suddenly at the very first skirmish, whilst the files were entering into array under their colours in the vanguard, and the succours and supplies a placing and disposing in the rearward, a Cornet of Roman horse charged them so hotly on the flank, that they had not room and space, either to begin fight, or to keep their standing sure. Thus were they discomfited, and chased back as far as *Saxa rubra*, i.e. Red rocks (for there they were encamped) where they humbly craved peace. Which when they had obtained (see their inbred inconstancy so naturally engrained) they were weary of it, and repented thereof. Before the Roman garison could be withdrawn from *Cremera*. And so the *Fabii* once again skirmished with the *Veientian* Nation, without preparation of greater war. Neither made they inrodes only, and sudden violent incursions into the Territories: but sundry times they encountered with banners displayed, and joined battell in plain field. And that one house and kindred of the Roman people carried oftentimes the victory away from that most mighty and rich City (in those daies) of all the *Tuscan*. This took the *Veientians* at the first for a foul disgrace and indignity. But afterwards they deviled to lay trains, as occasion should serve, and entrap their fierce and hardy enemy: and well paid they were and rejoiced, that the *Fabii* upon the good success that still followed them, were become more bold and venturesome. And therefore divers times when the Romans were abroad a plundering, they would drive cattle in their way but yet so, as they might seem to light upon them by chance. The rustic peasants made shew as if they fled out of the Country, and left the fields waste: *yea*, and the companies of soldiers lent out to restrain and keep their spoiling, made shew of running away, pretending often they were afraid than they had cause indeed. So as now the *Fabii* by this time let to fight by their enemies, and thought to well of themselves, that they beleaved verily their power was invincible, and might not be withstood in any ground, or at any time whatsoever. This conceit and hope of theirs let them so aloft, and made them so bold, that clyping upon a time cattle far from *Cremera* (for there was a large plain between) although here and there they might descry armed soldiours of their enemies, yet from their fort they ran down, with bridle in their horse neck. And when unadvisedly without foresight, they were past the ambush, which was laid covertly about the very way that they were to pass, and were stragling here and there disorderly, driving the cattle away, which gadded in and out, as their manner is when they be scared and affrighted, then suddenly start the enemies all at once out of the ambushment: so as both before and behind, and on every side they were beset and environed with enemies. At the first the very houting and outcry they made round about terrified them: afterwards flew their shot from all sides. And as the *Tuscan* gathered themselves together, the *Fabii* were soon hemmed within a round battallion of enemies, standing armed thick and close one to another: and the nearer the enemies approached about them, in so much less room were they enforced also to cast themselves into a ring. Which, considering their arraies were thrust so thick together in so straight a compass, made their small number appear the less, and the multitude of the *Tuscan* to carry a greater shew. Then forbearing to fight as they first intended, one every hand alike, and with all at once, they made head to one only place. Thero they endeavour with might and main, body and armour: and with a pointed partel wedgewise pierced through and made themselves passage. And they took the way that led to a little hill, rising up with an easy ascent. From whence at first they made resistance only and kept their ground: but soon after, when by reason of the vantage of the hill, they had some time to breath themselves, and to take heart again after so great a fight, they forced the enemies also to give back that were mounting up the hill. And as few in number as they were yet by the benefit of the ground they had gotten the better, if the *Veientians* had not set a compass about the hill side, and gained the very top and pitch thereof. Thus became the enemy again to have the upper hand. And so were the *Fabii* slain every man, and not one of them escaped, *yea*, and their fort overthrowen. And sated, Three hundred and six there were that died, as all writers do agree. One only of the name was left behind at home, well near fourteen years of age, for to renew and encrease, as out of a flock, the name of the *Fabii*, and to prove in time to come the greatest prop and pillar that the people of *Rome* should have in their dangers and extremities many a time both at home and abroad.

But ere this heavy loss and overthrow hapned, *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* were Consuls. *Meneius* was sent forthwith against the *Tuscan*, puffed now up with pride for this their victory: with whom then also he fought unfortunately and sped but ill. For the enemies surprised and got the *Janiculum*, and the City had surely been besieged, (considering that besides war they were greatly distressed for want of victuals, for the *Tuscan* were passed over the *Tiber*) but that *G. Horatius* the Consul was called home from the *Volscians*. And so near approached the enemies in this war and pressed to the very walls, that first there was a skirmish on even hand at the Temple of *Spes*: and another again at the gate *Collina*. Where albeit the Romans got but very small odds of the enemy, yet did that conflict upon a little recovery of wounded courage prepare the soldiours to better service in the battels ensuing.

Now were *A. Virginius* and *Sp. Servilius* created Consuls. The *Veientians* after this late defeat, came no more into the field, yet they robbed and wasted still. And from the *Janiculum* as from

The *Fabii* all slain.

H. p.

was *Cas* with an Army sent, who invaded and overran the very country of the *Æquians*, foraging and spoiling as he went. The *Æquians* thereupon retired, & put themselves into their towns, and kept close within the walls, whereby there was no memorable field fought. But at their enemies the *Veientians* hand, they received an overthrow, and that through the rashness of the other Consul: and had not *Cas* *Fabius* come to the rescue in good time, the whole Army had been utterly lost. From that time there was neither war nor peace with the *Veientians*: but their dealing was much what after the manner of robbing. For when the Roman Legions were abroad, they would leave the field, & take to their Cities: when they perceived the Legions were removed and gone, they would make excursions and waste the country. Thus plaid they mock-holiday, and dallied with them, shifting off war with quietness, and quietness again with war, by turns. So as the Romans could neither all wholly rest careless and secure for them, nor yet go through flitch, & make an end once for all with them. Besides, other wars were either presently at hand, to wit, from the *Æquians* and the *Volscians*, who could no longer sit still, than until their fresh grief, and pain of the last defeat was over-past: or else the *Sabines*, never other but enemies, yea, and all *Hetruria*, were like all shortly to rise and take arms. But the *Veientian* a continual enemy, rather than dangerous, provoked them to anger with reproachful taunts, oftner than with any great peril or hurt. And yet as little as it was, it might no time be neglected, nor gave them leave to be employed in the mean while elsewhere. Then came the whole house and kindred of the *Fabii* unto the *Senat*, in the name of them all, pake the Consul in this wise: "My Lords of the *Senat*,

Cas *Fabius* the Consul, and the Lords of the *Senat*.

The lineage of the *Fabii* offer to maintain war with the *Veientians* in their own person, and at their proper charges.

"the *Veientian* war had need rather of a resident garrison, as ye know well enough, to keep the frontiers, than great forces for expedition. As for you, ye to other wars. Let the *Fabii* alone to deal as private enemies with the *Veientians*. We dare undertake and warrant, that the State of *Rome* shall receive no dishonour nor danger there. We are fully minded and resolved at our own proper cost and charges, to maintain and manage that war, as appropriate and peculiar to our name and family: the City shall be charged neither with men nor money there. Great thanks were given them for this their forwardness. The Consul being come out of the *Senat* house, was attended home with the whole generation of the *Fabii* who stood at the porch of the Council Court, expecting the *Senat*'s decree. And being commanded to be ready in armor well appointed the next day, and to give attendance at the Consuls door, they departed from thence home to their own houses. The bruit hereof spread all over the City. All men extoll the *Fabii* up to the skies, saying, "That one family had taken upon them the whole burden of the City. The *Veientian* war now is become (say they) a private charge, and requireth the power and force only that private persons could make. O that there were two such families more in *Rome* of that sort! and valour: that one of them might take the *Volscians* in hand, and another the *Æquians*. Surely all the nations bordering hereabout might soon be subdued, and the people of *Rome* fit still the while and rest in peace. The day following, the *Fabii* armed themselves, mounted on horseback, and repaired to the *Remus* as afore said, as they were commanded. Then came the Consul forth, clad in a rich coat of arms, and standing in his porch, beheld his whole blood and lineage armed and marshalled in order, and being received in the midst of them, caused the guidons and Cornets to be advanced. Never marched three along the City an Army either less in number, or more renowned for their fame and the admiration of men. Three hundred men of arms they were and six, all nobly defended, of one flock, of one race and name all. And of all them there was not one that a sage and prudent *Senat* would have refused at any time as insufficient, to be a Leader and Commander in the field. Thus furnished with the force and strength that one only Family could make, they advanced forward, threatening and menacing the ruin and destruction of the *Veientians*. There followed a number and multitude of Citizens: one private company by themselves of kinsfolk, allies, friends, and fellows, casting in their minds no mean matters, neither of hope nor fear, but all exceeding measure and surpassing: another, of the common people, moved with a careful regard, and stoned again in a favourable applause and admiration of their enterprise, crying with one voice, Hold on right valiant Knights, March on a Gods name in happy hour: God grant lucky speed, answerable to your magnanimous attempts and designs: and look for, at our hands from henceforth, Consulships triumphs all rewards and honourable dignities whatsoever. And all the way as they passed along the Capitol the Castle and other Temples they besought the gods, as many as were presented to their eye, as many as they could conceive in their minds, to vouchsafe that Squadron to be attended upon with good success and fortunate felicity, and soon to return home again in safety to their native country and loving parents. But, alas the while, in vain were all these prayers made. Then set they forward on their journey, leaving *Janus* Church on their right hand, taking the ungracious and unlucky way, from the gate *Carnentalis*, until at length they came to the river *Cremera*. That was thought a convenient place to fortify in and there to plant a garrison. After this were *L. Aemilius* and *C. Servilius* made Consuls. And so long as they adventured no farther than foraging the Country, the *Fabii* were good enough, not only to defend their hold and fort: but all their frontier parts and marches where the Tuscan Territory adjoyneth to the Roman, they frequented and travelled, between the one confine and the other, that they kept all their own in safety, and mightily endangered the enemies. Then surceased they a while, but it was not long, from wasting and spoiling. By which time both the *Veientians* had gathered

* At this day *Fabius* was Consul.

A power out of *Hetruria*, and assaulted the fort of *Cremera*, and also the Roman Legions, under the conduct of the Consul *L. Aemilius*, encountered the *Tuscan* in open field. And yet the *Veientians* had hardly time enough to put themselves in order of battell: so suddenly at the very first skirmish, whilst the files were entering into array under their colours in the vanguard, and the succours and supplies a placing and disposing in the rearward, a Cornet of Roman horie charged them so hotly on the flank, that they had no room and space, either to begin fight, or to keep their standing sure. Thus were they discomfited, and chased back as far as *Saxarum*, i.e. Red rocks (for there they were encamped) where they humbly craved peace. Which when they had obtained (see their inbred inconstancy so naturally engrained) they were weary of it, and repented thereof. Before the Roman garrison could be withdrawn from *Cremera*. And so the *Fabii* once again skirmished with the *Veientian* Nation, without preparation of greater war. Neither made they incursions only, and sudden violent incursions into the Territories, but sundry times they encountered with banners displayed, and joined battell in plain field. And that one house and kindred of the Roman people carried oftentimes the victory away from that most mighty and rich City (in those daies) of all the *Tuscan*. This took the *Veientians* at the first for a foul disgrace and indignity. But afterwards they devised to lay trains, as occasion should serve, and entrap their fierce and hardy enemy: and well apaid they were and joyiced, that the *Fabii* upon the good success that still followed them, were become more bold and venturesome. And therefore divers times when the Romans were abroad a plundering, they would drive cattle in their way but yet so, as they might seem to light upon them by chance. The rustic peasants made shew as if they fled out of the Country, and left the fields waste: yea, and the companies of soldiers lent out to refrain and stay their spoiling, made shew of running away, pretending oftner they were afraid than they had cause indeed. So as now the *Fabii* by this time let follow by their enemies, and thought to well of themselves, that they beleaved verily their power was invincible, and might not be withstood in any ground, or at any time whatsoever. This conceit and hope of theirs let them so aloft, and made them so bold, that elysing upon a time cattle far from *Cremera*, (for there was a large plain between) although here and there they might descry armed soldiers of their enemies, yet from their fort they ran down, with bridle in their horie neck. And when unadvisedly without foresight, they were past the ambush, which was laid covertly about the very way that they were to pass, and were stragling here and there disorderly, driving the cattle away, which gadded in and out, as their manner is when they be taken and affrighted, then suddenly start the enemies all at once out of the ambushment: so as both before and behind, and on every side they were beset and environed with enemies. At the first the very shouting and outcry they made round about terrified them: afterwards flew their shot from all sides. And as the *Tuscan* gathered themselves together, the *Fabii* were soon hemmed within a round battalion of enemies, standing armed thick and close one to another: and the nearer the enemies approached about them, in so much less room were they enforced also to cast themselves into a ring. Which, considering their arraies were thrust to thick together in so straight a compais, made their small number appear the less, and the multitude of the *Tuscan* to carry a greater shew. Then forbearing to fight as they first intended, on every hand alike, and with all at once, they made head to one only place. There they endeavour with might and main, body and armour: and with a pointed patel wedgewife pierced through and made themselves passage. And they took the way that led to a little hill, rising up with an easy ascent. From whence at first they made resistance only and kept their ground: but soon after, when by reason of the vantage of the hill, they had some time to breath themselves, and to take heart again after so great a fight, they forced the enemies also to give back that were mounting up the hill. And as few in number as they were yet by the benefit of the ground they had gotten the better if the *Veientians* had not set a compais about the hill side, and gained the very top and pitch thereof. Thus became the enemy again to have the upper hand. And so were the *Fabii* slain every man, and not one of them escaped, yea, and their fort overthrowen and railed. Three hundred and six there were that died, as all writers do agree. One only of the name was left behind at home, well near fourteen years of age, for to renew and encrease, as out of a flock, the name of the *Fabii*, and to prove in time to come the greatest prop and pillar that the people of *Rome* should have in their dangers and extremities many a time both at home and abroad.

The *Fabii* all slain.

But ere this heavy loss and overthrow hapned, *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* were Consuls. *Meneius* was sent forth with against the *Tuscan*, pushed now up with pride for this their victory: with whom then also he fought unfortunately and sped but ill. For the enemies surprised and got the *Janiculum*, and the City had surely been besieged, (considering that besides war they were greatly distressed for want of victuals, for the *Tuscan* were passed over the *Tyber*) but that *C. Horatius* the Consul was called home from the *Volscians*. And so near approached the enemies in this war and pressed to the very walls: that first there was a skirmish on even hand at the Temple of *Sp. S.* and another again at the gate *Collina*. Where albeit the Romans got but very small odds of the enemy, yet did that conflict upon a little recovery of wonted courage prepare the soldiers to better service in the battels ensuing.

Now were *A. Virginius* and *Sp. Servilius* created Consuls. The *Veientians* after this late defeat, came no more into the field, yet they robbed and wasted still. And from the *Janiculum* as from

from a fortrets and place of safe retreat, they would make excursions out into the Territory of the Rome all about, and neither cattle nor country people could any where be in safety for them. But afterwards, they were overtaken themselves in the same wile that they had caught the *Fabii* with. For as they followed after certain cattle, which were driven forth here and there of purpose to draw and train them abroad, they were plunged themselves headlong into an Ambuscado laid for them. And the more they were, the greater was their slaughter. Upon this foil, their cruel and fell anger gave the occasion and overture of a greater overthrow. For having crossed the *Tyber* in the night season, they gave the attempt to make an assault upon the Camp of the Consul *Scruvilius*. But being discomfited, and many of them slain, the rest retired themselves from thence, and with much ado recovered the *Janicie*. Straight after this, the Consul also passed over *Tyber*, and encampeth himself strongly under the *Janiculum*. The morrow morning by Sun rising, so venturesome he was by reason of his fortunate fight the day before, and more for the scarcity of corn and victuals, which drove him to take he cared not how rash and dangerous courses, so they tended to more quick and speedy expedition, full fondly he advanced forward, and marched up the steep hill of the *Janicie*, and charged the enemies hold: but being let back himself from thence more shamefully than he had the day before repelled the enemies: yet by occasion that his fellow Consul came in the while to refuse, he and his Army both were saved: and the *Tuscan* enclosed between both hosts, were forced to turn their backs, both to one and the other, and were killed every mothers son. Thus by a rash enterprise (which as good luck was) sped well, the *Veientian* war came to an end. The City then, as it enjoyed peace, so it came again to be better stored of corn and victual: both for that there was more grain brought out of *Campania*, and also because the old store that was hoorded up came abroad, by reason that no man now stood in fear of dearth to enfee.

T. Menenius
accused and
arraigned,

* 6 lib. s. fl.
flet.

Sp. Servilius
arraigned.

Afterwards upon plenty and ease they began to be busie again, and their heads to work, seeking to broach old troubles at home, since they had none to occupy them abroad. The Tribunes they fell to sollicite and infect the Commons, with their venom and poyson, the Law *Agraria*: inciting them against the Nobles that gaind it: not in general terms only, but also by touching particular persons. For *Q. Confidius* and *T. Gentius*, who were for the Law *Agraria*, framed an indictment, and sued *T. Menenius*. And this was laid to his charge, to wit, the loss of the fort and garrison at *Cremora*: for that, he being Consul lay encamped not far from thence. But of this danger he soon flopped the course, both because the Nobles laboured and took his part, no less than they had done afore for *Coriolanus*: and also the affection and favour that men bare to his father *Agrippa*, was not worn out, and clean forgot. The Tribunes used moderation therefore in the penalty, for having commenced a capital action against him, and convicted him thereof, they set a fine on his head of 2000 *Affes*. Howbeit this cost him his life: for he grew, men say, into such a melancholik fit for shame of this disgrace, that he fell thereupon from grief of heart unto a pining sickness which followed him to his dying day. Then was there another accused and brought into trouble, to wit. *Sp. Servilius*, so soon as he was out of his Consulship: at what time as *C. Nautilus*, and *P. Valerius* were Consuls. In the beginning of whole year the Tribunes *L. Cadius* and *T. Statius*, called him straightwaies to his answer. Who sustained the violence of the Tribunes not as *Menenius* did, by his own intreaty and the prayers of the Nobles, but bare himself confidently upon his own innocency, and the good grace wherein he stood. Blamed he was likewise, and charged for the battel with the *Tuscan* at *Janiculum*. But being a man of an hot spirit and stout courage, as he carried himself before in the publike danger, so now in his own private peril, by refusing in a bold and stout speech that he made, not only the Tribunes, but also the Commonalty, and calling in their teeth and reproving them, for the condemnation and death of *T. Menenius*, by whose fathers means the Commons being in times past restored, had obtained first those very Magistrats and Laws, whereby at this day they exercise such rigour: he went through all his troubles, and with much boldness avoided the present jeopardy he stood in. The testimony of his Colleague *Virginius* stood him in great stead, who produced forth as a witness. *N* made him partner with himself in all his worthy acts. But that process of judgment which passed against *Menenius* (so altered were they now, and repented therefore) did him much more good, and struck it dead here.

When this broil and contention was ended at home, the *Veientians* war began abroad: to whom the *Sabins* also had joynd their power. Whereupon the Consul *P. Valerius*, with the aid of the *Latines* and *Hernicks*, was sent out with an Army to *Veii*: and incontinently he set upon the tents of the *Sabins*, as they lay encamped under the walls of their confederates, and put such a terrour amongst them, that whilst they ran forth scattering by bands and companies, some at one gate some at another, to repell the violent assault of the enemies, it hapned that the gate which he first advanced his ensigns against, was won. And within the trench small fight there was, but O more man-slaughter. The tumult and noise hereof was heard from out of the Camp into the City. And the *Veientians* in great fear ran hastily to their weapons, as if *Veii* had been surprised. Some make speed to succour the *Sabins*: others do what they can to assail the *Romans*, who were wholly busied about the pillage of the Camp. For a pretty while they were put to some trouble, disordered, and withdrawn from their purpose: but afterwards they themselves advanced their banners, and made head against the one side and the other. The horsemen withall, sent in by the Cons,

brake

A brake the *Tuscan* array, and put them to flight. And thus in one hour two armies were defeated, two most puissant nations, and nearest neighbours to the *Romans* vanquished. Whilst these exploits were performed about *Veii*, the *Volcians* and *Aequians* had encamped themselves in the Country of *Latium*, and harried the marches thereof. Whom the *Latines* of themselves, with the help only of the *Hernicks*, and without any Leader or aid at all from the *Romans*, forced to abandon their tents: and besides the recovery of their own goods again, at hieved a great and rich booty. Norwithstanding all this, the Consul *Nautilus* was sent from *Rome* against the *Volcians*. They were not well pleased, I believe, with the manner of it, that their allies should wage war at all with their own power and direction, without the Army and conduct of the *Romans*. He feared not to work all the mischief he could, all abuse and might possible against the *Volcians*: yet could not they be brought to fight a field. Then succeeded *L. Furius*, and *C. Manlius*, Consuls. To *Manlius* fell the charge of the *Veientian* Province. Howbeit, war there was none at all. But at their own sence, a truce was granted unto them of forty years. And they were enjoined to find corn and souldiers pay. Peace was not so soon procured abroad, but presently ensued discord at home. For at the instigation of the Tribunes, by occasion of the Law *Agraria*, the Commons were set a madding. But the Consuls skared neither with the condemnation of *Menenius*, nor yet with the peril wherein *Servilius* stood, refilled all they could. And when the Consuls were once out of their Office, *Gentius* a Tribune laid hold upon them, and arrested them and *L. Aemilius* with *Opter Virginius* enter their Consulship. In some Annals or yearly records I find *Popilius Julius* Consul instead of *Virginius*. But in this year, whoeever then were Consuls, *Furius* and *Manlius* being indicted before the people, went about arrayed in vile apparel and mournful weed to the younger sort of Senators, as well as the Commons perfwading, advising, and warning them to forbear and refuse all dignities and offices of state, yea, and all charge of Common-weal. And as for the Consuls rods born afore them, their purified robes with purple, and chair of state, they should esteem no otherwise of them than of the pageants carried in a funeral pomp. And that with these gorgeous ornaments and ensigns they were but destined to death: much like to beads adorned with sacred white ribbands and labels, appointed to sacrifice. But if the sweetness of a Consulship were such, let them consider now withall, and perfwade themselves, that it is become private and overweighed with the power of the Tribunes: and that the Consul, as if he were the Tribunes sersant, must do all at his beck and command. For if he quethched never so little, if he seemed to regard the Senators, or make account of any thing else in the whole State but of the Commonalty, let him feel before his eyes the exile of *C. Marius*, the judgement and death of *Menenius*. The Nobles incensed with these speeches, from thenceforth began to consult and confer together, not openly and in publike council, but privately, and apart from the privy of many. And when they were resolved once upon this point, that those accursed parties now in trouble should be enlarged one way or other, by hook or crook: then the cruellest advice, and hardest course that could be delivered best pleased them and for to put in execution the most audacious designsments whatsoever, there wanted not one or other to give counsel. Well the law day of trial came, and when as the Commons gave attendance devoutly in the *Forum*, in great expectations of the sequel and issue, they began at first to marvel much, that the Tribunes *Gentius* came not down in place: and suspecting somewhat because of his long tarrying & delay, they imagined that he durst not for the great men and chief Magistrats of the City: and so they complained, that the common cause was forsorn and betrayed. At the last, they that kept about the door & porch of the Tribune his house, brought word that he was found at home stark dead. Which news being once noised through the assembly, mark how an Army is perplexed and scattered when their General is slain, even so in all the world the Commons slip and every one, some one way some another. But above all others the Tribunes were in bodily fear, being thus by their fellow taught how little help or none at all, their sacred and redoubted Laws afforded. The Nobles could not dissemble their joy, nor use it with moderation, but shewed it excellently: and so little repented any one of them of the fact committed, that they avowed it, and took it upon them, and would not seem culpable in the action: but gave it out in plain terms, that the Tribunes by foul means were to be ramed & their wings clipped in a mischief. Upon this their victory, so shameful a precedent in times to come there went out an edict for the publishing of a mulct: and whilst the Tribunes were in this feare dunned, the Consuls without any contradiction, went through with it clear. But then were the Commons much more offended at their Tribunes: hence and sitting still then at the Consuls rule and imperious government: saying, "Farewell freedom now, farewell liberties and all: now is the old world come again, and the Tribunes authority is both dead and buried together with *Gentius*. Now they were to go in hand and bethink themselves of some other course, how they might withstand the Senators proceedings: and seeing they were destitute of all other help to rely themselves upon, the only way was for the Commons to trust to themselves, & stand upon their own guard. Whereas therefore, there gave attendance upon the Consuls 24 *Lictors* or *Vexers*, Commoners all no better, none more contemptible and base minded if they met with those that would fear them at naught: they might thank themselves only, and their own timorous conceits & imaginations, that such things were so dread and terrible. Thus having animated & provoked one another with these speeches: there was a Sergeant sent from the Consuls to one *Valerius Publilius* a Commoner, who because he had been

L. Furius, and
C. Manlius
induced.

Their Remon-
strances to the
punny Nobles.

Gentius a
Tribune of the
Common people,
murdered
in his house by
the practice of
the Patricians.

*Volero Publili-
us refuteth to
be kept a foul-
dier.*

been a Leader in the field of certain bands, pleaded his immunity for being a common souldier a-
gain. *Volero* calleth for help to the Tribunes: but there being no man to relieve him, the Consuls
commanded the man to be stripped out of his cloaths, and the rods to be made ready for to scourge
him. Then quoth *Volero*, "I appeal unto the people, seeing the Tribunes had rather have a Citi-
zen and freeman of *Rome* beaten with rods in their preference, than be murdered themselves by
"you in their beds. But the more fiercely he cried on till, the more cruelly fell the Lictor to
cut and slice his apparel for to uncase him. Then *Volero* being himself the stronger man, and as-
sisted withall by some whom he called unto him, thrust the Sergeant from him: and where he
perceived the mainest out-cry and loudest noise of his adherents, that fumed and chafed in his
behalf, thither retired he, to shroud himself among the thickest, crying: "I appeal and beseech the
"Commons of their protection and succour. Help Citizens, help fellow-souldiers. Never fail
"and wait for the Tribunes, until they come, who have themselves need of your assistance. Hereat
at folk were raised and gathered together, and addressed themselves as to a Battell. A foul piece of
work was trowed, full of exceeding danger, and like it was, that no man would have had regard
either of common law or private honesty. When the Consuls in this so great a broil and storm
of outrage came in, to prevent further mischief, they knew soon by experience how slenderly
guarded against danger, the Majesty of Rulers is, where force is waning. For their Lictors were
beaten, misused, and ill intreated, their rods broken all a peeces, themselves driven out of the
Common place, and forced to take the Senat house, doubting how far forth *Volero* would pro-
ceed in the train of his victory. But when the riot was well appeased, they assembled the Sena-
tors together, and complained there of their injuries received, the violence of the Commons, K
and the audacious presumption of *Volero*. After many opinions and sharp censures delivered
among them, the Ancients and Elders prevailed at length, who thought it not good to let the
anger of the Nobles against the head-strong rashness of the Commons. And the Commons so
highly favoured and embraced *Volero*, that in their next election they made him their Tribune
for that year, wherein *L. Pinaris* and *P. Furius* were Consuls. Who contrary to all mens ex-
pectation, that thought verily he would have exercised his Tribuneship in molesting and vexing the
Consuls of the former year, preferred the publique cause before his own private grievance, and
gave not the Consulso much as one foul word. Only he preferred a Law unto the people, that
the Magistrates of the Commonalty might be created in a ward-Leet, or Assembly of the Tribes L
and Wards. Thus under a title, which at the first sight seemed nothing hainous, passed a matter
of no small consequence, but such as abridged the Nobles of all power and authority, to create
Tribunes whom they would, by the suffrages and voices of their vassals and favourites. But when
the Senators redified with all their might, the going forward of this Act most pleasing and
plausible to the Commons, and yet none might be found of the brotherhood of Tribunes, that
by the authority either of Consuls or of Senators could be brought to joyn in his way by their
negative voice, which was indeed the only means to cross it: the business, notwithstanding in
itself so weighty to wield, and so hard to be compassed, held out with much debating the year
through. The Commons then made *Volero* Tribune again. The Senators on the other side, sup-
posing the matter would now come to a final trial once for all, created for their Consul *Ap. Clau-* M
dius, the son of *Appius*: who even for the old contentions maintained by his fathers, who was
both hated of the Commons, and also hated them again: and he had for his companion in govern-
ment *T. Quintius*. At the very beginning no matter was treated of before that Law. But as *Vol-*
ero was the first deviler and breacher of it, so his fellow *Leilius* was the more earnest and hot
maintainer thereof, as he came more fresh unto it. The stoutest he was besides, by reason of his
great military glory, for that in those days there was not a taller man of hands, nor more active
than he. Now, when as *Volero* went straight to the substance of the Law in hand, without any cir-
cumstance of words, and forbore to inveigh against the Consuls person, *Leilius* began his speech
with challenging *Appius* and his house, as most proud, and cruelly affected to the Commonalty
of *Rome*: avouching earnestly, "That the Nobles had made, not a Consul, but a butcherer N
"mentor, to afflict and mangle the Commons: but being a rough-hewn souldier, and not used
"to make Orations, his tongue could not frame to express his mind as freely as he would: and
"so his utterance failing him: Since that (quoth he) O *Quirites*, I cannot so readily deliver that
"in my speech, as I can make that good indeed which I have spoken: Be you here to morrow, and
"in this very place I will either get this Law enacted, or I will lie in the dust and die for it before
"youall. The next day the Tribunes were gotten into the Temple or hall first. The Consuls and
Nobility abode still in the assembly of the people, for to hinder the passing of the Law. Then
commanded *Leilius* all the rest to avoid and depart, but those only that were to give their
voices. The young Gentlemen of the Nobility flock still, and gave no place to the Tribunes Of-
ficer. Then willed *Leilius* some of them to be attached. But the Consul *Appius* replied again, O
"That a Tribune had authority over none but Commoners: forasmuch as he was a Magistrate,
"not of the people, but of the Commons. Neither could himself, of his absolute power (Consul
"though he was) oberving the custom of his ancestors, command any man to avoid: for that the
"usual form of words ran thus, *May it please you my Masters, O Quirites if you think good so depart*.
Soon was he able, thus laying the Law unto him, by way of scorn and contempt, to outface
Leilius, and put him down. Whereupon the Tribune chafed, and set into an heat, sendeth an
Officer

A Law propo-
sed that Magi-
strates of the
Commons
should be cho-
sen in a Tribes
Leet, or ward-
Assembly, cal-
led, *Tributa*
conilia.

Leilius fa-
voured the
passing of
Publius his
Law.

A Officer to the Consul: the Consul likewise, a Lictor to the Tribune, crying often aloud, that he
was but a private person without command, without Magistracy. And doublets the Tribune had
been hardly used, but that both the assembly rose up in a rage, and took part with the Tribune a-
gainst the Consul: and also there was a concourse of the multitude, raised out of all parts of the
City into the Common Hall. *Appius* notwithstanding stood stiffly to it still, and abode the brunt
of this tempestuous storm: neither had this broile laid without some bloodshed, in case *Quin-*
tius the other Consul, had not let some of the Aldermen that had been Consuls, to get his brother
Consul by force (if otherwise it might not be) out of the Hall, whilst himself was in hand,
"one while with the Commons, to appeale their iury, by way of intreaty and with fair words,
B "otherwhiles besought the Tribunes to break up the assembly, perswading with them to take
"more leisure in this their heat and anger: for that time and place would abridge nothing of their
"power, but would joyn counsel and advice thereto: concluding withal, that both Nobles should
"be ruled by the people, and the Consul ordered by the Nobles. Hardy and with much ado were
the Commons quiered by *Quintius*, but far more trouble had the Nobles to still the other Consul.
At the length, when the assembly of the people was dimissed, the Consuls called the Senat to-
gether. Where after much variety of opinions, proceeding from fear and anger, according as the one
or the other swayed among them: look how much longer time they had to reclaim their mind
from violent courses, and largely with deliberation to consider of the matter: so much the more
their hearts went against all contention, and farther true: inasmuch, as they yielded *Quintius*
C hearty thanks, that by his travel between parties, the discord was well allayed. And to *Appius* they
were petitioners, "That he would be content, that the majesty of the Consul might be no great-
"er than would stand with the unity and concord of the Citizens. For whilst the Tribunes for
"their part would needs have all, and the Consul on the other side draw all to them: between this
"this pin-kning and haling there was no strength left in the midst: and to conclude, the Common-
"weal was rent, torn, and dimembred between the rulers thereof: who strove rather for the mana-
ging and rule, than for the safety and preservation of the State. Against whom *Appius* replied
"with a solemn protestation before God and man, and said, "That the whole publike was aban-
"doned, forlorn, and betrayed by nothing else but foolish fear: that the Senat wanted not a Con-
"sul, but the Consul wanted Senators: who now yielded to harder conditions than they had be-
D "fore time in mount *Sacer*. Howbeit overweighed at length by the general consent and accord of
the Nobles, he was content: and so the law passed quietly, was by royall consent authorised. Then
and never before were the Tribunes created in a congregation of the tribes, and by their voices,
Piso writeth, that there were three more made to the other, as if there had been but twain before:
and he nameth also the Tribunes, to wit *C. Saccius*, *L. Numitorius*, *M. Duellius*, *Sp. Licinius*, & *L. Me-*
celius. Then had the Volscians and Equians, between the civil edition of the Romans, & the
beginning of war, harried & wasted the country: that in case the Commons had made an infirmiti-
on, they might have retired to them as to a sure place of retreat & refuge. But when all was hushed &
matters compounded between the Nobles and Commons, they removed their camp backward.
Appius Claudius was sent against the Volscians: and to *Quintius* fell the Province of the *Fi-*
E quians. The same rigorous severity continued *Appius* till in warfare, that he used at home in the
City: but so much more freely, for that he was not curbed nor held in by the Tribunes. The Com-
mons he hated, more than his father had done afore, seeing he was overwaxed, and had taken the
foil at their hands: and being the only Consul, opposed against the Tribunes power, yet managed his
head, the law passed clear away, which the former Consuls his predecessors, with less ado, not
with so great hope and expectation of the Nobility, had ever hindered and laid. This his anger
and indignation gave an edge to that fell stomack of his by kind, for to plague and punish his souldiers
with imperious and lordly command. But so let they were to spurn again and disobey, that
by no forcible means they could be tamed doing all things that they did lazily slowly, forwardly,
and fubbornly. Neither bathed they for shame, nor stood in awe for fear. If his will was they
F should march on apace, they would on set purpose go far and slowly: If he encouraged them in
proper person to intend their business, they would all of them slack their former fever, wherein
to they were entred of themselves: whilst he was in place, they would hang down their heads
and look on the ground as he passed by they would secretly curse him in their hearts. So as that
invincible stomack of his against all hatred of the Commons, would now and then grieve hereat.
And when he saw that all the shrewdness and rigour that he used was in vain, and that now
he could do no good with his souldiers, he fell to checking the Captains and Centurions, saying,
They had spoiled and marred the Army, terming them Tribunes of the Commons, and other-
whiles in taunting-wise nicknaming them *Voleros*. All these doings were the Volscians aware of,
and therefore were they more eager and forward, hoping that *Appius* should find the Roman
G Army as forward and disobedient, as they had been against *Fabius*. And to say truth they were
more crooked and impy with *Appius* than with *Fabius* a great deal. For they were not only un-
willing to have the victory as *Fabius* his Army was, but also desirous to lose the victory and be
overcome. Being brought forth and set in battell array, they shamefully rook their heels
and fled into their tents: and never made head and resistance, before they saw the Volscians with
banners displayed, advancing against the munitions of their Camp, and a foul slaughter commit-
ted upon the tail of their reeward. Then were they driven perforce to fight for very necessity,
that

The forbear-
ance of the
law enacted.

The forbear-
ance of the
law enacted.

The mutiny
and disobe-
dience of the
souldiers to
Appius in laud-
ing their Of-
ficer.

that the enemy thus far forth Victor, might be kept from the Wall and Trench: and yet so, as it was very apparent, that the souldiers passed for nothing else, but only to save the Camp for being won: for some of them rejoiced at their own loss and delectation. Whereat, the stout stomach of *Appius* was nothing daunted nor his heart broken: but he minded to deal cruelly with them, and thereupon summoned a general assembly. Then the Lieutenants, Marshals, and Colonels, came running unto him, advertising him in no case to try matters, and to enforce his authority. The very ground and strength whereof resteth wholly in the accord of obedient people: adding moreover, that the souldiers commonly gave out, that they would not go to the assembly: but rather they might be heard every where, calling upon them aloud, to dislodge and remove out of the territory of the Volscians: moreover, that the enemy now Master of the field, was but a while since advanced to the gates and rampier, and well near possessed of them: whereby they were not only to suspect, but might evidently see before their eyes some great matter toward of dangerous consequence. Whereupon at last he was overruled, and (forasmuch as his souldiers thereby should gain nothing but delay of their punishment) remitted the assembly for that time: and after proclamation made to set forward in their journey the next day, and to depart in the morning very early, he caused the trumpet to sound the remove, and to march away. The Army being gone out of the Camp, and ready to be set in order of a march at length, the Volscians who were gotten up by the same sound of the trumpet, plaid upon the tail of the renews: the noise whereof passed from thence to the vanguard, & so disordered the emigns, so troubled the ranks by reason of that fright, that neither could the direction and commandment of the Captains be heard, nor the Army be brought into battel array. No man minded any thing at all but to run away, and disorderly in great numbers, they fled back over the dead carcases and armors that lay on heaps, and to escape: and never lay they their flight, until the enemy gave over the chase. At the last, the Consul having called his souldiers together that were run away so scattering (for with all the speed that he made after to call them back, he could not reclaim them) encamped without his enemies ground in a place of security. Then he called them all together to an assembly, and inveighed bitterly, and not without just cause, against the whole Army, as having betrayed the discipline of war, and forsaken their colours: asking every one of them what was become of their banners? And what they had done with their weapons? And as many souldiers as were unarmed as many ensign-bearers as had not their ensigns, the Centurions also, and those that received double allowance, and forsook their bands and companies, he caused to be scourged with rods & to lose their heads. The whole number besides, were by lottised, and every tenth man as it fell out, executed. But contrariwise, in the expedition against the Æquians, the Consul and his souldiers, strove to exceed one another in civility and kindness. *Quintus* was by nature mild and cheerful, and the cruelty of his brother Consul, that never sped well, made him take more joy in that his gentle disposition. Whiles the General and his Army comforted thus together, the Æquians durst not confront them, but suffered their enemies to range all abroad and forage the country: so as in no former wars got they greater booties from them: and all was bestowed among the souldiers. Over and besides their garments, they had their due praises and solemn commendations, wherein souldiers take no less delight than in rewards and gifts. So that Army returned home better affected to their General, and also to the Nobles for their Generals sake: reporting that the Senate had given to them a loving father, but to the other Army a lordly master. This year thus spent with variable fortune abroad in war: with grievous discord as well at home as abroad, was above all most memorable and famous for the Tribes-Elect. A matter of more note, in respect of their victory that entered into the action, than of consequence, in regard of commodity that grew thereof. For the very Elect it self lost more credit by excluding the Nobles out of that assembly, than either the Commons got strength, or the Nobles did forgo thereby. But more trouble some was the year following, whiles *T. Claudius* and *T. Æmilius* were Consuls, both for the variance of the three States about the law *Appianæ*, and also for the arraignment of *Appius Claudius*, Whom, being a most bitter adversary of that law, and a great maintainer and upholder of those that possessed and held the common lands, as if he had been; or a third Consul, *M. Duellius* and *C. Sicius* arrested and ended. Never before that day came to the bar, a person to be tried before the people, so odious unto the Commons: charged with so many wrongs done of his own, so many of his fathers afore him. In regard whereof they were highly displeased and offended with him, The Nobles likewise had not lightly laboured so earnestly nor strained themselves so much for any one as for him. Who being the patron and protector of the Senat, the mainstainer and upholder of their port and dignity, a man ever opposed against all the trouble some broils of Tribunes & Commons, was in no way delivered as a friend to the Commons in their anger and only for that he had overthrew and pushed himself in heat of contention. But of all the Senators it atewer, *Appius Claudius* of himself alone was he that cared not a rush, either for Tribune or Commoner, nor yet for his own arraignment. No mending threats of the Commons no earnest prayers of the Senators could once make him. I say, not to change his apparel and in humble manner to seek and crouch unto men for to be good unto him: no nor so much, as when he came to answer for himself before the people. one with to no thing and let fall (as it were) that rough and sharp kind of speech that he was wont ordinarily to use. He kept the same frowie countenance still, the very same frowardness and crabbedness of visage, the same spirit of boldness in his apology and defence. Inasmuch, as many of the Com-

Plautus faith, they shold be Ballinado, wide Carol, Sig. de panu.

Quintus beloved of his foot diers.

Appius Claudius was weighed at the bar.

A Commons were no less afraid of *Appius* standing prisoner, there arraigned at the bar, than they had been of him, sitting as Consul in his ivory chair of estate. In pleading of his cause, he spake briefly and at once to the point, with the same accusatory spirit that he had ever used in all his pleas and actions. With his boldness and resolute contancy, he so amazed both Tribunes and Commons, that they themselves deferred the day of giving sentence, and suffered afterward the suit to hang and depend till undetermined. But not long after, even before the Law day appointed was come, he sickned and died. Whole funeral praises when as the Tribunes went about to hinder, the Commons would not suffer, that the death of so worthy a man, should be defrauded of the due honour and solemn obsequies, and gave audience as quietly and attentively to the commendation of the man now dead, as they did afore to his accusation while he was alive: and with a goodly train attended his corps to the grave.

Ap. Claudius dieth.

The time year *Antius* the Consul made a voiage with an army against the Æquians, and seeing he could not train the enemy forth to fight, he made a bravado to assail the Camp: but there fell such a terrible storm and tempest from heaven, with hail and thunder-claps that he was disappointed of his enterprise. And that which made it more strange and wonderful, he had no sooner founded the retreat, but the weather proved so fair and calm again, that he made some trouble and matter of conscience, to give a second assault unto the trench, as if it had been defended by the special power and providence of God. So, all the heat of war turned to the waiting only of the Commurey. The other Consul *Æmilius* warred with the Sabines. And elsewhere also, became the enemies kept within their walled towns, the Territories were spoiled. But afterwards the Sabines raised with the sifting, not only of their villages and hamlets, but also of the good towns and burroughs, whereof in those parts there were many, and those well peopled, encountered the foragers: and after a doubtfull skirmish, they departed alunder, and the morrow after raised their Camp, and retired themselves back into a place of more security, which the Consul taking for a sufficient argument and proof, that the enemies were defeated, left them to, and dislodged likewise without any end of the war.

During these wars, and whiles discord continued in the City at home, were *T. Numitius Priscus* and *A. Postumius* created Consuls. Now seemed it that the Commons would no longer abide the deterring of the Law *Appianæ*. And as they were about to put it to a venture and to try the utmost by extremity they took knowledge partly by the smoke and flame of the villages on fire, and partly by the running away of the villagers, that the Volscians were near at hand. Which occurrence repelled and kept down the sedition which was now come to ripeness, and ready to break forth. For the Consuls forced by the Senate immediately to the war, by taking the servicable youth with them out of the City, reduced the rest of the Citizens to more quietness. And the enemies verily made no further attempt, but after they had given a false alarm, and let the Romans in a foolish fear, diminished away as speedily as they could. Then *Numitius* went to *Antium* against the Volscians, and *Postumius* against the Æquians: where having well-near received a great loss and defeat by a train laid for him: such was the prowess and manhood of the souldiers, that they recovered all again, which by the negligence of the Consul had like to be lost. But better was the conduct and government of the Army against the Volscians. For there, at the first skirmish the enemies were disarranged, put to flight, and chased as far as to *Antium*, a City (for that time) of right great puissance and importance. The Consul durst not assault it, but went from the *Antates* *Coma*, another town, but nothing to wealthy. Whiles the Æquians and Volscians thus assailed the Roman Armies and kept them occupied, the Sabines were once robbing and spoiling to the gates of the City of *Rome*. But within few daies after, they themselves received more damage than they brought, by occasion that both Consuls with two armies were entred in great anger into their Consoles. In the end of the year some peace there was, but disquieted, as at times before, with the variance between the Nobles and Commons. The Commons in a peevish and angry fit would not be at the Election of the Consuls. So by the Senators only and their followers, there were elected Consuls, *T. Quintius* and *Q. Servilius*. The like year to the former these Consuls had sedition, and trouble some in the beginning: but afterwards upon certain war, quiet and still. For the Sabines with a running Camp having pulled over the plains of *Cressiminius*, and put all to fire and sword about the river *Anio*, were chased back, well near from the gate *Collina* and the walls: howbeit they drove away with them exceeding great booties both of people and cattell. Whom the Consul *Servilius* followed hard with a power ready to bid battell, but could not overtake their main army in any even ground meet to pitch a field in. Howbeit he foraged and waited the Country all about, so as he left no corner clear that felt not his fingers, and returned with purchase of many rich prizes of all sorts.

Likewise among the Volscians they sped well and had lucky hand by the good demeanour both of captain and souldier. First they joyed battell upon a plain, and fought with very great slaughter, and exceeding much bloudshed on both sides. And the Romans (who for their small number were more apt to feel the loss) had lost ground and diminished, if that the Consul by making a lie for a vantage, and crying that the enemies fled from the other wing, had not encouraged and renewed the battell afresh. And so by giving a new charge, whies they thought they had the better, they got the better in very deed. The Consul fearing again, by pressing too hard upon the Army, to enforce them to turn and make head, founded the retreat. Few daies passed between

The first against the Consul *Numitius*.

between, wherein they retired quiet, as though there had been a secret truce agreed between them. In which mean space, a great sort of people from all parts of the Volscians and Equians repaired to the Camp, thinking verily, that if the Romans were aware of them, they would depart in the night season. Whereupon, at the third watch they came to make an assault upon their Camp. *Quintus* after he had quieted the tumult, which upon this sudden alarm arose, and given commandment that the soldiers should keep themselves within their pavilions, brought forth a company of Heriicks to guard the gates, and caused certain cornetiers and trumpeters on horseback to wind and sound before the trench and countercarpe, and so to hold the enemy in suspense and expectation untill day-light. The rest of the night all was quiet within the Camp, that the Romans had time enough and good opportunity to take their repose and sleep. I shew of footmen in their harness, whom the Volscians imagined to be more than they were, and all Romans: the neighing besides, and noise that the horses made by reason of their strange riders that they were not used unto, and the sound also of their trumpets and horns that made them to set up their ears, and to stamp and fume outrageously, amused the enemies waiting ever when they would charge upon them. When it was day, the Romans being in heart and fresh, as having slept their fill, came forth and embattelled themselves, and at the first shock discomfited the Volscians, wearied with long standing and overwatched withal. And yet the enemies rather gave ground and retired themselves, than seemed to be driven from their standings, because they had at their backs certain hills, whereunto they might retire behind the *Principia*, and not break their ranks, and to save themselves. The Consul seeing he was come to a place of disadvantage, K made a stand. The footmen hardly would beaied, calling and crying to the Consul to follow upon them seeing they were discomfited. The horsemen were more eager, riding all about the Consul and with open mouth cried out, that they would advance before the enigma. Whiles the Consul held off, in aammering what to do, for as he was assured of the valour of his soldiers, so he little trusted the ground: to day all at once let it be a show, that they would set forward, come what would: and as they cried, did they in good earnest. And pitching their javelins in the ground, that they might more nimbly get up the steep place, they took their full career, and ran up the hill. The Volscians having in their first brunt spent all their darts, and other shot which they had let lie, and made no spare, took up stones that lay under their feet, let drive at the Romans as they climbed up, and so thick and threefold they bestowed them that they annoyed them L fore, and beat them down the hill. Thus the left wing of the Romans was well-near over-charged, had not the Consul at the point, when as they were ready to retreat, blamed them first for their rashness, and then for their cowardice, and made them for very shame to shake off all fear. First they stood to it stoutly, and kept their ground, and after, as their strength served them, considering the vantage of the place which the enemies had gotten, they adventured to set foot forward, and won ground with a fresh front and outcry. And taking their career again the second time, they strain all they can, and at length overcame the disadvantage of the place. Now when they were almost at the point to win the very pitch and ridge of the hill, the enemies turned back. Whiles they ran on heaps in disorder, both they that fled, and they that followed, hapned both at once in one company into the enemies Camp, which in that fright was won. The Volscians, as M many of them as could escape, ran as fast as their legs would carry them to *Antium*. And to *Antium* likewise was the Roman army conducted: and after a few daies siege, was furnished upon no fresh and new force of assault, but for that presently upon their unfortunate conflict and loss of the Camp their heart were done, and utterly failed.

The Third Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the third Book.

Seditions about the Law Agraria. The Capitol taken and held by banished persons and slaves. They were slain, and it recovered. A survey and Censment was taken twice. In the former there were found of Roman Citizens 134214, besides orphan children, and such as had no children at all, as well then as women. In the other following there were 134319. Upon a great overthrow received in the war against the Equians, L. Quintus Cincinnatus was made Dictator: and being in the country at his farme busied about his husbandry, was sent for to the conduct of that war. He vanquished and subdued the enemies. The number of the Tribunes of the Commons, arose to ten, thirty six years after their first institution. The Laws of Athens were let from thence by Embassadors, sent for that purpose: to the establishing and publishing whereof, there were ten personages elected in the room of Consul: which were called Decemvirs, without any other Magistrates: and thus hapned in the three hundred and second year

A year after the foundation of Rome. And as the Government of the state was transferred from Kings to Consuls: so was it now from the Consuls to the Decemvirs. They having propounded tables of laws, and born themselves modestly in that high dignity, were therefore by the consent of the people, permitted to remain still in office the second year. But after they had committed many insolent parts, they would not give over their room of Magistracy, but held it still the third year: until such time as their obstinate and intolerable rule came to an end, occasioned by the filthy lust of Appius Claudius: who being inamour upon a Virgin, suborned one to make claim unto her as his bondslave, whereupon her father Virginius was driven of necessity to catch up a knife from a butcher's stall next by, and to kill his daughter: as having no other means to save her from the hands of him that purposed to abuse her body unlawfully. The Commons upon this foul example of filthy lechery, made an insurrection, and took the mount Aventine for their hold, and compelled the Decemvirs to leave their place, and give over their government. Of whom, Appius and one of his Collegues (which two had principally deserved punishment) were committed to prison, and there kept, the rest were driven into banishment. This book containeth besides the victorious wars against the Sabines, Volscians, and Equians. And the unbest arbitrement or award of the people of Rome, who being chosen Arbitrators between the Atracians and the Aricins, awarded to themselves the Land whereabout the strife and controversy was.

The third Book of T. Livius.

C After the winning of *Antium*, T. *Emilius* and Q. *Fabius* were created Consuls. This was that *Fabius* that only remained alive of all the name that perished at *Crimera*. Now had *Emilius* in his former Consulship perswaded to distribute certain Lands among the Commons. And therefore in this year likewise, both the favorers of the law *Agria* were in good hope of the foresaid law: and also the Tribuns supposing verily that now by the help of a Consul, that might be brought about and obtained, which oftentimes had been enterprised against the pleasure of the Consuls: took the matter in hand and gave the attempt: and withal, the Consul still continued in the same mind. But the great landed men and many of the Nobles, finding themselves grieved and complaining that the chief and head Magistrat of the City busied himself with the Tribuns suits, and was by large giving away of their men's possessions, become popular and gracious with the people, turned the whole burthen and odious heavy load of this action, from the Tribuns upon the Consul his head. And a cruel broil was toward, had not *Fabius*, by a device and policy to neither party offensive, made an end of the matter with expedition. For whereas there were certain Lands gotten by conquest from the Volscians the year afore under the conduct of T. *Quintus*: "There might (said he) a colony be brought to *Antium*, a City near adjoyning, very commodious, and feared by the Sea side: so should the Commons without any grudging, or complaints of the possessors of Land-lords, be seized of Land, and the City left in quiet and Unity. This opinion of his was accepted of all hands. And they created three especial officers or Triumvirs for the division of the said lands, to wit, T. *Quintus*, *Ant. Virginius*, and E. P. *Furius*. Then proclamation was made, That whosoever would hold any of the Land, should give up their names in writing. But plenty, as the manner is, soon caused lothing: for there were so few that presented themselves, that to make up the full number of the inhabitants, they were faine to adjoyne unto them certain Volscians. The rest of the multitude had rather (as it seemed) to keep a calling for Land at *Rome*, than be possessed of Land elsewhere. The Equians charged peace of Q. *Fabius*, who was come against them with an army: and they themselves by making a souldan inroad into the territories of *Latium*, cancelled the fame and made it void. But the year next following, Q. *Servilius* (for he was Consul with Sp. *Posthumius*) being sent against the Equians, kept a standing camp in the Country about *Latium*. But by the reason of a contagious disease or a plague, that raigned in his army, they were of necessity forced to keep quiet within their tents. So their war was deferred unto the third year, when as Q. *Fabius* and T. *Quintus* were Consuls. And forasmuch as Q. *Fabius*, had upon his victory before granted peace to the Equians, he had an extraordinary commission directed unto him for the rule of that Province. Who being thither gone with full assured hope, that the very fame of him, and noise of his army would quiet the Equians, sent Embassadors to the Council of that Nation, with this message: "Q. *Fabius* the Consul saith, that as he carried before peace from the Equians unto *Rome*, so he bringeth now war to the Equians from *Rome*: having now his sword in the very fame hand, which he gave unto them before in friendly manner unarmed. Whole treachery it is and perjury, that is the cause of this, the Gods can witness now, and in some measure will revenge hereafter. Nevertheless, he for his part, however the case standeth, desireth that the Equians would yet bethink themselves of their own accord and repent, rather than stand to the extremity and abide those calamities and miseries that follow war. If they would come in therefore and be fery for that they have done, their submission should be received, and they taken into the safe protection of his clemency, whereof already they had experience. But in case they persist still in their disloyalty, and take pleasure in being forsaken: be they well assured, that they should have the ire and wrath of the Gods more, than their enemies to fight against them. These words so little or nothing at all moved any man there, that the very Embassadors had like to have been very hardly used and evil entreated, yea

and an army withal was sent forth as far as *Algidum* against the Romans. When these tidings were brought to *Rome*, the indignity of the thing and the shameful manner thereof, rather than any fearful peril otherwise, raised the other Consul out of the City. So two Consular or royal armies approached the enemy in order of battail, ready to try it out presently by the dint of sword. But the day being (as it fell out) wellnigh spent, there cried one aloud from out of the place where the enemy kept ward: "This is to make a shew of war only (ye Romans) and not to war indeed. "ye set your battalions in array against night, forsooth, that now draweth hard on: we had need of more daylight I wis, for the business in hand, and to try this quarrel. To morrow therefore at Sun rising, see on come again into the field, ye shall have fighting fear not, your hands full. The soldiers retired and galled at these words, retired back into the camp until the next day, I thinking the night was long, that kept them from battail and so for that time they refreshed their bodies with food and sleep. On the morrow to soon as it was day, the Roman host being stirring somewhat more early stood ready arranged in array: and at length the *Æquians* likewise shewed themselves in field. A sharp fight there was on both sides, by reason that both the Roman soldiers fought in anger and deadly hatred; and also the *Æquians* upon prick of conscience, that bare them witness how they embarked themselves into this danger, and were out of all hope ever to be trusted again, were forced to hazard all upon a cast, and venture the utmost. Yet were not the *Æquians* able to endure long, the violent fight of the Romans, but were discomfited and put to flight. And being returned within their own Frontiers, the unruly multitude for all this, were never the more inclined to peace, but reproved and blamed their Captains, that they put the trial of the issue to a let field, in which kind of fight the Romans had singular skill, and surpassed them. As for the *Æquians*, they were better at robbing, spoiling, and foraging, in making incursions and inroads: and a better and safer kind of service it was, here and there in sundry places, to skirmish with forces divided, than reduce all into one gross army, and to pitch a field. Leaving therefore a guard to defend the camp, they went forth, and with such a tumult invaded the confines of *Rome*, that the very terror thereof reached unto the City. This first, especially coming to suddenly and unlooked for, made the Romans fear the more. For who would ever have doubted and suspected, that their enemies so lately vanquished, and in manner besieged within their own camp, could possibly think upon entering into the lands of others, and to drive booties. Besides the ruttish peasants came in at the gates, crying, and saying, that they were not petty companies, and small handfuls of thieves and robbers; but (such was their foolish fear, augmenting and making every thing greater) whole armies & legions of enemies were at hand, and marched apace with banners displayed full against the City. From their mouths, they that were next made report unto others & as they heard news from they knew not whom, so they let them abroad they cared not how, but even in the carriage they added somewhat of their own and coyned lies good store. Here was running, there was crying alarm & generally such a confusion every where as if the City had been quite lost. By good hap *Quintus* the Consul was returned from *Algidum* to *Rome*, that remedy cured all, andayed the fear. When the tumult was appeased, he rebuked the people for fearing those enemies whom heretofore they had vanquished, and placed good guards over the gates. Then he assembled the Senate, and by the authority and assent of the Nobles, proclaimed *Infinitum*, or a general cessation or vacation in all courts of law: and went himself forth in person with a power, to defend the marches, leaving *Quintus Servilius* Pro-consul of the City; but the enemy he found not in the territory all about. The other Consul performed his affairs passing well; who having certain intelligence, which way the enemies would come, set upon them laden with prey, and (by that means marching more heavily in disorder) made it a dear booty unto them even at much as their lives were worth. For few of them escaped the Ambush, and all the pillage was recovered. So the return of *Quintus* into the City, made an end of the publick Lawless or above-said vacation which lasted over four dayes. Then was a Cense or Assesment list of mens goods and a muster or view taken of the number of Citizens, together with a solemn purging of the people, called *Lustrum*, celebrate by *Quintus*. And there were numbered of Citizens 124214, polles, over and above men and women that lived single, or had no children and al orphans besides. And among the *Æquians* afterward nothing was done worth remembrance: for they betook them to their strong Towns, suffering their territory and villages to be consumed with fire, and spoiled. Thus the Consul, after he had divers times overrun the Country of his enemies, with a cruel army wasting and spoiling as he went, returned home to *Rome* with great honor and a huge booty. Then were Coss. *Asius Posthumus Albus*, and *Sp. Furius*. Some have written them *Fisii*, who indeed are rightly named *Furii*. Which I note, lest any man should think they were sundry men, whereas the variety is only in the name. No doubt there was, but that one of the Coss. would war with the *Æquians*: and therefore the *Æquians* fought for aide of the *Ecetrane* Volcians. Which being gladly granted and sent with speed, (such a perpetual hatred bare these Cities always against the Romans) there was great preparation for war in most forcible manner. The *Hernicks* having an inkling and knowledge thereof, certified the Romans afore-hand, that the *Ecetrans* were revolted and banded with the *Æquians*. The Colony *Antium* likewise was had in jealousy, for that when the Town was lost, many people fled from thence to the *Æquians*, who all the time of the *Æquian* war, served in the field, and proved the most hardy soldiers and fiercest of all others. And now when the *Æquians* were driven into their Towns, a

multitude

A multitude being slipped away and retired to *Antium*, withdrew from the Romans the allegiance of the Colonies and inhabitants there, who were already of their own inclination unbound and not to be traited. But before the matter was come to ripeness, and they entered into any action, the Senate upon intelligence given that they intended only, and were upon the point to revolt, gave the Coss. in charge to send for the chieftemen and head persons of that colony to *Rome*, and to enquire and learn of them in what terms *Antium* stood: who being come willingly enough, without any great treaty, and convened by the Consuls before the Senate, made answer to their interrogatories in such manner, that they were sent away more instructed, than at their first coming: whereupon they resolved fully of war. *Spurius Furius* one of the Coss. to whom that province by lot fell, having taken his voyage against the *Æquians*, found the enemy (spoiling and waiting in the territory of the *Hernicks*: and being ignorant what number they were (for that in no one place they were all discovered together) he rashly joined battell, and hazarded his power, being in number and force inferior to the other. And at the first encounter he was driven back, and retired into the camp: and yet was he not pail all danger and insecurity there: for both the night following, and the next day after, the camp was so licitly beset, and so hotly assailed, that he could not dispatch so much as a messenger from thence to *Rome*. The *Hernicks* sent word both of the unfortunate fight, and also how the Consul and his army were besieged. With which news they so terrified the Coss. of the Council, that they granted *Posthumus* the other Consul the solemn commission, *I sece to the State, that it sustained no danger and damage*. The form of which order and decree, hath been always accounted to signify some great extremity of the Common-wealth. And thought best it was, that the Consul himself in proper person, should abide at home to enrol in the muster book, all those that were able to bear arms: that *T. Quintus* should beient as Pro-consul or Vice-consul, with a power of condecate Allies to raise the siege and relieve the camp: and for the furnishing of this army, the Latines, the *Hernicks*, and Colony *Antium*, were commanded to send unto *Quintus*, Subitary soldiers (for so they termed at that time, the aids and supplies taken up in haste and on a sudden.) Many attempts were made, much skirmishing, and sundry assaults for certain dayes on each side were enterprised. For the enemies being more in number, assayed in divers places and sundry ways to cut off and diminish the power of the Romans, as not sufficient and able to make head at all turns. For at one time they both made an assault upon the camp, and withal sent out certain of their forces to wait the territory of *Rome*, yea, and to give the venture upon the very City, if they could eke any good opportunity to offer it self. *L. Valerius* was left behind to defend the City, and *Posthumus* the Consul was sent out to refrain and withstand the wailing of the marches. No point of care or travail on any hand was slaked, watch and ward both night and day was let in the City, a good *Corps de guard* appointed above the Gates, and soldiers bestowed upon the Walls: and (that which was needful in so great an hurlyburly) for certain dayes it was no Term, or interdiction of Law was observed. In this mean while, *Furius* the Coss. who at the first had quietly endured the siege and made no resistance, suddenly and at unawares sallied out at the broad gate called *Decumana*, upon the enemies: and whereas he might have chafed them, he made some stay of that, for fear lest on some other side, they would have given assault upon the camp. But *Furius* the Lieutenant (who also was the Consul his Brother) engaged himself too far, and upon a hot desire of pursuit and following the chafe, neither saw he his fellows as they retired, ne yet the enemies as they came to charge him on the back. Thus being shut out from all the relieves, after many essays made (but all in vain) to make way through unto the camp, manfully fighting he was slain. The Consul likewise hearing that his Brother was environed all about with enemies, returned again to fight: but as he ran more rashly than warily into the midst of the skirmish, he was fore wounded, and being hardly and with much ado saved by those that were about him, he both disfigured and daunted the hearts of his own men, and made his enemies more fierce, lusty, and courageous. Who were so animated and set on fire, both with the hurt of the Consul, and also with the death of his Lieutenant, that nothing afterwards could stand in their way: no force was able to stay them, but that they beat the Romans again into their camp: where they were besieged afresh being now both in hope, and also for strength worse than they were before. So that their main State thus lying a bleeding, had utterly perished, but that *T. Quintus* with a supply of strangers; namely, a power of Latines and *Hernicks*, came to the rescue in time: who charging the *Æquians* behind, whilst they were wholly busied in assailing the camp, shewing them within the Lieutenants head in a great bravery and pride, at the same instant caused a fall out of the camp, by a signal that he gave them a far off, and so inclosed round about a great number of the enemies. Small was the slaughter, but great was the flight and scattering of the *Æquians* in the territory of *Rome*: upon whom (stragling here and there and driving their booties aloft) *Posthumus*, who in divers convenient places had bestowed certain companies and bands of soldiers, ran violently. And as they fled every way in disaray, they lighted upon *Quintus* as he with the hurt Consul returned with Victory. Then the Consul himself bravely did their endeavour, and had a goodly day of them: and was revenged both for their Consuls wound, and also for the death of the Lieutenant and the Squadrons with him. Many losses and overthrowes were given and taken on each side for certain dayes. But in so ancient

a matter as this was, hard it is for a man upon his credit, to set down precisely the certain number either how many fought, or how many were slain. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* boldly reckoneth the exact numbers, namely, that there died of the Romans in the Hernicks Country 5300, and of the Aequian robbers, who went up and down spoiling and pilling in the territory of *Rome*, were killed by *A. Posthumus* the *Col.* 2400. The rest of the multitude, which laden with spoil fell into the hands of *Quintius*, were not to quit, nor escaped with the loss of so few men lives: for of them the sword devoured 4000, and to account the number exactly, 200 (quoth he) and 30 just. Then returned they on all hands to *Rome*, and the forlaid vacation or law-free ended. The skie was seen much on a light fire, and other strange wonders either appeared indeed, or presented to the fearful people vain apparitions, and fantastical illusions. However it was, for to avert the dangers by these prodigious and terrible tokens prefiged, there were proclaimed festival holy days for three days together. During which time all the Churches were replenished with men and women, making supplications and prayers for the favor and mercy of the Gods. The bands and squadrons of the Latins and Hernicks, after great thanks given them by the Senate for their good service in this war, were discharged and sent home. But the Antiate souldiers, 1000 in number, who after the battell was fought came tardy, and too late for to succour, were dismissed in manner with ignominy and shame.

* The first day of August

Then was the great Lect or assembly held, for the Election of Magistrates: wherein *L. Eburus* and *P. Servilius* were created Consuls: and on the * Calends of *Sexilis* (for on that day) began the year then, they entered their Consulship. A grievous and heavy time it was and as it fortuneth, a year of plague and great mortality, both in the City and Country, as well among brute beasts as men. And the reviving of the Country peasants with their cattle into the City, for fear of robbing and spoiling, encreased the contagiousness of the sickness so much the more. For, that confused medley of all sorts of beasts, both annoyed and empoisoned the citizens with the uncouth and ununsual stink, and also filled with sultry heat and overmuch watching the rusticall people, lying pershed together, and thrust up into close rooms and straight lodgings. The mutual recourse one to help and Minister unto another, and the very catching of the disease, let it all abroad. Thus whiles they had much ado to endure these present calamities, behold, to mend the matter, all of a sudden, the Hernick Embassadors bring word, that the Aequians and Volcians having levied a power jointly together, were encamped within their limits: and from thence with a mighty army wasted and destroyed their territory. Now, besides that the small assembly in the Senate-house, was to these their allies an evident token that the City was fore visited with the pestilence; they received also an heavy answer from them, namely: That the Hernicks themselves together with the help of the Latins, should defend their own: as for the City of *Rome*, it was with the heavy hand and visitation of the Gods, dispeopled by the plague: but in case the sickness decreased in some measure and took up in any time, they would willingly aid their confederates, as they did the year before, and as they had done at all times besides. Thus departed these allies, and for their ill news they brought thither, they carried with them home again a worse answer and message, to wit, That they should by themselves sustain that war alone which hardly they were able to support: if they had the power of the Romans to assist them. Long stayed not the enemy in the Hernicks country, but went forward from thence into the territory of *Rome*, desolate already (God wot) without the injury of war, and little need there was of calamity that wayes: where meeting with no man at all, no not so much as any one unarmed, and passing over all the Country, disurnished not only of Garrisons to resist, but also of people for husbandry and tillage, at length they came to the third stone, i. within three miles of *Rome*, to the broad port high way, called *Gabina*, leading to *Gaber*. The Roman *Col. Eburus*, was now departed thither, and his brother *Col. Servilius*, lay lingering on at the point of death, in small hope of recovery. Most of the peers and principal ancients were infected, and sick in bed, so was the greater part of the Nobles, and weener all the serviceable men of war: so as they were not able to set forth an expedition or voyage abroad, as meet was in so great a tumult, nor so scarce to keep any ordinary fer guard at home for the defence of the City. The Senators, such as age and sickness would permit, took the charge in proper persons of watch and ward. The Adiles of the Commons went the round, and had the charge to see all well & in good order: so that upon them now rested the government of the state, & the Majesty of the Consuls Regiment. Thus when all was forlorn no head to direct, no strength of man to execute; the Tutelar Gods, Protectors of the City, and the good fortune alone that ever waited upon her, preserved the main chance. This madeth the Volcians and Aequians to carry with them a mind and intent, rather to deal by way of robbings and spoilings, than in any hostile manner like professed warriors: for so small hope had they, or none at all, of winning the City: so little heart, so much as to approach the walls, that even the very roofs of houses, which they desired a far off, and the sight of the tombs and graves so neer at hand, turned their minds clean, and daunted their courages. So as over all the camp they began to mutter with themselves, What they meant to spend time idly and sit still without preading a waite and desart Country: within the mortality and purified air and corruption, both of people and cattle, when as they might as well invade those parts that stood clear and found, and namely the rich, plentiful, and fat fields of * *Tusculum*: and therewith suddenly at once they plucked up their ensigns, and by croos wayes passed through the * *Lavican* countries, even to the mountains of *Tusculum*: and thither turned they

* *Eburus*,
* *Valerius*

A they the whole force and tempest of the war. In the mean season the Hernicks and Latins moved not with pity and compassion only, but also for a very reason, in case they had neither withstood their common enemies, marching to *Rome* with a cruel army, nor received their benighted friends: joyned their powers together, and let forward to *Rome*: where not finding the enemies, and following the bruit that went of them, and tracing their treck tracks and footings, they encountered them as they came down from the high Country of *Asylum* to the vale of *Alia*: Where they made no living bargain of it, but fought to their lets, so as their deity unto their allies, had but bad success for that present. And in *Rome* there was no less mortality of citizens by the sickness, than there were Multitudes abroad of their allies by the edge of the sword. For the other Consul, who alone survived hitherto, now died. There sent this line also, other noble personages, *M. Cicerius*, *Titus Virginius*, *Angurs*, and *Ser. Sulpicius* the *Curio Aemilius*. But among the base and common sort, the violence of the disease raged and spread, I know not how far. The Senate now destitute of all help and comfort of man, moved the people to devotion, to their beads, and prayers unto the Gods. And commandments were given to all men with their wives and children, to go in procession, to pour out their supplications, and crave mercy at Gods hands. Thus being by publick authority called forth to perform that which every man was forced unto by his own proper calamities, they filed all the Temples and Chapells. The Dames and ancient Matrons, lying groveling and weeping the Church floors and pavement with their hair and tresses, hanging loose down, humbly besought pardon of the Gods: and an end on the pestilence. Whereupon, were it that they had obtained the mercy of God, or that the more dangerous and outrageous season of the year, was now well overpast: their bodies by little and little, having escaped the danger of disease, began to recover and was more healthy.

Then let they their minds about the care of the Common-weal, and after certain ten-reigns determined or ended, *P. Valerius Postumus*, the third day of his Interregnum or Regency for the time, created Consuls *L. Lucetius Tricipitinus*, and *P. Valerius Geminus* or *Vesulus*, whether ye will: who three days before the Ides of *Sexilis* began their Consulship. By which time the City was grown so strong again, that it was able not only to maintain a defensive war, but also to enter the field and assail others. When the Hernicks therefore gave them advertisements that the enemies were passed over into their borders: they made no delay but readily and willingly promised their aid and levied two Consul armies. *Valerius* was sent against the Volcians to begin with them and to war within their own Country. *Tricipitinus* was opposed in the Frontiers of their confederates, to keep them from in- and out, and went no further forward than to the Hernicks. *Valerius* at his first encounter and confronting of his enemies, discomited and put them to flight. But *Tricipitinus* whiles he lay still encamped in the marches of *Prenefte*, missed of the army of the Robbers: which was conducted over the Mountains of *Prenefte* and *Gaber*: and from thence they fetched a compass about unto the Mountains of *Tusculum*. The City of *Rome* likewise was put in great fear, rather upon the sodain occurrence of this alarm, than for any want of power to resist their violence. *Quintus Fabius* at that time was Provost or President of the City, who put the youth in armor, disposed guards in places convenient, and made all safe and in good security. The enemies therefore who had raised a booty out of the parts adjoining, durst approach no nearer, but cast about with their army and retired: and the further they went from their enemies City, so much the more careless they were, until they light upon the *Col. Lucetius*, who by his epicals and flours, was aloft that time acquainted what wayes they would take, and was ready also to try battail. So with resolute and prepared hearts, they set upon them, that with the sodain fear were amazed. And albeit they were in number fewer, yet they discomited and put to flight a mighty multitude of them, and drove them within the hollow valleys, where because they had no ready way to get out, they kept them in locked on every side in such sort, that the whole name and nation weener of the Volcians, there utterly perished. In some Chronicles I find that there were 13470 slain in the fight and chase, and 1250 taken Prisoners alive, and 27 ensigns or banners brought away. It may well be that the number perhaps doth somewhat exceed the truth, yet a great slaughter certainly there was. The Consul having achieved this victory, and gotten a mighty great prey, returned into the same finding having achieved this victory, and gotten a mighty great prey, returned into the same finding having achieved this victory, and gotten a mighty great prey, returned into the same finding

* 11 of August.

C. Terentillus
invested
against the
Consuls.

“elves at their own liberty and unbridled, turned the edge of all freight and dreadful Laws; yea, H
 “and the rigor of all punishment, against the Commons. But lest this their licentiousness should
 “continue for ever, he was minded to prefer and publish a Law, by virtue whereof there should
 “be five men created, who should set down certain conditions, to limit and gage the authority
 “of the Consuls: and look what authority and commission the people granted over them, the
 “same should the Consuls exercise, and no more, and not rule of themselves, and use their own
 “will and licentious lust in stead of Law. This act being once published, and the Nobles fearing,
 “left whilst the Consuls were away, they should be taken down and yoked. *Quin Fabius* Presi-
 “dent of the City, assembled the Senate, who lo bitterly and sharply inveighed against the Law and
 “the Law-giver himself, that it both the Consuls themselves had stood about the Tribuns of purpose
 “to contradict and cross his proceedings, there had been no threats nor terrible menaces let for
 “them, to have thundred out. For he laid fore unto his charge, that he had lye in wait, and now
 “having ipied the time to fit his purpose, had given the venture to assail the C.W. and the State.
 “And in case the Gods in their wrathful displeasure had sent among them such a Tribuns as he
 “year before, together with war and pestilence, there had been no remedy then, but he must have
 “had his way, and then they had been all undone. For when the Consuls both were dead, and
 “the City lay bed-ridden as it were, in a miserable confusion of all things, he would have made laws
 “then indeed, to the utter abolishing of the Consuls authority out of the Common-wealth, and
 “been a ring-leader to Volscians and Aequians both, for to have assaulted the City. For what
 “might not he have lawfully done by virtue of his place? If the Consuls had either proudly or
 “cruelly proceeded against any Citizen, he might have entered an Action against them, and
 “convened them to trial before those very Judges, of whom peradventure some one had been
 “by them hardly dealt withal. This would have been the course and end of it. And he that thus
 “did, should not cause the Consuls authority and rule, but the Tribuns power to become odious
 “and intolerable: which having been of late well quieted and reconciled unto the Nobles, began
 “now afresh to come unto the old place, and to be troublesome again. Neither intreated he him
 “not to go on still as he had begun. But ye my Masters (quoth *Fabius*) that are the rest of the
 “Tribuns, we would request you to consider well this one point especially: That this power you
 “have, was brought in for the succour and relief of every particular person, and not to the general
 “prejudice and undoing of all. Again, that ye are created Tribuns of the Commons, not enemies
 “of the Nobles. A heavy and lamentable case it is to you, odious and hateful unto you, and will
 “breed you much ill will and displeasure, in case the C.W. now forlorn, should thus be invaded
 “and assailed. Ye shall lose nothing of your own right, I assure you, nay, you shall avoid much
 “mislike and hatred of men, in case ye be in hand and deal with your brother Tribuns, to put off
 “this matter and defer it wholly unto the Consuls coming. Why, the very Aequians and Volsci-
 “themselves the last year, when both our Consuls were dead of the plague, pressed not hardly up-
 “on us, to prosecute any proud and cruel war against us. So the Tribuns communed and perswa-
 “ded with *Terevillus*: and this his commenced suit or action being adjourned in outward show,
 “but in very truth let fall quite and dismantled, the Consuls forthwith were sent for home. *Lucer-
 tius* returned enriched with a right great booty, but with far greater honor and renown. Who at
 “his very first coming won him more glory, by laying abroad in *Mars* field all the prizes, that
 “every man for three dayes space might know his own and have it away. All the rest, that had no
 “owners to come forth and make claim, was sold in port-sale. By all means content, the Consul
 “was thought worthy of triumph: howbeit that matter was put off by reason that the Tribuns had
 “not yet done with his law: which was the thing that the Consul thought meet should be first re-
 “garded. The matter was debated and treated for certain dayes, both in the Senate and also before
 “the people. At last the Tribuns yielded to the Majesty of the Consul, and gave it over. Then was
 “due honor rendered both to the General and also to the army accordingly. He triumphed over the
 “Volscians and Aequians: and in his triumph his own legions followed after him. To the other
 “Consul granted it was that he should in a kind of triumph called *Ovatio*, ride into the City, but N
 “without his soldiers. The year next ensuing, the Law *Terevillus* was by the whole College or
 “fellowship of the Tribuns revived and propounded again: which put the new Consuls *P. Volu-
 mianus* and *Ser. Sulpicius* to some trouble. And in the same year the skies seemed to be on a light fire,
 “and there was an exceeding earthquake. And that which the year afore was no credit given unto,
 “was now for truth believed, to wit, That a Cow did speak. Among other strange wonders it
 “raised first: during which shew, a huge number of fowls flew among, and were reported to
 “have snatched it and carried it away as it was in falling. But that which fell down and escaped their
 “talons, lay scattered here and there for certain dayes in such sort, as the sent changed not at all,
 “nor the flesh: one rotten and corrupted. Then the books (of *Sibylla*) were perused by the Du-
 “mivirs deputed over matters of Religion: who fore told of some dangers to ensue by a Company
 “of strangers, and gave warning to look lest haply some assault should be made upon the highest
 “places of the City, and thereof a slaughter and massacre ensue. Amongst the rest, warning was given
 “to abstain from civil discord and mutinies: which the Tribuns found fault with, as a devised
 “matter to hinder the law. Whereupon great debate and contention was like presently to grow.
 “But behold, (that the revolution and course of troubles might turn about every year to the same
 “point,) The Herniks bring news that the Volscians had Aequians for all their wings were well clip-
 ped,

The Oration
of *Quin Fabius*
against the
Tribuns of the
Commons.

Prodigious
figures.

A ped, and their forces greatly decayed, began together and levy new armies: *Items*, That in *Anti-
um* lay the whole weight and importance of the affairs, and all depended upon it: That the Anti-
 “atians held their counsels and had their meetings in open show, at *Ectra*, but *Antium*
 “was the principal seat of the war, and from thence came all preparations and forces whatsoever.
 “As soon as the news were reported in the Senate, order was given to muster soldiers: and that
 “the Consuls should part between them the administration and managing of his war, so as the one
 “should have the charge against the Volscians, and the other against the Aequians. But the Trib-
 “uns rung it out openly in the common Hall before the people, “That this was but a made mat-
 “ter of the Volscian war, and a tale devised by the Herniks, who were suborned and framed to
 “B “play their parts in the Pageant, and to serve the turn of the Nobles. And that now verily the
 “freedom of the people of *Rome* was not oppressed or endangered by plain prowess & virtue,
 “but finely thrust off and dallied cunningly withal by lye and crafty inventions. And for as much
 “as now it was an unlikely thing and incredible, that the Volscians and Aequians after so great
 “slaughter committed upon them, whereby they were all in a manner killed up, should be able of
 “themselves to wage war, there were, forsooth new enemies fought out: A faithful Colony near
 “adjoining, was now slandered and defamed: war was pretended for a shew against the guiltless
 “and innocent Antiats, but in truth, intended with the very Commons of *Rome*, whom they
 “meant to drive out of the City in all haste headlong, furnished with heavy armor, and to (by
 “turning out their poor fellow citizens into banishment, and sending them away, God knows
 “C “whither) to be avenged at length of the Tribuns. And thus the Law (lay the Tribuns, for they
 “must think their drift is to this end and to none other) should be trodden under foot, unless
 “whiles all is entire and whole, and nothing done, whilst they remain at home in their houses,
 “whiles they be in their gowns, they take heed and look well about them, that they be not dis-
 “possessed of the City, and take the yoke of servitude upon their necks: assuring them that if
 “their hearts only served, they should want for no help: and that all the Tribuns agreed and were
 “of one mind, that there was no cause of fear abroad, no forrain war to trouble them: last of
 “all, that the very providence of the Gods the year before assured them, that their liberty might with
 “safety be defended. These and such like Remonstrances gave the Tribuns out. On the other
 “part, the Consuls causing their chairs of estate to be set, even in their light and preference, began to
 “D “muster. Thither ran the Tribuns down in all haste, and drew the whole assembly of people with
 “them. And, to make as it were a proof and trial, some few by name were called, and straight-
 “ways began a stir. For whomsoever the Sergeant by the Consul his commandment arrested, the
 “Tribuns charged again that he should be let go. And neither side contained within the limits and
 “compass of their commission and rightful authority: but presumed of their might and strong
 “hand, to attain unto their desired purpose. For even as the Tribuns had demeaned themselves
 “in forbidding the muster, solemly the Senators blisfirmed themselves to stop the law for going for-
 “ward: which was propounded every Court day, and when the people might assemble. And ever-
 “more the brawl began, when the Tribuns commanded the people to avoid the Hall, for that the
 “*Patritii* would not endure thus to be let out and excluded. Few or none of the ancients would
 “E be present at these troublesome stirrs, being such as were not to be managed and ordered by sage
 “Council, but wholly left to the rashness and boldness of young and green heads. The Consuls also
 “were much abject, and forbore to be in place, for fear lest in such a confused hubbub their Ma-
 “jesty and dignity, might have been subjected to some shameful contumely and disgrace. But there
 “was among them one *Cajus Quintus*, a lusty young Gentleman and a stout, in regard both of his
 “noble parentage, as also of the goodly tall personage and strength of his body. Besides these good
 “parts that God had bestowed upon him, he had won himself many ornaments by sundry exploits
 “achieved in wars: He had withal an eloquent speech and a good grace at the bar, so as, in one
 “word, throughout the whole City, there was not one thought to be more ready in tongue, or
 “taller of his hands. This *Cajus* standing in the midst of the Nobles, higher to be seen above all the
 “F rest, as one that in his speech and strength, carried aloft him the countenance and authority of all
 “Dictators and Consuls, was the only man that bare off the brunts of Tribuns, and forms of the
 “common people. Many a time were the Tribuns driven out of common Hall, the Community
 “dejected and put to flight by the conduct of this Captain. Whosoever came within his reach,
 “was sure to go away thoroughly beaten, and clean stripped. So as it evidently appeared, if this
 “course might have been allowed, the law had loon been checked and overthrowen. Now when all
 “the other Tribuns besides were herewith dismayed and welnearthed, *Antius Viginus* alone,
 “being one of their fellowship, was so bold, as to enter an action against *Cajus*: of a capital crime.
 “By which deed of his, he rather fired, than feared his hot and furious nature. For so much the
 “more eagerly withstood he the Law, courtied and troubled the Commons, and persecuted the Tri-
 “G buns as it were with open war. The plaintiff in the mean time, suffered the defendant to run on
 “still, and with many outrages to kindle more coils of ill will, and hatred upon his own head, and
 “to minister further matter of crime to be charged with. And all the while he cared not to prefer
 “the Law afore said, nor so much of any hope to bring it to pass, as to provoke and set on work the
 “giddy head and humorous vein of *Cajus*. Whereby it came to pass, that many follies oftentimes
 “were committed both in word and deed, by the younger sort: and evermore the blame light upon
 “poor *Cajus*: he alone was always charged, because he had been once suspected. But nevertheless
 “he

The Tribuns
oppose them-
selves against
the Nobility.

Cajus Quintus
a bitter ad-
versary of the
Terevillus.

hee gainfayed and crofled the Law. And *Autus Virginius* ever and anon would entertain the Commons with thefe and fuch like fpeeches. "See ye not already (quoth he) O *Quintus*, that ye may "not now have *Cæſo* your Citizen, and the law which ye deſire both together. But what mean "I to ſpeak of your Law? It is your liberty that he infringeth and ſeteth himſelf againſt, and in "pride and arrogancy he excedeth all the *Tarquinians* that ever were. But wait, ye were beſt-until "he be made Conſul or Dictator, whom ye fee already, being but a private perſon to bear him- "ſelf ſo greatly of his ſtrength and boldneſs, as to Lord it over you, and rule as a King. Many ſoot- "then the Tribune and ſaid thelike, adding moreover, how they had been well knocked and beaten "at his hands: and were forward enough of themſelves to ſet the Tribune on, to proceed in his commenced action againſt him.

Cæſo recom-
mended by
many of the
Nobility.

Now was the law day of judicial trial come: and it ſeemed abroad, that all men verily thought that the very foundation of their liberty conſiſted in the condemnation of *Cæſo*. In conclusion, driven he was with much indignity and ſhame, to creep and crouch unto every man, ſubmiſſively craving their favour one after another. There ſeconded him his kinſfolk and neereſt friends the beſt men of the City, *Titus Quintus Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Conſul, ſpoke in his behalf: and after he had reckoned up many honors and dignities, both of his own, and a ſo of his family, affirmed, that neither in the houſe and race of *Quintus*, nor yet throughout the City of *Rome*, was ever ſeen ſo great towardsneſs, no ſuch ſhew and likelihood of ripe and perfect virtue and prowess as in *Cæſo*: ſaying, that he had been firſt his ſouldier, and ſerved under him, and that with his own eyes he had ſeen him oftentimes fight valiantly hand to hand with his enemies in the field. Again *Sp. Fufius* made this good report of him. That upon a time, when himſelf was in great dittails and extremity, *Cæſo* was ſent unto him from *Quintus Capitolinus*, to help at a pinch: and that there was no one man, by whole good ſervice, as he thought, the Weal-publick at that time was more relieved and reſtored, then by his, *L. Lucretius* the Conſul laſt year before glittering in his bright glory to ſeeh and news, joined with the reſt, avowing *Cæſo* partaker with him in his praiſe-worthy act: he recounted his brave combats, rehearſed his noble exploits, both in his rides and voices, and alſo in the pight field: adding & counſelling them that in any hand they would retain him ſtil for to be a Citizen of their own City, rather then of any other, this excellent young gentleman, furniſhed with all good gifts of nature and fortune, like to prove a ſingular ſtay of the public affairs, into what City and State forever he ſhould come. As for that heat and haſtineſs (quoth he) which was in him miſliked and offensive, age and time would dayly diminiſh, and bereave him of it: grave and ſage counſel, which now was wanting, would come on apace every day more then other. Seeing therefore his faults waxed old and faded, his virtues now were in their growth, flouriſhed, and grew ripe unto perfection: they ſhould permit to brave, to rare a perſon, to live ſtil among them, and be a good old man in this their City. His father among the reſt, *L. Quintus*, furnamed *Cincinnatus*, went another way to work: who not by iterating ſtil his praiſes, for fear of heaping more matter of envy and repine, but craving pardon for his wildneſs and youthful demeanor: beſought them for his ſake at leaſt wiſe, to give the ſon as a preſent to his father, who neither in word nor deed had ever offended any perſon. Some took no heed and gave a deaf ear to his prayers, either for modeſty and reverence, or for fear. Others complaining how they and theirs had been beaten and hardly uſed at his hands, bewaried and ſhewed plainly by their ſtiff and churliſh answers what their judgment was. Beſides, the common millike and malice conceived againſt the deſcendant, there was one perilous matter and crime above all, that touched him very neer. And that was this: *M. Volſcius Tullor*, who certain years before had been Tribune of the Commons, came in againſt him as a witneſs, and depoleſed, how that net long after the plague was in the City, he hapned upon a company of youths as they made a riot and robbery in the *Subura*: where there aroſe a brawl and fray, in which his elder brother, a man well in years, and not thoroughly recovered of his ſickenſs, was with a buffet with *Cæſo* his ſil fell to the ground, and lay there for dead: ſo as he was fain to be had home between mens arms: and as he deemed, of that blow he died: yet might not he as hainous as the fact was, bring his action and proſecute the law, for fear of the Conſuls of theſe laſt years. As *Volſcius* thus informed, the whole court was moved therewith, in ſo much that *Cæſo* eſcaped hardly, from being murdered, in that rage and fury of the people. Then *Virginius* commanded to lay hold on the man, and to have him away to priſon. The *Parent* again by force reſiſted force. *T. Quintus* cried out. That he who was under arreſt for to make his appearance, and answer at a day for his life, and who flootily ſhould come to hiſtorial and be judged, ought not before ſentence of condemnation, and before he had pleaded for himſelf, thus violently be miſuſed. The Tribune replied again, That his meaning was not to puniſh him before he were condemned: howbeit, by his leave he would be ſo bold as keep him ſtil in priſon, to be forth-coming at the law day: that he who had killed a man might ſuffer thereupon, according as the people of *Rome* ſhould award. Then were the Tribunes called unto for their help, who by the means of an indifferent decree then made, ſhewed their lawfull favours with ſpeed. By virtue whereof they forbade expreſly, that he ſhould not be imprifoned, but pronounced that it was their wil and pleaſure, that the defendant ſhould perſonally appear, and a piece of money be promiſed unto the people, in caſe that he made default and failed of his appearance. Much queſtion there was what ſum of money ſhould be thought reaſonable to be promiſed. And the matter was put over to the Senate to be decided: and whiſt the Senators ſate there-

A thereupon the defendant was kept ſtil in ward within the common Hall. At length they thought good and ſet it down that he ſhould put in ſureties. And they bound eaſily in 1000 * *Alies*, But how many of theſe ſhould put in band, was left to the wil and diſcretion of the Tribunes, who alſigned and determined ten and no more. With ſo many ſureties the plaintiff bound the defendant perſonally and peremptorily to appear at his day. This man was the firſt Roman that went under ſpecial bail, and put in good pledges to make his publick answer, Thus being enlarged out of the common Hall and dimiſſed, the next night following, unawares to the Conſul, he departed for his exile, that he was out of the town, and gone into baniſhment: yet nevertheleſs *Virginius* aſſembled the people about this matter: but his fellow Tribunes being called unto for their help, dimiſſed the Court and licenſed every man to depart. But the forſaid money was cruelly exacted at his fathers hands, ſo that he was driven to ſell up all that ever he had, and for a long time to live apart as a perſon confined, on the other ſide of Tyber, in a poor bld and cottage out of the way. This proceſs of judgement, and the preſenting of the law aboveſaid together, buſied the City and kept it occupied. Quiet they were for any wars abroad. At what time the Tribunes like Conquerors, ſeeing the Nobles appalled at the baniſhment of *Cæſo*, ſuppoſed now their law was in manner fully eſtabliſhed and enacted. And for as much as the more ancient Senators had diſpoſſeſſed themſelves, as it were, of the Common-weal, and medled not for their own parts with the State: the younger ſort, and ſuch eſpecially as were of *Cæſo* his true and acquaintance, were kindled the more againſt the Commons, and abated not their courage: mirrily, this good thereby was done upon them, that in ſome meaſure they tempered and ruled their furious affections and violent outrage. The firſt time after the exile of *Cæſo*, that the law began again to be propoſed, they being well appointed and banded together, backed alſo with a mighty company of their friends and favorites, ſet upon the Tribunes: taking the occaſion when they charged them to depart out of the hall in ſuch manner, that no one of them above his fellows was ſingular, or carried home with him any ſpecial praife or blame more then another: but the Commons complained that for one *Cæſo*, there were now ſtart up a thouſand. All the days between, wherein the Tribunes medled not with their law, none more quiet, none more peaceable then they themſelves. Courteouſly they would ſalute and ſpeak unto the Commons, at all other times they would invite them home to their houſes and make them good cheer, aſſiſt them and be preſent with them in the common Hall, ſuffer the Tribunes themſelves without any interruption or impeachment to keep their courts and hold their aſſemblies whatſoever: ſhewing themſelves at no time to any of them either publicly or privately fierce and cruel, but only when they went in hand with the law, for otherwiſe the young Gentlemen were popular enough. And not only in other caſes: made the Tribunes good diſpatch, and went quietly through all their buſineſſes: but alſo the ſame men were choſen again for the next year following without any ſoul and croſs word: ſo far were they from being offered any forcible violence: and thus by ſoft handling and gentle dealing, they had now by little and little won the Commons, and made them as it were cometo hand. And ſo by theſe fine fetches and devices, for one whole year the law was ſhifted off, and E peremptory avoided. The City being now in more quiet ſtate, *C. Claudius* the ſon of *Appius* and *P. Valerius Poplicola*, came to be Conſuls. And no news this new year: for the ſame ear ſtil, either about preterring or admitting the law, held the City occupied. As much as the puny Nobles inſinuated themſelves more into the favour and familiarity of the Commons: ſo much more eagerly again on the other ſide, did the Tribunes labour and endeavor with complaints and ſlanders, to bring them into ſuſpition and jealousie with the Commons: ſaying, that there was a conspiracy intended and contrived: that *Cæſo* was in *Rome*: that there were plots laid to murder the Tribunes, and to ſmaltire the Commons: that they were ſet on work by ſome great ones, even the Ancients of the Nobles, utterly to aboliſh the Tribunes authority out of the C. W. and to bring and reduce the City to the ſame pals again, as it had been before the taking and keeping hold in the F Mount *Sacer*. Beſides all this, war was feared from the *Volſcians* and *Aerutians* (to ordinary it was, and ſo duly once every year it came about) yea and with all, another miſchief newly ſprung, and unlooked for.

A rabble of baniſhed perſons, Outlaws and Bondſlaves, to the number of 4500 having to their Captain one *Ap. Herdonius* a Sabin, ſurprized in the night the Capitol and Cattle, and were makers thereof, who immediately killed in the caſtles many as would not be of their conſpiracie & take arms with them. The reit, amid this hubbubly ran headlong down into the Market place for fear. The army was gotten on all hands: and no cry heard but *Arme, Arme*, the enemies are in town. The Conſuls were afraid to put the Commons in arms, and they doubted alſo to let them be unarmed, not knowing what ſudden occurrent this ſhould be, that thus had entered and poſſeſſed the city: whether it were forraign or domeſtical, ariſing from the malice and hatred of the people, or from the treachery and falſhood of their ſervants: Yet they deviced to appeaſe the uproar: and as they were buſied to reſt it, the more other-while they ſtirred up new: for the frightened and amazed multitude, could not be ordered by any commandment. Howbeit at length they reſolved to ſuffer them to take arms, and not all in general, but only (for that they knew not what their enemies were) to have a ſufficient and truſty guard about them, ready at all allyes and dangers whatſoever. In this careful ſuſpence and doubt, who were their enemies, and what their

The Capitol ſurprized by
Slaves and
Outlaws.

The Po-
sition of Ap-
pian Herdonius
as Captain of
the Flavii.

their number was, they passed the rest of the night, disposing strong watch and ward in all meet and convenient places of the City. But the day light disclosed the war and the Captain there-
of, *Appian Herdonius* from out of the Capitol proclaimed freedom to all bondmen that would
come and follow him: taking upon him himself to defend the cause of most miserable captives:
namely, to restore home again unto their native country all such exiled persons, as had been
wrongfully expelled, and also to take away the heavy yoke of slavery and bondage. Which
thing he could with it might be effected and brought about with the good will and helping
hand of the people of *Rome*. But in case there were no hope & comfort there, then he would al-
lay the *Volscians* and *Æquians*; yea, and procure what means he could, by all hard courses and
extremities whatsoever. Now the Nobles and *Consul*, began to see more into the matter: and
beheld those dangers that were in view, and presently threatened, they feared some practice from
the *Veientians* or the *Sabines*: and left, there being already so many enemies in the City, the *legi-*
ons and *Tuicani* should combine together, and come upon them. Over and besides, left their old
enemies and perpetual, the *Volscians* and *Æquians* should now at once, not, as aforesaid, invade
their borders and drive booties, but give an attempt upon the very City, which was already in
their borders and possessed by enemies. Many and sundry were their fears. But of all other
the dread and jealousy of their own bondslaves presented unto them most imminent and present
danger: for fear, lest every man harboured his enemy at home in his own house, whom neither
he could trust securely, nor yet mistrust without some jeopardy: fearing lest being once disre-
dited, he might prove the more malicious and bent to do a mischief. And to such thoughts they
were driven, that with all their concord and agreement, they hardly were able to remedy the
matter, and to stop the extremity. So greatly the future troubles like to ensue, exceeded those
that presently appeared and were in sight, that no man feared either Tribunes and Commons.
That mild and gentle kind of malady, in comparison of others, and rising always by occasion of
rest from all other. Seemed then by reason of a foretelling terror, filled clean and brought asleep.
And yet see, that was the only thing in a manner that lay hardest upon them, ready to bear down
to the ground their state, which now began already to shrink and reel. For so furiously and mad-
ly were the Tribunes bent, that they thirstily would stand to it, and bear men in hand. That it was
no war, but a vain illusion and colour of war, and no other, that had seized on the Capitol: for
nothing else but to withdraw the minds of the Commons from intending and following their
Law: and that a sort of clients, followers, and favorites of the Nobility and Gentry were ga-
thered together, who if they might once perceive that the Law were passed, and that all the vir-
ties had made, took no effect, would slip away soon and be gone, in remorseless I wis, than they
himself came. Whereupon they called the people away from their armor and weapons, and sum-
moned them to an assembly, to go through with their Law and Enact it now or never. In the
mean time the *Consul*, held a Council fearing a greater mischief like to ensue from the Tribunes than
the enemies had wrought in the night season. And when word was brought that arms were laid
away, and that the people had abandoned their quarters whereto they were set in guard, then *P. Val-*
erius, his colleague to keep the Senat together, departed hastily out of the Court & went straight
into the Temple to the Tribunes. "What work is here my Masters (quoth he) you that are Tribunes: M
"Are ye about to overthrow the State indeed under the conduct of *Ap. Herdonius* and who was
"notable to follow it and do any thing with your bondslaves and servants, was his hap so good as to
"corrupt and inveigle your selves: is this your pleasure and to your good liking, whilst the enemy
"is over our heads, to have our armor laid aside, and laws preferred? Then turning his speech to
"the whole multitude: I ye take no regard nor are (*O Quirites*) of the City if ye pais not for your
"selves yet have some reverence, and stand in fear of the Gods of your native country, which by
"your enemies are now taken Prisoners and captive *Jun. Op. Max.* that most bountiful and Al-
"mighty God, *Queen Juno* and *Minerva*, with all the rest of Gods, Goddesses (and heavenly
"wights) are besieged: Outlaws and bondslaves are encamped about your Tutelar Gods, and
"have in possession the Protectors and Patrons of your City. Is this, think ye, the form of a wife
"and well governed City? is it in good case indeed and as it ought to be? So many enemies not
"only within the walls, but also aloft upon the cliff within the Castle, overlooking and comman-
"ding both Hall and Court: and all the while, the people assemble in the Hall. Senators sit in
"Court like as when we enjoyed peace and were at rest: the Senator he delivereth his opinion at
"the Council board: the citizens of *Rome* besides, are busy in their liturgies and Commonalty Com-
"munes. And had it not been more meet and decent that both Nobility and Commonalty, Con-
"suls and Tribunes, God and Man, all armed together, should set to their helping hand, should
"run up into the Capitol to deliver, save and set in quiet that most sacred and sacred house of *Jup-*
"ter *Op. Max.* O Father *Romulus*, vouchsafe, I beseech thee, that mind and that courage unto thy
"successors and posterity, whereby sometime thou didst recover and win again this fortress from
"these same Sabines betrayed and lost by corruption, and for a sum of gold: command them to en-
"ter even that way, which thou first ledst, and thy valorous army followed after. Lo, I the *Con-*
"sul, so far forth as a mortal man possibly may, will follow thee an immortal God, and thy foot-
"steps. The conclusion of his speech was this, That as he put himself in arms, so all the Romans
"shall do the like. And in case any man went about to hinder this, he would without regard of *Con-*
"suls rule and dignity, or Tribunes authority & might, pais for no sacred or inviolable laws: but what
or

The Creation
of P. Valerius
to the people.

A or whereforever he were, in Capitol, in market place, all as one, take him for an enemy, and deal
accordingly. Let the Tribunes (forasmuch as they forbade to take arms against *Ap. Herdonius*) com-
mand hardly, and spare not, to arm against *P. Valerius* the *Consul*: It should be well seen that he
would dare and do that by the Tribunes, which the first of his house and name sometime had done
by the *KK*. A great broil was toward, and no other like, but that they would have gone toge-
ther by the ears, and that the mutiny of the Romans, would have been a goodly spectacle to the
enemies for to behold. But all this while, neither could the law be preferred, nor the *Consul* go
up into the Capitol. The night at length stayed these brails begun, and hushed all. The Tribunes
fearing the armed forces of the *Consuls*, yielded to the darkness of the night, and gave over. Now
B when the principal Authors of the discord were once gone out of the way, The Nobles went a-
bout to the Commons, intruding themselves into their companies as they were met in knots to-
gether: where they would enter into talk and discourse with them, according to the present oc-
casions and the time, admonishing them to take heed unto what danger they brought the State.
"Forasmuch as now (quoth they) it is not a matter of debate between the Senators and Com-
mons: but both Senators and Commons, the *Capitol* and *Strongeti* hold on the City, the Tem-
ples of the Gods: their houses both publick and private, were ready to be yielded unto the ene-
mies. Whilst these things were a practising in the common place, for to appease the contention
the *Consuls* for fear, left the *Sabines* or the *Veientians*, enemies both, should stir and rise, were
gone to the gates and about the walls. The same night came tidings also to *Tuiculus* of the
C taking of the *Capitol*, the surprising of the *Capitol*, and likewise of the trouble some State wher-
in the City stood. At that time was *L. Mamilius*, Dictator of *Tuiculus*: he forthwith called asse-
nate together, brought in the Messengers of the foretold news, and thought it very expedient and
needful not to wait until there came Embassadors from *Rome* to crave their aid: for that the
present peril it self alone, the urgent necessity, their social Gods, and the faithful bond of league,
required no less at their hands, than to lend succour: adding moreover, that the Gods would
never give them the like occasion and opportunity again, to gratify the Romans: to bind and
oblige unto them by a bound benefit and pleasure done, to mighty a City, and to meet a neigh-
bour. Whereupon it was decreed, to relieve them with all speed. The able men of service were
taken up and enrolled, munition and armor given them in their hands: who advancing toward
D *Rome* by break of day, seemed a far off to be enemies, and were taken for the *Æquians* or *Volscians*.
But afterwards, when this foolish fear was overblown, they were received into the City:
and marched down in order of battell to the market place. Where, at the very time came *Pub-*
l. *Valerius* having left his fellow *Consul* to guard and fortify the gates, was letting his men in array.
The authority of the man had prevailed with the people, for he promised and assured them, that
if the *Capitol* were once recovered, and the City set in quiet, if they would suffer him to be in-
formed what fraud and secret mischief was underhand practised by the Tribunes under col-
our of this Law, he would in remembrance of his ancestors, and of his surname (which in re-
gard of the affectionate love unto the people, by a special care, as it were by inheritance from his
forefathers, was recommended unto him) not hinder and trouble the meetings and assemblies of
E the Commons, nor cross and thwart their proceedings. They followed him therefore as their
Captain, gain by the Tribunes what they could (for all would not serve) advanced forward, and
marched up against the rising of the *Capitol Hill*. The *Tuiculan* Legion stuck close unto them,
and followed after. Citizens and Associates both did their best, and strove who should regain the
Capitol first, and have the honor of that day. Each Captain exhorted and encouraged his men.
Then began the enemies to fear, and wist not well what to trust unto, but on the situation of
the place. The Romans and their allies seeing their fear, came forward and advanced their Stan-
dards against them. Now by this time were they broken into the porch of the Temple. Where
F *P. Valerius* fighting manfully among the foremost in the vanguard, was slain. *P. Valerius* the
Consular man, saw him when he fell: who gave his men in charge to cover his body, and keep him-
self into the *Consuls* room, and fought in his stead. The soldiers for heat and eagerness of fight,
took no regard, and came to no knowledge of this great mischief, but got the victory, ere
they knew that they fought without their Captain. Many of the outlaws were there slain, and
polluted the Temple with their blood: Many taken alive Prisoners, and *Herdonius* himself was
slain outright. So the *Capitol* was again recovered. The captives, as they were either bond or
free, were executed every one according to their condition and place. The *Tuiculans* had thanks
given them. The *Capitol* was cleaned, purged, and hallowed anew. The Commons, as it is re-
ported, call "Quadrantes or mites into the *Consul* his house, that he might with greater pomp of
G funerals be brought to the ground.

When all was appeased and in quiet, the Tribunes were earnest with the Nobles to perform
the promise of *P. Valerius*: they were instant also with *Claudius*, to assist the soul, and keep
from blame of his fellow *Consul* late deceased: and to permit the law to be set on foot and
forward. The *Consul* gladly denied to suffer them to meddle with the law, before he had constitu-
ted a fellow in his place. And these contentions held unto the time of the grand Election for the
substituting of a new *Consul*. And in the month December, after much suit, and labouring of
the Nobles, was *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, the father of *Cicero*, created *Consul*, and presently to
enter into his office. The Commons herewith were much troubled and stricken dead, now that
they

* Duplicate.

P. Valerius the
Consul slain.

Herdonius
slain, and his
complexes de-
tected.

* Q. Claudius a
piece of brass
coin, the fourth
part of an, and
is almost as a
cuc and so.

The Oration
of L. Quintus
Cincinnatus, re-
proving the
Senate and
Commons of
Rome.

XIX

they were to have an angry Consul, and mighty withal: considering the favour of the Nobles wherein he stood and his own virtue & prowess besides; by reason also of his three sons, of whom there was not one that for haughtiness of mind came behind *Cæso*, and for wisdom, discretion, and moderation (when time and occasion served) went far beyond him. Who being once entrined into his office in all his publick speeches and orations, continually ceased not to well to bridle, restrain and keep in the Commonalty, as also to chastise sharply the Senate; through the remembrance of which degree & want of courage, it was come to pass, that the Tribunes became now to continue still in office, and not as in the Common-wealth of the people of *Rome*, but as in some unruly and disordered house with their lavish tongue raigned as it were, and ruled the rest: saying, "That together with his son *Cæso* all virtue and constancy, all commendable qualities that graced young Gentlemen both in war and peace, were chased and utterly banished out of the City of *Rome*. In lieu whereof, babblers, mutinous persons, and lovers of sedition and dissention, are become Tribunes the second year, and the third time; who by indirect courtesies & lewd practices have loofely in the City like Princes and Kings. That same *Asius Virginianus*, (quoth he) hath he deserved less punishment than *Ap. Herdonius*, because he was not in the Capitol with the rabble of other Rebels? Nay, much more a good deed, if a man will weigh the matter aright and truly. *Herdonius*, (if there were nothing else) yet by professing himself to be an enemy, advertised you, and gave you warning in a manner to arm your selves. But he, by bearing you down so confidently, that there was no war, what did he else but disarm you, and as it were, take your weapons from you, and offer you naked to the devotion and mercy of your bondmen and outlaws? And have ye (under correction he it spoken, and saving the reverence and honor of *C. Claudius* here, and *P. Valerius* that dead is) advanced your enigns up the Capitol Hill, before you had rid the market place and common Hall of these enemies? It is a shame (before God and man I speak it) when our enemies were in the Castle and Capitol, when the Captain and Ringleader of outlaws and slaves, abode and lodged within the Chapels and Sanctuaries of *Sup. Op. Max.* to the profanation and polluting of all that they at *Tusculum* should take them to their weapons before us of *Rome*, and that it should be doubted, whether *L. Manilius* the Tusculan General, or *P. Valerius* and *C. Claudius* the Roman Consuls, should have the Fortresses of *Rome*: and that we, who would not suffer the Latines in their own defence, when they had their enemies in their borders, so much as once to take weapon in hand, should now our selves have been surprised and destroyed had not they, the very same Latins of their own accord, put themselves into armor for our sakes. Is this your succouring and helping the Commons, (O ye Tribunes) to expose and cast them unarmed before the enemy, to have their throats cut? I was, if the meanest or basest person of your commonalty, which you have dismembered from the whole body of the people besides and made it, as it were the native country of your own, and a Common-wealth peculiar only to your selves: If any one of them I say, should bring you word, that his house were beset round about, with a company of servants and slaves in armor, you would think it meet that he were aided and succoured: And when *Sup. Op. Max.* was besieged with a power of armed outlaws and bondslaves, was he not worthy of mans help? And yet these men would be counsellors and held for *Sacrosanctis*, i. Sacred and inviolably, with whom the very Gods themselves are not feared and inviolate. And notwithstanding, that ye are thus overcharged and stayed with sins both against God and Man, ye go up and down, and say, That this year you will get your law to pass, and make it sure. In truth, if ye prefer it again, then I must needs lay the Common-wealth ill betted and had a shrewd run that day whereon I was created Consul, yea, and worse a good deal than at what time *P. Valerius* the Consul was slain. But now first and foremost (quoth he) O Quirites, my colleague and I both, are minded to lead forth our legions immediately against the Volscians and the Æquians; how the Divine Providence of God hath appointed it, I know not, but surely we find the Gods more gracious and favorable unto us in our wars ordinarily, than in time of peace. And in what danger we had stood of those nations, in case they had known that the Capitol was in the hands and possession of outlaws, better it is to guess by that which is past than to try indeed by present experience. The Consul his Oration moved, and galled the Commons, The Nobles took heart, and were in a good belief, that the world was well mended, and the state better reformed. The other Coe, more hearty to follow than to lead, and who was well content that his fellow had broken the ice before, and taken in hand to deal first in to weighty a matter, willingly challenged unto himself the charge to perform the part and office of a Consul. In the execution and accomplishment of those designments. But then the Tribunes made a game therat, and letting light at the Consul his words, inferred again and demanded, how the Consuls would lead out an army, and no man suffer them to muster souldiers. Marry (quoth *Quintus*) we need no mustering at all, for at what time as *P. Valerius* armed the Commons to recover again the Capitol, they were all sworn unto him and took their oath in this form. *To assemble together as the Consul his commandments, and not depart from their colours without his leave and licence.* We will and charge you all therefore, that have taken this oath to prevent your selves to-morrow with your armour at the lake of *Regillus* without fail. Then the Tribunes began to cavil and wrangle and would needs have the people discharged in their conscience of that oath: alleging how when they took that military Sacrament, *Quintus* was but a privat person. There was not as yet that neglect & contempt of the Gods entred into the world, which now reigneth every where and is so ripe: neither did men interpret their oaths, and construe laws, to serve their own purpose,

* Lake de Praef-
sa de de S. S.
vota.

A purpose, but rather attempted and flamed their lives and demeanour thereunto. The Tribunes therefore, seeing no hope to hinder the thing, began themselves to treat about setting forth the army: and the rather, because there ran a rumour abroad, that the Augurs were commanded to attend at the lake *Regillus*: and that by them a place should be hallowed and consecrate there, wherein the Consuls might duly commune and confer with the people, concerning all matters, according to the flight of birds: to the end that whatsoever at *Rome* had passed under a law, extorted by the violent force of the Tribunes; the same might there in a lawful assembly and general Session, be abrogated & made void by the suffrages of the souldiers, who without doubt would accord to that, which should stand with the Consuls pleasure. For by reason that there was no B appeal in force without the city, above one mile, the Tribunes themselves also, if they came thither, should be subject as well as the multitude besides of the people, to the commandment of the Consuls. These matters feared them indeed and put them in a bodily fear, but the greatest thing above all the rest that disquieted their hearts was this, that *Quintus* oftentimes had given out and said, that he would not call an assembly of the people for the election of Consul, for that the city was grown so far out of frame and temper, that it might not be reformed and cured with ordinary and usual remedies: but that the Common-wealth had more need of a Dictator, that whatsoever went about to trouble the state of the city, might well know that there was an absolute Dictatorship, that checked all appeals. The Senat was assembled at that time in the Capitoll, thither came the Tribunes with their Commons greatly disquieted and troubled. The multitude cried out and brought one while the Consuls of their favour, another while the LL. of the Senat of their protection; but could not once remove the Consul from his opinion (such a pitch had he taken) before the Tribunes gave their word and faithful promise, that they would be wholly ruled and ordered by the Senators. Then the Consul propounded the demands and petitions of the Tribunes and Commons, and the Senat enacted these orders and decrees. First, that neither the Tribunes should that year prefer their law: nor the Consuls lead out of the city any army. Item, from thence forth, the Senat deemed it not to stand with the weal publicly, that Magistrates should continue still in place from year to year, and that the same persons should be more then once chosen Tribunes. The Consuls for their part, were overruled and ordered by the Senators. But, say and gain say what the Consuls would, the same Tribunes were chosen anew: and the Nobles also because they would not be one ace behind hand with the Commons, would needs choose *L. Quintus* likewise for their Consul again. But all the year through was not the Consul more earnest and vehement in any action and speech whatsoever then in this. Should I marvel my Lords of the Council (quoth he) that you bear no stroke with the Commonalty, and your authority is so little worth among? Why, you, even your own selves let light thereby: seeing, forsooth, the Commons brake the ordinance of the Senat, touching the continuities of Magistrates yea also, because ye would not seem to yield one inch in rashness and folly to the multitude, are as ready and willing to infringe the same; as who would say, this were to have more rule and authority in a city, namely, to out more levities, inconstancies, and licentiousness. For it is a point of much more lightness and vanity, I assure you, for men to disdain the acts and decrees of their own making, then of others. Ye that be Senators and Fathers of the C.W. imitate, and spare not, the ignorant, lewd and inconsiderate multitude: ye that should give good examples to others, flye hardly your selves, and do misis by the precedent of others: neither then let others by your example do well: so long as I, for my part, take not after the Tribunes, nor suffer my self to be declared Co. against an express act of the Senat. As to you, O *Claudius*, I would exhort you, that both your self would restrain the people of *Rome* of this their licentiousness, that thus they have not their desire, and also that you would persuade your self thus much of me, that so far off will I be from thinking my honour by you in paired, that rather I will take my glory to be increased by the desisting and refusing of a dignity, and the ill will and envy abated and diminished, that might grow upon the continuation thereof. Whereupon both the Consuls jointly together made an edict and proclamation, that no man should by his voice nominate *Quintus*, Consul: and if any man did, they would not allow of his election. So there were created Consuls, *Q. Fabius Pibulanus* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Mancinus*.

In this year was held assembling and numbering of the citizens, but touching the *Lustrum*, there was some temple of conscience, because the Capitol had been taken, and the Consul slain. When *Q. Fabius* and *Lucius Cornelius* were thus Consuls, suddenly in the very beginning of their year began great troubles: for the Tribunes on the one side, as their guile was, let the Commons work: the Latines and Hernicks on the other side, sent word of great wars from the Volscians & Æquians: that the Volscian legions were already at *Arminum*, and the Colonie it self greatly suspected to rebel. Yet hardly could the Tribunes be brought to agree, that preparation should be made aforehand to prevent this war. But upon these news, the Consuls parted between themselves the charge of all affairs. *Fabius* was appointed to lead forth an army to *Arminum*; and *Cornelius* to abide at *Rome* for the defence of the city, for fear lest some part of their enemies, as the Æquians manner was, should in running camp make roads and forge the territories about. The Hernicks and Latines, were by vertue of the league, charged with the finding of certaine souldiers, so as the whole army should consist of j. parts of confederates and one third of citizens. When, at the day appointed the Allies were come, the Consul pitched down his tents without the gate *Capena*: from whence when he had taken a generall muster and purged his armie, he marched towards *Arminum* and

The oration of
L. Quintus
Cincinnatus, re-
proving the Sen-
at

XXII

and encamped himself not far, either from the town, or the standing camp of his enemies: where the Volcians seeing no forces yet come unto them from the *Æquians*, had no heart to fight, but made preparation how they might keep themselves quiet and safe, within their mure and rampire. The morrow after, *Fabius* made not one entire battell of Allies and citizens mingled together, but three battalions severally by themselves, of three sundry nations, & ranged them along all about the countercarpe and trench of his enemies. Himself was in the midst with the Roman legions, and gave commandment to observe heedfully and mark the signal: that the Allies also should both begin battell and also retire, when he founded the retreat. In like sort he placed the horsemen behind the *Principia* at the back of each battell. Thus in three sundry parts he assailed the camp, and invironed it round about, and charging lustily hard upon them on every side, he beat the Volcians down from their rampier, for they were not able to endure his violence. And having gotten over all their trenches and fortifications, he drove the fearful multitude clean out of their hold, that now were forced to a hide and corner of the camp. The horsemen might not easily get over the trench, and stood still of purpose to behold the fight, and to mark them when they should flee: but having once gotten them in the open fields, they chased them as they ran away on heaps: and by killing them in their fearful flight, deferred their part in that victory. Great was the execution both within the camp, and also without the rampires, as they fled; but greater was the pillage, for that the enemies had much ado to carry their armour away with them, and but that they throwed themselves as they fled in the woods, they had perished every man. During these exploits about *Antium*, the *Æquians* having sent before them the tallest and lustiest young men they had, surprised the cattle of *Tufulcum*, upon a sudden and at unawares in the night season: and with the rest of their power they were encamped not far from the walls of *Tufulcum*, intending to intercept and slay the army of their enemies. Tidings hereof came in post to *Rome*, and from *Rome* to the camp before *Antium*: which troubled the Romans as much as if news had been brought, that the Capitol was taken. So fresh in remembrance was the late desert of the Tufulcians: and the like jeopardy seeming to challenge and redemand semblable aid and succour. *Fabius* setting all other things aside, caused the booty in all halt to be conveyed out of the camp to *Antium*: where having left an indifferent guard, he hasteneth space in order of battell to *Tufulcum*: by reason whereof, the soldiers could take nothing with them, but their armour, and such tacked or boyled meats as were at hand ready. The Consul (*Cornelius*) sent a convey of victuals unto them from *Rome*. Thus for certain months continued the war at *Tufulcum*. The Consul (*Fabius*) with one part of his host assailed the camp of the *Æquians*: for the other part he had let the Tufulcians have, to win again their fortress. Against all force it was impregnable, but in the end famine constrained the enemies to abandon it. To which extremity being at length driven, they were by the Tufulcians disarmed and compelled to pass naked under the yoke. Who as they fled homeward with shame enough, were overtaken of the Roman Consul in *Algidum*, and put to the sword every one. After this victory, he encamped with the rest of his army at *Columen*, for to the place is named. The other Consul likewise, seeing that there was no danger threatening the walls of *Rome*, now that the enemy was discomfited & repulsed, departed himself from the citie. So the Consuls entering two waies the borders of their enemies, made sharp war and spoiled the Volcians of the one side, and the *Æquians* on the other. I find in most writers that the *Antians* in this year rebelled: and that *L. Cornelius* the Consul managed that war and won the town. But for as much as there is no mention made of that matter in any ancient writers, I dare not avouch it for a certain truth.

* A kind of gallows made with two javelins pitched endling in the ground, and a third fastened overhead to the other.

* Treasures of Generall Be-
lievers of the
CITY

This war was no sooner brought to an end, but the domestical Tribunes war at home put the Nobles in fear: for the Tribunes cried out that this was cautelous and fraudulent dealing, thus to keep the armies abroad, for nothing els but to disappoint them for publishing the law. Yet nevertheless, since they had begun it, they would not give over, but go through with it and see an end. Howbeit *P. Lucretius*, president of the city for the time, prevailed thus much with them, that all Tribunitian actions should hang & be deferred unto the coming of the Consuls. There was besides a new occasion arose of fresh trouble. *A. Cornelius* and *Quintus Servilius* * Quæstors, gave summons to *M. Valerius* to make his answer at a day, who laid to his charge that he without all doubt, had born false witness against *Cæso*. For by many presumptions and evidences it appeared, that neither *Valerius* his brother, from the first time that he fell sick and took his bed, was at any time seen openly in the streets, or so much as to have sit up, and mended any whit, but at that disease which held him many months, he languished and consumed away to death: not about that time, wherein the deponent supposed the deed was done, was *Cæso* once seen at *Rome*: it being plainly affirmed and proved by those who served together with him in the wars, that he was ordinarily all the time fighting under his colours as well as they, without any passport or licence to depart. And to make this good, many there were that of themselves privately challenged *Valerius*, and offered to travel the law and to be tried by any indifferent and competent judges. But when as he durst not abide the trial and to be judged, all these things put together and to companion one to the other: made men doubt no more of the condemnation of *Valerius* than of *Cæso*, which was grounded upon the bare testimony of *Valerius*. The Tribunes were only the stay; who said plainly they would not suffer the Quæstors to hold any sessions or judicial court, for the trial of the defendant, before they had a solemn assembly about their law. So were both these matters

A matters put off unto the Consuls coming. Who being entred with triumph into the city, with their victorious armie, & no words made of the law, many thought the Tribunes were elected and stricken dead. But they (for that the year now was at an end) aspiring to be Tribunes the fourth time, left all their hot contention for the law; and reserved themselves wholly to argue and reason at the assembly for the Election of new Magistrates. And albeit the Consuls had bent all their might and main against the continuity of the Tribuneship, as earnestly, as if a law had been propounded, tending to the impairing and abridging of their majesty, yet got the Tribunes the mastery, and had the hand of them in the end. In this year peace was granted upon request and petition, unto the *Æquians*. And the Selling, which the year before began, was now finished. B And this was counted the tenth general Survey and solemn purging of the citie from the foundation thereof. There were numbered in the Censile-book of citizens 132,419 polles. Aglorious and honourable year it was untill the Consuls, both at home and in war. For they not only procured peace abroad, but also the citie was, if not in perfect concord and unity, yet in less trouble than at other times. *L. Minutius*, and *L. Nautilus*, that there were created Consuls, entred upon the reliques of the two matters begun the former year. And much after one sort, as the Consuls crossed the going forward of the law, so the Tribunes hindered the judicial proceeding against *Valerius*. But the new Quæstors were men of more power and greater authority. For together with *M. Valerius*, the son of *Valerius*, and nephew of *Valerius*, was *T. Quintus Capitolinus* created Quæstor, a man that had been thrice Consul. Forasmuch therefore, as *Cæso*, the worthiest gentleman of all other, and the very ornament of the youth of *Rome*, could not be restored again, neither to the house of the *Quintis*, nor the commonweal, he pursued of more piete, with just & lawful war, and false witnesses, who would not suffer on anyhand the innocent person to have the liberty to plead in his own defence. And when *Virginius*, most of all the other Tribunes, was earnest to publish the law, the Consuls had two months respite given them to consider thereof, and look into it thoroughly: to the end, that when they had adverted the people what secret fraud and inconvenience was hidden and lurked therein, they might afterwards suffer them to proceed to a sentence, and gather voices accordingly. This space between granted, brought the citie into a good and quiet state.

But the *Æquians* would not abide, that long it should continue so: Who having broken the league, which the year before was made with the Romans, chose *Gracchus Clutius* for their governor and general, who was in those daies the greatest man among the *Æquians*. Under the conduct of this *Gracchus*, they enter first in warlike manner the country of *Lavinium*, and from thence into the territory of *Tufulcum*, spoiling and ransacking as they went: and being laden with preys and booties, they pitch their tents in *Algidum*. Thither repaired from *Rome* into their camp, *Q. Fabius*, *P. Valerius*, and *L. Postumius* as embassadors, to complain of wounds received, and to demand amends and satisfaction according to covenant. The General of the *Æquians* seemed to grant them audience, and willed them to declare what message and commission they had from the Senat of *Rome*, unto the oak; for that himself had some other matters to dispatch the while. Now there grew a mightie great oak hard by the General his pavilion, spreading his boughs even over it, and the shadow thereof served for a cold fitting place. Then one of the Embassadors, he went his way, "Let both the sacred Oak (quoth he) and what divine power forever is feared in this place, heare and know that by you first the league is broken, who now regard our present complaints, and shortly assay our valiant armies, when we shall prosecute "and revenge at once the dishonour breach, both of Gods laws and mans. So soon as the Embassadors were returned to *Rome*, the Senat gave direction, that one of the Consuls should lead forth an armie against *Gracchus*, into *Algidum*, and the other have in commission, to waite the borders of the *Æquians*. The Tribunes, as their manner was, hindered the matter, and peradventure had staid it altogether, but for a new fearful occurrence that suddenly came in the neck of the other. For a mightie power of Sabines were approached well nigh to the walls of the citie, robbing, spoiling and destroying all a fore them with sword and fire. The territory was pitifully roun about laid desolat, and the citie there with fore terrified. Then the Commons (floods came down, and gently they took weapons in hand: and (say what the Tribunes would against it) two great armies were enrolled. *Nautilus* had the leading of the one against the Sabines: and being encamped at *Eretrum*, with robes and incursions, and those for the most part by night, made such fool work and walk in The Sabines country, that in comparison thereof, the lands about *Rome*, seemed as if they had not been once touched. *Minutius* in his exploits, had neither like good success, nor yet equal courage and valour of heart. For having pitched his tents not far from the enemy, and received no great foile and loss at his hands to speak of, yet he kept himself for fear within the camp. Which when the enemies perceived, they grew more bold (as commonly the cowardice of one increaseth the courage of another) and assailed the camp in the night season: but seeing that plain force little prevailed, the morrow after they raised mounts, and cast trenches round about. But before they had with their countermures and rampires stopped up all passages, five horsemen being even amongst the guards of the enemies, brought news to *Rome*, that the Consul with his armie was besieged. Nothing could there have hapned so little thought of, and unlooked for: whereupon there was such fear, trembling, and quaking, as if the enemies had besieged not the camp, but the very citie. *Nautilus* the Consul they tend for, and because they thought him like to do but small good, they agreed therefore to create a Dictator, who might

* Riquea del
Papa.

L. Quintus
renowned
Dictator,
founddigging
his grounds
with his own
hands.

might restore again to the distressed state of the C. W. And L. Quintus, *Quintus* by consent of all men was nominated. Now a world and wonder it is to hear them speak, that in regard of riches despite all things else, and suppose there can be no great honour and virtue, but where wealth and riches do flow in excess. This L. Quintus, the only hope of the Romans, the man who was to set upright their Empire now distressed, occupied then a piece of ground, to the quantity of four acres, called at this day *Quintus pratis*, L. Quintus his meadows, on the other side of Tyber, over against that very place, where now the Ardenal and Shipdocks are, and there was he tilling digging a ditch, and bearing hard on his spade, or else a plowing the ground, I wot not whether, but busie and earnest about some rusticall work, no doubt he was: and after salutations passed on both sides, between him and the Embassadors that were sent, he was requested by them, that he would put on his belt gown, and (that which might turn to the good of himself and the commonwealth) hear a message from the Senat. First, he marvelled what the matter should be & very often asking of them if it were well, the will of his wife *Racilia* to bring him forth his Senators robe straightway, out of his torie cottages which he put on his back (but first he brushed off the dust, and wiped away his sweat, and made himself somewhat mannerly) and then came forth unto them, who in joyous manner, by way of congratulation filled him by the name of Dictator: calling hard upon him to repair unto the city, and declaring in how doubtful terms the armie stood. Then was thereARGE provided ready for Quintus, at the cities cost: and being ferried over the river, his three lions met him and received him first, then others of his kinsfolk and friends, and after the K Sergeants going before, was he brought to his house. Great concourse there was also of the Commons: but nothing so joyous were they, to see Quintus, supposing that government of his over great and absolute, and himself a man in time of his rule, too imperious. And for that night verily, nothing was done, but a good standing watch kept in the city. The morning after, the Dictator being come into the common place of assembly before day-light, appointed Generall of the hoste, L. Tullius, of Noble blood descended: a man who for more poverty had ever served on foot, but of all the flower of Rome was reputed and taken to be a brave levitour, and an excellent soldier. Then Quintus with the Generall of horsemen, mounteth into the pulpit aloft: proclaimeth a publicke vacation or Lawfeed: commandeth all shop windows through the city to be shut, and chargeth that no man should follow any privat businesse of his own. Then as many as were of age to fight, were willed to shew them selves in their armour, before the sun set in Marsfield, every one with viduals dressed for five daies, and with twelve folded flakes a peece for to pitch in the rampart. And that whoeever were above that age, and were unwieldy, and not meet for service should dress and provide viduals for the next soldier unto him, whilst he himself made ready his armour, and sought for flaxes aforesaid. Thus ran the young able men to and fro, to furnish themselves with flaxes, and took whatsoever they could find, and whatsoever was next hand: no man was forbidden, and so they were all ready with heart and good will, according to the Dictator his proclamation. Then went the Dictator forth with the legions of footmen, the Master of the hoste likewise with his men of arms, in such good order and array, as might not only serve for a speedy march to rid ground, but also for a set battell if occasion served. "In M both regiments they spured not to encourage and exhort their soldiers, according as the present time required: willing them to set foot forward, to mend their pace and make speed: that by night time they might reach to their enemies: & not (say they) before there was great need: for that the Roman Consul and army were benighted, and had now three daies already been pent up fast inclosed: and what might happen in one day or one night, no man knew: for oftentimes in the twinkling of an eye, and in the very turning of an hand, here fall out accidents of sight great moment and importance. On a fore space, Ensigne cried one: follow soldier faithfully another. Then went they also lustily forward, and all to pleasure and gratifie their captains. So that by midnight they were come into Algidum: and so soon as they perceive their enemies to be next at hand, they pitched down their ensignes. Then the Dictator rode about as far forth as he could see in the dark, and having viewed well the situation, costling and fashion of the camp, commanded the Marshalls and Colonels to give direction, That all the carriage and baggage, should be laid up together in one place, and that the soldiers with their armour and flaxes only, should come again into their ranks. What he commanded was soon done. Then in the same order that he marched, he drew out his host in length, and compasseth the camp of his enemies, and commandeth them all (upon a signall or watchword given) to set up a shout, and presently upon the shout to set trench, & every man stuck down his pale in the rampier. Having given this charge, straightway the signall followed. The soldiers do that which they were bidden: the shout was heard over all the camp of the enemies, yea, and into the Consul his camp: causing in the one great fear, in the other exceeding joy. The Romans rejoicing one with another to hear the shout of their fellow-citizens and countymen, with a conceit of their coming to rescue, began of themselves from their sentinels and Corps de guard, to threaten and terrifie their enemies. The Consul see them forward and said, there was now no playing for the matter, nor delays to be made: for that it appeared by that alarm, that not only their friends were come with succours, but also had begun to skirmish: and that it was all to nothing, that their enemies camp, was already on the outward side assaulted. Whereupon he commanded his soldiers to arm, and to follow hard after him. Thus in the night began the skirmish, and

A and the legions of a Dictator by their outcry and shouting made signification that the enemies on that side also were driven to their shifts and in great hazard. By this time the Aequians had addressed themselves to impede them in their trenching and making of their rampier, to the end that they might not be compassed about: but the alarm was given and the skirmish already begun by their enemies within: fearing therefore, lest they would break through the midst of their camp, they turned from the pioneers and workmen without, to them that fought within, and thereby gave the other leave to plie their work and labour all the night long at their pleasure: and so they maintained skirmish with the Col, untill day light. Now by the break of day they were entrenched on every side by the Dictator, and were scarce able to hold out battell with one of the armies. Then the host of Quintus, which presently upon the finishing of the trench returned to their weapons, entering of the inures and rampiers of the enemies. Here began a fresh conflict again, and yet the former nothing abated. The enemies then seeing themselves thus distressed and to hardly driven on every side, left fighting and fell to intreating: they besought the Col, on one side and the Dictator on the other, that they would not get the victorie by effusion of blood and cruel massacre, but would permit them to go their waies naked without their weapons. The Consul he posted them off to the Dictator: who being in great wrath and displeasure, would not be contented without their shame and ignomy besides. But commanded that Claudius their generall with other Colonels and Captains should be brought bound unto him. Item, he enjoined them to abandon & quit the town of Corbio: as for the Aequians blood, he fought not for it, he had no need thereof: they might depart with their lives. Howbeit, because he would have it now as length, manage their heads, confessed, that the nation was vanquished and subdued, this will and pleasure was, they should pass all under the yoke or gallows: the manner whereof is this. They took three spears or javelins, and set two of them pitched in the ground endlong, and their overthwart lashed unto the other. Under this kind of gallows the Dictator compelled the Aequians to go. Thus having gotten the tents of the enemies full of all kind of store (for naked he sent them under the yoke) the whole pillage he bestowed upon his own soldiers only: and rebuking sharply the Consuls army and the Col, himself, Ye shall quoth he soldiers go without your part of booty won of the enemy, whole booty ye had like your selves to have been. And as for thee, O L. Minutius, until thou begin to have the heart and courage befitting a Consul, thou shalt be a Lieutenant only over these legions. So Minutius being discharged of the Consulship, remained still as he was commanded, with the army. But so well were men content in those daies, willingly to yield obedience to them that better could command, that this army in remembrance hereof as of a favour received, rather then of a disgrace offered, both ordained for the Dictator a coronet of gold of one pound weight: and also when he went homeward, saluted him by the name of their Patron. At Rome the Senat being assembled together by Q. Fabius Provost of the citie, decreed that Quintus should enter the city in triumph with his army marching in battell array as he came. Before his chariot was led the commanders of his enemies: the ensignes are carried afore, then followed the army laden with spoil and pillage. Great cheer and banquets were set out, men lay upon tables at every mans dore. Thus making merry, they followed the chariot with songs of triumph, with sports and merry conceits, as they are wont to do at their great and solemn feasts. The same day L. Mamilius the Tusculan, with the approbation and good liking of all men, was enfranchised citizen of Rome. And forthwith would the Dictator, have signed up his office, but that the Court, held for the trial of M. Volscius, ended of bearing false witness, staid him: and in truth, the Tribunes would have hindered the judicial proceeding against him, if they had not stood in awe of the Dictator. But Volscius was convicted and had sentence, and departed to Lanuvium in exile. And Quintus having taken the Dictatorship for six months, gave over the fixteenth day after he entered into it. About the same time the Consul Nautilus fought valiantly with the Sabines at Eretum: who besides the wailing of the fields, had an overthrow in fight. Fabius was sent into Algidum, to succeed in the room of Minutius. In the end of the year, the Tribunes began to stir about their law: but because the two armies were absent, the Senator prevailed so much at that time, that no bills were propounded unto the people. The Commons likewise obtained, that they might create the self-same Tribunes, now the fifth time. The report goeth, that there were leen in the Capitol, wolves chased away by hounds: for which strange sight, the Capitol was purged. And these were the acts of that year. Then followed Consuls Q. Minutius & M. Horatius Pulvillius.

In the beginning of which year, whilst all was quiet abroad, the same Tribunes and the same law caused dissention and sedition at home: which would have grown to a farther mischief, if such heats men were, had not word been brought, as it were of set purpose, that the garison at Corbio was surprized in the night by the Aequians and put to the sword: whereupon the Consuls called the Senat together: and order was given, that they should lead a Subitary army and with a running camp invade Algidum. Then was the strife about the law laid aside clean, and a new contention arose about the nullters. But the Consuls with all their authority, were over-ruled of the Commons, by the help and assistance of the Tribunes. At what time a new trouble put them in fear, for intelligence came, that a power of Sabines were come down already into the territories of Rome for to fetch booties and make spoil: and from thence advanced against the city. Upon which fear, the Tribunes were content that soldiers should be prett, yet not without this covenant indented: That for as much as they had now themselves these five years been troubled off

36. lib. angel
gold.
L. Quintus
triumpheth.

Ten Tribunes
of the Com.
first created.

and deluded, & that this protectorship of theirs stood the Commons in little stead, in regard of their small number, therefore, should from thenceforth be ten created Tribunes of the Commonalty. The Nobles were to fear driven and to such frights, that will they, still they, yield they must thereto: with this proviso, that they should never after elect the same men Tribunes twice. And for fear that this act should after the war was once past, turn to nothing, like as others had done before, they went in hand immediately to call a court for the Election of the Tribunes. So in the 36. year from the first Tribunes of the Commons chosen, there were ten created: out of every Classis, two. And by an act it was provided, that in such sort they should be created ever after. The musters then being taken and soldiers enrolled, *Mimius* went with a power against the Sabines, but found not the enemy. And *Horatius*, because the *Equians* after they had put the garrison at *Corbio* to the sword, and won *Horatius* besides, fought with them in *Algidum*. Many a man there he slew, and drove his enemies not only out of *Algidum*, but also out of *Corbio* and *Horatius*. As for *Corbio* he utterly raised it, for betraying the garrison there. After this, were *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius* made Consuls. At quiet they were both at home and abroad. But great scarcity there was of corn, by reason of the untemperat and unreasonable rain that fell. A bill there was preferred, that the mount *Aventine* should be turned to Commons. And the same Tribunes were made again: who, all the year following, when *T. Romulus* and *C. Veturius* were Consuls, in all their Halls and assemblies, still published the law: saying, it was a shame, that their number was thus increased to no purpose, in case their affairs should be dead in their two years, as they had done in the whole 5. years past. Whiles they were earnestly debating these things, fearful messengers came in all hail from *Tusculum*, with news, that the *Equians* were in the territory of *Tusculum*. The swift desert of that nation would not suffer the Romans for shame to defer their helping hand. Whereupon both Consuls were sent with an army, and met with the enemies in *Algidum* in their wonted haunt and accustomed place, where they encountered and struck a battell: in which were slain about 7000. enemies. The rest were put to flight. A huge booty there was gotten, which the Consuls sold out-right, by reason of the want of money in their common treasury. But this caused the soldiers to repine and grudge, and in the end ministered matter to the Tribunes, to accuse the Consuls unto the Commons. As soon therefore as they were out of their office, when *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Eternus* were Consuls: *Romulus* was arrested and put in suit by *C. Claudius Cicerio*, Tribune of the Commons. And *Veturius* was likewise troubled by *L. Halerius an Edile* or *L. Warden* of the Commons. Condemned they were both the one and the other, to the great indignation of the Nobles. *Romulus* was fined in 10000 *Alfes*. *Veturius* in 15000. But for all this hard law and calamity that befell to those former Consuls, the new were never a jot more remissive and cool in the quarrel: saying, Well may we also be calt and condemned, and both Commons and Tribunes never the nearer to compass and enact their law. Then the Tribunes giving over the law, which now by propounding only to sit, was waxen stale and old, began more gently to deal with the Senators, praying them to make an end once of all strife and contention. And in case that the laws of the Commons so disliked and displeased them, they requested them to suffer certain Law-makers to be created indifferently out of the Commonalty, as well as of the Nobility, who might devise such accommodations & profitable to both parts and or the equal liberty and freedom of all. As for the Nobility they had the making of those laws. Seeing then they agreed thus about the laws, & differed only and quired about the lawgiver, there were Embassadors sent to Athens, *Sp. Posthumus Albus*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Sulpicius Camerinus*: who were commanded to exemplify and copy out the famous and worthy laws of *Solon*: to search out and learn the ordinances, customs, and rites of other cities in *Greece*. For any outward wars, this year was quiet, and the year following more quiet, when *P. Crassius*, and *Sex. Quintilius* were Consuls, by reason of the continual silence of the Tribunes: which as the expectation of the Embassadors that were gone to *Athen*, and of strange and foreign laws, first and principally procured: so, two mighty great calamities that rose both at once, to wit, famine and pestilence, noisome and loathsome both to man and beast, afterwards continued. By means whereof the fields lay waste and desolate, the city dispeopled with continual burials: many right worshipful and honourable houses thereby mourned. *Sergius Cornelius*, the Flamin of *Quirinus* died thereof. *C. Horatius Pulvillus* the Augur went off likewise: in whose room the Augurs (his Associates) chose *C. Veturius*: and thereafter, because he had been condemned by the people. *Quintilius* the Consul departed also this life, and four Tribunes of the Commons. So that this was a year, with manifold losses and calamities fully distressed. But for enemies all was quiet. After this were *C. Menenius*, and *P. Sestius Capitolinus* made Consuls. In which year likewise there was no war abroad, many at home home troubles arose. By this time were the Embassadors returned with the *Athenian* laws. And therefore the Tribunes were so much the more earnest and urgent, that once at length they would set on, to describe and put down home laws. And agreed it was, that there should be created Decemvirs above all appeal: for the year ensuing, there should no other Officers and Magistrats be in place. Now, whether any of these might be of the Commons or no, that was a question: and hereupon some debate and controversy continued for a good while. At the last, the Nobles went away with it, & had the pre-eminence upon this condition, that neither the law *scilicet*, concerning the *Aventine* mount, nor other sacred laws should be repealed. Thus in the 302 year after that *Rome* was built, was the form of the civis government changed the second time, and to the Consul: from the Decemvir, was the sovereign rule translated, like as before, from the kings to the Consul.

Ten Magistrats recalled Decemvirs, instituted themselves, the making of laws.

A This change was lesse notable, in that it long continued not. The beginning of this Magistracy was fair and goodly to see to, but grew too rank: and exceeded in overmuch licentiousness. The sooner therefore it faded and fell away, and the former government was taken up again, and both the name and jurisdiction of Consuls returned, and was conferred upon twain. The Decemvirs created were these: *Ap. Claudius*, *T. Genucius*, *P. Sestius*, *L. Veturius*, *C. Julius*, *A. Manlius*, *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Crassius*, *T. Romulus*, *Sp. Posthumus*, *C. Julius* and *Genucius*, became they had been Consuls elect for that year, had this dignity bestowed upon them, in lieu of the other. And *Sestius* one of the Consuls the year before, because he had preferred this matter unto the Senators, against his fellow Consul will. Next to these were counted the three Embassadors that went to *Athen*, both for that they should be rewarded with this honourable dignity, for their embassy into so far & remote a country, & also because men were perswaded, that by reason of their insight and skill in foreign ordinances of strange nations, they might be well employed in setting down, and making of new; The rest made up the number. They say, that in the last scrutinies and suffrages at this Election, choice was made of those that were more aged, and farther steep in years, to the end they might not so fiercely and stoutly gain say and cross the opinions and constitutions of the other. In this new state of government, *Appius* was the man that bare the greatest stroke, he ruled the rest and swayed all the rest, so highly stood he in grace and favour with the people. He had altered his nature, and became such a new man, that all on a sudden, of a cruel and terrible persecutor of the Commons, he proved a very *Publicola*, and counter of the Commonalty, and one that lay for to get every gale of popular love and favour that might be had. Every one at his tenth day in place of judgement, and ministered justice in their severall turnes unto the people. On which day, the twelve knives of rods were born by the *Lictors* before the sovereign judge: as for his nine brethren, they had each of them one for aught to give attendance. In this agreement among themselves, (which accorded otherwhiles when they were private persons, had been hurtful unto them) rested only and wholly the greatest equity towards others. A proof and argument of their moderation, it shall be sufficient to observe now in the example and instance of one only matter: for whereas they were created absolute, and past all appeal, it fortuned, that in the house of *P. Sestius*, a Nobleman, there was a dead body found buried, and brought forth openly into the publick assembly of the people. The thing being no lesse apparent in view, then heinous and horrible in fact, *C. Julius* a Decemvir, brought *Sestius* in question therefore, put him in suit to answer at a certain day, and became plaintiff unto the people, and accused that defendant, whose competent judge he was by order of law. And so he yielded of his own right adding so much to the freedom of the people, as was taken from the power of his own jurisdiction and government. When as now both high and low gave out, that this authority was found, and uncorrupt, & fast as were from Oracle and Gods own mouth, & all men willing to accept of justice at their hands: then set they to it, and went about the making and giving of laws. And with great expectation of men, they let out ten Tables, and called the people to general assembly, commanding them in a good hour, and in the name of God to go, & that which might turn to the good, & to the benefit, and happiness of the Commonwealth, themselves their children & posterity to read the law there published: protesting that so far as ten men could with all their wisdom foresee & provide for, had devised indifferent laws, and equal for all sorts of callings, as well the best as the meanest. But for as much as the wits and heads of many men, were of deeper reach to see farther into things, they gave them good leave, to call in their minds, and ponder with themselves each particular, yea, and to reason together from point to point, and thereof to deliver their opinion openly, what was thore and wanting, or what was superfluous, in every article: and look what laws the consent of all men seemed to bring in, those should the people accept and none other: that it might appear they were not so much to approve of them and give their assent after they were propounded, as to propose and preferre them their own selves. And when as they were thought sufficiently corrected, according to the speeches of men, and as every one spake to the severall titles and chapters of the laws, as they were set forth: then in the high court of Parliament, assembled of all the Centuries & degrees of men, the laws of ten Tables were enacted and established. Which even at this day, among that infinite number of Statutes, heaped and huddled one upon another, are the very well-spring and fountain of all justice, both publick and private. After this, there ran a rumour abroad, that two tables were yet wanting, which if they were put unto the rest, then might the complete body as it were of the whole Roman law be finished and made perfect. The expectation thereof, now that the great Let-day grew near for the Election, made men very desirous to create Decemvirs again the second time. Now the Commons abroad, besides that they hated the very name of Consuls, as well as of Kings, fought not greatly for the protection of the Tribunes: seeing that the Decemvirs one after another, yielded in their prerogative, and admitted in some sort the appeal. But after that the solemn assembly for the choosing of Decemvirs, was published against the *Tribunes*, or third market day next ensuing, to such an height was the ambition and desire of this dignity grown, that the very chiefs men, and principall heads of the City (for fear, I believe, lest the possession of to great a government, in case they were not invested themselves in the place, should be open unto some unmeet and unworthy persons) went about and made court to every man, using in humble manner to those very Commons, with whom they had been at strife & variance, for that honour and dignity, which they themselves had with all their power and might impugned. The worthiness and reputation of men of those years, and baying born and gone through

Ten tables of
of Roman
laws.

That is the
day following.

that they were much beholding to their enemies, and might thank war for this, that any ancient H
guile and custom of a free city was come up and in use again. They looked about on every side of
the Forum, to see if they might espie a Senator but few or none could they hear of, any where.
Then looked they into the *Curia*, and behold, none at all appeared about the Decemvirs. Where-
of their own selves, even the Decemvirs could gather no other wife, but that in the conceipt,
& content of all men, their government was become odious: & the Commons also thus collected
and interpreted, that the Senators met not together, because privat men (such as the Decemvirs
were indeed) had no authority to assemble a Senat. And now said they, is the way and entrance
made to recover their liberty again, if to be the Commons would join with the Senat: and as the
Nobles being called, meet not together in counsel, to the Commons likewise would refuse to be
muttered. In this wise muttered and whispered the Commons. And in truth scarcely was there
any one of the Senators about the common place, and but few within the city: for very griefe
and indignity to see that things went as they did, they had withdrawn themselves into the countrie
to their lands: and forgetting the state of the common-weal, they became careless of their own
privat affairs: thinking themselves so far freed from oppression and wrong, as they were
more and sequestred from the society, meeting and conference, with so Lordly & imperious rulers.
When they would not assemble at their summons, the officers were sent unto their houses, both
for to streine and take away streffes for their contumacie and disobedience, and also to enquire
and learn, whether they refused to come at their commandment, or of set purpose or no. And word
they bring back, that the Senators were in the country. The Decemvirs were better apt to hear
that, than if answer had come that they were at home and refused to obey. They they gave com-
mandment that they should be sent for, and they warned a Senat house against the next day fol-
lowing: where they assembled more in number than they looked for. Whereupon the Com-
mons supposed that their liberty was bought and sold and utterly betrayed by the Nobles, for that
the Senat had yielded obedience to them (that now by right were out of their office) as if they
had given a lawfull summons, who being privat men had no power at all to do so. But they flew
more obedience and submission, as we have heard say, in coming to the Councell house, than any
disposition to deliver their minds and opinions there, to the liking and pleasures of the Decemvirs.
First, *L. Valerius Potitius*, as it recorded, after that *Appius Claudius* had proposed unto them the
cause of their meeting, before they were required their advice in order and course, claimed the li-
berty of the house, to speak in the behalfe of the common-weal. But when as the Decemvirs de-
nied it flatly, yea, and forbid him with threats, upon pain of their high displeasure, he inferred
again and menaced, that he would go forth unto the commons, and to begin a broil and tumult.
M. Horatius Barbatus likewise took part with him, and was nothing behind in stoutnesse to main-
tain the quarrell, terming them ten *Tarquins*: "and are ye aware (quoth he) how the Kings
were in times past expelled by the *Valerius* and *Horatius*? And yet the name it was not of
Kings, that men were so weary of and loathed in those daies. For why? it was right lawfull to call
" *Jupiter* by that name: whereby *Romulus* also the founder of this City, and other Princes his
" successors have been called: yea, and the name hath been used, and is retained still as a solemn ti-
" tle, in the sacred rites of holy Kirk. Nay, it was the pride and oppression of the King, that then M
" was odious, and nothing else, which enemies, if they were in those daies in the King himself, a
" lawfull prince, or in the King his son intolerable, who can abide and endure the same to ma-
" ny privat persons? I advise you therefore to take heed how you debar men of their liberty
" in speech in the Councell House, lest ye drive them thereby to speak their mind and complain with-
" out the Councell House. Neither see I any reason at all, why it were not as lawfull for me
" a privat man, to assemble the people to an audience, as for you to call the Senat together to a
" Councell. Make triall whensoever ye will, ye shall find how much more forcible our just griefe
" will be, in recovering our libertie again, than this greedy desire of yours, holding and upholding
" still your usurped, unlawful, and tyrannical rule. You have propounded here unto us, forsooth,
" concerning the Sabines war: as who would lay, the people of *Rome* can be at greater war with N
" any than with those, who have been created Magistrates only for the publishing and casting of
" certain laws, have left now neither law nor justice at all within the city. Who have taken away
" their *Comitia*, i. Courts and Leets of Election, their yearly Magistrates, the successive change
" and course of bearing rule, the only thing that maketh *Isonomy*, and equality of freedom. Af-
" being but privat men, are possessed both of regall ornaments, and also of regall government. Wh-
" ter the expulsion of the Kings, the Magistrates that succeeded were of the Nobility: in pro-
" cess of time, upon the rising of the Commons and their departure, there were officers chosen out
" of the Commonalty. I demand of you, and I would gladly know, of whether state or body are
" ye? Are ye, I pray you, popular, and of the Common people? What have ye ever done with ad-
" vice and approbation of the people? Are ye Nobles and Peers? who now for a whole yeere P
" almost, have held no Councell of Senators. And now that ye have assembled them, you restrain
" them from speaking for the Weal-publick. Well presume not too much, neither bear your selves
" upon the timorousness of others. For, trust me truly, the indignities that men already suffer,
" seem more irksome and uncomfortable, than whatsoever els they can doubt and fear hereafter. As
" *Horatius* spake these words aloud, and the Decemvirs could not bethink themselves of some in-
" different & mean course, either in anger to be revenged, or in lenity to pardon and put up, nor with-
" out where to this matter might tend and proceed in the end: then *C. Claudius*, uncle to *Appius*, Dece-

M. Oratius Bar-
batus against
the Decemvirs

A King Scarcely
influenced
in the free
state.

C. Claudius
to the Decem-
virs.

A Decemvir began to speak, rather by way of prayer and intreatie, then in checking and reproving
" wife, and besought *Appius* for his brothers foul sake, who was his own father, to remember
" and regard more that civil societie wherein he was born, than this ungracious and wicked con-
" federacie, contracted with his fellow Decemvirs. And this request I make (quoth he) tender-
" ing your privat estate more than the Commonweal. As for her, if he might not by fair means
" and with their good wils, obtain her own due and right, he would by foul waies, and in spite
" of their hearts recover it in the end. And for as much as of much debate and strife there ensue
" commonly heats of anger and cankered rancour, I am in dread & horror what the sequel and if-
" sue will be of these jars. Now when as the Decemvirs would not permit the rest to speak, but
" only to the point propoed and occasion of their meeting, yet they were ashamed to interrupt
B the speech of *Claudius* and to cut him off: but suffered him to go on until he made an end. And
in conclusion his opinion and sentence was, that he would not (to abide by it) agree, that any act
of the Senat should for that time passe in that behalf. And all that were present took his words to,
as if *Claudius* deemed no otherwise of the Decemvirs, than of private men. Many of them also, such
especially as had been Consuls, were of his mind, and said as much. Another opinion there was,
more rough and sharp in outward shew, but far lesse forcible and effectuall in deed: advising and
willing the Nobles, to make no more ado, but to go together and choose an Interregent. For this
man seemed yet, to account and judge them Magistrates; (bad though they were) that had called
C a Senat, and held them in Councell: whereas the former, that would not abide any act to passe,
reckoned them out for privat persons. Thus when the Decemvirs came began to shrinke and go
downward, *L. Cornelia Maluginensis*, brother to *Cornelius* the Decemvir, being relieved of pur-
pose to give his opinion in the last place of all the Consular Senators, such as had been Consuls, pre-
tending a care that they had of the war, took part with his brother and his Collegues, saying, that
" he marvelled much by what misfortune or destinie it happened, that the decemvirs should be chal-
" lenged and opposed, especially by those that had stood for the Decemvirship, or by their
" friends and associates: and how it came about, that in so many months space, whiles the city was
" at rest and without fear of war, no man made question or doubt, whether they that were in place,
" and governed the state, were lawfull Magistrates or no: and now at last, when the enemies are
" in a manner at the gates, they should so civilly dissension, unless this were the meaning of it,
" that in a troubled time it would not be so clearly seen and perceived, what they went about. But
" no man is able (quoth he) to set down a true dole, & alledge a sould case in forrest a matter as this
" is to me, whose minds are busied and wholly possessed of a greater care. And therefore my o-
" pinion is, that concerning that point which *Valerius* and *Horatius* charged the Decemvirs with,
" namely, That before the Ides of May their government was determined, and they out of office;
" the Senat should dispute and debate, when as the wars now at hand were dispatched, and the
" Commonweal brought once again to quietnesse: And that *Appius Claudius* should make this re-
" sponing even now stand, and know that he is to render a reason of that high count of Parla-
" ment, which for the election of Decemvirs he called and held, being a Decemvir himself:
" namely, Whether they were created for one year only, or to continue till, until the other laws
E " which yet are wanting, were ratified and confirmed. As for the present time, he thought good that
" all other matters should forcelate, and be passed over, save the war only: the name, or rather, if
" they thought to be idle, god that they were but tales that not only the messengers, but also the
" Embassadors of the Ides, his reported, then his advice was to send out epistols, who upon their
" discovery might bring more certain tidings. But in case they gave credence, to messengers and
" Embassadors both, then with all speed possible to muster, and the Decemvirs to have the com-
" duct of the armies, and to lead them whither they thought meet: and that nothing els should be
" thought upon before this. Which opinion of his, that it might prevail and take effect, the public
" Senators by importunate convalling, obtained. Then *Valerius* and *Horatius* both rose up the se-
" cond time more fierce and eager than before, calling upon them aloud, that they might be per-
" mitted to speak concerning the Commonweal: and in case they might not be suffered by reason of
" the faction, to have the liberty of speech in the Councell House, they would speak their mind with-
" out, before the people. For neither could privat men (as they were) debar them in Senat House,
" nor in open assembly, & to give place unto their imaginary, and pretended imperial ensigns, they
" would never be brought. Then *Appius* supposing the matter well-near come to this passe, that
" unless the violence were resisted with like boldnesse, their rule was at an end, and their autho-
" rity conquered: Ye were not best (quoth he) to speak but to the matter, whereupon we sit in
" Consultation. And when *Valerius* replied again and said plainly, that he would not hold his
" tongue for a privat mans commandment: *Appius* lent a Sergeant unto him. Whereupon *Valerius*
" cried for help to the Quirites, from the porch of the Councell House. Then *L. Cornelia* clasping
G *Appius* about the middle, without regard to content him whose good he pretended, raised the
" strife. So by the mediation of *Cornelius*, leave was granted to *Valerius* for to lay his mind at his
" own pleasure. But, for as much as his libertie proceeded no farther, then to some few words, the
" Decemvirs held on their purpose still, and had their desire. The Nobles also, such as had been Con-
" suls, and the senators, upon an old cankered hatred that they bore still against the Tribunes au-
" thority, where upon they supposed the Commons were much more devoted and affected, then unto the
" government of the Consuls, were rather inclined and willing that the Decemvirs of their own ac-
" cord should themselves afterwards forgo their office, than that upon hatred and malice received
" against

L. Cornelia
Speech in the
Senat.

against them, the Commons should take heart of grace, and hold up head again. For it with gentle handling of the matter, without stir and clamour of the people, the regiment returned again unto the Consuls, it would haply come to passe, that either by means of wars coming between, or through the moderation of the Consuls in their government, the Commons might in time forget the Tribunes quite.

Thus whiles the Nobles were silent and made no more words, a muster was proclaimed, and the younger sort of people, seeing the government of the Decemvirs absolute and without appeal, made answer to their names. And when the legions were enrolled, the Decemvirs took order and agreed between themselves who should go forth to the wars, and who should have the command of the forces. The chief & principal of the Decemvirs were *Q. Fabius*, and *Appius Claudius*. And for that there seemed greater war at home then abroad, the Decemvirs supported the violent nature of *Appius*, fitter to repress all troubles and murdres in the citie; and considering withall the disposition of *Fabius*, to be leave constant and resolute in goodesse, then active and quick in militarie service, (for this man having been in times past of great worth, both at home, and also in war: the Decemvirship, and the conditions of his colleagues together, had to greatly changed, that he chole rather to be like *Appius* than himself) to him therefore was imposed the charge of the war against the Sabines, together with *M. Rabulius* and *Q. Petilius* joined in commission with him. *M. Cornelius* was sent into *Algidum*, with *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, *Cassius*, *Dulcius*, and *M. Sergius*, and they ordained and appointed *Sp. Opimius* as assistant to *Appius Claudius*, for the defence and government of the city, and to have the full authoritie of all the ten Decemvirs. But the Common-weal sped no better abroad in warfare, than it fared at home. The only fault in the Generals was this, That they had made themselves odious to their souldiers and citizens: all the blame els lay in the souldiers themselves; Who to the end that nothing might go well forward and prosper under the leading and conduct of the Decemvirs, suffered themselves to their own shame, and dishonour of their captains, to be defeated: for the armies were both by the Sabines at *Eretum*, and also by the *Equians* in *Algidum* discomfited. They that fled from *Eretum* in the dead of the night, had encamped and fortified upon an high ground nearer unto the city of *Rome*, between *Fidens* and *Crustumena*. And when the enemy pursued them till and provoked them to fight, they would never come forth into the plain and even ground, to encounter with them in a pight battell, but stood upon their guard and defended themselves, trusting in the situation of the place and their rampier, and nothing upon their own manhood and force of arms. But in *Algidum* they committed a more foul and beastly fault, and received withall a greater losse and overthrow; inasmuch as having lost their camp with all their tents, the souldiers being turned out of bag and baggage, their harness and implements of necessary use, retired for refuge to *Tusculum*, hoping there to be entertained as guests, and to live upon the protection, mercy and devotion of their holls and friends: who failed and deceived not their expectation. But to *Rome* there came such fearful news, that the Senators and Nobles laying apart now all hatred against the Decemvirs, thought good to keep watch and ward in the citie: and commanded as many as were able to bear arms, to keep the walls and guard the gates: they gave order also to send harness and armour to supply their want at *Tusculum*: moreover, That the Decemvirs should abandon the cattle at *Tusculum*, and with their souldiers take the field and keep the camp: That they likewise should dislodge and remove from *Fidens*, that lay fortified there and remove into the countrey of the Sabines: so that by making wars upon the enemy first, they might scare and divert them from pursuing their intent of giving assault unto the citie of *Rome*. Besides these damages and losse sustained at the enemies hands, the Decemvirs committed both in war abroad, and also in the citie at home, two most wicked and horrible facts. For whereas one *L. Siccius*, during their abode in the Sabines countrey (upon an odious conceit and malice against the Decemvirs, had gone up and down, and in secret talke whispered in the ears of the Common souldiers, some mention of erecting Tribunes, and of another insurrection and departure: him the Decemvirs dispatch before to spy out a convenient plot of ground to encamp in. Now they had given those souldiers in charge, whom they sent to accompany him in that expedition, to let him upon him in some fit place of advantage and to kill him. And kill him they did, but to their own cost: for whiles he fought in his own defence, some of those that laid for his mischief, died for it, and lay along about him for company: for being a right stout and strong man of his hands, he stood to it courageously: and notwithstanding he was betted round about, he defended himself very manfully. The rest that escaped bring word into the camp, that *Siccius* was fallen una-ware into an ambusement, and whiles he fought lustily, was with certain other of the souldiers slain. At the first, credit was given to him that brought the news. But afterwards, when as there was a band of souldiers thither sent by the permission of the Decemvirs, to bury them that there lay dead: they observing none of their bodies there, to be diarmed and depouled, and *Siccius* lying in the midst of his armour, and all the rest of the dead with their faces towards him: no corps of enemy, nor footing of them departing from thence, brought away with them his dead carcase, and made report that undoubtedly and passe all peradventure, he was murdered by his own company. Hereupon was the whole camp filled with hatred and detestation of this fact, and generally it was agreed, that *Siccius* forthwith should be conveyed to *Rome*, had not the Decemvirs made hatt to tolerate his funerals souldierlike, at the publicke charges of the common treasure. So interred was he with exceeding sorrow and mourning

La Siccius murdered by the treachery of the Decemvirs.

A of the souldiers, but to the most shameful obloquy and infamy of the Decemvirs, amongst the common sort.

Now followeth the other heinous deed committed within the City: which began of wanton lust, and had as foul and shameful an end, as that which upon the carnal abusing and bloody death of *Lucretia*, callt the *Tullians* out of the City, and deprived them of their regall dignity: that both *KK*, and Decemvirs, might have not only the like lucke and illue, but also one and the selfe came out of their rule and dominion. *Appius Claudius* enamoured upon a virgin, a commoners daughter, lust to the abuse and spoil of her body. The father of the maiden *L. Verginius*, was of good calling, and in place of credit in the camp that lay in *Algidum*, and had the leading there

The tragical History of Verginius.

B of company: a man of honest example and conversation of life, both at home and also abroad in warfare. His wife likewise of virtuous disposition: so were their Children nurtured and taught accordingly. He had espoused and affianed his daughter in marriage to one *L. Titus*, a man of stout courage (as having been Tribune) and whole virtue and valor had been well tried and approved in the quarrel and defence of the commonalty. This damsel in the prime of her years, passing fair and beautiful withal, *Appius* (I say) cast a fancy and liking unto, and so burned in love of her, that he assayed with guits and fair promises to win her good will, but seeing algnarded and sorely fenced with maidenly shamefastnes and honesty, he bent his mind wholly to cruel and proud violence. He liboneth and setteth on a favorite and follower of his, one *M. Lucretius*, to make challenge and lay claim unto her as his bond-maid: and not to give place nor yeeld her

C unto them, that required to have her at liberty out of his hands, during the suit, and until shee brought proof of her freedom: supposing, because the father of the virgin was absent, he had good opportunity to work this feat, and compals his intended injury. As the maiden therefore was coming into the market place, (for there were the schools for pettes kept, of reading and writing) the Decemvirs man (a broker to lerve his matters lust) laid hold upon her, avowing that she was his bond-servants daughter, and therefore his bond-maid: commanding her to follow him, and threatening besides, that if she made any stays, he would have her away perforce. The feartie girl there was amazed, and her nurse withal cried to the Quirits for help: whereupon the people came running and flocked together all about them. Now was the name of *Verginius* her father, and likewise of *Titus* her spouse, very gracious and popular: so that the love and favour

D wherein they stood, raised friends and acquaintance: and the indignity of the thing besides, moved the whole multitude to tender the cause of the damsel. When as there fore she was now past danger of violence, the party that made claim unto her, said: there was no need that the people should thus gather together, for his meaning was to proceede only by order of law, and not with any violent course. And so he cited her to the court, minding to commence his action against her, and put her in suit. Then they that were present to assist her, periwaded her to follow. Now when they were come before *Appius*, sitting judicially upon his tribunall seat, the Plaintiff, or challenger, declared against her, and retell a tale wel known to the Judge himselfe, being the origin and deviler of the whole matter and argument: Namely, that the maiden was born in his house, and by stealth was from thence conveyed home to *Verginius*, and so was his

E supposed and reputed daughter: this he averred to have certain knowledge of, by pregnant evidences and witness: and would make proof thereof to be most true, and let *Verginius* himselfe be the judge, whom the greater part of this wrong deeply touched: in the mean while, it was but meet and reason, that the bond-maid should go with her Master. The friends and advocates of the damsel, having alledged and pleaded in her behalf, that *Verginius* was absent and employed in the affairs of Common-weal: and if he had word thereof, would not fail but be at home within two days: that it was no reason, that whiles atwar was away, he should be in contention and controvercie about his children: they required of *Appius* therefore to deier and put off the hearing of the whole matter until her fathers coming, and that according to a law by himselfe in that case made and provided, he would grant her to be at large and stand at liberty, for to bring in proof

F that she was not bond: and that he would not suffer a maid of those years, ripe and ready for a husband, to be come in hazard and danger of her good name, then prejudiced in the trial of her freedom. *Appius* made a long preface and discourse before his decree, namely, how much he favoured and tendered the cause of liberty, and to that effect, alledged the selfe same law, which the friends of *Verginius* interpreted for their purpose and demand. But so far forth, and no otherwise, should there be in that law assured safeguard of freedom, as the case altered not in circumstance of causes and persons. For, this priviledge and benefit held only in those that were claimed to be free, where any man whose ever might go to law and plead. As for her, who was in her fathers hand & at his disposition there was no other man els unto whom the Master that maketh challenge, is to yeeld the right of his possession. His pleasure therefore was, and thus he decreed, That the father should be lent for: and that in the mean season, he that made title to her, should not be prejudiced thereby, but that he might lead away the wench, promising and assuring to have her at her coming, and to present her in Court. At the return of him who is pretended, and nominated, to be her father. Against this injurious decree, when as many men rather muttered and murmured, then any one durst refuse and contradict it, *P. Numitrius*, the mids tinsle by the mother side, and *Titus* her espoused husband, hapred to come in place: and having way made them through the throng and press, the multitude thought verily, that by the coming, especially of *Titus*, *Appius* might have been reitied and crossed. But then the Licitor pronounced that

*Let him his
speech to App.
Claudius.*

Appius had passed an order and decree already, and put *Leilius* back: who cried out aloud, (for so manifest and horrid a wrong had been enough to have moved a very Saint, and set on fire a right mild natured person.) Nay, *Appius* (quoth he) thou hadst more need to let me back with force of arms; if thou wouldst get clear away, and not be spoken to for that which thou wouldst do in huck mucker. This maid, I tell thee, I mean that go with me: I purpose to have her to my selfe, an honest and pure virgin, and enjoy her in lawful marriage, as my wedded wife: call therefore unto thee all the Licitors besides (thou were best) that belong unto thy companions: cause both rods and axes to be made ready: I tell thee, *Leilius* his espoused wife shall not abide in any place without her fathers house. What? although ye have taken from the Commons of *Rome* the Tribuns assistance and protection, and the privilege of Appeal, two principal bulwarks for defence of their liberty: ye are not therefore allowed to rule and tyrannize, and to fulfill your lust upon our children and wives too. Exercise your rigour and cruelty and spare not, upon our backs and sides in scourging us, yea, upon our necks and heads also, in taking them from our shoulders: so ye forbear to assail our chastity and honesty. Whereunto, if any violence shall be offered, I will for my part, call for the help of the Quirites here present, in the behalf of my spouse: and *Virginius* for himself will call to the fouldiers, in regard of his only daughter: we will cry for help of God and man: and cost it shall our lives before thou go away with this decree, and put it in execution. I require and charge thee, O *Appius* therefore, to be well advised, and look how far thou dost proceed. Let *Virginius* when he is come, see to his daughter, how he deleth about her: and let him know thus much for certain, that if he give place to this plaintiffs assertion, and forgo the present possession of her, he shall go seek his estate and propriety that he hath in his daughter. As for me, in this quarrel of maintaining the freedom of my spouse, I will lose my life, before I fail in my faithfull promise to her made. Hereat the whole multitude was moved, and like it was, that some mutiny and fray would presently have ensued. For the Licitors had hemmed in *Leilius* on every side. Howbeit they proceeded no farther then to big words and high threats: whiles *Appius* laid hard to *Leilius*, "That he did not this so much in the behalf and defence of *Virginius*, as (being himself an unruly person, and even already breathing forth a Tribuns spirit) sought means, and picked occasion of an uproar and sedition. Howbeit for his part he would not that day minister unto him any matter thereof, and that he might now well know, that he did not this to feed his malapert taunings, but in regard of the absence of *Virginius*, and for the name of a father, and the tender respect of freedom, he would not that day sit to hear and determine the matter, nor award a definitive judgement in that case: but would request *Mar. Claudius*, to suspend his action, and to forbear and yield for much of his own right, as to suffer the maid to be bailed and go under sureties, and to be at her liberty until the next day. But in case her father appeared not in Court the morrow after, he gave *Leilius*, and such as he was, to wit and understand, that neither the law should want the patronage of the maker, nor the Decemvirs fail in courage and resolution: neither would he call together his fellow officers and sergeants, for to keep under such invidious and turbulent spirits as he was: but would content himself with his own Licitors, and do well enough. The time now of effecting this injury, being thus deterred, and the maids Advocates gone aside, they agreed first of all upon this point, that a brother of *Leilius*, and a son of *Namptorius*, two lusty and nimble young men, should be dispatched straight from thence to echeate: and that with all speed possible *Virginius* should be sent for home from the camp: for that if it stood the maid upon as much as her whole estate and life was worth: that he would be present and ready in due time the day following, to preserve her from this hard course, and wrongful proceeding. According as they were bidden, they set forward, and spared no horseflesh until they brought tidings herof to her father. All this while the plaintiff that made challenge to the maid, was very instant with *Leilius* to bail her, and put in sureties. And he again made answer, That he went about it as fast as he could, and did nothing else: but indeed trifling out the time on purpose, until the messengers that were sent to the camp, were got afore welonward on their way. Then the whole multitude on all sides N held up their hands, in token that they offered themselves every one unto *Leilius*, ready to become bound. Whereupon he burst out into tears for tender heart. Gramercy (quoth he) my masters all, to morrow I will use your helping hand: for this time I am sped of sureties enough. So was *Virginius* set at liberty, and bailed by the suretiship of her kinsfolk. Then *Appius*, after he had stayed a while, because he would not seem to have fat for that matter alone, when he saw all other suits and canes omitted, in regard they had to it, and no man coming to him for justice, he arose, got him home to his house, and wrote unto his brethren Decemvirs into the camp that they should not give *Virginius* his passport but keep him fast in durance, and in ward. This wicked practise (as God would have it) came forth. For *Virginius* already had got his discharge, and was departed forward on his journey, in the evening by the setting of the first watch. And very early in the morning came the letters for to stay him, but all in vain. For *Virginius* by break of day was arrived: by which time the whole City resorted into the common place, standing and waiting earnestly for his coming. And thither he himself being in soiled and simple array brought his daughter in her old worn cloaths, accompanied with certain Wives, and a great number of Advocates and friends: Then and there began he to go from one man to another, and to labour them hard: and not only besought their assistance by way of intreaty and prayer, but also required it as due and deserved: saying, that he stood dayly in field ready to fight in defence of their

wives

A wives and children: neither could there be reported of any man more hardy exploits and valiant piece of service in war, then of himself. But what booteth or availeth all this (quoth he) to save the City from enemies, in case our children be forced to abide the utmost extremities that befall unto Cities taken by the enemies? so went he about preaching, as it were, from one man to another. Likewise *Leilius* cast forth and redoubled his speeches freely and spared not. But the train of women, with their still and silent weaving, moved men more then any words uttered. Altho this notwithstanding, *Appius* in his obstinate mind (so disquieted was he and wholly possessed with a forcible spirit of humorous madnes rather then of amorous passion) ascended up into the tri umphall. Where, as the plaintiff first of himself was framing some short complaint, that by reason of partial favour and making of great friends, he could not have law and justice the day past: before that either he had made an end of his demand, or given leisure to *Virginius* for to put in his answer accordingly: *Appius* interrupted the speech, and began himself, What preamble it was that he made before his decree, peradventure some ancient writers have for truth recorded. But for as much as I cannot any where find in so manifest a decree, that which I carryeth but a shew and soundeth like a truth: therefore, that only which is of all agreed upon, I thought best to tell of the kintnes barely without any preface at all: namely, That he judged her in the behalf of the Plaintiffs to be his bondswoman. First, all men there, wondered at this unworthy and foul act: and being thus taken therewith allowed, for a good while after, stood still and held their peace. But afterwards, when as *Mar. Claudius* went to lay hand on the maid, amongst the dames C that stood about her, and was received with a piteous lamentation, and cry of the women: Then *Virginius* was king with his hands and shaking them at *Appius*: "To *Leilius* (quoth he) have I betrothed my daughter and not to thee O *Appius*: brought her up I have for honest and chaste wedlock: and not for unclean and filthy whordom: to be a wile another day, and not an harlot. Is this the manner of it, like bruit and wild beasts without all regard, to leap and run upon you such not whom, and to insult your fleshly lust? How these that be here will suffer such pranks, I know not: but they that are in camp with sword in hand, I hope, will never put them up. Now when as he that challenged the maid was by a knot of Women and Advocates that stood about her repelled back, then proclaimed the Bedlie and commanded silence. And the Decemvir having his head intoxicated, and altogether carried away with unbridled lust, brake forth D and said, That he had certain intelligence and was informed of a truth, by manifest and assured evidences, (and not induced and led thereto by the reviling taunts of *Leilius* yesterday, and the violent proceedings of *Virginius*, whereof he had the people of *Rome* to bear witness, and which might give some light and presumptions) That the night past, there were meetings and conventions in the City, and all to raise a mutiny and insurrection: and therefore he not ignorant of such a broil and riot toward, was come down into the common place with a guard of armed men: not minding to hurt any one that would keep the peace, but only by virtue of the majesty of government and authority, to repress such as troubled the peaceable state of the City: therefore it were best for them to be still and quiet. So Sergeant (quoth he) cause the people to avoid the place, and make room for the matter to lay hand upon his bondswoman: and after I had thundered E out these words full of ire and wrath, the multitude of themselves gave back and made way: so the poor wily wench stood all tormented and left as a prey to their injurious clutches. Then *Virginius* seeing all past help and no other remedy: Well *Appius* (quoth he) passion me first I beseech thee if thou art a fatherly affection and grief of heart, I have let fall some shrewd and curst words against thee more then was becoming: Then, give me leave here before the virgin, to enquire of her nurse the truth of this matter that I have uttered: her nurse, I may go hence better spyed and satisfied in my mind. Leave being granted, he led his daughter and the nurse apart from the rest, near to the Church of *Venus Cloacina*, hard at the shops, called at this day *Nova Laborum*, i.e. the new shops or standings: and there having caught a knife from a butcher he thus spake: My sweet daughter, no other means have I but this only to let thee free, and to bestir up F the damsel to heart: and looking presently to the judgement seat. Here with this blood I stain a crifice thee *Appius*, and thy head to the Devil, *Appius* with the crife that arose upon so horrible a fact, being much troubled, commanded *Virginius* to be apprehended: but he with bloody blade in hand, made way where he went, until with a number that followed him apace to bear him company, he recovered the gate. *Leilius* and *Namptorius* took up the bloodless corpse and held it aloft to the people, blaming and cursing the wickedness of *Appius*: pitying the unhappy and unfortunate of the damsel: and bewailing the hard exaction and extremity of the father. The Matrons followed after and cried: Is this the condition and fortune allotted unto parents for getting and bearing children? Is this the hire and reward of chastity and virginity: with other like speeches, which in such a case, women in their grief of mind use to utter: whose sorrow as it is G more heavy, proceeding from weak and tender hearts, so it yeeldeth and uttereth more pitiful and lamentable words, as they in their sharp sents and dolorous moans. But the men and *Leilius* above the rest, had no other talk, but of the Tribunes authority, and the appeal unto the body of the people: how they were taken away from them, and of other public indignities and common offences. The whole multitude partly upon the hainfulness of this wicked act, and partly for hope by this occasion to recover again their liberties, were all up on one in an uproar. *Appius* one while commanded *Leilius* to be called, another while for his disobedience and contumacy to be attached and convented before him. At the length, seeing no way made unto the Apparitors, for

*Virginius his
words to Appi-
us.*

*Virginius pier-
cedly killed by
her father Vir-
ginius.*

to come by him, passed himself with a crew of tall gentlemen of the Nobility that were of his guard through the throng & commanded to have him away to prison. By which time there were gotten about *Leilius* not only the multitude, but the chief Captains and ringleaders of the multitude, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*: who having thrust the sergeant back, said withal, that it *Appian* had any thing to charge him by of order of law, they would bail *Leilius*, and maintain his cause against him, who was but a private person: but if he went about to offer violence, he should soon meet with his matches. Hereupon grew a fierce brawling broil. The Decemvirs officer set on upon *Valerius* and *Horatius* to lay hold upon them: but his rods were by the multitude broken to pieces. Then *Appian* gets him up into the common place of audience, for to speak unto the people. *Horatius* and *Valerius* follow after him up, to do the like. Then the assembly heard with patience, but they hissed at *Appian* and cried out against him. Then *Valerius* took upon him, and commanded the Lictors to give attendance no longer upon a private person, Whereupon, *Appian* his heart was done and his courage quailed: so standing in fear of his life, he was fain to cover his face, and to withdraw himself in disguised manner, and took an house over his head, near unto the common place (unknown to his adversaries) there to save himself. *Sp. Oppius*, for to refuse and succour his Colleague, rushed from another side into the place: and there he might see force and might to have got the upper hand of authority. After many devices and consultations, wherewith he was distracted, and framing himself to yield consent on every side, at length by the advice and persuasions of many there about him, in great fear he commanded the Senat to be called together. This appeased the multitude, for that they were in hope that (by means of the Senators, who many of them, seemed to milke like the ads and proceedings of the Decemvirs) that government of theirs should come to an end. The Senat devised and took order, not to provoke the Commons too far: and withal to have a more provident and special eye, that the coming of *Virginius* unto the camp, bred no mutiny in the army. Whereupon were sent certain of the puny Senators unto the host, that lay encamped upon the hill *Velutius*, who advertised the Decemvirs from the Senat, to endeavor all they could to keep the soldiers in good order, from commotion and sedition. But there *Virginius* raised a greater uproar and tumult then he had left behind him in the City. For besides that, he was seen coming with a crew and train almost of four hundred men, who incensed with the indignity of the late accident, accompanied him voluntarily from the City, his naked drawn knife, and himself besprinkled and embred with blood, caused the whole camp to turn their eyes upon him. Moreover, their gowns seen in sundry places within the camp, made a greater shew of citizens in number then was indeed. Being demanded of them what news, and what the matter was, he wept, and for a good while held his peace. At the last, when as now the multitude, that for fear ran confusedly together, began to stand still and keep silence: he declared orderly from the beginning to the end, every thing in particular, as it was done. Then lifting up his hands to heaven, and calling to all his companions and fellow soldiers, he besought them not to impute that foul act unto him, wherof in truth *Appian Claudius* was the author and cause: nor to detest and abhor him as a parricide and murderer of his own children: saying, that his daughters life was more dear unto him then his own, if the might have lived free and honestly. But when he saw he was once hailed by force, as a bond-maid to be ravished and made a strumpet, M he thought it better to be bereft of his children by death, then by contumely and reproach: and so upon meer pitifulness incurred the shew and appearance of cruelty. And but that heretofore he was in the aid of his fellow soldiers, trusting that they would be revenged for his daughters death, he would not have remained a live-man after her. I know well (saith he) that you also have daughters, sisters and wives of your own: And it is not the death of my child that hath killed and mortified the lust of *Appian*; but rather the longer it elc-peth unpunished, the more outrageous and unbridled would it be. So that by the calamity of another man, ye are well taught and warned to beware of the like injury. As for me, I have buried my wife before, who died on Gods hand: and now my daughter, for that she might not finish the course of her days, with the safety of her maiden head and chastity, hath died, I confess, a pitiful and lamentable, but yet an honest kind of death. As to *Appian*, (quoth he) now can he not fulfil his lust in this his house: and for any other violence of his whatsoever, I carry the same mind and heart still to defend mine own body, wherewith I have already saved my daughters. Now let other men look to themselves and their children, as well as they can. As *Virginius* uttered these speeches aloud, the whole multitude with one accord cried and protested, they would not fail, but both revenge his grief, and maintain their own freedom. The Citizens also in their lide gowns, intermingled among the soldiers, made the self same complaints: shewing how much more horrible those things were in the eye to be seen in fact, then they could find unto the ear by bare relation: and withal reported, how at *Rome* the matter was well neer dispatched already, for that there were certain come after them: even hard at their heels from thence, who brought word that *Appian* had like to have been murdered, and was departed into exile: and so far prevailed they with them, that they gave the alarm, packed up their standards, and took their way to *Rome*. The Decemvirs being fore troubled, both at the present occasions which they evidently saw, and also to hear these news, in what bad terms all things stood at *Rome*, ran up and down, here one, and there another, into sundry parts of the camp for to appease the tumult. When they went to work mildly and gently, they had not a word of them again: but if any one laid his commandment upon them, and extended his authority, they would beard them and answer, That they were men, and more

A more then that men in arms and soldiers. Thus march they in order of battel toward the City, and take the mount *Aventine*, and there settle themselves. And as they encountered any, all their song was this, to exhort and encourage the Commons to recover their franchises, and to create Tribuns of the Commonalty. Not a word was heard else, tending to any violence. *Oppius* assembled the Senat together: where it was agreed, not to proceed by way of rigour in any case: for as much as they themselves had given the occasion of sedition. But three ancient personages, such as had been Consuls, were sent Commissioners in Embassage as it were, *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Iulius*, and *Publius Sulpicius* with commition, to demand of them in the name of the Senat, by whose commandment they had abandoned the camp, or what their intent was thus in war-like manner to keep the *Aventine*: and why leaving to war with their enemies, they had thus invaded their native Country: They were not to seek of an answer, only there wanted a man to give the answer: for as yet they were grown to no certain head, upon whom they might rely: and singly by themselves they durst not incur the hatred and dangerous displeasure that might ensue. This only the multitude with one voice cried aloud, to send *L. Valerius*, and *Marcus Horatius* unto them, for to those they would make a resolute answer. The Commissioners being dimitted, *Virginius* putteth the soldiers in mind, and adverteth them, how erewhile in a matter not of the greatest importance, they were intire and perplexity, because the multitude was without an aid: and how an answer was returned, although not altogether unprofitable and besides the purpose, yet agreed upon at a venture, and not proceeding from any public counsel. But now his opinion was, that there should be ten chosen to bear sovereign rule: who for the honour of warfare and soldiery, should be called military Tribuns. And when this dignity was to him offered first. Nay (quoth he) reserve still these your good persuasions and judgments of me, unto more happy days and favourable times both to me and you. For neither doth the remembrance of my daughter suffer me to take joy of any honour in this life, nor (as the fate standeth now troubled) is it good for you to have them to be your Magistrates, who of all other are most exposed to ill will and displeasure, and in need of danger to be hardly thought of. If I may serve you in any stead, you may make bold, and have no less use of me, remaining still a private person. So they create Tribuns military, ten in number. But all this while was the army as unquiet in the Sabins country. For even there also, by the instigation of *Leilius* and *Nimitorius*, the soldiers fell away from the Decemvirs and departed. For their minds were no less troubled and disquieted with the remembrance renewed, of the late murder of *Securus*, that kindled and set on fire by the fresh news of the death of *Virginius*, so villainously, so shamefully laid unto and challenged, and all to satisfy the lust of another, *Leilius*, so soon as he heard say, that there were ten military Tribuns created in *Aventine*, fearing lest the Election in the City should follow the prerogative of the military Election in the camp, as a precedent to create the self same men Tribuns of the Commons, being a man well seen and experienced in these popular affairs, and reaching himself at the same dignity and promotion, wrought to with his adherents and friends, that before they went to the City, they should likewise elect the self same number with equal authority. Who entered the City with banners displayed, at the gate *Collina*, and marched through the midst thereof in warlike order, up to the mount *Aventine*. And there joining and uniting themselves unto the other army, they gave in charge to the twenty military Tribuns, to create out of their number twain for sovereign governors to rule all. So they elected *Marcus Oppius*, and *Sextus Maelius*.

The Senators being in great care for the Common-weal, sat in Council every day: where they spent time oftner in wrangling and jarring, then in sage advice and politic counsel. The murdering of *Securus*, the wanton lust and loose life of *Appian*, the shameful disgraces received in the wars, were laid in the Decemvirs dish. At length they concluded, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should go to the *Aventine*. But they refused and would not go, but upon condition that the Decemvirs would give up the Ensigns and Ornaments of that Magistracy and government, which by right they should have forgon and departed from a full year before. The Decemvirs were grieved and complained, thus to be let down & made no better then private men, and idly flatter they would not be depost from their place of rule, before those laws were fully enacted and confirmed, for which at first time they were created. The Commons having intelligence by *Dullius* (who had been a Tribun of the Commons) that by reason of continual debate and contention in the Senat house, there was nothing done and agreed upon, removed from the *Aventine* unto mount *Sacer*. For *Dullius* ceased not to suggest, and plainly affirm unto them, that the Senators and Ancients of the City would never sadly think upon any care and provision to be made, until they saw the City abandoned and desolate: moreover, That the mount *Sacer* would put them in mind of the constant resolution of the Commons: and that they should well know, that matters would never be settled and brought to an end, without they restored unto them their power and authority again. So they take their way by *Nomentana Via*, which at that time was named *Ficulenis*, and encamped themselves in the mountain *Sacer*: doing no harm to any creature as they passed along: following therein the modesty of their forefathers. The whole Commonalty followed after the host: there was not one who for age was able to travel on foot, that drew back and carried behind. Their children and wives bare them company, in piteous wail moaning themselves, and asking them: whereto they would leave them behind in that City, where neither their honest chastity might be guarded, nor yet their liberty secured and kept safe. When as now, by reason of his uncouth and strange desolation, all seemed at *Rome* waste and void,

The remon-
strances of
Horatius and
Valerius, with
others in the
Senate, against
the Decemvirs

and none to be seene in the publick place, besides a few of aged men; and when the Senators were called into the Senate house, the common place appeared empty, naked and forlorn: then there were more besides *Horatius* and *Valerius* that cried out and said, What look you for fill my I.L. of the Council? What? and if the Decemvirs will make no end of their peevish frowardness, will ye let things run at six and seven, until all come tumbling down, or be of a light fire? And what goodly dominion is this, that you embrace fo in your arms, that you clip and hold so fast? Will ye minister justice and give laws to empty houses and bare walls? Are ye not abashed and ashamed, that there should be seen in the Place, a greater number well near of your Lictors and officers, then of gowned Citizens, and of all other men whatsoever? How and if the enemies should come against the City, what would ye do? Nay, what if shortly the Commons should march in arms, seeing we weigh their insurrection and departure too lightly? Will ye, together with the ruin and downfall of the City, end your rule, and not afore? Well, to be plain, ye must either have no Commons at all, or else allow them to have their Tribuns again: there is no mean, there is no other remedy. Sooner shall we want our Magistrates of the Nobility, then they will be without their Patrons and Officers of the Commonalty. They wring and wretched from our forefathers that power and authority fire new, and whereof they had as then, no proof and experience: how think ye then, that having talked now the fivecets of it, they will endure the want thereof? Especially seeing, that we our own selves are not of so temperate carriage in our government and command over them, but that they have need of some succour and relief. And when these and such like reasons were on all hands often alleged and laid abroad, the Decemvirs overweighed with the general content and unity of the house, promised: That seeing it was so thought good, they would be wholly ordered and ruled by the Senators. This only they befought at their hands, and admonished them of, by way of a proviso, that they would take order for the safety and security of their persons: and not by shedding their blood, to flesh the Commons, and to train them up, and acquaint them with exercising cruelty upon the nobles and Senators. Then were *Valerius* and *Horatius* lent with commission to reclaim and call home the Commons, upon such conditions and capitulations, as they should think convenient: yea, and to set all things in good order and make a final composition, with a special charge to provide for the safeguard of the Decemvirs, against the raging ire and violence of the multitude. These mediators took their journey, and were received into the camp with exceeding joy of the Commons, as being doubtless their very lawgivers and redeemers, approved both in the beginning of their troubles, and now also at the very end and upshot of all. In regard whereof, they were welcomed with thanksgiving. *Scellus* was the mouth of the multitude, and their prolocutor. Who when they came to debate and reason about the articles of covenants, and that these Delegates and Committees, required of the Commons, What the demands and points were that they stood upon? Being already provided aforehand of purpose what to say, demanded such conditions, as it was well seen, that they reposed more hope, and relied themselves rather in equity, and indifference, than in force of arms. For they require, *Imprimis*, to have the Tribuns power on foot again, and the appealing unto the people revived: which before the creation of the Decemvirs had been the only help and succour of the Commons. *Item*, that no man should be called in question, nor M any way touched in life, limb, or goods for gathering the soldiery or Commons together by way of commotion, for recovering again their libertie and franchises. Only, their demand concerning the punishment to be inflicted upon the Decemvirs, favoured of cruelty. For they deemed it meet and reason, that they should be yielded into their hands, and then they threatened to burn them quick with fire. To these Articles the Commons spake in this wise, "As for those capitulations, which upon counsel and deliberate advice ye have articulated, they are so reasonable and indifferent, that without your suit, they ought to have been offered unto you frankly and freely: for ye request to enjoy such things as concern the defence of your liberty and freedom, and to maintain not your licentiousness, to the offence and hurt of others. But as to your ire and wrath, it is to be pardoned, rather than to be followed and yielded unto: as who, under colour of N hatred and detestation of cruelty, run headlong into cruelty: and before, in a manner, that ye be set free your selves, ye will be Rulers and Lords over your Adversaries. Alas the while, and will our City never be at rest, and cease from punishing: but that either the Nobles will scourge the Commons of Rome, or the Commons whip the Nobles? As for you, ye had more need of a shield. 'Tis then a sword. Humbled he is enough, and too much humbled, who liveth in a City on even hand, and equal with others, under the same laws, neither doing nor taking wrong. And if ever at any time you mean to shew your selves dread and to be feared, when you have once recovered your Magistrates and Ordinances again, when ye have the law in your own hands, to censure and judge according to your own discretion, then may ye give your doom of our lives and goods, as each cause requireth. Now for this time it sufficeth, that ye claim and have your freedom again. Hereupon they all submitted themselves to the depured Delegates, permitting them to do what they would. Who seeing they had brought all matters to so good a conclusion, promised to return with all speed, so they took their leave. And when they had declared to the Senators the demands of the Commons, all the rest of the Decemvirs, perceiving no mention at all made of their punishment (a thing more then they looked or hoped for) denied no one point thereof. But *Appius*, a man of a fell and cruel nature, and who above all the other was most odious, and lay open to the malice of the people, and measuring the hatred of others toward him-

The demands
of the Com-
mons in mount
Sacer.

The answer of
Valerius and
Horatius to the
Commons.

A fell, by his own spleen that he bare against other men: "I wot well (quoth he) what ill fortune will betide me shortly: and I see plainly, that our adversaries hold off to wrangle and contend with us no longer then until they have weapons given in their hands. To satisfy their malice and hatred, we must part with our blood: nothing else will content them. For mine own part, to renounce my Decemvirship I weigh not: neither pass I how soon I do it. Then was an Act made by the Senat, that the Decemvirs out of hand should surrender their place: and that *Quintus* the Arch-Bishop or High Priest, should create Tribuns of the Commons: provided always expressly, that the mutiny of the soldiery, and insurrection of the Commons, should turn no man to dispendure and harm. These Acts being passed, and the Council retired, the Decemvirs came abroad into the open place of assemblies, and there to the exceeding joy of all men, they reigned up all their power and authority. Tidings hereof were carried to the commons by the mediators afore said: and look what people forever remained behind in the City, went now forth to accompany them. As this multitude passed along forward they were encountered upon the way with another joyful company from out of the camp. Who rejoiced mutually one in the behalf of the other, that both freedom and concord were restored to the City again. Then the mediators in the general assembly of them all spake and said: "To the great good, happiness and felicity of you and of the C. W. be it spoken, Return in Gods name into your own country, to your houses, wives and children: but see, that as ye have demeaned your selves modestly in your way hither, hurting and spoiling no mans lands and possessions, notwithstanding the need ye were driven unto of so many things: so ye carry the same moderation and stay of your selves homeward into the City. Go into the *Acentine* from whence ye came: and there for good luck sake, where ye laid the first foundation & ground-work of your liberty, create ye shal your Tribuns of the commons. There, will the high Priest be ready and give attendance, to call an assembly for the grand Election. Great was the accord, alacrity and cheerfulness, that they shewed in approving all that was propounded. So from thence they turn their standards and ensigns, and as they marched to Rome, they strove with all they met on the way, who could shew most joy and gladness: they paid on through the City armed as they were, yet peaceably and without noise, until they came into the *Acentine*. Where the chief Priest immediately held the *Comices*, in which they created for Tri. of the C. first and foremost *L. Virginius*, next after him, *L. Icilius*, and *P. Numitorius*. Uncle by the mothers side of *Virginia*: all authors of their insurrection and departure: then *C. Scitinius* descended from him in right line who was the first Trib. of Comm. created in mount *Sacer*, (as we find in records) and *M. Duilius*, who before the chusing of Decemvirs, had right worthily and notably borne the Tribunship, and in all combats and commotions with the Decemvirs, stuck close to the Commonalty and never failed them. After these were elected, moreover for then a former deiert, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *Ap. Julius*, *C. Oppius*. Then *C. Icilius* immediately in the very entrance into the Tribunship, preferred a bill unto the Commons, and the Commons enacted it. That the departure and insurrection of the common people against the Decemvirs, should not be laid to any mans charge, nor bring him into trouble. Then without farther delay *M. Duilius* went through with an act of his own to wit, That there should be Consuls created, with reservation of liberty to appeal unto the people. All these things passed in the Comices of Commons, assembled in the meadows named *Flaminia*, which now they call *Circus Flaminius*.

Then, by an Inter-regent were Consuls created, *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius*, who presently began their government. Whole popular Consulship, as it was without wrong doing to the Senators and Nobles, so it was not without some offence committed of their part: For whatsoever was provided for the liberties of the Commons, they supposed it abridged somewhat of their power and authority. And first and foremost, whereas it was a question and controverted not well cleared in law, Whether the Nobles were bound to stand to the Acts of the Commons: they made a law now in a general Session, by the suffrages of the Centuries, That what ordinance soever the Commons (being parted by Tribes) had by their voices granted, it should comprise and bind the whole body of the people. By which law, the Tribuns acts were armed with a most sharp and keen weapon to strike withal. Moreover, The other Consular law concerning Appeal, the only fort and strength of liberty, which by the Decemvirs absolute power had been overthrowen, they not only revive again, but also fortifie the same for the time to come, by making a new law, forbidding expressly that no man should create any magistrate absolutely without the liberty of appealing: and whosoever should create any such, he might rightfully and lawfully be killed, and that murder should not be counted a capital crime. And when they had sufficiently strengthened the Commons, on the one side with the benefit of appealing, and on the other side with the Tribuns power in favour of the Tribuns themselves, that they also might seem sacrosanct and inviolable (a thing now almost grown out of remembrance) they renewed that high privilege, with certain solemn ceremonies which having been of long time laid aside & neglected, were now brought up again and put in use. And they ordained them to be inviolate, as well in a reverent regard of religion and temple of conscience, as also by a special law in that behalf provided: namely, that whosoever hurt either Tribuns of the Commons, *Adiles*, Judges, or Decemvirs, his head should be accursed and devoted to *Jupiter*, and his family sold in port-sale at the Church of *Ceres*, *Liber* & *Libera*. By virtue of this Act, the great Exploiters of the law, deny that any man is a sacrosanct or inviolable: but (say they) it is enacted only, That whosoever hurt any of them, shall be accursed.

Decemvirs re-
sign up their
government.

Tribuns of the
Commons cre-
ated again.
A general
assembly for
election of
Magistrates.

Consuls elec-
ed again.

* *Proferpina*
iustitiam
Ar-
mib. & Cio.

And therefore, an *Edile* may be attached and led away to prison by superior Magistrates, Which H although it be not warranted by law (for he is hurt, who by this law ought not to be hurt) yet it is a good argument to prove, that an *Edile* is not inviolable, Marry, as for the Tribuns, they were indeed by virtue of an ancient oath of the Commons, at what time as they first created that power and authority, inviolable: as they would seem to expound and make construction of the law. Others have been, that thus open and interpret the law. That in this self same Act of *Horatius*, the Consuls also, yea, and Pretors too, (because they are created by the same auspices or bird-signs that the Consuls be) were comprised, and had the benefit thereof. For a Consul is called by the name of a Judge, But that exposition is confused, for that in those days it was not the manner to turn the Consul a Judge, but the Pretor only. And thus much concerning the Consular Laws. I

The same Consuls also brought up this order and custom, that all the Acts of the Senat should be brought into the Church of *Ceres*, and presented unto the *Ediles* of the Commons: which aforesome were suppressed and smothered, yea, and corrupted or perverted at the will and pleasure of the Consuls. After all this, *M. Duilius* a Tribune of the Commons, propounded unto the Commons a Law, and they let it pass and granted it, That whosoever should leave the Commonalty destitute of their Tribuns, or create any Magistrate absolute without Appeal, should be scourged, and lose his head for it. All these Acts, as they passed against the wills and minds of the Nobles: so they went clean without their contradiction: for that, all this while hitherto, there was no rigour and severity that seemed to extend and reach to any one particular person among them, But afterwards, when as both the Tribuns power, and also the Commons freedom, were once well and surely grounded: Then the Tribuns, supposing now it was full time, that they might safely and without peril give the onset upon them, severally one by one, made choice of *Virginius* to be the first accuser or plaintiff, and *Appius Claudius* the first defendant, And *Virginius* had not so soon arrested *Appius* to answer at a day, and *Appius* came down into the Common place, guarded with a company of tall young gentlemen of the Nobility: but presently upon the sight of him and his guard about him, the remembrance of that most cruel and detestable tyranny was refreshed and renewed. Then *Virginius*: "Speeches (quoth he) and Orations were devised for doubtful

Virginius his accusation of Appius.

"causes: and therefore will I neither spend time in accusing him before you, from whose cruelty ye have by force of arms delivered your selves: nor suffer this wretch, over and besides his other wicked pranks, to shew in the defence of himself his audacious impudence. Therefore, as touching all other lewd parts of thine and wicked designments, O *Appius*, which thou hast for these two years ungraciously and impiously enterprized, and practised one on the neck of another, I will do thee some favour, and pardon thee: but for one crime only, unless thou canst acquit thy selfe the better, namely, that thou being the Judge, against all order of Law, didst not grant unto the party defendant, the benefit of liberty to go at large, during the time of the suit depending, until he might bring proofs of his freedom: for this, I say, I command thee to prison. Now had *Appius* no hope at all, either in the Tribuns helping hand, or in the doom and judgement of the people. Howbeit he both called upon the Tribuns for succour: and also seeing himself urged and haled away by the officer, and no man to stay his hand: I appeal (quoth he) unto the people. This one word in maintenance of freedom, being heard to come out of that mouth, that lately had given sentence on his side that impeached the freedom of one, and challenged the party for bond, caused silence. And when every man to himself secretly muttered in this wile: "I see well (when all is done) there are Gods in Heaven, and such Gods as neglect not the affairs of mortal men. Pride and cruelty (although it be long first) at length will surely have a fall, and thoroughly be punished. Lo, how he is now fain to appeal, who aforesome abolished and took away all appeal: he humbly craveth relief of the people, who heretofore trod under foot all rights and franchises of the people: and see how he is carried to prison, destitute and deprived of the benefit of liberty, who awarded and adjudged a free body to bandage and servitude. Amidst these words I say, that might be overheard in that confused humming of the assembly, *Appius* also was perceived to call unto the people of *Rome* for relief and mercy. He reckoned N up withal, the defects of his ancestors in the behalf of the C. W. both at home in the City, and abroad in the wars: he alleged his own unhappy affection (when time was) to the Commonalty of *Rome*, and partaking with them: and namely how with the exceeding displeasure of the Nobility, he resigned up his Consulship, and all for to bring in and establish equal and indifferent laws to both parties. He rehearsed moreover his own laws, which notwithstanding they remained still in force and strength, he, the law-giver himself, was going to prison. But concerning his own proper parts and defects good or bad, he would then make trial thereof (he said) when he should be permitted judicially to make his defences for the present time, he pleaded the common benefit of the City, to wit, that being a Citizen, he might at the appointed day, speak for himself: and stand to the doom of the people: neither feared he the hatred & malice of men to much O as to repose no hope at all in the equity and mercy of his neighbors and fellow Citizens. But and if he were cast into prison and not suffered to come unto his answer then he would once again call upon the Tribuns of the Commons for their help, and admonish them, not to follow and imitate them, whom they would seem to hate. And in case the Tribuns will be known and avow that they are linked in the same bond and covenant, to abolish and take away the benefit of calling unto any one of them by way of mediation, against which they have charged & blamed the Decemvirs for complotting & agreeing together: then he said, that he appealed unto the people.

Appius moveth the people in his own behalf.

A "and had recourse for succour unto the laws concerning appeal, made as well by Consuls as Tribunes, that prevent year and no longer ago. For who may ever hereafter (quoth he) have benefit of appeal, if it be not lawful for me, who stand yet not condemned, nor attained, and have not pleaded for my self? what Commoner, what mean person may find relief by those laws, if *Appius Claudius* may not? It will be seen in me, and my example shall be a precedent and proof to others, Whether by these new statutes, lordly rule, or equal liberty be established: whether the calling for help by way of mediation & intercession, or by plain appealing against the wrongful proceedings of Magistrates, be granted in very deed, or but only pretended in bare shew, under vain colourable pretences and foolish Letters Patents. Against all this, *Virginius* made his rejoinder and said, That *Appius* was the man alone exempt out of all benefit of laws, and excluded from all civil and humane society. "Let men but look toward the tribunal seat, they very well-head, as it were, and receptacle, the fortress and hold of all wickedness: whercon that perpetual Decemvir practising his cruelty upon the goods, the bodies and lives of free citizens, menacing whipping and executing hangmans work unto all persons: a contemner both of God and man, guarded with a crew of executioners and butcherly tormentors, rather then Sergeants, proceeding on from spoil and bloodshed to set his hart on leachery & carnal lust-plucked a maid by birth free, from out of the very arms of her father, as if he had been taken captive in war: and that, in the sight of the people of *Rome*, and gave her away to one of his followers, even to a groom of his bed-chamber. Where, by a cruel decree of his, and detestable sentence, adjudging C her bond, he caused the father to lay violent hands upon his own daughter: where he commanded, the elop'd Husband and Uncle of the Virgin (that took up her body half dead) to be had away to the Gaol, as being more displeased with them, for disappointing and putting him beside his purpose of abusing and spoiling her, then for the murder upon her by them committed. Adding moreover and besides, That he had built a prison, which he used to tearm, The habitation on and dwelling house of the Commons of *Rome*. And therefore, plead he ever and anon, and as oft as he wil, his appeal, I will not give over (quoth *Virginius*) but as oft rendered a judgment, and be able to prove, that he gave not sentence, and pronounced her free, but bond: but in case he wil not abide to be censured by a competent judge, then I command him to be carried to prison, as attain and convicted. Thus was he committed to ward: and as there D was none misliked of this proceeding, so every man was greatly troubled in spirit to see to great a personage punished, and the very Commons themselves thought their liberty too large & excessive. The Tribuns let him down a day (before hand) to plead for himself and make his answer.

The replication of *Virginius* as upon *Appius*.

Appius cometh mixed to prison.

Amid these affairs, there came to *Rome* Embassadors from the Latins and Hernicks, to congratulate, and to shew their joy and great contentment, for the unity and concord between the Nobles and the Commons: in token whereof, they brought as a present unto *Jup. Opt. Max.* a crown of gold, not very massive in weight, but according to their ability, which was not much, yet answerable to their devotion: which men performed rather with religion and zeal in those days, than in portly shew and magnificence. By relation and intelligence from them they were certified also that the *Equians* and *Volscians* prepared war with all the power they could make. E Whereupon, the Consuls were commanded to part their provinces between them. To *Horatius* bellet the Sabins, and to *Valerius* the *Equians* and *Volscians*. And when they had proclaimed these against these wars, such was the toward affection and favour of the Commons, that not only the younger folk, but also a great sort of these that by law were dispensed with, and discharged from warfare, and lived of their pensions, offered their voluntary service, and were ready to enter their names into the muster-Malters book: whereby the army was not only in number greater, but also for the goodnes of men, more puissant, as having the old, beate, and experienced soldiers among them. But before they went out of the City, the Decemviral laws (which now are known by the name of the twelve Tables,) they set up openly to be seen, engraven in brass. Some writers have delivered, that the *Ediles* performed this office, as they had it in charge F from the Tribunes. C. *Cludius*, who upon a detestation and deep hatred of the Decemvirs lewd and wicked enormities, but especially above all others, of the insolent pride of his brothers (on which he could no longer abide, had removed and departed to *Regillum*, his old native country. He being now a very aged man, returned to sine and intreat for his deliverance out of danger, whose voices he abhorred: and in fullied weed and poor array, accompanied with those of his lineage, and other his followers and vassals, went through the common place, and laboured every man one by one. "Beleeching them not to let that brand of ignominy, and bring such a stain upon the house and name of the *Claudius*, as that they should be thought worthy of imprisonment and prisons: nor suffer a man of most honourable quality, a singular pattern of Nobility to his posterity in time to come, the Law-maker and founder of the Roman laws, to lie in G chains among fellows, night-thieves and robbers by the high way side: but to turn away their minds a while from anger and wrath, and incline to a due regard and consideration of matters: and rather at the their earnest petitions of so many of the *Claudius*, to forgive them one man, than for the hatred of one man, to reject the prayers of so many suppliants. As for himself, he protested that he did this much for kindred and names sake, Neither was he re-oviled unto robins and they made friends again: yet could he wish, that his adverser fortune and poor condition were relieved, Concluding with this in the end, that as their liberty was recovered again, by virtue & prowess, so the concord of all degrees & estates might be established sure by clemency.

The Laws called the twelve Tables.

C. *Claudius* his petition in the behalf of *Appius Claudius*.

Some

Some there were whom he moved, more in regard of his own kindness and love, than in any respect of him for whom he spake. But *Virginius* prayed them, "To take pity and compassion rather, of him and his daughter, and to give ear to the prayers and supplications, not of the *Clau-*
dis, who have had the day, and tyrannized over the Commons but to the neerer friends of *Vir-*
ginius, the three Tribunes, who being created for the aid and succour of the Commons, do now
 themselves implore and beseech the help and assistance of the Commons. And verily these tears
 were thought more reasonable, and like to speed. Thus when *Appius* saw all means of hope cut off,
 before the forelaid day appointed was come, killed his own self. Soon after this, *Sp. Oppius*, who
 of all the rest next unto *Appius*, was most hated: for that he was in the City at the very time
 when this unjust doom and sentence of his Colleague hapned to be pronounced, was attacked by *I. Nomentinus*. But *Oppius* was the worse thought of and more prejudiced, by occasion of an in-
 jury by himself done, then for not stopping the wrong intended by *Appius* to *Virginius*. For a wit-
 ness he proceeded to depose against him, one, who having served in the wars seven and twenty
 years, had been rewarded and honoured extraordinarily eight times. This valiant servitor, thus
 adorned with those gifts and marks of valour, in the view and sight of the people of *Rome* rent his
 garments, and shewed his back and sides, and the skin all broken with scourging: beseeching no
 other favour, but if *Oppius* the party accused, could justly charge him with any trespass and of-
 fence by him committed, he should not spare him, but now a private person as he was, exercise
 and redouble his cruelty upon him once again. Well, *Oppius* likewise was had to prison: and there
 before the law day, ended his life. The goods of *Appius* and *Oppius* both, the Tribunes did confis-
 cate. Their com-parters and fellow Decemvirs fled their country and were banished, and all
 their goods also were forfeit & confiscated. And not so much as *M. Claudius* the party that laid claim
 unto *Virginius* escaped, but he was arrested to answer at a certain day, and was condemned. How-
 beit *Virginius* of himself released him his life, and would not take the extremity, so he was sent away
 and confined to: *whar*, as it were into banishment. Thus the poor spirit and ghost of *Virginius* more
 happy after her death, then unfortunate during her life, having wandered abroad, and haunted so
 many houses for due revenge of her adventures: at last, when there was not one guilty person of
 them left unpunished, gave over her walking, and rested quiet.

Now were the nobles, in exceeding fear, beholding the same countenance already in the Tribunes,
 which they had observed in the Decemvirs. But then *M. Duilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, li-
 wily and politicly, restraining and keeping within a mean this excessive power of theirs: "We
 have enough (quoth he) both of our own liberty, and also of revenge of our enemies: and ther-
 fore I will not suffer or this year, any man more to be arrested or imprisoned. For I do not like
 that old faults done and past, and now as it were cancelled and rased out, should be revived a-
 gain, and brought in question, since that by the punishment of the Decemvirs, satisfaction hath
 been made for the new and the continual care and diligence of the Consuls both to retain, for the
 maintenance of your freedom assure me, that nothing will be committed hereafter, that may
 require and need the power of the Tribunes. This moderation at the first had of the Tribunes,
 put the Nobles out of their fear: but made the Consuls to be thought the worse of: (for that they
 had been to adduced wholly to the commonalty) in that a Magistrate of the Commons had more re-
 gard of the safety and liberty of the Nobles, than the proper Magistrate of the Nobility: and
 because the adverse party had their trial of revenge and punishment of the Nobles, before it did ap-
 pear that the Consuls would once mean to stop the course and stream of their licentiousness. And
 many there were who gave it out, that the Consuls bare themselves too remiss and slack in the
 matter, and little respected the good and credit of the Nobles, in that they had approved & con-
 firmed the Acts that were propoled by the Tribunes. And no question, troubled as the state was
 then of the C. W. they were forced to give place, and do according to the necessity of the time.

When the Consuls had set all things in good order within the City, and surely grounded the
 state of the Commonalty, they were either of them into their own Province, *Valerius* against the
 armies of the *Æquians* and *Volicians*, which now had joined together in *Algidum*: where full po-
 litically he held out, and stood upon his defence only: for out of hand he had put it to the hazard
 of a battell, cannot tell, but I greatly doubt, considering how the hearts of Romans and enemies
 both, were affected presently upon the unfortunate conduct of the Decemvirs, it would have turn-
 ed to their great loss and cost them an overthrow. He therefore having encamped a mile off from
 the enemies kept his soldiers within the camp. The enemies ranged in battell array took up the
 whole ground between both camps, & when they made bravado's, and challenged them to come
 forth and fight, not one Roman would answer them again. At length the *Volicians* and *Æquians*,
 weary with long standing still, and in vain expecting battell, thinking verily that the honor was in
 manner yielded unto them departed: some into the country of the *Hernicks*, other some to the
 territories of the *Lains*, for to raise booties and make spoil: leaving behind them rather a com-
 petent guard for defence of the camp, than a sufficient power to maintain a field fight. Which
 when the Consul perceived, he paid them again with the like measure of fear, as they before had
 from them received: and with his army ready embattelled, bids them battell: who being privy
 to themselves what forces were wanting, forbore to fight whereupon the Romans presently took
 a better heart unto them, and made account that their enemies were overcome being in such a
 fear within their rampart. When they had stood thus a whole day ready to fight, they retired
 back in the evening and gave place to the night. And the Romans full of good hope, refreshed
 their

Appius killed
himself.

Oppius dieted in
prison.

K

A their bodies and made much of themselves, but the enemies nothing so hearty and courageous,
 send out messengers every way in fearful halt, to call again the foragers. Such as were near at
 hand came running back into the camp: those that were farther off, could not be found nor met
 withal: Now when it was once day light, the Romans issue forth of the camp, intending to give
 an assault upon the Rampier, unless they would come forth and fight. But when it was far forth
 day and the enemies stirred not at all, the Consul commanded to advance with their ensigns. The
Æquians and *Volicians* seeing their battell coming forward, began to chafe and take foul disdain,
 for very shame that their rampier and trench should protect victorious armies within this
 camp, rather than their weapons and valour defend them in plain and open field: and were earnest
 likewise themselves with their Generals for the signal of battell, and at length after much im-
 portunity obtained it. Now were some of them flustered out at the gates already: and others follow-
 ed hard after at their heels, keeping their array, and every man coming orderly into his file and
 rank. By which time, the Roman Coss, before the battell of the enemies flood fully furnished
 with their full strength, came on still and gave the onset: charged them before they were all come
 forth, yea, and ere they were well marshalled that came abroad, being a multitude, waving (as it
 were) to and fro every way for fear, and looking about themselves, and to their fellows: and to
 amaze their troubled heads the more, he assails them with a great shout and main violence. At
 first the enemies gave back: but after they had gathered their spirits together, and were come a-
 gain to themselves, and that their Captains on every side rated them, and asked them whether
 they would yield unto them, whom before they had overcome, the fight began again to be re-
 newed. "The Consul on the other part, willed the Romans to remember, that this was the first
 day, wherein they being newly let free, were to fight likewise for the freed City of *Rome*: to be
 therefore they were to win a victory for themselves, and not after victory gotten, to be a prize
 for any more Decemvirs to prey upon. For they fought not now under the conduct and stan-
 dard of *Appius*, but of the Consul *Valerius*: who as he was defended from the deliverers of
 the people of *Rome*, so he was one of them himself: exhorting them to shew now, that in for-
 mer battels of late dayes, it was long of the leaders and not of the soldiers, that they achieved
 no victories: saying, it were a foul shame for them, to have had more stomach against their
 own neighbours and citizens, than heart against their enemies: and to have flood more in fear
 of servitude at home, than of bondage abroad. As for *Virginius*, the was but one, whose honesty
 and chastity was in time of peace hazarded: and *Appius* it was only, and none but he, that in
 regard of his unbridled and dissolute lust, was the dangerous citizen. But if the fortune of war
 should fail on our side, and go against us, then shall our children all be in jeopardy, to be ab-
 used and spoiled at the hands of many thousands of enemies. Unwilling I am (quoth he) to
 prelude such miseries and to prognosticate to the City those calamities, which both *Junius*
 and our flock-father *Mars*, forbid and hinder to light upon it, founded upon to lucky signs and
 happy foretokens, at the first beginning: I put you in mind rather of the *Aventine Hill*, and
 Mount *Sacer*: that where within these few months you recovered your freedom, thither ye
 may carry back again your Empire, life and sound, unfeigned and unfoiled: that all the World
 may see that Roman soldiers are as forward and nobly minded after the banishing of the De-
 cemvirs, as they were before their creation: and that by the bringing in of equal and indiffer-
 ent Laws, the manhood and prowess of the people of *Rome*, is no whit decayed nor dimi-
 nished. Having uttered these words among the ensigns of the footmen, he made speed to the
 cornets of the Horsemen. Go to, brave gallants (quoth he) excel the footmen in valour and
 chivalry, like as ye exceed them in honor and degree. At the very first shock and en-
 counter, the footmen forced the enemy to retreat: and being now retired to your hands, let
 spurs to, gallop after them apace, and chase them out of the plain field: they will never abide
 your violent charge: for even already they are at a bay, and stand rather at a stay, than make
 any resistance. Hereupon they gird out lustily, and run their horses among the enemies, dis-
 ordered already, and in disarray by the service of the footmen. And having broken through their
 ranks, and passed forth even to the rearward: certain of them cast about in the void and open
 ground, and when the enemies were about on all sides to fly, they turned most of them away from
 their camp, and overriding them, they got between them and home, and kared them wholly
 from thence. The footmen and the Consul himself, with the whole strength of the main battell,
 made forward to the camp, assailed the tents, won them, and besides a great slaughter, obtained a
 booty far greater.

When news of this battel was brought, not only into the City, but also to the other army into
 the Sabins country, it was received in the City with joy only and solemnity: but in the camp
 it set the soldiers hearts on edge, and enkindled them to strive for the like honor and renown.
 G Now had *Horatius* already partly by lending his soldiers forth, to make incursions and outrides:
 and partly by training and proving them in light skirmishes, enured and acquainted them to trust
 to themselves, and have confidence in their own good service, rather than to remember the shame-
 full disgrace and foil, received under the leading of the Decemvirs. And even those small bickerings
 had done them much good already against they should venture upon a set field, and heartened them
 in assured hope to win the victory. The Sabins again for their part, still lusty upon their good suc-
 cess the year before, ceased not to provoke and urge their enemies: very oft asking them
 what they meant after the guise of robbers, to run in and out in small companies, so to trifle out
 the

The Creation
of *Virginius* the
Consul to his
soldiers.

Having the
Consul to his
soldiers.

the time, and thus by piece meal to make of one entire battel many petty and small skirmishes? H
Why rather fought they not one field for all, and without more ado, hazzard all upon a cast, and
commit the whole to the trial of fortune, to see unto what side the will incline. Then the Ro-
mans. Besides that of themselves they had gathered heart and courage enough, were with the in-
dignity of this challenge also set on fire: considering, that when the other army was at the point
now, with victory to return into the City, their enemies began to insult and crow over them with
reproachfull taunts: and if now they were not meet and even with them, when should they
ever be able to make their parts good? So soon as the Consul perceived the soldiers thus to mut-
ter and mumble within the camp, he assembled them all together, and thus bespake: "Sirs (quoth
I) he) what incites hath been, and how the service hath sped in *Algidum*, I suppose you have al-
ready heard, namely, such as befetted the army of aircelate and people. By the policy of my
fellow Consul, and the manhood of his soldiers together, achieved is the victory. As for my
self, that consil will I take, and that resolute mind will I carry, which you my soldiers shall
afford unto me. The war may be drawn out in length profitably: it may be also dispatched and
ended speedily: It protracted it shall be, look how I have begun already to train you, with the
same discipline still I will exercise you, and bring to pass, that your hope and prowess may encrease
every day more than other. If your hearts now serve you well, and that you like to fight it out,
Go on in the name of God, and in token of your willing heart and valorous prowess, now let
us uphich a cry and shout, as you will make when you first join battel, and give the charge. After
that they had with ex-ceeding cheeriness shouted aloud: God bleis us all (quoth he) I will
fulfill your desire, and bring you forth to morrow into the field for to fight. So the rest of that day
was bestowed in making their harness and weapons ready. When the morrow was come, the
Sabins in soon as they perceived the Romans ranged in battel array, came forth also themselves,
as ready and desirous of fight, as they. Here was a battel struck, such as might between two armies,
that trusted on both sides in their own valour, and made full account of that days honour. The
one eager and greedy to recover their ancient glory, wonted evermore to have the upper hand,
the other proudly bearing themselves, upon a new victory lately achieved. The Sabins besides,
mended their strength wel with a stratagem, for when they had equally divided their battalions
every way, they reserved two thousand drawn out of the rest, extraordinary without the ranks
apart. Who in the very time of the conflict, should hotly charge the left point of the Romans:
they advancing overthwart with their ensigns, & flanking them on the one side, prested shrewdly
upon that one point, and overcharged it, wel neer environed all about. Then the horsemens of two
legions, 600, almost in number, aught on foot from their horsebacks, and as their fellows were
even now ready to retreat, rush forward with all speed to the forefront: and withal, made head
against the enemy. And first, they put life unto them again, for that they entred equally with the
footmen into danger and bare even part thereof: afterwards, for very shame, they gave more
boldness and animated them to fight. For abashed they were, that horsemens should be put
to double service in both kinds of fight, on horse and on foot: and professed footmen not able
to contravert the horsemens, who had taken them to their feet. So they advance forward to the
battel, which on their part was abandoned, and make haste to recover the ground which they M
had lost. And in a trice, at one instant, not only the fight was renewed, but also a battalion of
the Sabins began to shrink. The horsemens closely among the ranks and files of the footmen gat again
to their horses, and from thence rod speedily unto the other side, reporting to their fellows the vi-
ctory: and withal, sharply charged the enemies, who now were affrighted, be cause the stronger
wing of their side was discomitted: neither were there any in this battel also, that were seen to
perform better service then they. The Consul, as an overseer, beheld all the manner of it, praising
those that stood to it manfully, and rebuking where they fought but faintly. They were not so
soon chastised and reprov'd, but presently they bare themselves like hardy men, and did right
good service: and look how much that praise excited some, so much shame stirred up others. Then
with a fresh shout and outcry, they bent their whole force on all sides, and compelled the ene-
mies to turn their backs: who were not able after this, to abide the violence of the Romans. The
Sabins scattered here and there all over the fields, left their tents for a spoil to their enemies:
where the Romans recovered again not the goods of their Allies, as before in *Algidum*, but their
very own, which they had lost by the foraging and spoiling of their lands.

For this two-fold victory achieved in twoundry battels, the Senat right sparingly (such was
their misery) decreed in the name and behalf of the Consuls, one days thanksgiving and processi-
on and no more. But the people, the second day likewise, without order and warrant from au-
thority, solemnized the same in great numbers. And this popular procession, disorderly as it was,
and without formality, was with more good will and better affection of men celebrated, then the
other. The Consul of set purpose (as it was agreed afore) came within the compass of those two O
days into the City: and summoned the Senat to assemble in *Mars* field: where, as they were a-
bout to make some speech of their exploits and worthy acts, the chief and principal Lords of the
Senat, complained and shewed themselves grieved, that the Senat was assembled on purpose,
among the soldiers, to strike a terror into them. Whereupon the Consuls, because they would
give no occasion of quarrel and fault-finding, called away the Senat from thence into *Præa Flaminia*,
where now the Temple of *Apollon* stands, a place which even then they called *Circus Apollinis*:
where they being denied triumph with one voice and general consent of the nobles, *L. Iulius*
a Tribune

A a Tribune of the Commons, propounded unto the people, to know what they thought of the Con-
suls triumph. And among many that stepped forth to cross and dissuade the bill, *C. Claudius* above
all others cried out aloud, that the Consil intended to triumph over the Nobles, and not over their
enemies: and that they sought a thank by way of recompence for a private favour done to the
Tribun, and not for an honorable reward, for any vertue and worthy act. For never (quoth he)
aforetime, was there held any treaty of triumph before the people: but evermore it was referred
to the Senat, to consider and determine of that honor. Neither had the Kings at any time, im-
paired the Majesty of that highest Court and degree: what should the Tribuns then meddle so
much, and have their hand in all matters by vertue of their authority, as to suffer no public
B council at all to remain in force? For a City can never be counted free, nor Laws equal and indiffer-
ent, but when each degree and estate retaineth still their own privilege, and hold their proper
pre-eminence. When the rest of the principal Senators had spoken much to the same effect, all the
Tribes notwithstanding in general, allowed by their suffrages that which the Tribun had pro-
pounded. This was the first time that ever any triumph was granted by the voices of the people,
without the authority and assent of the Senators. But this victory of the Tribuns and the com-
monalty, had like to have turned to a dangerous surfeit of licentious liberty: by reason that the Tri-
buns conspired together and were fully agreed, to be choien Tribuns again: and to the end that
their own ambition should be less seen above others, they alledged to the Consil, for a sufficient rea-
son (that they likewise should continue still in place of government) the agreement and consent of
C the Senators: through whose holding together and drawing in one line, the liberties of the Com-
mons, to the great disgrace and reproach of the Consuls, were infringed and indamaged. For
what would come of it, say they, if before the late Laws were fully established, the (new) Consuls
with their factious banding, should set upon the new Tribuns: for we must not look to have al-
ways such as the *Horatij* and *Valerij*, to be Consuls, men that would not regard their own wel-
fare for the freedom of the commonalty. As it hapned very well for that time, it fell to *M. Duilius*
his lot especially, to be chief President of the Comices and Election: who like a prudent and wise
man, foreseeing the heart-burning and hatred, like presently to ensue, upon the continuance of the
same Magistracies still in place, said flatly, that of the old Tribuns he would not propound any one:
and when his brethren in office laboured earnestly with him, to permit the Tribes to go to a free
D scrutiny or else yield up the charge to him allotted, of holding the assembly unto his brethren, who
would keep the same and manage the matter, according to Law rather than to the will and plea-
sure of the Nobles: *Duilius* then, seeing their earnest contention, caused the Consuls to be called
into their own putes and seats, and demanded their minds concerning the Election of the Consuls:
and when they answered that they would create new, he having once got them to be the authors
of a popular sentence, and not popular themselves, went forth together with them into the assem-
bly of the people. Now when the Consuls were brought out into their presence, and were asked
the question, what they would do, in case the people of *Rome* should elect them Consuls the second
time and that, in remembrance of their liberty received and recovered by their means, and for
their good service in war, and worthy acts by them performed: he finding them constant in the
E same mind still, and nothing altered from their resolution: after he had commended the Consuls,
for their steadfast perseverance unto the last (as altogether unlike to the *Decemvirs*) went pre-
sently to the new Election. And when he had created five Tribuns only, seeing there were no o-
ther competitors enough to reach unto sufficient voices of the Tribes, in comparison of the o-
ther nine Tribuns his colleagues, who openly stood to be choien again: he brake up the assembly,
and from that time forward called no more about any Election. For he said, That he had fulfilled
the Law in that behalf, which without setting down any precise and definite number of Tribuns,
so that there were some left behind, and rooms void, gave authority to those that were created,
to chuse and take unto them more colleagues, to make up the number. And therewith he recited
the words of the Law, which run in this form. If I shall propound ten Tribuns of the Commons to be
F created, and they (shall) that present day make fewer than ten: they by vertue of this Law, shall be ac-
counted Tribuns, whom those elected shall cause and take unto them for their fellows, and as lawful (shall
they be held, as those whom this day ye shall create Tribuns of the Commons. Thus when *Duilius* per-
sisted still resolute unto the end, saying, That in any case the state might bear five and twenty
Tribuns, and having thus conquered the greedy ambition of his colleagues: with great favour and
the good liking as well of the Nobility as the Commonalty, he gave up his room. The new Tri-
buns now in the electing and making choise of their companions, carried favour with the Sena-
tors, and framed themselves to their will and pleasure, in chusing to them two of the Nobility, and
those that had been Consuls, to wit, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *An. Aternus*. And Consuls there were
created, *Sp. Herminius* and *Titus Virginius Calpurnianus*. Who bearing themselves in a mean be-
G tween Commons and Nobles, and not greatly inclining to one side or other, had peace as well at
home as abroad. *Lu. Trebonius* a Tribune of the Commons, being highly offended with the Sena-
tors, and spitefully bent against them, and saying withal, that in the coooperation of the rest of the
Tribuns, he had been cunningly over-raught by them, and betrayed by his colleagues, propoed a
Law. That whosoever hereafter propounded unto the Commons any Tribuns to be elected,
should not give over; but still propound, until he made up the full number of ten. Thus continued
he all his Tribune ship in persecuting and molesting the Nobles, never letting them to be quiet:
whereupon he was surnamed *Asper*.

After this, *M. Geganius Macrinus*, and *C. Julius*, being created *Consuls*, appeal'd the contentions. Orations of the *Tribuns*, which were begun and raised against the young Gentlemen of the Nobility, so as without any bitter invectives against the authority of the *Tribuns*, they preserved still the sovereign Majesty of the Nobles: and by means of deceiving mutters against the wars of the *Volkians* and *Æquians*, stayed the *Commons*, and kept the City from all sedition and discord: saying, That by civil unity, all would be at quiet abroad: whereas through discord of citizens, foreigners took heart. The care likewise of outward peace, was the cause of inward and intestine concord. But evermore the one state disquieted the moderation of the other: for whilst the *Commons* were still and in good temper, the pious *Senators* began to offer them wrong and hard measure. And when the *Tribuns* would have assisted the weaker side, at first it booted little: and small good they did: but afterwards they themselves escaped not without abuse and hurt: and especially in their latter months, when as they received injuries, both by reason of the meetings and packing together of the mightier sort, and also for that toward the end of the year, the edge and vigor commonly of all authority waxeth dull and groweth feeble and weak. So that now the *Commons* had little or no confidence at all in the *Tribunship*, unless they might have such as *Scellus* to be *Tribuns*: and as for these two years last past, they had them but in bare name, and not to any effect and purpose. The elders and ancient fathers of the Senate on the other side, as they believed verily that their youth were too forward and lusty: for they were of this mind, That if there needs must be trepals and excess, they had rather those of their own degree and coat should exceed measure, and have greater stomach, than their adversaries. So ticklish and dangerous a thing it is to keep a mean in maintenance of liberty: whilst under a colour of wishing and desiring equality, every man advanceth and lifteth up himself so, as that he thrusteth and beareth down another: and in pretending a care and regard that men should not stand in awe and fear of them, they make themselves dread and fearful to others, and so the wrong that we put off and turn from our selves, we impose upon others. As if there were no remedy, but that we must either do, or suffer injury.

Then were made *Consuls*, *T. Quintus Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*: who found neither sedition within, nor war without. But yet both the one and the other was near at hand. For now could no longer the dissention of the citizens be held in, but needs it must break out. And both *Tribuns* and *Commons* rose against the Nobles. For in all the assemblies and meetings of the people, one or other ways of the Nobles and *Senators* were served with proceeds: whereupon grew fresh troubles and new contentions. At the first noise whereof, as if the signal of battle had been given, and the alarm stricken upon the *Æquians* and *Volkians* took arms: and withal, their Leaders and Captains (such as gaped greedily after spoil and pillage) had born them in hand and persuaded them to believe, That for these two years past, they could not go through with their mutters proclaimed: for that the *Commons* refused to obey, and brake their allegiance: which was the only cause that there were no forces sent out against them. Besides say they, The life and manner of their warfare, is now with their licentious looseness, discontinued and clean decayed: *Rome* was now no more a common-wealth and country to her citizens: For all their anger, quarrels and malice, that they bare aforetime against foreign nations, was now turned upon their own selves: so that at this time they had fit occasion and good opportunity to surprize them, blinded as wolves with mutual rage and fury one against another. Hereupon they joined their whole power, and first wasted the country of *Latinum*: and afterwards seeing none to encounter them and make defence (to the exceeding joy of those that were the authors of this war) they came foraging and spoiling all the way to the very walls of *Rome*, even before the gate *Esquilina*, there braving and vaunting in reproachful and scornful terms before the whole City, telling them how they had laid their fields and territories waste, from whence they retired themselves without revenge and loss, driving their booties afore them, and marched along to *Carbia*. *Quintus* the *Consul* seeing this, assembled the people, and there (as I have heard) he made to them a speech in this wise, "Albeit I am not privy to my self, and my confidence accuseth me not of any fault. O *Quirites*, yet am I exceedingly abashed and ashamed to come forth into this assembly of voices: that every you should know, or the posterity hereafter understand, how the *Æquians* and *Volkians* (who of late dayes were hardly comparable to the *Hernicks*) came when *T. Quintus* was the fourth time *Consul*, in warlike manner with banner displayed to the walls of the City of *Rome*: and went their ways again clear and without any hurt by them received. This shamefull dishonour, if I had known it, would have lighted so just in this year (and yet for this good while the world hath to grieve, and such hath been the course of our life and conversation, that my mind ever gave me there was no goodneis toward) I would have avoided this place of dignity, either by banishment or death, if there had been no other way to escape it. And might indeed have *Rome* been taken in the time of my *Consulship*, if those weapons which were under our gates had been in the hands of valorous men? Then had I indeed enjoyed sufficient honor already, then had I lived long enough, and a little too long, and might have dyed well when I was but the third time *Consul*. But who were they? I pray you, whom these most base and cowardly enemies of ours despised and set so lightly by? Were they that are your *Consuls*, or you *Quirites* the people of *Rome*? If we were in the fault, let us over as unprofitable and unworthy persons our rule and government, and if that be not enough, let us over and besides be unpunished and abide the fault. But if the blame be in you *Quirites*, let neither God nor man chastise your trepals and offence, only do you repent your

The Oration
of *Quintus*
the *Consul*, to
the people of
Rome.

A "your selves, and be fery therefore. It was not your cowardie that they scorned and despised, neither was it their own valour wherein they trusted. For why? they having been so often defeated, and driven out of the camp and the field, lined with forfeiture of Lands, forced to go under the gallows, and brought into servitude, knew very well both themselves and you also. No, no, the variance and discord between our own states and degrees, is the only bane, and nothing else, of this City: the jarrs and debates, I say, between the Nobles and the *Commons*. Whiles neither we have any gage or stay of rule and command, nor you know mean of freedom and liberty: while you are weary of Noble men rulers, and we likewise of the *Commoners* Magistrates, they have gotten heart, and wax bold. Now, (Gods will) what mean you to do, and what would you have? *Tribuns* of the *Commons* ye longed and sought after: for quietness and concord sake, we let you have your longing. *Decemvirs* you had a great misot, and them you desired: we granted and permitted them to be created. Weary you were anon, and all too weary of *Decemvirs*: we forced them to forgo their office. And when your anger continued still against them, being become private persons again, we suffered to be put to death, and to be exiled, notwithstanding noble and right honorable men. When you would needs elect anew your *Tribuns* of the *Commons*, you chose them at your pleasure. To create *Consuls* from out of your own faction, although we knew it hurtful and prejudicial to the Nobles, yet have we seen that dignity proper to Nobility given away as it were, and made common with the *Commonality*. The affliction of *Tribuns*, the appealing to the people, the *Laws* and *Acts* denied by the *Commons*, to be rendered and imposed upon the Nobles, to bind them thereto: and that, under the pretence and colour of *Isomni*, or equal and indifferent *Laws*, our own rights and priviledges should be overthrown, we have abidden, and do still endure. When will there be an end of discord and dissention? Shall we never have one City of it? Shall we never have this to be the common Country of us all? We can be content much better to be at quiet, when we are vanquished, than whiles we are victors. And is it not enough for you, that you are dread and feared of us? but still you seek for more? Against us it was, that you took the Mount *Aventine*, against us it was that you held and kept the Mount *Sacer*. For when the gate *Esquilina*, was well-near surprized by the enemy and when the *Volkians* our enemies were ready to climb our trench and banks, and to scale our walls, none of you there was to be seen, for to remove and let them further off. Against us ye play the men against us ye can be armed. Well then go to: When ye have here beset the Senate-house, taken up the market place and common Hall with soldiers, filled the goal with Noblemen, and those of the chiefest and best quality, then with like courage and stoutneis of heart rally forth of the gate *Esquilina*. Or if you dare not venture so much behold and view all afore you from the walls discover your Lands and territories with fire and sword wasted & consumed, your goods and cattle had and driven away as booties and prizes, your farms and houses burning and smoking in every quarter. But all this time the *Commonweal* only (you think) by this means is in worse plight and poorer case, the villages fired the City besieged, and the enemy goeth his way with the honor of the war. And in what taking, I pray you, is your own private estate the while? Tidings will come anon to every man particularly from out of his own livings and possessions, of his proper losses: and what have you at home (if a man may ask) to make supply again? Will the *Tribuns* make you restitution, and amends for all your damages? You shall have words of them your fill. They will not flack, to speak to rail, and let fly slanders freely before you against the heads of the City. *Laws* upon *Laws* you shall have heaped thick and threefold. Assemblies, convocations, and tedious invectives good store. But from their and their assemblies, never came there any of you home to his house, richer of one gray goat or single denier nor in better fare to live than before. Was there ever any one carried ought from thence to his wife & children, but hatred and malice, displeasure and rancour, grudges and heart-burnings, both publick and private? From which at all times ye have been shielded and defended if not with your own vertue and innocency, yet by the help and aid of others. But certainly, when ye served in wars under the conduct of your *Consuls*, and followed not the leading of your *Tribuns*: when you served I say in camp, and not in the Hall and common place: when in battle your enemies quaked to hear you shout, and not in your assemblies the *Romans* were in dread of your *us* and outcries: then you van prizes, and conquered Lands from your enemies, then you returned home with triumph to your houses, full of riches and wealth full of honor and renown as well publick as private. Whereas now, you suffer your enemies to depart, freight and laden with your goods. Stick to your Ward-lects, as if you were nailed and fast pinned to them: dwell still in your Hall, and lead your lives continually there: yet must you needs war when all is done, fly from it as fast as you can. Grieved it you indeed, and thought you it a trouble and painful thing, to take an expedition so far as into the *Volkians* and *Æquians* country? Lo, the war is come even unto your gates: if it be not put from thence, it will anon be within the walls, it will take the Castle and Capitol: it will follow you, even into your houses. Two years ago, the Senate gave order and commanded that there should be soldiers mustered and an army conducted into *Agrium*. But we sit still at home & do nothing, but chide & scold (as it were) one at another like churl and threw words contending out selves, and joying in a present peace, and little fearing that of that rest: there will come sundry wars again, and that right shortly. I know full well, there are speeches more pleasing & plausible than these. But to speak the plain truth for your good rather than to flatter and soothe for your pleasure, if mine own nature and disposition did not reach and

"admonish me, even very needfully doth force and constrain me. Willing would I be, and most willingly O Quirites; to please you: but much more would I have you to be in safety, think what-
 soever ye will of me, It falleth out commonly, as a thing that cometh by kind, that who is spea-
 keth to a multitude in his own cause, and for himself, is better liked, and heard with more ap-
 plause, than he whose mind aimeth at nothing else but a publick weal, unless peradventure you
 think these common flatterers, these clackbaws, and men-pleasers, which give you no rest, nei-
 ther in war nor peace, do stir you up and provoke you for your good. But will you have the
 truth? ye being once solicited and pricked on by them, serve their turns in good stead, either
 for their honor or gain. And because they fee themselves to be of no worth and regard, while
 the states do agree, they desire to play ill-mage, rather than to sit out: to be Captains of mil-
 lity and lewdness, rather than of nothing: and in one word, to be the heads, the ringleaders,
 and guides of troubles and diffentions. Whereof, if you be to be blest and happy, as to be weary now
 at length, and will betake you selves to the ancient manners and fashions, both of your own,
 and of your ancestors, in lieu of these new fangles, I will refuse no punishment: nay, let me be
 put to the most shameful death that is, if I do not before many dayes pass over my head, defeat,
 discomfit and put to flight these robbers and destroyers of our fields, and fend them packing out
 of their own camp, and finally translate and remove this terror of war, wherewith ye now are
 so affrighted and astonished, from our gates and walls, even unto their own Towns and Cities.
 Seldom at any time else had there been a speech delivered by a popular Tribune, more acceptable
 unto the Commons, than was the sharp Oration at this present of a most fervent Consul, Yea, and
 the very youth, which amid such terrors of war, had been wont to refuse soldiery, the only keen
 and sharp weapon they had to fight withal against the Nobles, now desired war and to be in
 armies. Over and besides, the country kerns that fled (to Rome,) such also as were spoiled and
 wounded in the villages about, reported more foul and cruel outrages in their ears, than were
 presented unto their eyes, and set all the City in an hot and angry broil. Now when the Senators
 were assembled together in the Councell Houle, then verily they all cast their eyes upon *Quintus*,
 beholding and regarding him well, as the only patron and maintainer of the Majesty of Rome: but
 the chief peers and Lords of the Senate spake out and said: That he had made an Oration, be-
 seeming the soveraign Government of a Confull, beeming so many Confullships by him already
 born, beeming the whole course of his life, that had passed off through many honorable digni-
 ties, and yet always deserved more. As for other Consuls, they either in flattering and soothing
 up the Commons, had betrayed the dignity of the Nobles: or else in seeking by hard courses to
 maintain the rights, prehemincies and royalties of their state, and to tame the multitude, have
 thereby made them more fell and untractable. But *T. Quintus*, he hath made a speech, respecti-
 ve and tending, as well to the royal dignity of the Nobles, as to the concord and unity of the States,
 and principally regarding the condition of the times. They would request him therefore, toge-
 ther with his brother Consul, to take in hand the care of the Common-weal. They would request
 the Tribuns likewise, to joyne in one accord with the Consuls, and fiew themselves willing and
 forward to have the war kept off and put back from their City walls: and in so fearful and dan-
 gerous a case, to reclaim their Commons to their due obedience to their Nobles: saying more-
 over, That the native Country, the common mother of them all, calleth unto the Tribuns and
 craveth their aid, now that the territories are waisted, and the City at hand to be assaulted. Where-
 upon, they all agreed generally to decree a mulier, and presently to make a levy of soldiers. And
 when the Consuls had pronounced before the whole people then and there assembled, that it was
 no time as then to hear excuses, but that all the younger sort, should betimes the next morning
 by day-light, be ready to attend in *Mars* field: and that after the war was ended, they would find
 out and appoint a time, to enquire into their allegations and reasons, that entred not their names:
 and that he should be taken for a traitor and rebel, whose excuse they allowed not: the whole
 manhood and youth of the City shewed themselves the morrow after in readines. Each cohort
 or regiment choise their Centurions or Captains, and every Regiment had two Senators for their
 Provost Marshalls. All this was performed (by report) with such speed and expedition, that on
 the very same day, the standards and ensigns were by the Questors had forth of the Armory and
 Chamber of the City and brought into *Mars* field: and by the fourth hour (or ten a clock) the same
 day, set forward and advanced out of the field. And this new army, with a few bands of old sol-
 diers, who willingly of their own accord followed them, marched on and rested, at ten miles
 end. The day following they discovered their enemies, and at *Caio* encamped close unto them.
 And by the third day, there was no stay on both hands, but they must needs encounter and fight.
 For why? The Romans for anger were sharper: the enemies again, upon a guilty conscience that
 they had so often rebelled, were grown desperate. Now, whereas in the Roman army the two
 Consuls were in equal commission, yet gave *Agrippa* place unto his brother *Quintus*, and yecded
 unto him the entire and absolute command. A course most profitable in the managing and exe-
 cution of great affairs. And being thus preferred, he again in courteously answered and requited
 the others Gentleness and inclination to submission, in this wise, by implying unto him all
 his Counsels: by parting with him all his honor and praise, and by making him his equal,
 who was indeed his inferior and underling. In the battell, *Quintus* commanded the right
 point, *Agrippa* led the left: *Sp. Postumius Albus*, the Lieutenant General, had the conduct of
 the main battell. And *P. Sulpicius* the other Lieutenant, they set over the horsemen, The foot-
 men

A men of the right point fought most valiantly, and the Volscians received them with equal valour,
Sp. Sulpicius with his men of arms, brake through the main battell of the enemies: & albeit he might
 have retired himself the same way again unto his company, before that the enemies could bring
 their ranks again into order, that were dismayed: yet he thought it better to charge them upon
 their backs. And in one moment he had discomfited and quite defeated his enemies, by assailing
 them behind, and thus affrighting them on both sides, but that the Volscian and Aequian Horse-
 men recharged him, held him play in his own fight, and so kept him occupied a good while.
 Thereat, *Sulpicius* said, it was no time now to linger and to drive off, but to bettle themselves,
 "crying out aloud, that they were environed round, enclosed within their enemies, and excluded
 from their own fellows, unless they let to, and bent their whole force, quickly to dispatch the
 B Horie-fight: and that it would not serve, to put the Horsemen to flight and save their lives: but
 kill both horse and man, that none might ride back again from them, into the battell to renew
 the fight. And to make head and resist, against him and his horsemen, they were never able,
 "since that the main thick battell of footmen had given him ground already. Good ear they gave
 to his words, and soon harkened to his direction: and with one entire assault they gave a let-
 charge, and defeated the whole power of the Cavalry, unhorsed and dismounted a number of
 them, and with their javlins goared both them and their hories. And there's an end of the horie-
 service. Then they set upon the battell of the footmen and dispatched messengers unto the Comits
 with news, what they had done: where also by that time, the battell of the enemies began to
 C shrink. And when tidings came unto the Romans that were already upon the point of victory,
 they verily were more encouraged: but the Aequians that were about to retreat, were stricken
 with greater fear. In the main battell first began the overthrow; namely, whereas the men of arms
 before had broken the array. After them, the left point also began to be distressed and driven
 back, by *Quintus* the Consul. But in the right there was hardest hold, and most ado. Where,
Agrippa being a tall man of his hands and young withal, seeing in every part of the battell things
 go better than where he was: caught the ensigns from the ensign-bearers, advanced them forward
 his own self, yea, and fell to flinging some of them against the thickest of his enemies. For fear
 therefore of so shameful a disgrace, the soldiers better themselves, and freshly assailed the enemy.
 And to on all hands alike, they achieved the victory and won the field. Then came a messenger
 D from *Quintus*: & brought word that he had the better hand and was now ready to give an assault
 upon the camp, but would not break in, and enter therein before he knew for certain, that they
 in the left point also had gotten the upper hand, and made an end of the battell. In case therefore he
 had discomfited the enemy, he should joyne his forces to him, that the whole army altogether
 might gain the spoil and pillage of the tents. So *Agrippa*, who also for his part was victor, came to
 his brother Consul and the camp of the enemies, and met with mutual congratulation on the
 other. There, finding but a few to defend, whom they discomfited in the turning of an hand, they
 brake into the rampier and munitions, without conflict or skirmish: and so besides the recovery
 of their own goods again, which they had lost by the overrunning of the country, they gained also
 a rich booty, and retired back with their whole army. I cannot learn, that either they themselves
 E required triumph, or the Senate offered them any: and no cause appeareth upon record, why they
 should either refuse or not hope for that honor. For mine own part, so far as I can guess in so long
 distance of times, seeing that *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who over and besides the conquest of the Vol-
 scians and the Aequians, had the honor also of dispatching and finishing the Sabines war, were de-
 mied triumph at the Senate hand: these Consuls might not with modesty, sue for the same: having
 performed but half the good service of the others: lest if they had gotten it granted, there might
 have seemed more regard had of the persons, than of the deeds.

But this noble and honourable victory over the enemies abroad, thus achieved, was obcu-
 red and souly disdayned with a shameful doom of the people, in a controversy of their allies,
 about the bounds and meers of certain Lands. The inhabitants of *Aricia* and *Ardea*, having
 F warred oftentimes one with the other, about some Lands in question between them, and by gi-
 ving and taking sundry soils and overthrowes outwearied, chose the people of Rome their Umpire
 to decide and determine this quarrel. And when they were come with their counsel to plead
 the case, the Magistrates granted a Court of Allies of the people. Where was much arguing
 and dispute on both sides before them: and after the witnesses were depoid and that at length
 the Tribes should be called to the sentence, and the people give their voices, there steps forth an
 old father, one *P. Scapianus*, a Commoner. And I quote he for my part. O Consuls, if it be lawfu-
 l to speak for the good of the State, will not suffer the people to erre, and be deceived in this que-
 sition. When as the Consuls denied him audience, as being an old fool, and of no credit: and
 commanded him (as he cryed till that the publick cause of the City was betrayed) to be had
 G away. he calleth for the assistance of the Tribuns. The Tribuns then, who lightly are ever over-
 ruled by the multitude, rather than able to rule them, yielded unto the Commons: that for as
 much as they were desirous to hear what the old man could say, *Scapianus* should speak his mind
 at large. Then setteth he the tale on end, and beginneth thus: I am (quoth he) fourscore winters
 old and three on the head of it: and even upon that very ground for which all this strife and vari-
 ance is lierved as a soldier, when I was no young man neither, but one that had been prest to
 wars, and received pay twenty years afore. And it was, I remember well, during the Siege be-
 fore *Corioli*. Hither am I now come, to give evidence of a thing by long continuance of time,
 "worn

A controversy
 between the
 Ardeates and
 Aricians, deci-
 ded by the
 people of
 Rome.

The evidence
 given by old
 Scapianus.

"worn out clean and forgotten of other men, but fresh in my knowledge and remembrance: to
 "wiz, that the Lands thus litigious, and in controversy, had been sometime within the confines
 "of the *Corielans*: and after the winning of *Corioli*, were seized by right of conquest, to the Com-
 "mons of the people of *Rome*. I marvel much therefore, by what custom and prescription, the
 "Ardeates and Aricines, who never had right and interest, and were not possessed of the land,
 " (so long as *Corioli* stood in prosperity) should hope to defeat the people of *Rome* thereof, whom
 "being the LL. in fee of the ground, they had chosen for their Arbitrator. As for me, I have
 "but a small while to live, and one foot already is in grave: and yet I cannot find in my heart, but
 " (to that Land, which as old, I being a young and lusty souldier, did my best to fight for, and
 "conquered with [word in hand] make claim now that I am aged, by word and mouth, the only I
 "means left me to recover it. I advise the people therefore in good sadness, that in a vain respect
 "of bootless modesty, they condemn not their own cause, nor give away their right. The Consuls
 "marking well what audience was given to *Scipius*, and that he was heard not only with sil-
 "lence, but also with good liking and contentment, cryed out upon this abominable practise: cal-
 "ling both Heaven and Earth to witness, and therewith feat for the Lords of the Council: and
 "joining with them, went to the Tribuns, fell in hand with them, and instantly besought them
 "not to go forward with this most lewd action for the present, and a more shameful precedent
 "for the time to come: namely, that Umpires and dayes men, should convert the thing in suit
 "unto their own and proper vantage: especially considering, that, Admit it were a lawful thing
 "for a judge himself to have an eye and regard to his own commodity: yet would there not be
 "so much gained and gotten by coming thus between, and interverting the Land, as there would
 "be damage and hinderance another way, in alienating by those hard courses, the hearts of their
 "good friends and Allies. For the losses (verily) and cracks of name and credit, are such as may
 "not be valued at any price. And should the Embassadors indeed, say they go their wayes home
 "with this goodly award: and make report abroad how they have sped? should our confederates
 "hear this? should our enemies come by the knowledge thereof? with what grief the one? with
 "what joy the other? Think ye that our neighbour nations will impute, attribute, and ascribe
 "this, unto the speech made by *Scipius*, a prating old busy body, and one that loveth to hear
 "himself speak in assemblies? Nay, this is certain: well may *Scipius* be famous and much talked
 "of in the playing of this pageant: but the people of *Rome* shall incur the obloquy, to have acted
 "the part under the vilsour of *Scipius*, of a cunning promoter, and a false interpreter to himself,
 "of other mens right in suit. For, what judge at any time in a private matter, hath done the like,
 "as to award the thing in question, unto himself? Why, even *Scipius*, past all shame and grace
 "as he is, would never have done it. These and such like words, spake both Consuls and Senators
 "aloud in all their hearing. But the covetousness of men, and *Scipius* that first let them a longing
 "and their teeth a watering, prevailed more than they all. The Tribes were called to the Scrutiny
 "of their voyces, and gave judgment, That the Lands pertained to the common Territory of the
 "people of *Rome*. Neither can it be denied, but it would have lo appeared indeed, in case it had
 "been tried before other judges. But now, for all the goodness of the cause, is not the ignominy
 "of the arbitrement one jot the less: Nay, the Aricines and Ardeates themselves, thought not M
 "more shamefully and hardly of it, than the very Senators and Peers of *Rome*. The rest of the year
 "continued quiet, from all troubles as well domestical as forraign.

The Fourth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fourth Book,

THe Law concerning marriage between the Nobles and the Commons, was proposed, and with much
 ado enacted by the Tribuns of the Commonalty: notwithstanding, the Nobles withstood it. Tribuns
 military with full authority of Consuls, were created. Under this kind of Magistracy was the Statute
 for certain years, both in City and in war. The Limits of the Ardeates, which had been awarded from
 them by an arbitrement of the people of Rome, were referred again unto them, and Colours sent to im-
 buh the time. In the time of a great dearth and famine in Rome, one Sp. Melius, a Roman Knight,
 dealt corn among the people freely, at his own proper charges: by which deed he won the favour of the
 Commons: and thereby aspiring to be King, was at the commandment of Quintus Cincinnatus, the
 Dictator, slain by the hands of C. Servilius Hala, General of the Horsemen. L. Minutius, who dis-
 closed the treason, had a bullock with yolk horns given him for a reward. The Embassadors of the Ro-
 mans, which were murdered by the Fidenates, had their Statues or Images erected at the Rostra, or the
 common Cross of the City, because they died in the service of the Common-wealth. Cornelius Cossus a
 Colonel, having slain with his own hand Tolomius, the King of the Veintians, was and bare away the
 second

A second royal spoils, Mamercus Aemilius the Dictator, limited the Government of the Consuleship, with-
 in the compass of one year and six months, which before that time continued five years: and for that act,
 with thankfulness, approved by the Consuls. Fidenae was conquered and subdued, and thither were Colours
 sent to dwell. When the men of Fidenae flew, and revolted from the people of Rome: and by Mamercus
 Aemilius the Dictator were subdued, and the City forced, The conspiracy of the banditti was suppressed.
 Posthumus a Tribune military, was for his cruelty slain by his own souldiers. The souldiers then
 first, and sever before, had their pay out of the common treasury. Moreover, this book containeth the
 wars against the Volscians and Veintians, the Fidenates and Falisci.

The fourth Book of T. Livius.

Here succeeded Consuls after these, *M. Gentius* and *P. Curiatius*. A year full
 of broils, both at home and abroad. For in the beginning of the year, both *Curiatius*, a
 Tribune of the Commons, proposed a law, concerning alliance of the Patricians with
 Commons, by way of marriage. Whereby the Nobles supposed their blood to be
 stayed, and the Rights and Privileges of Families and Houses confounded. Also, whereas at
 first the Tribuns by little and little had moved, That one of the Consuls might be created out of
 the Commons: now the matter proceeded so far, that often Tribuns that then were, the other
 nine propounded this in plain terms for a law. That it might be in the peoples power to chuse
 both the Coss, (if they would) either out of Commons or Nobility. Mary, if that should come
 to pass, the Nobles thought indeed that the sovereign rule and authority, was not only made com-
 mon with the basest sort, but also translated altogether from the great men and best of the City,
 to the commonalty. Glad were the Senators therefore to hear say, that the people of *Ardea*, for
 the wrongfull awarding away of their Lands from them, were revolted: and that the Veintians
 had walled the Frontiers of the Romans: and that the Volscians and Aequians grugged and
 muttered for the fortifying of *Verulus*: So much preferred they any war, miserable though it
 were and dangerous, before a shameful and dishonourable peace. Having heard therefore these
 news, and taken them in the worst manner: to the end that amidst the rumour and bruit of
 many wars, the Tribunician troublesome suits might fly and be dead for the time: they com-
 manded multitudes of soldiers, souldiers to be levied, all furniture of war, and all manner of force to be
 prepared, and (it might be) with more endeavour, than it had been when *T. Quintus* was Con-
 sul. Then *C. Curiatius*, after some hot words which he spake aloud in the Senate; namely, that
 the Commons by fighting the Commons, went about but in vain, to avert them from the regard
 of their new Laws: and that so long as he had any breath in his body, they should never go
 through with multier, unless the Commons had first ratified those things, which by him and his
 brethren had been propounded: forth with assembled the people together. Thus at one instant
 the Consuls animated the Senate against the Tribune, and the Tribune incited the people against
 the Consuls. "The Consuls gave it out plainly and said, that no longer now might their furious
 "courses of the Tribuns be endured. Now were they come to the very height and extremity,
 "and raised more war in effect, at home, than the enemies abroad. Which thing (no doubt)
 "happened not so much through the fault of the Commons, as of the Nobles, nor of the Tribuns
 "more, than of the Consuls. For look what thing was he rewarded in a City, the same always
 "most increased: thus men in peace (we see) prove excellent, thus in war they come to be singu-
 "lar. In *Rome* (say they) seditions riped ever best, and have been reputed both to each one in par-
 "ticular and to all ingeneral most honourable. But let the Senate call to mind the dignity which
 "they themselves had received from their fathers, and compare it with that which they were like
 "to leave to their children: and see, whether they may boast as the commonalty doth, how that
 "their condition is much bettered and more glorious than before. Well, neither is there any end
 "now, nor ever will be, so long as the Authors of seditions be as highly advanced, as the sediti-
 "ous themselves are prosperous and fortunate. See what matters and how great hath *Curiatius*
 "attempted! He would bring in a commixture or rather confusion of kindreds and houses, a
 "perturbation in the managing both of publick and private affairs: that nothing might be sin-
 "cere and intire, nothing pure and undesfiled: that all difference and distinction being taken away,
 "no man might know either himself or his. For what thing else do these mixtures of Rates and
 "degrees by marriages draw after them, without all order and discretion: but that like brut beasts
 "in a manner, Commons and Nobles may go and couple together? so that the children between
 "them both, shall not be able to tell of what blood he is descended, and to what Religion he doth
 "belong, being a mingled as it were, the one half a Noble, the other a Commoner; and not well
 "G distinguishing and according with himself? They thought it not enough (be like) that all divine and
 "humane Laws, were confuted and shuffled together: for now these mutinous persons, these busy
 "heads and troublemers of the common people, address themselves to shoot at the Consuleship. At
 "first, they foundred in private speeches and secret discourses, only how to compass. That one of
 "the Consuls might be created out of the body of the Commons: but now they go roundly to
 "work and carry it before them: they are so bold to prefer laws (forsooth) that the people might
 "make them both either Nobles or Commons at their good pleasure. Whereby (no doubt) they
 "were to make choice from out of the Commons, of the most seditious persons of all other.

The allega-
 tions of the Con-
 suls against
 the Tribuns of
 the Commons.

"We shall have then the *Camuleus* and *Scilians* to be our Coss. But *Jupiter* (that great good God) forbid, that ever the Royal and Imperial Majesty, should come to that low ebb or desperate pass: dye they would a thousand deaths rather, than suffer to great a shame and indignity: knowing this assuredly, that their ancestors also, if they had once suspected or foreseen, that by granting the commonalty every thing as they desired, they would not have proved more lovely and cheerful towards them, but rather more churlish and untractable: and when they had obtained their first suits, to proceed still to demand worse and worse, one thing after another: they would sooner have endured at the first, any contending and debate whatsoever, than suffered those hard conditions to be imposed, and put upon them: and because they had once relented, that Tribuns should be created, therefore to grant them again the second time. So that as now, there is no quietness with them, nor end of quarrels will be none, so long as in one and the self same City, Tribuns and Senators remain together. Nay verily, either this state must be put down, or that office utterly abolished. And better late than never, to withstand and meet with their rash and desperate boldness. What? shall they without controlment, first sow discord at home, and then stir up foreign wars abroad? and afterwards, against those wars which themselves have raised, debar and hinder the City, for to take arms and defend it self? and when as they have as good as sent for the enemies to come to their doors then, not suffer an army to be levied against them. But let *Camuleus* (if he dare) speak these words out in the Senate, That unless the Nobles suffer his laws, as if he were a Conqueror, to be admitted and received, he will stay the multering? For what else is that, but to threaten that he will sell and betray his country, and suffer it to be abused and lost? What encouragement will such a word give as that, I say not to the commonalty of *Rome*, but to the *Volsians*, *Equians* and *Veientians*? Will not they hope, under the conduct of *Camuleus*, to be able to scale the Capitol and the Castle, to be the Tribuns shall take from the Nobility their courageous hearts, as they have bereaved them already of their right, their honor and dignity? Let him know therefore, that the Consuls are ready, first to shew themselves to be Captains and Leaders, against the malicious praises of their own citizens, before they will make head against the armed forces of their enemies? Whiles these matters were debated with great contention and heat in the Senate house, *Camuleus* for the maintenance of his laws, and to cross the Consuls, made this Oration unto the people. How greatly the Nobles have defiled you, O Quirites, how unworthy I see they have ever thought you, to live among them within the walls of one City, me thinks I have, as often herebefore, to now especially and most of all perceived: in that they have risen up altogether to fly, to check and withstand our propoed laws. "Wherein, what pretend we else, but to tell them and put them in mind, That we are, as well as they, citizens: and although we are not of the same wealth, yet we inhabit the same country with them? In the one, we request marriage: a thing to borderers, yea, and to foreign nations usually granted: and to speak of our selves, we also have afforded even to our conquered enemies, the benefit of our City, which is far more than marriage. In the other, we move no new matter, but only claim again and challenge that, which is the peoples right, to wit, that the people of *Rome* may bestow their offices and dignities, upon whom they please. What reason have they then, I pray you, to set all on an uproar, as if Heaven and Earth should go together? and what is the cause, that erewhile I had like to have had violence offered unto me in the Senate? What moved them to break out and say, they could not forbear nor keep their hands from me, and threaten to abuse and violate the sacred authority of the Tribuns? Set safe that the people of *Rome* may have their free voices and suffrages, to elect the Consuls whom they will, and that no Commoner be denied, to be worthy of the highest place, for to obtain the foreign dignity. How then? cannot this City possibly stand any longer? and is our Empire come to an end for ever? And all one it is (be like) and importeth as much, to disable a Commoner, for being made Consul as if a man inferred, that a bondman or a freed libertine should become Consul. Perceive you not yet (my Masters) in what contempt you live? They would, if they might, bereave you in some measure of this day light: that ye breath and speak, that ye have the shapes of men, they think much, they repine, and it goes to their heart. And what else? They give it out flatly and say (if God will) it is unlawful, that a Commoner should be a Consul. I beseech you hear me a little. If we may not be allowed to read the Chronicles, nor to peruse the High-priests records and registers, know we not those things then, that even all strangers know? namely, That Consuls entered in place of Kings, and succeeded them, and have no other right, prebeminence or dignity at all, than Kings had before? Think ye that men have never heard, that *Numa Pompilius*, a man not much as a citizen of *Rome*, much less than a Patrician and Nobly descended among them, was sent for out of the Sabines country, and by the peoples voices, and the assent of the Nobles, created King of *Rome* also. afterwards, how *L. Tarquinus*, who was no Roman born, nor, yet so far off as much as an Italian, but the son of *Demetrius* the Corinthian, a stranger inhabitant at *Tarquinius*, and from thence removing, albeit King *Anco* his sons were living, attained likewise to the crown? Moreover, how *Servius Tullius* after him, the son of a captive woman of *Corniculum*, whose father was unknown, whose mother a bondswoman, through wit and virtue, obtained and held the Kingdom? For what should I speak of *T. Tatius* the Sabine, whom *Romulus* himself the father and founder of this City, admitted to reign together with him? Well, so long as no stock was disdained, no race rejected, wherein appeared sparks of virtue, the Romans Em-

The Oration of *Camuleus* to the Commoners, against the Nobility.

A "pire became mighty, and flourished. Scorn ye then at this day, a Consul out of the Commonalty, when our forefathers depicted not Kings that were aliens and strangers? No, nor when the Kings were expelled, was this City denied and shut against foreigners, that were valorous, and men of action. The kindred and whole name (I am sure) of the *Claudii*, after the Kings were exiled, we not only admitted into our City, from out of the Sabins, but also received into the number of the Patricians and Noble men. And may a meer forrainer indeed become a Nobleman, and so a Consul? And shall a Citizen of *Rome*, if he be of the Commonalty, be wholly disabled and out of hope for ever of being Consul? Tell me I pray you, Think ye it not possible, that a valiant and hardy man, approved both in war and peace, being one of the Commons, may prove like to *Numa*, *L. Tarquinus*, or *Servius Tullius*? and if he do, whether shall we suffer him to govern the Common-wealth, or no? And whether will ye have our Consuls, such rather as the Decemvirs (the most wicked and wicked persons under the sun, who, by your leave, were at that time of the Nobility) than strangers and new-comers, which of all the Kings were simply the very best? But forsooth, presently after the KK, were depoed and expelled, there was not one of the Com, a Consul. What of that? ought no new thing to be ordained, and which hath not been already taken up afore? For many things have not yet been practised, (as in a state newly incorporate) ought not such then to be put in use, if they be thought expedient? While *Romulus* reigned, there were no Bishops nor Augurs: by *Numa Pompilius* they were created. There was no setting of the people at all in the City, no description of Hundreds and Clases, by *S. Tullius* they were instituted. Coss, were never heard of before: when the KK, were driven out, they were elected. The time was, when neither the absolute rule nor yet the name of a Dictator was known. In our fathers dayes it first began, that there have been none: it was ordained they should be made. Within this ten years, we have both created and also abolished out of the common-wealth, Decemvirs for the making and penning of our laws. And who doubteth, but in a City founded for ever to endure, and increasing (still infinitely, there will be brought in new Governments, new Priests-hoods and sacerdotal dignities, new privileges both of kindreds and private persons? And even this one thing in question, to wit, that the Com, and Nobles might not joy in marriage, were not the Decemvirs they that first within these few years made that Edict? A most shameful ensample and precedent in a free state, and tending to the manifest wrong of the Commons. Can there be any greater or more notorious injury, than that there should be in a City one part and member, as defiled and polluted, thought unworthy of the bond of marriage? What else is this, but to suffer exile and confining within the same walls, when they debar us that we should not be either allied in affinity or knit in kindred? They provide (forsooth) and take order that blood should not be mixed, nor families confused. How then? If this do pollute this great gentry of yours, which most of you descended from the Sabins and Albans, have not by right line from the Patricians, but by cooption and election into the number of the Nobles, as being chosen either by the favour and grace of the Kings, or else by the peoples voices after the KK, were expelled? could not your wisdoms have kept your blood uncorrupt by some private means and provision, namely, by taking heed neither to elopse wives from among the Commons, nor to suffer your daughters and sisters to be married to any other than Nobles? No commoner (ye might be sure) would have forced a daughter of any noble house: no, these insolencies of lascivious lust are appropriate to Gentlemen only of the Nobility: none of us would have compelled any of you against his will, to make covenant and contract of matrimony. But I wot, that by an express law it should be forbidden, and that marriage between Nobles and Commons should be condemned, that is, which to the commonalty is a plain contumely and open injury. And why conserge not and lay your heads together, that the rich may not marry with poor? That, which at all times and in all places, hath been a matter left unto particular policy and consideration; namely, That into what house soever a woman cast a liking and fancy, there she might be married: and into what family a man obliged himself by word, promise and covenant, from thence he might take a wife: even that, restrain ye within the bonds of a most proud and tyrannical law: whereby ye might break in under all civil society, and of one City make twain. Why forbid ye not by a positive Law, that a commoner should not dwell by a Noble-man, or go the same way that he doth, or frequent the same feast, or converse in the same market or common place of assembly? For in effect what difference is there, if a Gentleman marry a commoners daughter, or a commoner elopse a Gentlewoman? What right I pray you or condition of state is thereby changed? surely the children still take after the father. Neither seek we for any thing else by matching with you, but only this, that we may be reckoned in the number of men and of citizens. Neither is there any cause, why you should contend and stand upon it (unless it do you good to cross and take a pleasure to exercise your selves in working us disgrace and shame.) Finally I would gladly know whether the foreign government of the state reflect in you or in the people of *Rome*? When the Kings were driven out, got you thereby to your selves Lordly sovereignty, or purchased all men equal liberty? It must needs be granted, that the people of *Rome* may at their pleasure publish and ordain law. And will ye then as soon as any law whatsoever, is by them propoed, appoint a muster presently for their punishment? And as soon as I that am Tribun, shall begin to call the wards to give their voices, shall you that are Consuls by and by swear all the younger sort, press them to warfare, lead them forth unto the field, and

"menace

menace the Comitiens menace I say the Tribuns also? What? If ye had not twice already good experience, how little these goodly threats of yours prevailed against the Comitiens when they agreed and link together, it were somewhat. Will ye say, that ye forbore to live, ye tendered our good, and yet pity spied us? Nay rather, to say a truth, was not this the cause that no fray was made for that men longer live was also the more cool and modeller of the twain? Neither (O ye) will there now, I warrant you, be any combat, nor blows dealt: they will all ways keen and found, what stomachs and hearts ye have, but never will they feel your fits, and try how keen your words be. Therefore to these wars (be they falsely pretended, or truly intended, reported) O ye Comitiens, the Comitiens are ready preit to follow you: provided always, that by granting them liberty of mutual marriage, ye will make at length this City one: that they may be linked, joyned and united unto you by private alliance and affinity: that hardy and valiant men may have hope and possibility, to honors and dignities: that they may be allowed fellowship and society in the Common-weal: Finally, that (which is due unto equal liberty) they may one with another in alternative courtes, obey annual Magistrates, and be obeyed again in their turns. If any of you shall gain say and withstand these conditions, prate still and talk at your pleasure of wars: multiply and make them as many and as great as ye will: There is not one shall give his name, not one shall take arms, not one shall fight for those proud Lords, with whom they can have neither fellowship of dignity in the Common-weal, nor alliance of marriage in private estate. Now when as the Consuls also were come forth into the open assembly of the people, and that they fell on all hands from continued and long Orations: to short dispute and altercation: the Tribuns demanded why a commoner might not attain to a Consulship? Unto whom the Consul returned an answer, as to the substance perhaps truly, for the present contention not very wisely and to the purpose: Namely, because that no commoner had the Auspices: which was the cause why the Decemvirs ordained distinct marriages, left upon a doubtful and mingled issue, there should follow a troubled confusion of the Auspices. But hereafter, the Comitiens stormed and stamped most of all: that as odious men unto the immortal Gods, they were flatly denied and deemed unworthy to observe the flight and singing of birds. And never gave they over their heats of clamorous debate (whiles the Comitiens had gotten unto them a most sharp Tribun to set them at work, and were themselves in obduracy no whit behind him) until at length the Nobles were overcome and driven to grant, that the Law as touching marriage should pass: supposing by that means especially, that the other Tribuns would either clean give over their suit for making commoners Consuls, or at least wile put it off, until the war were ended: and that the Comitiens in the mean while being well pleased and contented with marriage among the Nobles, would be willing and ready to levy a mulier. *Candianus* for this his victory over the Nobles, and for the favours he gat among the Comitiens, became a great and mighty man. Whereupon, the other Tribuns were kindled to the like combat: and for the proceeding of their Law also, endeavourd with all their might and main. And albeit the rumour of the war encreased daily more and more: yet they hinder the levy of soldiers. The Consuls seeing now that no decree and order could pass the Senate-house by reason that the Tribuns interposed their negative voice: took counsel together with the chief of the Nobility at home in their private houses. And well they saw that they must yield either the victory to their enemies, or the buckler to their own citizens. Of all the Senators that had been Consuls, only *Valerius* and *Horatius* were not present at these counsels. *C. Claudius* his opinion was, That the Consuls should put themselves in arms against the Tribuns: But the two *Quintus*, *Cincinatus* and *Capitolinus*, abhorred all blondd and violent proceedings against those whom by a solemn covenant made with the Comitiens, they had received and accepted for to be sacrosanct and unviolable. But in these counsels they grew to this point in the end, that they suffered military Tribuns of equal power with the Consuls, to be created indifferently from out of the Comitiens and Nobles: provided a wayes, that as touching creation of the Consuls, there should be no alteration from the old manner aforetime. And herewith were both Tribuns and Comitiens well satisfied and contented. A general assembly therefore was proclaimed for the chusing of three Tribuns in Consuls authority, which being once published: forthwith as many as had spoken or done ought tending to sedition, and above all others those that had been Tribuns of the people, began in their white robes to take hold of men and run to and fro about the common place labouring for this dignity. At the first, the Nobles especially in despair of obtaining the place (seeing the Comitiens to set a fote) partly for disdain and indignation to bear any honourable office joyntly with them of so base condition, were feared and affrighted from standing therefore: at the last (but they were forced thereto first by the heats and the chief Lords of the Senate) they were content to be competitors and suiters for the dignity: lest they might seem to be fully excluded forth of the possession of the Common-weal and leave it entirely for the Comitiens. The event and effect of this Court, shewed plainly, that mens minds are otherwise affected in contending about liberty and dignity, than presently after such contentions laid away, they are in weighing and judging: right without passion and affection. For the people satisfied herewith, that there was some account made of the Commoners, and that they were not shut out, elected military Tribuns all the Nobles. This modestly this equity, this noble mind, where shall a man now, dayes find in one person, which then was to be seen in the whole people? In the three hundredth and tenth year after the City of Rome was founded, were the first military Tribuns created, that bare office in the room of the

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A Consuls, to wit, *A. Sempronius Aruianus*, *L. Aruianus*, and *C. Cecilius*: in whole government concord at home called also peace abroad. There be writers, who affirm, That upon occasion of the Veientian war, and the rebellion of the Ardeates, because two Consuls were not able to manage so many wars at once, therefore were three military Tribuns chosen: without making any mention of the Law published, concerning election of Consuls of the Comitiens: and that they were invested both in the jurisdiction, and also in the ornaments of the Consuls. Howbeit, the exercise of that government, stood not fast and sure, nor continued long. For within three months after that they entered, they forewent their office, by a decree of the Angurs, as if there had been some error in their creation. It was alleged that *C. Cornutus*, who was President of that Court of Election, had taken his quarters amiss for the observation of the lucky signs by flight of birds, and not according to the Angurs skill.

There came from the Ardeates to Rome, Embassadors, complaining of wrong received, in these terms: That if it might be redressed, and amends made, and their grounds restored, they seemed willing to abide till in league and amity. Answer was made them by the Senate, that the judgment of the people, already passed, could not be recovered by the Senate, if it were so: nothing else but for concord sake and agreement of the States: besides, they had neither any precedent to lead them thereto, nor Law and authority to warrant them. Marry, if the Ardeates would wait their times and put to the Senates arbitrement and discretion. Marry, if the Ardeates would wait their pretended, it would come to pass, that in process of time they should not repent of governing their passions and bridling their choler: and should well know, that the Nobles had a good regard, offered, it should not long continue. Thus the Embassadors, promising to make a true report, unto their citizens of the matter, wholly as it was: were friendly dimitted, and had their discharge.

The Senators seeing now the Commonweal, without any sovereign Magistrate of the chair and of State, went together, and made an Interregent: and whiles they strove whether Consuls or Tribuns should be created, the Interregent continued many dayes. The Interregent and the Senate laboured, that there should be an Election of Consuls: the Tribuns on the other side, and their feeling they were to confer the one office or the other, upon the Nobles, increased to strive in more: and also the chief of the Comitiens, chose rather to have that Election, wherein they should not be once propounded, than wherein they were sure to take the repulse, as unworthy. The Tribuns also gave over to contend any longer to no purpose, and without effect, seeming thereby somewhat to gratify and pleasure the LL. of the Senate. So *T. Quintus* *Barbatus* the Interregent, chose for Consuls *L. Papirius Mugilanus*, and *L. Sempronius Aruianus*. Whiles these were Consuls, the league with the Ardeates was renewed. And this is the only evidence and proof, that they were Consuls that year, for that neither in the ancient yearly records, nor in the Calendars of the Magistrates, they are found at all. I take it, because the military Tribuns were created in the beginning of that year: and therefore, although these Consuls were in their stead chosen, yet their names were left out, as if the other had remained in office the whole year.

L. Lucius Maccus affirmeth, that they are mentioned both in the composition with the Ardeates, and also in the linen books or registers in the Church of *Juno Moneta*. Albeit there had been so many terrors and bravados, threatened from the borderers, yet both abroad and at home, all was quiet. And whether Tribuns only, or Consuls also chosen in the room of Tribuns governed in this year: certain it is, that the next following, had Consuls *M. Geganius Maccerius* the second time, and *T. Quintus Capitolinus* the first time. This was the very year when the Censors office came up first. A thing that role of a small beginning: which notwithstanding afterwards increased to that height, that it had government of the manners and discipline of the Romans: and under the jurisdiction thereof, the Senate and Centuries of the order of knights, the distinction of worship and shameful disgrace, were reduced. Likewise, the survey of publick and private Edifices, and dissection of that office. The beginning of which thing arose upon this occasion: For that the people in many years space had not been assessed and numbered, and seeing the Censile could leisure to go about and accomplish that business: the Senate therefore made a motion, that the charge being painful, and not for the Majesty of Consuls to buy themselves in, required a special Magistrate, and a peculiar officer by it self. Under whom should attend the Secretaries and Clerks: who likewise should have the keeping and charge of the rolls and publick records: and at whose discretion should pass the seditious and instruments of all Assessments. The Senators therefore accepted gladly of this overture, although it were but a trifling matter: yet because there should be the more Magistrates of the Nobility. Supposing (I waver) it would come to pass as (it proved indeed) that shortly the power and wealth of those, who bare the office, should win more authority and credit unto the thing. Yea, and the Tribuns also made no great ado, but suffered it to pass, being an office (as it was in truth, no other at that time) rather of necessity and attendance, than of new port, or honor: because they would not seem to be cross and peevish in every small matter. When as therefore this dignity was of the principall of the City received, the people by their voices chose to that Office, *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, of whose Consulship there was some doubt: to the end, that by that office they might supply and make up

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indifferently among all, by forcing every man to confesse what corn he had, to open his garners, to bring it forth, to vent and sell that, which he had more then would serve a month. But when by this practise, and by demanding servants a portion of their daily food, and by accusing the corn-mungers and exposing them to the furious ire of the people, he had with all his hard courtes and sharp inquisitions rather laid open then eased the present need and necessity: many of the common people despairing of all hope, rather then they would live thus miserably tormented, pining and wearing away in hunger, covered their heads, and threw themselves headlong into *Tiber*. Then *Sp. Melius* by calling a Knight or Gentleman of *Rome*, a man (as in those days) exceeding rich, enterprised a thing, commodious I must needs say, but a dishonest precedent of dangerous consequence, and proceeding of a worse mind and intent of his. For having with his own money bought up the corn out of *Hetruria* by the means of his friends and vassals, whose ministry he used: which thing I believe verily was an hindrance that all the publick care and providence took small effect, and nothing heaped the general want and scarcity, he devised to bring up a free dole and distribution of corn: and to the end that when he had once by this benefit and liberality won the hearts of the Commons, then he might, what way soever he went carrying a port and majesty with him above the degree of a private person, draw after him a train of the people, promising him by their favour of support, undoubted and assured hope of a Consulship. But himself (as mans nature is unsatiable) not content herewith, aspired to higher matters then fortune promised him, and those unlawful, and beyond his reach. And for as much as even the very Consulship was to be wrested from the Nobles against their wills, he plotted to make himself a King, and thought that, the only guerdon due for so deep reaches and designs, and worthy that great contention and strife which he was to abide with much toil and sweat of brows. Now drew the Election on apace for Consuls, which thing prevented him afore he had brought his devices to full ripeness and perfection. Consul was created *L. Quintus Capitolinus* the sixth time, a man most unfit for his turn, that should go about innovations and to change the state and with him was joined *Agrippa Menenius*, furnished *Laenas*. And *L. Minutius*, was either made again the master vicualler, or else created he was at first without limitation of time, to continue so long as the case should require. For there is no certainty thereof, but only the name of Corn-master, recorded both years in the linen Books or Registers among other Magistrates. This *Minutius* was vigilant and as careful for the Common weal, as *Melius* for his private wealth: and upon occasion that men of the same quality to wit, the Commons, were conversant in both houses, namely, in his own and in the house of *Melius*, he came to the knowledge by their means, of *Melius* his treason: and declared unto the Senat the whole complot. Namely, That there was armor and weapons good store, carried into the house of *Melius*: that he kept conventicles there, and made seditious Orations, and that it was past all peradventure that he practised to be King. As for the time of working the feat and to put it into action, as yet it was not determined and certainly known: all other things were already agreed upon, *Item*, that the Tribuns were bribed and hired to sell and betray the liberty of the City: That to certain Captains of the multitude divers charges were appointed. And herewithal, he excaused himself (and said) That because he would not be reputed the author of any uncertain or vain intelligence, he uttered these matters somewhat M with the late, and late well-neer, then might stand with the common safety of the Weal-publick. Which news after they were heard, and that on every side the chief Senators had given both the Cof, or the former year a check; for that they had suffered those Largestes of corn, and tolerated meetings of the Commons in a private house: and rebuked the new Consuls also, for that they had stayed so long and waited till a matter of so great importance was by the corn-master detected and declared unto the Senate, which required a Cof, to be not only the informer, but also the reformer: Then *T. Quintius* answered, That the Consuls were blamed without just cause, who being bridled with the laws of appealing, tending to the great prejudicing and dismantling of their sovereign government, had not commission sufficient by virtue of their place, to punish the thing according to the hainousness and quality thereof, as they had courage and heart thereto: N and that there was need now, not only of a valiant and stout man, but also of one that was freed from all bonds of laws and tied to none. And therefore he would name *L. Quintus* for Dictator: in whom there was courage answerable to that absolute authority. When all men liked well thereof, *Quintius* himself at the first refused: demanding what they meant, to object and expose him, an unwelcome to farstep in years, to great trouble, and manifest danger. Afterwards, when as they replied on all hands, and alleged how in that heart of his for all his age there was more valour, and in his head more policy then in all men besides: heaping on him right due and deserved praises, and commendations: and whilst the Consul also importuned him still and gave not over: then *Cincinatus*, after he had prayed to the gods immortal, that his decrepit old age in so fearful a case, might not turn either to the loss or dishonor of the Common wealth, was by O the Consul pronounced Dictator. And he forthwith nominated *C. Servilius* *Hala* General of the horsemen. The morrow after, when he had set and disposed certain guards in divers places of the City, and was come down into the common place, the common people wondering at the strangeness of the matter, had their eyes upon him: and the adherents and complices of *Melius*, and he himself their Captain, saw well that the force and power of this so great a magistrate was bent against them. But they that were not acquainted with those plots and designs that tended to the setting up of a King, asked one another, what tumult or sudden war, should require either a Dictators

A Dictators majesty, or that *Quintius* after four score years of age, should be the only Ruler of the City. With that, *Servilius* the General of the horsemen was by the Dictator sent to *Melius*: Who said unto him, The Dictator calleth thee. Whereat he being afraid, asked again, What he would? and *Servilius* said, That he was to make his answer and purgation, of a crime that *Minutius* had informed against him, before the Senat. Then *Melius* began to retire himselfe back into the rout of his followers, and looking about at the first, shrunk only away from him, and related to obey. At the last the Apparitor at the general of the horsemen's commandment, began to force him to go with him: but he being refused by the standers by, found his feet and began to fly, and brought the aid of the Commonalty of *Rome*: saying, That the faction of the Nobles conspired his overthrow, and persecuted him for the good he had done unto the Commons, and for his liberality bequeathed upon them: beseeching them to help him in that extremity, and not to suffer him to be murdered afore their face and in their very sight. As he spake these words, *Il-la Servilius* overtook him, and killed him out-right: and being sprinkled with his blood thus slain, and guarded with a company of tall Gentlemen of the Nobility, he brought word to the Dictator, how *Melius* being cited to come unto him, put back the Apparitor, and raised the multitude: and now had suffered due punishments for his delicts. Then (quoth the Dictator) On forth in this valor and virtue of thine, O *C. Servilius*, thou deservest great praise, and hast delivered the Common-wealth this day from tyranny. Then as the multitude murmured and made a stir upon some doubt, what they should think of the fact, and what might be the occasion thereof: he commanded them to asseemble together, and openly avowed the deed, and pronounced that *Melius* was justly slain: yea, albeit he had been clear from seeking to be King: for that being summoned and convened before the Dictator, and that by the General of the horsemen, he refused and came not: "for my self (quoth he) was set judicially to examine and enquire of the cause: and "upon the trial thereof, *Melius* should have sped no worse then his cause desired: but the Dictator, "because he went about by violence to withdraw himself from judgment, by violence "therefore was he restrained. Neither was he to be proceeded against as a Citizen, who "being born in a free state, where justice and law were in force: and in that City, where- "out he was not ignorant that the KK, were sometimes expelled: and where in one and "the same year, *Collatinus* sisters sons, and the sons of that Cof, that was deliverer of "his Country, detected of a complot and conspiracy of receiving again into the City the "KK, blood, were by their own father beheaded: out of which City, *Tarquinius Col-* *latinus* Cof: for the detestation only of the name, being commanded to give up his office, "suffered exile: in which City, many years after *Sp. Cassius* for practising and plotting only "to be King, suffered condigne punishment: wherein also of late time, the Decemvirs, "for a tyrannical pride, where deprived of their goods, banished their country, and bereft "of their lives. That in the same City (I say) *Sp. Melius* should conceive any hope "of reaching to a Kingdom? And a man (I pray you) of what quality and condition? And "yet, no gentility of birth, no dignities nor delicts were sufficient to make way to any "for lordly rule and tyranny. Howbeit, the *Clundius* and *Cassius*, by reason of the Consul- "ships and Decemvirships of their own, by reason of the honourable estate and reputati- "on of their ancestors, and the worship and glory of their lineage, took upon them, be- "came haughty and proud, and aspired to that, whereunto *Sp. Melius* had no such means "to induce him: who might have sit him down, well enough, and rather wished and "prayed to God, then hoped once for so much, as a Tribuneship of the Commons. And "supposed he, being but a rich corn-master, that with a quart (or measure of corn of "two pounds) he had bought the freedom of his fellow Citizens? or thought he by ca- "sting morsels of bread and victuals afore the common sort, that the victorious people, "conquerors of all nations about them, might be allured into thralldom? and whom the "City could hardly brook to be a Senator, him they should endure their King, to have "the regal ensigns and the government of *Romulus*, the first founder of the City, de- "scended first from the gods, and to them ascended up again: why, it was a thing, not so "wicked as monstrous. Neither was this yet sufficiently satisfied for, with the shedding "of his blood, unless the house and walls, within which so horrible madness was conceived "and forged, were cast down and razed: and unless these goods, which were tainted and "infected with the prices and hire that should have purchased the Kingdom, were forfeit "and confiscated. He commanded therefore the Quetors, to sell those goods, and "to bring the money into the common Treasury. And then he called forth with his dwell- "ing house to be overthrown and made even with the ground, that the plot or floor the roof, "might be a monument of a wicked attempt, smothered and stifled in the very hope and "hatching thereof. This is the place which was called afterwards *Aquilum*. As for *L. Minutius* he had an Ox with gilded horns given him for an honour and reward without the gate *Trigemini*. The Commons therewith were not discontented, for that to them he divided *Melius* his corn, at the price of one *As* a *Modius*. Among some others I find

The Oration
of *Quintius*
to the people
of *Rome*.

S. A. Appi

* Three far-
things Engl.
* *Modius*, a Ro-
man measure,
containing a peck
within a pint, or the
fourth part of
a bushell.
* *Trigemini*,
three times.

I find, that this *Minutius* forsook the Nobles and went to the Commons, and was taken up to be the eleventh Tribune of the Commons, and appealed the mutiny that arose upon *Mellius* his death. But it was not like that the Senators suffered the number of the Tribunes to be encreased; and especially, that such an example should be given and taken up by a man of their coat: or that the commonality would not keep it still, if it had been once allowed, or at leastwise attempt it again. But above all, this consuetude and reproveh the false title of *Tribune* set upon his image, for that a few years before, it was by a statute expressly provided, That Tribunes might not chule and take unto them a Colleague in office, *Q. Caelius*, and *Q. Junius*, and *Sextus Titinius* were the only men of all the College of Tribunes that propounded not the Law for the honour of *Minutius*, but rather added unto the Commons, both *Minutius* and *Servilius*, and ceased not to make complaint of the cruel and unworthy death of *Mellius*: and in fine prevailed so much, that there should be an election for military Tribunes rather than for Consuls: nothing doubting, but if six were chosen (for so many at that time might be created) some of the Commons also, by promising to revenge the death of *Mellius*, might step in and be elected. The Commons for all they were called that year with many and sundry troubles, chose no more than three Tribunes with Consuls authority: and among them, *L. Quintus* the son of *Cincinatus*: Upon the hard conceit and hatred of whose Dictatorship past, they thought to pick some occasion of quarrel and tumult: and *Mamercus Emilius*, a man of great credit and reputation, was by voices preferred afore *Quintus*, and obtained the first place. And *L. Julius* they created for the third.

Tullius
murdereth the
Roman Em-
bassadors.

While these bare sovereign rule, *Fidene* the Colony of the Romans, revolted to *Lars Tullianus*, the King of the Veientians, and to the State of the Veientians. And besides their revolting, a more horrible fact they committed. For at the commandment of *Alumnus*, they slew *C. Falcianus*, and *C. Julius*, *Sp. Nautius*, and *L. Roscius* the Roman Embassadors, who came to demand the cause of this their change and sudden alteration. Some here do excole and elevate the act of the King, saying that upon a iuxty cast of dice he uttered a doubtful speech, which was by the Fidenatians so taken, as though he seemed to bid the Embassadors to be killed, and that (forsooth) was the occasion of murdering the Embassadors (a thing incredible, that at the coming in of the Fidenatians, his new allies, who were to consult with him and ask his advice, about a murder that should break the law of Nations, his mind should not be turned away from earnest studying about his game) and so this hainous fact proveth to be but an error. More credible it is, that he had a further meaning and deeper reach: namely, that the people of the Fidenatians should be bound unto him, and only rely upon him, being attaint with the guiltinesse of so foul a murder, and not to look and hope for any mercy or favour at the Romans hands. The statues of these Embassadors which were at *Fidene* murdered, were set up openly at the charges of the City in the *Rostra*. [A pulchre crosse (as it were) or pulpit in Rome, one of which the Magistrates made. Orators to the people, beautified with the beakheads of ships, and their brazen pikes called *Rostra*.] Thus was there like to be a cruel conflict with the Veientians, and Fidenates. M. Who besides that they were people confining on their frontiers, had also in the beginning of their war given so wicked and horrible a cause of quarrel. Therefore when as the common people and their Tribunes, in regard of the care for the publick State, were at quiet: there was no question, but that *M. Gargamis Macerius* the third time, and *L. Sergius Fidenas* (named I suppose so, upon the war which afterwards under his conduct was fought) should be created Consuls. For this man first encountered with the King of the Veientians on this side *Anio*, and gat the victory: but not without much bloodshed of the Romans. So that the grief was greater for the loss of his own souldiers, than the joy for the discomfite of his enemies. And the Senate, as in all fearful times and dangerous occurrences, ordained *Mamercus Emilius* to be created Dictator. Who, out of the brotherhood of Tribunes military in Consuls authority, the year before, named for the General of his horsemen, *L. Quintus Cincinatus*, who had been a Tribune with him, a toward young Gentleman, and a worthy son of so worthy a father. To those souldiers that were by the Consul mulstered and levied, were the old Centurions, experienced and skilful warriors, adjoined: and the number of those, which in that last battel were slain, was supplied. The Dictator commanded to follow him as Lieutenants, *Quintus Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*. This greater power and authority, and the man likewise nothing thereto inferior, drove the enemies out of the Roman ground, and set them farther off, even beyond *Anio*. Who removing their camp still backward, seized upon the hills between *Fidene* and *Anio*: neither durst they come down from thence into the open plains, before that the Legion of the *Falisci* came to succour. Then at length, the Tuscans encamped themselves under the walls of *Fidene*. And the Roman Dictator likewise rested and abode upon the banks of the Confluent (where both rivers run into one) and flanked himself thereby. And when he had cast up a trench and rampart afront, reaching across from the one river to the other, the morrow after he brought his power forth, and set them in order of battel. The enemies

* A river now
called *Tiberis*.

Amies were of sundry minds. The *Faliscians*, who hardly could away long with military service farre from home, and truffling withal in their own selves, that they were good enough, required battel. The *Veientians* and *Fidenates* had more hope in drawing out the war on length. *Tullianus*, albeit the advice of his own men liked him better, yet because the *Faliscians* should not endure lingering warfare, sendeth a trumpet, and proclameth battel against the morrow. The Dictator and the Romans: for that the enemies for the present shifted off fight, took more heart unto them: and on the next morning, when as now the souldiers gave out brave words, and menaced, That unless they might have battel, they would assault both the Camp and the Town: the armies of both parts came forth into the middle of the plain, between the two Camps. The *Veientians*, as being more in number and having to spare, sent covertly out certain companies to lecha compals behind the Hills, who in the time of the conflict should set upon the Roman Camp. And in this order stood the main Army of three Nations together embattelled. The *Veientians* kept the right point, the *Faliscians* the left, and the *Fidenates* the middle of the battel. The Dictator in the right point advanced his standard against the *Faliscians*, and on the left *Captianus Quintus* charged the *Veientians*: and against the main battel between both, marched the Colonel of the Cavalry, with his Cornets of horse. Thus as they stood arranged in battel array, for a pretty while was there silence on either side, and all quiet. For neither would the Tuscans begin first, unless they were urged: And the Dictator looked ever and anon backward toward the Capitol of *Rome*, that the Angurs should set up a signal aloft (as it was agreed between them) so soon as the sight of fowls gave approbation accordingly: which he no sooner espied, but he put out presently the men of arms, with a great shout against the enemies. The army of the footmen followed hard after in the tail, and seconded them with a lusty charge. But on no hand were the Tuscan legions able to abide the force of the Romans. The Cavalry stood hardest to it, and made head still. For the King himselfe, the best horseman and most valiant of them all, when as on every side his enemies charged and pressed fore upon him, rode aiong them, held out and maintained fight. There chanced then to be among the Roman horsemen, a Tribune or Marshal, one *A. Cornudius Cossus*, a goodly tall man of body, and as valiant and strong withal, whoeif before his eyes the noble house from whence he was descended, and carried this mind, as it was right honourable already by his ancestors left him, so to recommend the fame to his posterity more glorious and renowned. This man seeing the troops of Romans waying to and fro, for fear of the violence of *Tullianus*, which way soever he bent and turned: and knowing him by his rich and royal furniture, wherein he bare himself like a brave Knight, riding all over the battel, "Is this (quoth he) the forsworn breaker of humane league, is this he that hath violated the laws of arms, and of nations? Now will I presently, if it be Gods will that any thing in the world should remain wholly and inviolate, be his Priest, I will sacrifice and betake him to the ghosts of our Embassadors, deceased. Herewith, setting spurs to his horse, with bent spear in rest, he rode full against that one enemy, singled from the rest: smote him, and dismounted him from his horse. Then being upon his flail, alight presently on foot, and as the King was getting up again, he overthrew him backward with the bolis of his target, and laid him stretching long & after many wounds given him, at length fastned him with his spear to the very ground. And when as he was once dead, he disarmed and dispoiled him, and struck off his head: and carrying it aloft on his lance, presented a fearful spectacle to the enemies of their King slain, and to discomfited them. Thus was the strength of the horsemen decleated also, which only had made the battel doubtful. The Dictator having put likewise the legions of footmen to flight, pursued them still, and drove them to their fort, killing them all the way in the chase. Many of the Fidenates which knew the coats of the Country, fled into the mountains, and escaped. *Cossus* with his horsemen passed over *Tiber*, and brought home into the City a great booty out of the country of the *Veientians*. As this battel was in fighting, there was skinnish also in the Roman camp, with that part of the forces, which (as it is afore said) was sent by *Tullianus* to surprise it. *Fabius Vibulanus* first defended the rampart, ordering his men all within, in compals like a garland: and while the enemies were wholly bent about the assault, he with the *Triarii* or souldiers of the reeward, suddenly issued forth at the gate, called *Principalis*, on the right hand, and gave an hot charge upon them: Upon which they were affrighted, but there ensued the less slaughter, because the number was smaller. Howbeit, they fled no lesse in disarray, than those in the very battel. Thus the Dictator having prosperous success every where, returned with triumph into the City, by the decree of the Senat, and grant of the people. In which triumphs the greatest show and goodliest sight of all, was *Cossus*, bearing the rich and royal spoils of the King, slain by his own hand. For of him the souldiers chanted divers rude ballads without time and metre, comparing him in their songs with *Romulus*, which spoils with a solemn manner of dedication he bestowed and hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, neer unto those of *Romulus*, which

were the first and only spoils, until that time, called *Opima Spolia*. And as he went he withdrew from the Dictators chariot, the eyes of all the people unto himself, and hee in manner alone, carried away the magnificence and glory of that festive day. The Dictator by order from the people, presented in the Capitol for the honour of *Jupiter*, a golden Crown, weighing one pound weight, raised out of the common money of the City.

* 36. lib. Aeri.
in angli gold.

Thus have I set down (as following all other writers before me) that *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, a Colonel or Marshal, brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the second royal spoils. Howbeit, over and besides, that those spoils onely are by right accounted *Opima*, or royal, which a General hath taken from a General, and we acknowledge none for General, but him under whose conduct an high Commission a war is managed, the very title also written upon the spoils, doth check and reprove both them and me. The words whereof are these, [*Titus Cossus being Consul, won those spoils.*] When I once heard say, that *Augustus Caesar* himself, the founder or repairer of all Temples, entered into the house of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which he re-edified, being by injury of long time fallen to decay, and read it to written in a linen Jack or Curuze: I thought it little better then sacrilege, to discredit and cancel the testimony of *Cossus* himself concerning his own spoils, and of *Augustus Caesar*, the benefactor of that very Temple. Which error, if it grow hereon, That so ancient Records and Chronicles, and that the Books of the Magistrates, which being of linen, and laid up in the Temple of *Moneta*, *Maecur Licinius* doth very often quote and K cite as his Authors, do represent unto us *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, the seventh year after Consul, with *Titus Quintius Pennus*: let every man abound in his own sense, and have his opinion by himself freely. For more then all this may be alleged to prove, that so famous a battle could not be transferred to that year: because that for three years space about the Consulship of *Cossus*, there was no war at all, in a manner, by reason of pestilence and death of corn: so as some records, as it were, mourning, and bewraying the calamity of the time, deliver unto us nothing but the bare names of the Consuls. In the third year, after that *Cossus* was Consul, he was military Tribun in Consuls authority, and in the same year General of the horsemen also: in which government he fought another notable battle with horsemen. But hereof a man may conjecture and guesse what he will. L But (as I think) we may toise these things of small importance to and fro, according to every mans opinion: and when all is done, the author of this battle his own selfe, having set up these fresh and new spoils in a holy place, in the sight of *Jupiter* himselfe standing thereby, to whom they were vowed, and *Romulus* also, two witnesses, not to bee despised nor abused with a false title, hath written himself, [*A. Cornelius Cossus Consul.*]

When *Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis* and *Papirius Crassus* were Consuls, the Armies were led forth: the one into the Veientians Country, and the other into the Faliscians, and booties both of people and cattel were from thence driven and carried away. As for the enemies themselves, no where in the Country were they to be seen, nor any battle was M fought: and yet for all that, the towns were not assailed, because the people at home died of the pestilence. And within the City, *Sp. Melius* Tribune of the Commons fought occasions and pretences to move seditions, but without effect. Who supposing by the popular favour of his name to prevail and raise some mutiny, both arrested *Minutius* to make his answer, and also put up a bill for the confiscation of the goods of *Servilius Hala*: laying hard to *Minutius* his charge, that *Melius* was falsely accused and circumvented by him: and burdening *Servilius* with the murdering of a Citizen uncondemned. All these fumes were with the people of less credit and importance, than the author himselfe. But the violence of the sickness still increasing more and more, troubled them: besides the fearful and strange prodigious tokens: but especially, the fresh news that divers houses in the N Country were by many earthquakes cast down. Whereupon the people went in solemn procession and made their supplications, whiles the *Duumvir* going afore pronounced prayers, and the people said after him word for word. But the year following, when C. *Julius* the second time, and L. *Virginus* were Consuls, was more contagious by reason of the plague, and caused both in Town and Country, so great a fear of utter desolation, that not only there were none set forth in any roads without the territory of *Rome* to raise booties, whiles the Nobility and Commons had no mind of making war: but the Fidenates also of their own accord, who before time had kept themselves either within their Towns, or Mountains, or Fortresses, entered now into the lands about *Rome*, and foraged all the Country. After this, having gotten also unto them a power of the Veientians (for the Faliscians could not be induced either by the calamity of the Romans, or prayers of their confederates, to take arms again) these two Nations passed over *Anio*, and not far from the gate *Collina* displayed their ensignes. So the fear was no lesse within the City than in the Country. Then *Julius* the Consul bringeth the forces abroad, and placeth them upon the rampart and the

A the walls: whilest *Virginus* assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Quirinus*, for to ask their opinion. Where agreed it was, to create for Dictator, *A. Servilius*, (turnamed (as some say) *Priscus*, or as other, *Sirnitus*, *Virginus* making no longer stay than until he had consulted with his Colleague, by his permission declared the Dictator in the night season. And he nominated for his General of the Cavalry, *Posthumus Ebutius Helius*. The Dictator commanded every man to be ready without the gate *Collina*, by the break of day: and so many as were able to bear arms were in a readinesse. The Standards and Ensignes were taken forth of the treasury or chamber of the City and brought to the Dictator. Whiles chide things were in doing, the enemies were retired and withdrawn to the higher grounds and B and places of advantage: and thither marked the Dictator with his army in order of battle. And encountering with them not far from *Nomentum*, he discomfited the legions of the Tuicans, and drave them into the town of *Fidene*, and cast a trench about it. But neither could the town be scaled for the high rise thereof and the strong walls about it: and to lay siege unto it might not avail: for that they had corn not only to suffice the ordinary need of men belieged, but also plenty to spare, of their old store and provision gathered aforehand. Thus the Dictator, being without all hope both of winning it by assault, and also of forcing them to yield by composition, purposed in certain places for the neednesse to him well known, at the backside of the City which was slenderly guarded, most neglected, and for the natural situation the surest, to undermine unto the Cattle. And he himself in places farthest off from thence, approached close under the walls, with his army divided into four parts, to successe one another by turns in order: and so, by continual skirmishing day and night, he kept the enemies at a bay and withdrew them from all relieving and intelligence of the work under ground: until such time as by digging through the hill from the Camp, there was a way and passage made straight up into the Cattle. And when as the Tuicans were wholly amused upon the vain threatnings, and bravado's of their enemies before them, nothing minding the present danger wherein they stood: behold, the alarm of their enemies even over their heads, made an out-cry, that the town was taken. In this year Cn. *Furius Pacilinus* and M. *Geganus Maecurinus*, Centors, appointed and dedicated the Large Hall, named *Villa Publica* in *Mars* field: and there first by them was held the Sessing and numbering of the people. I find in *Maecur Licinius*, that in the year following, the same Consuls were made again, namely, *Julius* the third time, and *Virginus* the second time. But *Valerius Antias* and Q. *Tubero*, do name M. *Maenius* and Q. *Sulpicius* for the Consuls that year. Howbeit in so different report, both *Tubero* and *Maecur* protest that they followed the linen Records: and neither of them both conceal that which the ancient writers have set down, namely, That the same year were Tribuns military, in Consuls authority. *Licinius* without doubt is added to those linen Registers, and *Tubero* is uncertain of the truth. But among other antiquities, not known by reason of long time, this also is left in doubt and not cleared.

After the winning of *Fidene*, great was the fear in *Hetruria*: whilest not only the Veientians were scared, fearing the like destination: but the *Falisci* also, remembering there began first with them, albeit they were not assitant in their rebellion. When as therefore these two States had sent their Embassadors abroad to the twelve Cities about them, and obtained a Diet or General Parliament of all *Hetruria* should be assembled at the Temple of *Vaturnus*: the Senat, as if some great troubles were like thereof presently to ensue, thought good that *Mamercus Aemilius* should be created Dictator the second time. By whom, *A. Posthumus Tubero* was named General of the horsemen. And with so much greater endeavor made they preparation of arms than in the last war afore, by how much more danger there was from all *Hetruria* banded together, than had been from two nations combined and no more. But this business was much more quiet than all men looked for. When F as therefore news came by Merchants, that the Veientians were flatly denied help, and bidden to do that war by their own means and forces, which they had begun on their own heads: nor seek to embark them in the association of their misery and adversity, unto whom they had not imparted their mind & hope in their upright state, and when they were in their height: then the Dictator, to the end he should not seem to be created in vain, seeing all matter of acquiring renown by war was cut off, desirous yet in time of peace, to doe some notable piece of work for a monument, set forth in hand to abate and diminish the Cenforship: either supposing it to be too high an office, or else offended not so much with the greatness of the honour, as with the continuance and length thereof. Having therefore assembled all the people together: "For as much as the immortal Gods (quoth he) have under G taken to govern the Common-Weale abroad, and performed all safe and iure: I for my part concerning that which is to be done at home within the walls, will take order and provide for the freedom of the people of *Rome*. The greatest preservation, and defence whereof resteth in this, when offices of great command are not long enduring: but when they be limited by term of time which may not be restrained or gaged in jurisdiction. As for

Fidene won by
a Stratagem

Villa Publica.

A General Diet
of all twelve
cities at *Favum
Vaturnus*.
* *Vaturnus* at
this day, as it
is thought.
Orel.

The Oration
of *Mamercus
Aemilius*, to the
people.

The office of Censors reduced from the term of five years, to one, and an halt.

Mamercus C. pulius disinfranchised and made *Erarii*.

Tribuns Military in Consul's room, chosen again.

"for other magistracies they are from year to year: but this of the Censors continuing five years, is very heavy and grievous. And hard it is for men to live so many years, even a great part of their life, in danger of the same Rulers still. Minded therefore I am, to propose a law. That the Censorship continue no longer than one year and six months. With great applause and consent of the people, the next day after, he both published the law and enacted it. And now that ye may (quoth he) O *Quirites*, know in very deed, how I mislike of these long lasting offices, here presently I render up my Dictatorship. Thus having given over his own place, let a limitation to the rule of others, and absolutely ended one, with exceeding congratulation and favour of the people he was brought home to his house. The Censors taking it grievously that *Mamercus* had abridged an office of the people of *Rome*, displaced him from his own Tribe, laying on him an eightfold tax in the ludi of *Rome*, disfranchised and disabled him from giving his voice, and made him no better than a Tributary. Which disgrace (they say) he took with a noble stomach, looking rather to the cause of this shameful note, than to the ignominy it self. Moreover, the Lords of the Senate, albeit they were willing enough that the Censorship nails should be pared and their power taken down, were offended yet, with this example of the rigour and severity of those in place: for as much as they all saw plainly, that they should be both longer time and outlive under Censors, then Censors themselves. But so great an indignation of the people (by report) grew hereof, that by the authority of no man but of *Mamercus* himself, could they be restrained from offering violence to the very persons of the Censors. And the Tribuns of the Commons, with their continual Orations and Remonstrances, prohibited the Election of Consuls. When as the matter was well near brought to the point of an Interregnum, they obtained at length with much strife and contention, that there should be military Tribuns chosen, with Consular authority. But reward of this their victory, wherewith they floored, could they get none: namely, that a Commoner might be chosen for one. They were all of the Nobility that were created, to wit, *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, *M. Folin*, and *L. Sergius Fidenas*.

The plague that year was the occasion of quietness from all other troubles. A Temple then was vowed to *Apollo* for the health of the people. Howbeit, great loils was there both in town and country, by the mortality of men and murrain of cattle, one with another indifferently. And fearing lest the husbandmen of the country should be furnished, they sent for corn into *Hetruria* and the country of *Pomptinus*, to *Cumes*, and at last even into *Sicily*. And not a word all this while about the election of Consuls. So there were military Tribuns elected, with Consular authority, all again of the *Patritii*, namely, *L. Pinarius Mamercus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *Sp. Posthumius Albus*. That year the violence of the sickness abated: neither was there any danger or fear of scarcity of Corn, because they had made provision beforehand. Great sitting and consultation there was in the general Diets of the Volscians and *Equians*, and in *Hetruria* at the aforesaid Temple of *Votumina* about making war. There, the matter was put off for one whole year: and by an Act or Decree it was provided, that no Assembly or Parliament during that time should be held: notwithstanding the *M* people of the *Veientians* complained but all in vain, that the same fortunes were like to happen unto *Vetii*, which had fallen already upon *Fidene*, even the utter subversion of the State. In this mean season, at *Rome* the chiefs heads of the Commons having aspired and gaped now a long time, but still in vain, after higher place of dignity and honour, took their vantage while all was quiet abroad, and began to have their convencicles and meetings in the houses of the Tribunes, and there entertained secret Counsels. Some complained that they were much despised of the common people: for whereas in so many years, There were Tribunes Military created with Consular authority, yet never was there any one of the Commonalty advanced to that Dignity. Our forefathers (say they) in great wisdom and deep fore-nest, have done well to take order, that none of the Nobility at any time should have access to any office of the Commonalty: for if that were not, the Commons should have had ere this some of the *Patritii* for their Tribuns: so odious are we become to those of our own coat, and are as little set by of the Commons as of the Nobles. Others excused the people, and laid the fault upon the Senators: by whose ambition, by whose crafty fetches and subtil policies it came to passe, that the Commons were stopped from the highway to advancement and promotion. But if the Commons might have any relief or breathing time, and not be solicited and tempted by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember themselves and those of their own calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten assistance unto them, would also win the highest pitch and sovereign type of authority. For the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices, they agree and resolve, that the Tribuns should prefer and publish a Law, that no man might wear white more then ordinary, or refresh the bright hue of his upper garment, while he sued for any dignity. A small matter now adays, and may seem scarcely worth the debating in serious council, and

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A not be solicited and tempted by their prayers interlaced with threats: they would remember themselves and those of their own calling, in giving of their voices: and having once gotten assistance unto them, would also win the highest pitch and sovereign type of authority. For the abolishing therefore of this ambitious seeking and standing for offices, they agree and resolve, that the Tribuns should prefer and publish a law, that no man might wear white more then ordinary, or refresh the bright hue of his upper garment, while he sued for any dignity. A small matter now adays and may seem scarcely worth the debating in serious council, which notwithstanding at that time, for both nobles and commons in a great heat of contention. Yet obtained the Tribuns so much, that this law passed: and it appeared, that the Commons when their blood was once up, would assert their own, and wholly in line to them in their outrages. But to the end that they might not have their full scope and put it in practice, an Act of the Senate was, that there should be held an Election of Consuls. The occasion thereof, arose from the *Equians* and *Volscians*. *T. Quintus Cincinnatus*, the son of *Lucius* (surnamed also *Pennus*) and *C. Julius Mento* were elected Consuls. Neither was this fearful news of war entertained any longer. For the enemies having by a far-cred law (which amongst them was of greatest force to levy an army) mustered their power, set forth two mighty armies from both parts, into *Algidum*, and there met. Where the *Equians* and *Volscians*, feverally by themselves encamped strongly, and more earnestly studied the Captains to fortify their camps, and to train and exercise their soldiery, than at any time afore. Whereupon, the news was more fearful that the messengers brought to *Rome*. So the Senate agreed to create a Dictator. For, although those nations oftentimes had been vanquished by them, yet now they rebelled in more forcible manner, and with preparation, than at any time before. Alas, by reason of the late sickness, the youth and flower of the Romans was fore diminished. But above all, the private discord of the Consuls one with another, and the debate and difference in all their council terrified them most. There be that write, how these Consuls had but unlucky fortune, and lost a field in *Algidum*: and that it should be the cause of making a Dictator. But this one thing is certain, that howsoever else the Consuls disagreed, yet they jumped in one to cross the wills of the Senators, in that they would not nominate a Dictator until such time as after news brought, fill word and worse, and yet the Consuls would not be ruled by the Senators: one *Quintus Servilius Priscus*, a man, who right worthy and honourably had born the highest offices, made this speech: "My Masters, ye that are Tribuns of the Commons (quoth he) in this "exigent and desperate case, the Senate calleth for your assistance, that in so great hazard of the Common-weal, ye by virtue of your authority, would force the Consuls preemp-torily to make a Dictator. Which speech being once heard: the Tribuns supposing now they had good occasion offered, to stretch and extend their power to the full, departed aside: and in the name of their College or society, pronounced, That it was their pleasure and will, that the Consuls should be obedient unto the Senate: and in case they proceeded to do farther, then the consent of that most honourable House would bear them out, they would command them to ward. The Consuls chose rather to be over-ruled of them than of the Senate: laying yet wishal, that the prerogative of the highest government was by the Senators betrayed, and the Consulship made thrall and subject to the Tribuns' power, if so be the Consuls might be compelled to do ought by vigour of the Tribuns' authority, and (than which, a private person could fear no more) be sent aloft to ward, or committed to prison. The lot fell to *T. Quintus* (for in this also they could not agree between themselves) to nominate the Dictator: who named *A. Posthumius Tubertus*, his wives father, a grim Sir, and a man of most severe and stern government. By whom was *L. Julius* nominated for General of the Cavalry: Herewithal was proclaimed a vacation or law-sted, and that throughout the whole City they should go in hand with nothing but war. The taking knowledge of such as pretended to be freed and exempt from soldiery, was put off until the war was ended. So that they that were before doubtful, suffered themselves to be enrolled: and soldiery were levied out from the *Hernicks* and *Latins*, who from both places obeyed the Dictator to their uttermost. All these things were dispatched with exceeding expedition. Then the Dictator having left *C. Julius* the Consul, for the defence of the City, & *L. Julius* the General of the horsemen for all sudden occasions incident unto wars, that they might not be to seek for any thing whereof they had need in the camp, took with him *Anlus Cornelius* the High Priest, & laying after him certain prayers, word for word, he vowed great and flatly plays, in regard of this tumultuous and troublesome war: and thus departing from the City, and dividing his whole Army between himself and *Quintus* the Col, at length he approached the enemies. And like as they had discovered the two camps of their enemies, a little place distant one from another, so they also, about a mile from the enemy, intrenched themselves: the Dictator near to *Tuscanum*, and the Consul to *Lanuvium*. So these four Armies, and as many fortified camps, had a spacious and large plain in the middle, sufficient not only for small excursions to skirmish in, but also to display their armies of both sides. And all the time that they lay encamped

The speech of
Q. Servilius
Priscus

encamped one against another, they ceased not to make light skirmishes: for the Dictator H was well content, that his men by making proof, and comparing their strength and puissance with their enemies, and assaying by little and little to try the event of these skirmishes, should conceive a forehead some hope of the entire and general victory.

The enemies therefore having no hope left, to speed well in a set field and pight battel, assailed by night the Coniuls camp, and put all to the hazard of a doubtful issue. The sudden cry and alarm, awakened not only the Coniuls, Sentinels, his *corpo de guard*, and so his whole army, but the Dictator also out of their sleep. And where need was of present help, there failed not the Coniul, either in courage or counsel. Some souldiers ward and defend the gates, others compals the trench, ranged in a round array. In the other camp of the Dictator, look how much less stir there was, so much more leisure had they, and studied what was most needful to be done. Forth with aid was sent unto the Coniul his camp, under the leading of *Sp. P. Posthumus Albus*, a Lieutenant. The Dictator himself in person, with part of his power, fetching a small compals about, gained a place most apart from all noise and tumult, and from whence at unawares he might charge upon the back of the enemies. And leaveth as Vicegerent in the leaguer *Q. Sulpicius*: and to *M. Fabius* a Lieutenant, he committeth the conduct of the horsemen, commanding him not before day to stir with his horie, as being unruly and hard to be managed in tumults and troubles of the night. And all things else, that a provident and indolent Captain in such a case might command and do, that commanded he, and did orderly. But for one thing above the rest, he shewed singular proof of policy and courage, and worthy no mean praise: in that he sent out first *M. Geganius* with certain chosen Squadrons to assail that camp of the enemies, from whence he knew by his espials there was departed a greater part of the forces. Who after that he surprised the enemies there, amused wholly upon the event of other mens danger, careless and secure for their own selves, and therefore neglecting their scouts and guards, wan their hold, in manner before the enemies knew well it was assailed. From whence the Dictator having decried a smook (which was the signal agreed between them) crieth aloud, that the enemies camp was won, and commandeth news thereof to be carried every way. Now it waxed broad day light, and all was clearly to be seen: by which time both *Fabius* with the horsemen, had given the charge, and the Coniul also had made a fall out of the camp, upon the enemies that now already were scared. But the Dictator on the other side, charging upon the rereward and the middle battel, came on every side with his footmen, and horsemen in train of victory against the enemies: who were forced to turn round and fight every way, according to the dissonant outcries, and sudden alarms. Thus being environed round about, they had in the midst died for every one, and suffered punishment due for their rebellion, had not *Vettius Messius*, one of the Volscians, a man more renowned for his valiant acts, then noble by his parentage, rebuked with a loud voice his fellows, being ready now to cast themselves into rings, and said: "What will ye here without making your defence, without revenge, offer your selves to be devoured of the enemies sword? What

The speech of
Vettius Mes-
sius to his fel-
low souldiers.

"do you with your armour and weapons? Why began ye war first? Are you trouble-
some and unruly in peace, and cowards in war? What hope have ye in standing still?"
"Do you look for some god from Heaven to protect and deliver you? You must make
way by dint of sword. Go to then, and stick to it like men, and that way whereas ye
shall see me go afore, follow ye after, as many of you as mind to see again your home,
your parents, your wives and children. It is neither wall, nor rampart and trench, but
armed men that must withstand armed men. In valour ye are their marches, but in respect
of necessity (which is the last and strongest engine of all other) ye are the better. When he had
these words spoken, and done accordingly, with a fresh shout they followed after,
and made head to that quarter whereas *Posthumus Albus* had placed against them his cohorts:
and compelled the victors to lose ground, until such time as the Dictator came to succour his
men thus distressed, and now ready to retreat: and so he bent thither all the force of the
whole battel. In one only man, *Messius*, rested all the hope and fortune of the enemies. Many
a man was there hurt on both parts, and many a one slain outright, and left dead in the
place. So as now the very Roman Commanders fought not without bloodshed. Only *Post-
humus* being smitten with a stone, which had broken and bruised his head, went out of the
throng: for neither the Dictator, wounded as he was in the shoulder, nor yet *Fabius*, albeit
his thigh was almost nailed to his horie, nor the Coniul, for all his arm was quite cut off,
oncrented or departed out of that dangerous combat. But *Messius* amidst the enemies that
there lay dead on the earth, with a guard about him of most hardy & tall men passed through
in forble manner, and escaped clear to the Volscians leaguer, which as yet was not lost: and
so the whoe battel in lined thither. The Coniul after he had chafed them, scattered in
parties here and there, even as far as to the trench, afflicth the very camp and the rampart.
Thither also bringeth the Dictator his power to another side. Neither was the assault less hot
there then the fight was sharp afore. It is said moreover, that the Coniul threw an ensign
within therampart, to animate the souldiers, that they might more eagerly get up after it: and

The valour of
Vettius Mes-
sius a Volsci-
an.

A and so by recovering the banner again, was the first breach and entrance made. Thus the Dictator
having broken through the mure, came to close fight and hand-to-arms even within the camp.
Then began the enemies every where to fling from them their weapons, and to yield themselves
prisoners. So being themselves and their pavilions taken, they were all sold, but those of Senators
calling. Part of the pillage was reitred to the Latins and Hernicks, namely, to as many as knew
their own goods: part thereof the Dictator sold in port-sale. And leaving to the Coniul the charge
of the camp, rode himself triumphing into the City, and gave over his office. Of which his noble
and famous Dictatorship, they blemish the memorial, who write, that *A. Posthumus* (the Dicta-
tor his son, for that upon advantage offered of a fortunate service, he departed without leave from
his quarter and guard) was after his victory achieved, by his fathers Commandment beheaded.
But I list not to believe it. And lawful it is for me to do so, among so divers opinions: and a good
proof it is on my side, that such imperious and rigorous proceedings were called *Imperia Alaudina*,
and not *Posthumiana*. For like it is, that he who had given the first example of such cruelty,
should have noted after all others, that noted title of cruelty, Besides, *Messius* it was, that was
surnamed *Imperius*. But *Posthumus* is not marked with any odious note at all.

Imperia Lau-
dina.

C, *Julius* Coniul, in the absence of his Colleague, without any calling of lots, dedicated the
Temple of *Ap. Quirinus* having discharged his army, when he was returned into the City took
not that well, but it was no boot to complain in the Senat house. Moreover, in this notable year,
so full of brave and worthy acts, there is recorded one thing, that was thought in those days
nothing pertinent to the State of Rome, namely, that the Carthaginians (so great and mortal enemies
in time to come) passed the seas then first: and (upon the occasion of civil dissention and discord
among the Sicilians) with a power landed in Sicily, for to take part with a side and faction. In the
City of Rome the Tribuns of the Commons laboured, that Military Tribuns might be with Con-
suls authority chosen: but it could not be obtained. Consuls were made, *Luc. Pappus Crassus*,
and *L. Julius*. The *Aequians* Embassadors suing to the Senat for a league, and for that league,
pre-tending very often to yield themselves, and be in subjection, obtained a truce only for 8 years.
The Volscians after their overthrow in *Algidum*, fell to continual debate and contention, whilst
some persuaded peace, and others war: so long, until at length they grew to brawls and mutinies.
So on every side the Romans were at rest. The Coniuls understanding that the Tribuns of the
D Commons were comploted (for one false brother among them betrayed and detected all) to
put up a bill, and make a law, concerning the estimation of fines and penalties (a thing right plea-
sing and acceptable to the people) they themselves prevented them, and preferred it. Then were
Consuls, *L. Sergius Fidenas*, the second time, and *Hosius Lucretius Tricipitinus*. In whose year
nothing was there done worthy of rehearsal. After them succeeded Consuls, *A. Cornelius Cossus*,
and *Tiberius Quintus Pennus* the second time. The Veientians made rodes into the lands of the Ro-
mans. And a rumor went, that some of the Fidenatian youths were accellary unto them, and
had their hands therein. For which were appointed as Commissioners to make inquisition, *L.
Sergius, Quintus Servilius*, and *Mamercus Emilius*. Some of them were confined to *Hosius*, for
that they could make no found excuse, and justify their absence for certain days out of *Fidene*. So
the number of the inhabitants there, was increased: and their lands, who were slain in the wars,
assigned unto them.

An act for
fines and pe-
nalties.

In that year hapned an exceeding great drouth. For not only there wanted rain water from a-
bove, but also the very earth lacking her natural moisture, scarcely sufficed to maintain the run-
ning stream in main rivers. The scarcity of water besides about springs that were dried up, and
the small rivulets and brooks caused a great death and mortality of cattel for default of drink:
whereof some died of the scab: by contagion whereof the people also were diseased generally.
The malady first began among the rural sort, the bond-slaves and bonds: and afterwards spread
into every corner of the City. Neither were men only rained and diseased with this infection:
but their minds also were troubled and possessed with sundry sorts of superstitious religious, and
F those for the most part strange and forrain: whilst upon vain and foolish prophecies, they brought
new rites and ceremonies of sacrificing into mens houses: and made good gain of such as were
given to superstitions devotion, and made conscience of every little thing: until such time as
now it grew to a public offence, and the chief of the City were ashamed to see in every street and
chappel, strange and unaccustomed purgatory sacrifices and expiations, for to procure the favour
and mercy of the gods. Whereupon the *Aediles* late in charge and commision, to look straight-
ly to this disorder: and that no other gods were worshipped, then those of the Romans: nor after
any other manner than had been usual in their native country. So their anger against the Veien-
tians, and desire of revenge, was put off unto the next year following, when *C. Servilius Hala*,
and *L. Pappus Maquilinus* were Consuls. And even then, they made some temple to proclaim
G war immediately, or to make out any power against them: but they thought good to lend their
Heralds afore, to make claim for their own and challenge restitution. For whereas of late years
there had been a field fought with the Veientians before *Nomentum* and *Fidene*: whereupon
there followed no peace but only a truce concluded: both the time was now expired, and also
before the day they had rebelled. Yet were there Heralds sent unto them. And when they
had demanded amends by a solemn oath and other ceremonies according to the ancient
manner, they might have no audience, neither were their words regarded. After this, there a-
rose some question, whether the war should be proclaimed with the peoples allowance & suffrages, or

A great
drought about
Rome, and
much mortali-
ty thereupon.

Rome ad-
vised to supersti-
tious re-
ligions.

Four military
Tribuns in
Consular au-
thority.

or the Senates decrees were alone sufficient. The Tribuns by giving out and threatening that they would stop the multitudes obtained in the end, that *Quintus* the Consul should propound this matter concerning the war unto the people. And it passed clear through all the Centuries. Herein also had the Commonalty the better of it, for that they prevailed that there should be no Consuls chosen the year following. So there were four Tribuns military created with Consuls authority, *T. Quintus Pennus* immediately from his Consulship, *C. Furius*, *M. Postumius*, and *Cornelius Cossus*: of which *Cossus* had the charge and government of the City. The other three after they had mustered, took a journey to *Vei*, and made good proof how hurtful in war is the rule of many Commanders. For whilst every man was inclined to his own counsel and advice, and took divers courses one from another, they made way for the enemies and gave them advantage. For the Veientians taking their opportunity and time, entered upon the army thus distracted, whilst some commanded to sound a retreat, others the alarm and to strike up the battle. Whereupon they were disordered and put to flight. But for as much as the camp was near at hand, thither they retired themselves in safety: so as the shame they got was more then the harm in this defeat. The City was penive and hereupon sorrowed, as not used to take foiles and overthrows. The Tribuns they hated, and required a Dictator: in whom rested ever the whole hope and stay of the City. And when as even in that behalf, they made a matter of conscience, because there might not be any Dictator nominated, but by a Consul, the Augurs were consulted withal: who resolved them of that doubt and rid them of their scruple. So *A. Cornelius* (a consular Tribun) nominated *Mamercus Emilius* Dictator: by whom he was himself also pronounced Grand Master of the horsemen. At such default was the City then, of right valour and true virtue, that notwithstanding the prejudice by the Censors, yet there was no remedy, but the whole government of the state should rest upon that family, which had been wrongfully disgraced and unworthily noted by the Censors.

The Veientians proud of their late good success, albeit they sent their Embassadors about all the nations of *Hetruria*, boasting and vaunting that in one battle they had discomfited three Roman Generals, yet could not they with all their solliciting, persuade any to be seen to take part with them in publick action: but they procured divers from all parts for hope of spoil, voluntarily to aid and assist them. The people of *Fidene* only agreed to rebel. And as though it had been in no wife lawful, to begin any war but with some wicked, heinous and execrable fact: like as aforetime had embrewed their hands, and bathed their swords in blood of Embassadors, so then, they began with murdering their new received Coloners: and so banded themselves with the Veientians. Then consulted the Princes and States of those two nations, whether they should make *Vei* or *Fidene* the seat town of the war, *Fidene* was supposed the fitter and more commodious. So the Veientians passed over the *Tyber*, and translated the war to *Fidene*. Great fear was there at *Rome* to see the army of their enemies removed from *Vei*, and implanted at *Fidene*. And being shrewdly danted by their late overthrow besides, they encamped even before the gate *Collina*. On the walls were armed souldiers placed, vacation in all courts of law was ordained, shop windows shut up, and all more like a Leaguer than a City. Then sent the Dictator the Criers about into all streets and lanes, to summon the Citizens thus terrified, to a general assembly. Where he rebuked them for carrying such wavering and doubtful hearts upon so small accidents and events of fortune, having received but a slight loss and small foil: and that, not through the manhood of the enemy, or cowardise of the Roman army, but only through the disagreement and difference of the Leaders. "Also forth that they were afraid of the Veientian enemy, whom five or six times afore they had put to the world and vanquished. And especially of *Fidene*, which had been ofner in a manner won, then assailed. As for the Romans and their enemies (saith he) they are even the same (still that always for so many hundred years, they had been: bearing the same minds, the same bodily strength, and the same armor: and even my self am the same *Mamercus Emilius*, and no other, who heretofore discomfited at *Nonentum* the Veientians and Fidenatians, with the *Pallians* power also adjoined unto them. And as for *A. Cornelius*, he wil no doubt be the same General of horsemen in this battle, as in the former war he was: at what time he being a Knight Marshal, slew *Lars Tolumnius* the King of the Veientians, in the sight of two armies: and brought into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, the rich armor of him deploiled. Whereas ye ought to remember this, that we have on our side triumphs, spoils and victory: whereas with the enemies remaineth the wicked and detestable fact of killing the Embassadors, against the law of all nations: also the massacre of the Fidenatian inhabitants, in time of peace the breaking of truce, and their revolting now seven times to their ruin and overthrow. Take weapon therefore in hand like men: for I trust assuredly, that so soon as we shall join our camps together, and encounter these most wicked enemies, they shall have no long joy of the shameful discomfiture of the Roman army. And the people of *Rome* shall understand, how much better they have deserved of the Common-weal, who made me Dictator now the third time, than those who for clipping the Censors wings and abridging them of their kingly rule, had disdained and disgraced my second Dictatorship with the shameful blot of ignominy and reproach. After this speech, when he had made his vows accordingly: he encamped a mile and an half on this side *Fidene*, flanked on the right hand with the hills, and on the left with the river *Tyber*. And commanded *T. Quintus Pennus* his Lieutenant, to gain the hills above, and be possessed secretly of that cape or hill, which was on the back part of the enemies. Himself the next morning

The Oration
of *Mamercus
Emilius* Dictator
to the
Citizens of
Rome.

as when as the Tuscans, (full of pride and stomach for the prosperous success of former dayes, which was much better than their service in fight) came forth into the field: after he had stayed a while, until the Scouts and spies brought word, that *Quintus* was gotten safely unto the Hill top near adjoining to the Cattle or fort of the Fidenatians, he advanced forth his standards: and with his footmen ranged in battell array, marched against his enemies with full pace: commanding his General of the Horsemen not to charge without his warrant: for that he himself as need should require, would give the signal for the aid of his cavalry to come in, willing him then, to quit himself like a brave Knight in remembrance of his glorious combat with a King: "of his rich present and oblation: and of *Romulus* and *Jupiter Feretrius*. Thus the legions assailed one another and encountered right hardly. The Romans kindled and enflamed with rancour and malice, termed the Fidenatians, wicked and godless wretches: the Veientians, Robbers and Thieves: true-breakers both, polluted with the abominable murder of Embassadors: stayed with the execrable massacre of their cohabitants: faithles and treacherous allies, cowardly and daftardly enemies: thus both in word and deed they satisfied their hatred to the full: And at the very first shock forced their enemies to shrink. At which instant all at once, there issued out of the open gates of *Fidene* a strange army, not heard of nor usual, before that day: A mighty number armed with fireworks, and shining all over with burning lights, after a fanatical and mad manner, ran as if they were carried with spirits, upon their enemies: and with the uncouth sight of this kind of fight, amazed the Romans a pretty while. Then the Dictator busy in fight, having sent both for the General of the Cavalry with his troops of Horsemen, and also for *Quintus* from the mountains, hastened himself to the left point: which being terrified with a scarier fire more like than a battle, had given place unto the flame, and flepped back. Where with a loud voyce he thus spake: "What will ye be overcome with imoak like a swarm of Bees, and lose your ground, and retreat from your naked and unarmed enemies: will ye not put out this fire with redoubled stroke of brandishing swords? And will ye not every man for his part, if we must needs fight with fire, and not with weapons, pull from them their torches and firebrands, and fling them again at their own heads? Go to, I say, like hardy men, mindful of the renown of Romans, remembering the prowess of your Fathers, and your own selves. Turn this fire upon your enemies City, and consume *Fidene* into ashes with her own flames: this disloyal *Fidene*, which by no favors and good turns of yours, ye were ever able to win and pacifie. The blood of your Embassadors, the blood of your Coloners thither sent to people their City, your Frontiers and Borders by them wasted, put you in mind of no meaner revenge. At the Dictators commandment, the whole battailon was moved and encouraged. Some catch the firebrands as they flew, others by force snatch them from them, so that now both battels were armed with fire. The General of Horsemen for his part remueth the Horse service: commanding them to pluck the bits out of their Horses mouths, and was the first himself, that setting spurs to, rode with bridle in Horses neck, into the midst of the fire: and the other Horses also being pricked forward, and eased of their bridles, carried the riders with full career against the enemy. The dust rising together with the smoke, took the light from mens eyes, and Horses both. And that fight which had terrified the souldiers, nothing at all affrighted the Horses. Wherefore after that the men of arms rode, they bore down all afore them as if some Houles had come tumbling upon their heads. Herewith happened a new alarm to be heard, which having caused both armies to wonder and listen thereunto, the Dictator cryeth out aloud, That *Quintus* the Lieutenant and his Regiment, came upon the back of the enemies: and himself reinforcing the shout, advanced his ensigns forward more freshly. When as now two armies, and two divers battels, pressed fore upon the Tuscans, and environed them both before and behind: and that the enemies could neither flye back to their camp, nor yet retire or withdraw themselves unto the mountains, from whence a fresh supply of enemies, made head, and affronted them: and that the Horses being unbridled, carried the riders every way hither and thither: the most part of the Veientians ran scattering in disorder, and hither and thence, toward the *Tyber*: and the Fidenatians that remained to the City *Fidene*. But in that fearful flight they ran upon their own death. Some were killed on the banks of the River, others were driven into the water, and the stream and whirlepoils carried them away. And even they that were swimming, what with weariness, and what with faintness of their wounds and with fright, sunk and were drowned: so that few of many swam over in safety. The other army fled through their camp into the City. The same way also the Romans followed forcibly after: and *Quintus* especially, together with them who erewhile came down from the mountains, and were the freshest souldiers for fight (as who came last into the battle) and so afterwards entered pell-mell among their enemies into the gate, climbed upon the walls, and from the walls set up a banner to their fellows. In token that they had won the Town. Which as soon as the Dictator espied, (for now by this time had he made an entrance into the forlorn, and abandoned camp of his enemies) he brought the souldiers, upon desire to run to a spoil, and hoping of a greater laccage in the City, straight unto the gate. And being gotten within the walls, marcheth directly forward to the Castle, whereinto he beheld the multitude to flye for refuge and safety. The execution in the City was no less than in the field: which continued until they threw away their weapons, and craving nothing but life, yielded themselves to the Dictator. So both City and camp was spoiled and sacked. The morrow after, the Dictator disposed of his prisoners thus. He drew them by lot, and gave to every Horseman and Centurion one; and to as many as had done more

The words of
the Dictator
to the
Romans
after
the
battle.

valiantly than other, two spece: the rest he sold in portale. And so with triumph brought home to Rome his vict'neus army, enriched with a great booty: and having commanded the General of the Horfemen to reign up his office, himself also furrendreth his own, upon the sixteenth day after his creation, yeelding up his government in peace, which in time of war, and in a feartful state he had received.

There be some that have recorded in their Chronicles, that there was a battel fought with the Veientians at *Fidene* by ships upon the water. A thing verily, no leis impossible than in redibie. Considering that at this day, the river is not broad enough for such a purpose: and that at that time, (as by ancient men we have learned) it was far narrower than now it is. Unless haply in crossing over the river some vessels or bottoms, that were put out to meet and to receive them, I were layed. And so, men making the matter greater (as usually it cometh to pass) have desired a vain title of a naval victory at Sea. The year following, there were military Tribuns, with Consuls authority, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Quintus Cincinnatus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *L. Horatius Barbatus*. Then was there a t'rece granted unto the Veientians for twenty years, and to the Aquilans for three years, whereas they had made suit for more. Rest there was also from all feditions and brois in the City. The year following, having neither war abroad, nor yet fedition at home, was famous yet for the playes which in time of war had been vowed: both in regard of the great preparations that the Military Tribuns made, as also for the frequent reioit and concourie of the Nations adjoining. The Tribuns with Consuls authority, were *Cl. Crassus*, *Sp. Nautius Rutilius*, *T. Sergius Fidenas*, and *Sexius Julius Tullus*. The fight of these games and pattimes, & whereunto those strangers were come by publick consent of the States, was unto them more acceptable, in regard of the courtesy of those friends that gave them an intertainment. After these playes, there ensued feditious Orations of the Tribuns of the Commons, who rebuked the common multitude, for that they being beittout with admiration of those whom they had to hate, kept themselves in perpetual thraldome. And not only durst not attempt to put forth themselves (leaves for to bring in again the possibility to have Consuls of their part, as in times past) no, nor so much as in the creation of Military Tribuns (the Election of whom was indifferent as well for Commons as Nobles) were mindful or thought either upon themselves or their friends, and those of their own body: And therefore they should furcalle to marvel, why no man pleased for the benefit of the commonalty. For, travel is well belov'd, and danger well adventured, where profit and honor might be hoped and looked for. And nothing is to difficult but men would employ themselves to enterprife the same, if for the adventuring of great exploits, there might be propoised as great rewards. But, that any Tribun of the Commons should run desperately and blindly into a world of brawls and troubles, with great hazard of his person, and no hope at all of fruit and profit in the end: for which contention, he might be sure that the Nobles against whom he strived, would persecute him with deadly and irreconcilable malice: and as the Commons hands, for whom he thus contended, he should be honored and advanced: never the more, it was a thing neither to be expected, nor required. The only means to get courage and magnanimity, is advancement to high place of honor and dignity. And as for them, they would not did in the meanest commoner that was, if they themselves might be no more M' deputed. To conclude, the matter were worth the tryal in one of two, whether any commoner were sufficient to bear a great office of state: or whether it were a wondrous thing and strange miracle, that a valiant and hardy man should arise out of the commonalty. With much ado (say they) we got and obtained that Tribuns military with Consuls authority might likewise be chosen out of the commonalty: and men approved both in war abroad and in affairs of State at home, had sued therefore. In the first years they being nipped by you, and lo having the repulse, were had in derision of the Nobility: lo that at length they forbore to give themselves thus contumeliously to be misused and made fools. We see no cause therefore, why that law (so should not be repealed, wherein a dignity was granted, and never like to be obtained. For 'leis shame would there arise, if the law were not indifferent nor respective unto them, than as 'unmeet persons and unworthy, thus shamefully to be passed by and take the repulse. These and such like speeches were heard with so good an ear and general applause, that some of them were incited forward to sue for the Military Tribunship: whiles every one promised in the time of his office to do great matters, and to propose, some one thing, some another, for and concerning the benefit of the Commons. Pretending great hopes of dividing the common Lands, and planting of colonies abroad, and laying tributes and impositions upon landed persons, for to pay soldierys wages. But the Tribuns military then in place, devised to spy out a time, when upon some occasion of the absence of much people departed out of the City, the Senators by a privy and secret warning, should at a certain day be called home: and then, whiles the Tribuns of the Commons were away, an act of Senate should passe in this form: That forasmuch as it was notified that the Volckians were entered into the Lands of the Hernicks to forrage and rob, the military Tribuns should go to see whether it were so or no, and that in the mean while there should be held a general assembly for the Election of Consuls. The Tribuns military took their journey accordingly, and left *Appius Claudius* the Decemvirs son, Governour of the City, a stout young Gentleman and a forward, who from his very cradle bare an inward grudge and hatred against the Tribuns and the Commons. And bootles it was either for the Tribuns of the Commons to find themselves grieved with those, who made the decree, now that they were absent,

The Tribuns
Orations to
the Commons.

A absent, nor yet had they cause to quarrel with *Appius Claudius*, because the thing had been contrived and palli'd afore his time. So, Consuls were created, *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus*.

A forein matter, but yet worthy to be remembered and here inferred, is reported to have happened that year: to wit, that *Volturnum* a City of the Tuscans, which now is *Capua*, was by the Samnites taken: and that it came to be named *Capua* of one *Capis* their Captain, for (which I would much like a truth) of the champion field. But they wan it by this means, For upon occasion that the Tuscans were wearied with former wars, they were admitted into the society of their City and territory. And on a solemn festival day, when as the citizens had filled their bellies, and were found asleep, these new Coloners the Samnites, let upon the old inhabitants, and in the night season slew them all.

But now to return. Things passing thus (as I said before) the Consuls abovenamed upon the Ides of December, entered their government. By which time not only they which were of purpose sent to learn the news of the Volckians, brought word that war was at hand, but Embassadors also from the Latins and Hernicks, gave intelligence of the same. And namely, that never at any time afore, the Volckians were more busily and occupied, either in chusing of good Captains, or in levying an army, giving out these speeches abroad and in every place, That the time was now come, either to forget warfare, and lay away soldiery, and for ever make account to bear the yoke of thraldome: or else not to give one foot, nor come behind those with whom they strove for sovereignty, either in manhood or in painful travel, or in Discipline of warfare. And surely they were no vain tidings that those messengers reported. But the Senators would take no such knowledge, nor be greatly moved at the matter. And withal, *C. Sempronius*, unto whom the charge of that war was allotted, presuming upon fortune, as if he were always right constant and at command, and leading an army of a people used to victory, against those that were wont to be overcome, did all things rashly and negligently. So as to speak a truth, there was more Roman Discipline in the Volckian host, than in the Roman. And lo, fortune (as oftentimes else) went with verue. At the first encounter, which by *Sempronius* was unexpectidly and unadvisedly begun, before that either the battalions were reinforced and strengthened with fresh supplies of succour, or the Horfemen ranged in convenient place, they ran together, add came to hand strokes. And the first token which way the victory would incline, was the manner of shout at the first charge: which by the enemy was more loud, more shrill and continual: but by the Romans distant, unequal, dead and cold, often begun, and often remmed: and by their uncertain and variable noise, they bewayed the inward fear of their hearts. Whereupon the enemies lo much the more eagerly charged them, pressing upon them with their shields, and laying at them thick with their bright swords: on the other side, the Romans helmets wag, and their crests, not every way as they look about them: and as they were to seek what to do, so they tremble and run together on heaps: one while the ensigns stand still, and were abandoned of the foremost fighting in the vanguard another while they retired in again amongst their own squadrons. Yet was not the flight certain, nor yet the victory. The Romans fought more to cover and shrowd themselves than to fight: to ward blows rather than to strike. The Volckians let forward their ensigns, pressed upon the main battel, and saw more enemies under foot than running away. And now in all places the Romans retired, notwithstanding *Sempronius* the Consul both rebuked and also exhorted them to stick to it: for neither his commandment nor the authority and Majesty of his countenance prevailed ought. And immediately had they all turned their backs on their enemies, if *Sex. Tempanius*, a Decurion of Horfemen, had not in this desperate case, with a resolute courage and ready advice, helped at a pinch: Who cried with a loud voyce, that those Horfemen which would the safety of the common wealth, should dismount off their Horses. And when the Cornets of Horfemen bestirred themselves at his words no less than if the Consul had given commandment: "Unleis (saith he) this troupe of men of arms, stay the violence of the enemies, we see the last of the Roman Empire. Follow therefore in stead of banner displayed, the point of my lance: let both Romans and Volckians see, that no nation is comparable to you, either for foot or for Horse. Whole encouragement being approved and received with a shout, he advanced forward, bearing his staff aloft: and what way soever they go, they enter and make room with forcible sway: and where they see their fellows in greatest distress, thither they make speed, opposing their targets afore them. And thus in every place whereas they thrust themselves forcibly, was the fight renewed: and doubleles the enemies had turned their backs, if possible it had been, for so few to have performed every thing at once. Now when as the General of the Volckians, saw his men not able to withstand them, he gave a signal and charge to give way to this new band of enemies, to wit, these Targeteers: until such time as they had put themselves so forward that they might be excluded from their fellows. Which being done, these Horfemen were encloed on every side: neither could they break through that way whither they went, because the enemies were there thickly, where they had made their lane before. The Consul, then, with the legions of the Romans, having lost the fight of those that had been a shield of defence and bulwark ere while to the whole army, left that so many hardy men thus invironed, should be overpressed by the enemies: rejoyed to adventure any peril or hazard whatsoever. The Volckians were likewise diversly occupied & troubled, For on the one side they bare off the Consul and legions: on the other side they affronted *Tempanius* fore, & the Horfemen: who seeing that after many allies and officers

* 13 of De:
cember.

The valor of
Sex. Tempanius.

offers they could not break forth to their fellows, gat up unto a certain little Hill, and cast themselves into a ring and stood to their defence, not without doing some mischief to their enemies: neither gave they over fighting until night. The Consul also maintained the battle so long as he could see, and kept the enemy play. So the night parted them asunder, and uncertain it was who had the upper hand. And for that the event was unknown, who sped the better, so great a terror came upon both parts in their camps, that leaving the wounded and a great part of their carriages behind, both armies as taking themselves losers, recovered the mountains that were next unto them. Howbeit the Hill or bank aforesaid, continued still beset round about, until midnight. But when word was brought thither to the Aſſailants, how that their camp was abandoned: they thinking their fellows vanquished, were also for their part affrighted, and made shift and fled in the dark as well as they could. *Tempanius*, tearing an ambushment, kept his men there together until day light. Then went he down with a few to discover the coasts: and finding by enquiry made of the wounded enemies, that the tents of the Volſcians were left and forsaken: he was full glad thereat, and called down his souldiers from the mount, and entrench into the Roman camp. Where seeing all void and forlorn, and finding the same desolation which was amongst the enemies: before that the Volſcians upon knowledge of their error should return again, he took with him those hurt souldiers that he could: and not knowing to what quarters the bruit of this unlucky fight, and of abandoning the tents, was arrived. But above all the rest, those Horsemen were bewailed, and great moan and lamentation was made for them as well in private as in public. The *Cof. Fabius*, seeing the City also terrified with this news, kept ward before the gates: by which time, they might discover the Horsemen aforesaid afar off: but not without some fear of their parts, doubting who they were. But being soon known, they caused to great contentment after former fear, that in most joyful manner, the noise went through the City, how the Horsemen were returned safe with victory. And out of those mourning and sorrowful houses, which a while afore had bid adieu to their friends and kinsfolk, and bewailed their death, they ran into the streets and high ways by heaps. The fearful dames also and wives, forgetting, for joy all decent and womanly modesty, went out to meet the army, fell every one with open arms upon their own husbands and sons, took them about the neck, clipped and kissed them, and with all their hand and heart received them: yea, and for exceeding joy were almost past themselves.

The Tribuns of the Commons, who had challenged and accused *M. Posthumus* and *T. Quinctius*, for that by their default, there was an unlucky fight before *Vej*: seemed to have good occasion and opportunity offered now, by bringing the Consul *Sempronius* into fresh and new hatred and disgrace, for to renew the conceived displeasure and malice of the people against them. Having assembled together the people together, with open mouth they declared, that the Commonwealth was betrayed first, at *Vej* by the leaders, and afterwards, because they went clear away without, and unpunished, therefore the army in *Polſei* was likewise lost by the Consul: and that a troop of most valiant knights were thus cast away and given to be murdered, and the camp flame-fully left and forsaken. Then *C. Julius*, one of the Tribuns, commanded *Tempanius* the Horseman to be called, and before him all said, "I would know of thee *O Sextus Tempanius*, whether thou think that *C. Sempronius* the Consul, either began battle in good time, or strengthened his battalions with good succors and supplies? or whether thou thyself, when as the Roman legions and footmen were discomfited, of thine own head and policy, causedst the Horsemen to alight on foot, and thereby reinforced the fight? Afterwards, when thou and thy men of arms were shut out from our battle, whether either the Consul himself came to rescue, or sent any succor unto thee? Last of all, whether the morrow after, thou hadst any aid or rescue at all? Whether thou and thy troop of Horsemen brake through into the camp by your own hardiness and valor? And whether ye found in the camp any Consul or army, or rather the pavilions abandoned, and the souldiers left behind, hurt and wounded? To these premises and points, he haſt thou to speak this day upon thy virtue, and the faith of a souldier: by which only, in this war-service the Commonwealth hath found preserved. Finally, where *C. Sempronius*, and where our legions be? Whether thou were forsaken thyself, or whether thou forsookeſt the Consul and the army? And to conclude, whether we have lost or won the field? To these demands, *Tempanius* made (as they say) no fine Oration, but a grave pithy speech like a souldier: not full of flattery-praises, nor shewing any gladness for the fault of another, and answered in this wise: How great skill (quoth he) of martial feats, and what sufficiency is in *C. Sempronius*, it is not for me a souldier to judge, nor yet to make any estimate of my General: but it was for the people of *Rome* to determine thereof, at what time as by their suffrages and voices, in a solemn Election, they chose him Consul. "And therefore ye are not to enquire of me, and to be informed, either of the policies of a General Captain, or virtues and duties of a Consul: deep points to be examined, O weighed, and discomfited by great wits, reaching heads, and high minds. But for that which I with mine eye saw, I am able to make report and testify; namely, That before himself was excluded out of the battle, I beheld the Consul fighting manfully in the vanguard, encouraging his men earnestly, and even amongst the Roman Standards, and Pikes of the enemies, busily employed. After which I was carried from the sight of my fellows, howbeit by the ill noise and shouting, I well perceived, that the conflict continued until night. Neither was it possible (as I thought) for them to break through unto the Hill which I kept, by reason of the multitude

The Interrogatories tendered unto *Tempanius* by *C. Julius* a Tribune of the Commons.

The modest answer of *Tempanius*, to the former Interrogatories.

A "of enemies between. As for the army, what is become of it, I know not: But I suppose, that as I myself in an extremity and fearful case, defended myself and my men, by advantage of the ground: so the Consul for to save the army, took some more late place to encamp in. Neither think I verily, that the Volſcians stood in better terms than the Romans fortune was. And the "darkness of the night (no doubt) caused error and confusion on every side, and in all places. After which speech when as he belought them, not to hold him any longer, wearied with travel, and faint of his wounds: he was with exceeding praise both of his valiant service and also of his modest speech, licensed to depart.

Whiles these things thus passed, the Consul by that time, had marched by the way of *Lavinium* as far as to the Temple of *Quies*: thither were wains, draught-beasts and innkeeper *Horfes* sent from the City, to receive and ease the army, toiled out with fight, and tired by journeying all night. Within a while after, the *Cof.* entered into the City: who endeavoured not more, to put the fault from himself, than to extol *Tempanius*, and give him his due deserved praises. Now whiles the City was sad and heavy for this hard hap, and angry also with the Captains: behold, *M. Posthumus*, who before had been accused, was now presented unto the people, for to wreak their choler and malice upon. He had been a Tribune Military in place of a *Cof.* at *Vej*, and now was condemned, & a fire set on his head of ten thousand *Aſſes* of brass. But as for *Titus Quintius*, his fellow in government, because that among the Volſcians he had served fortunately as Consul, under the conduct of *Posthumus* *Tiberius* the Dictator: and likewise at *Fidene*, as Lieutenant of the other Dictator *Manerius* *Amplius*, and laid the whole fault of that other time from himself upon his colleague before condemned: he was found ungilty and acquit by all the Tribes. It is said that the fresh remembrance of his father *Cincinnatus*, late a right worshipful citizen, helped him much: Yea, and *Capitolineus* *Quintius* a very aged man, did him no hurt, who humbly besought them that they would not suffer him, having but a while in this world to live, for to be the carrier of so heavy news unto *Cincinnatus*. The Commons made Tribuns of the commonalty, *Sex. Tempanius*, *A. Silius*, *Sex. Antifilius*, and *Sex. Pompilius* in their absence: whom also the Horsemen had chosen for their Captains or Centurions, in the former exploit, by the advice and counsel of *Tempanius*. But the Senators, because now for hatred of *Sempronius* the name of Consuls misliked and offended them, determined that military Tribuns with Consuls authority, should be created. So there were chosen *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius Merenda*, *L. Pappyrus Murgilius*,

In the very beginning of the year *L. Hortensius* the fifth Tribune of the commonalty, accused *C. Sempronius* the Consul of the former year. And when as his other four fellows in office, in the sight of the people of *Rome* besought him, not to trouble their guiltless Captain, in whom nothing could be blamed or found fault withal, but adverse fortune: *Hortensius* could hardly abide, but thought it was but to prove and trye his resolute constancy: and that the party accused, trusted not upon the prayer and intercession of the Tribuns, which only for a shew was pretended, but upon their support and assistance. And therefore turning one while to *Sempronius* himself, demanded what was become of that haughty courage and stomach, so ordinary in those of Senators calling? and where was that magnanimity which relied and relied upon innocency? Since that he having been a Consul, was fain to shelter and throw himself under the shadow and protection of the Tribuns? Another while directing his speech to his fellow Tribuns: but you my Masters (quoth he) what will ye do? if I prosecute mine action against him still, and convict him in the end: Will ye take from the people their right, and overthrow the authority of the Tribuns among the Commons? When they again said and inferred, that the people of *Rome* had absolute power to do what they would, both with *Sempronius*, and all others: and that they neither would nor could abridge the people of their judgment. But if (say they) our prayers in the behalf of our General, who was to us in stead of a father, may not avail, then will we together with him change our weed for company. Nay, God forbid (quoth *Hortensius*) The Commons of *Rome* shall never see their Tribuns arrayed in soiled and mournful apparel. And as for *C. Sempronius*, I have now no more to say to him, since that he hath carried himself off, whiles he was General, as that he hath gained thus much, as to be so dearly beloved of his souldiers. Neither was the kindness of those four Tribuns more acceptable to the Commons and Nobles, than the good nature of *Hortensius*, who at their reasonable request, was so easily to be pacified and intreated.

It was no long time that fortune frowned upon the *Æquians*: who embraced the doubtful victory of the Volſcians, and took it as their own. The next year after, when *Cn. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, the son of *Capitolineus*, were Consuls: by the leading of *Fabius*, unto whom was allotted that Province, nothing was done there worthy of remembrance. For when as the *Æquians* had made semblance of a battle, and brought their army only in fight, they were in fearful wise soon discomfited, and shamefully fled, mislittering no matter of great honor to the *Cof.* And therefore was he denied triumph. But yet because the ignominy of the loss which happened by *Sempronius*, was partly allayed, it was granted that he might enter *Orant* into the City. [A General was said to enter *Orant* into the City, when ordinarily without his army following him he went on foot, or rode on Horseback only, and the people in their Acclamations for joy redoubled *Oho* or *Oho*. So that *Orant* is as much as *Oratio*: Howsoever, some think that *Orant* took the name of sacrificing a sheep. But he rode in triumph, when his souldiers attended him in his chariot, crying *Io Triumph*. In this he carried a branch or wreath of laurel, in the other of Myrtle. So that the Ovation was a less honor than the Triumph. And it was

The goddess of rest and Repose.

31 Lib. 5. sh. Act.

This within these marks [] take as a marginal note.

granted to inferior persons, and for meaner desert. Whereas, none usually might triumph, unless he were Dictator, Cof, or Pretor, and had slain in field 5000 enemies at the least, won much spoil and pillage, and augmented the State of the Roman Empire. Like as the war was dispatched with less ado than they feared: so in the City, after a calm and peaceable state, there arose between the Commons and Nobles, a world of discords and troubles more than they expected. Which began upon occasion of doubling the number of Questors. For when the Consuls had propounded, that besides two Questors or Treasurers of the City, there should be other twain ready to attend upon the Consuls, for all services and charges belonging to war: and when the Nobles also with all their power had approved it, the Tribunes of the Commons entered into a contention with the Consuls, and required that some of the Questors (for until that time they had been created from out of the degree of the Patrij) might be likewise of the Commons. Against which demand, at the first, both Consuls, and also the Nobles, laboured with might and main. But afterwards having granted this much, that as the use and practise was in creating of Tribunes with Consuls authority, so in like manner, in the Election of Questors, the people should have their free liberty to chule. And seeing they gained little thereby, and could effect no good, they wholly let fall their former matter, about increasing the number of the Questors. But although it were thus by them given over, the Tribunes took it in hand again, and set it on foot: yea, and other tedious actions besides very often sprang forth, and among the rest, that also concerning the Law *Agraria*. Upon which troubles, when as the Senate was of mind, that there should be Consuls rather than Consular Tribunes created: and by reason of the Tribunes stepping between with their negative voice, no decree of the Senate could passe, the government of the Commonwealth was devolved from Consuls to an Interregnum, but not without exceeding great debate: for that the Tribunes kept the Patrij from meeting and packing together. Now when as the greater part of the year following was spent, with much strife and contention between the new Tribunes and certain Interregents, whiles one while the Tribunes stayed the Nobles from assembling together about the chusing of an Interregent, and another while crossed the Interregent for granting out any Act of Senate or warrant, for the election of Consuls: at the last, *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, being declared Interregent, sometimes rebuked the Nobles, and sometimes blamed the Commons, and said: "That the Commonwealth neglected and forsaken of all men was taken into protection of the Gods, and guided by their care and providence: standing upright, and safe only, upon the truce observed by the Veientians, and the slow speed of small halt that the Aquians made to war. From whence, if any trouble should happen to arise, it is your will (quoth he) and pleasure belike that the state should be surprised and assailed, while it is without any Magistrate of the Nobility. For neither is there an army ready, nor yet a Captain to raise an army. What? think ye to put back forsworn war abroad by civil discord at home? What? if they both should come together, there were no other remedy, though all the Gods in Heaven should set to their helping hand, but that the Commonwealth of Rome should utterly be subverted. Yet rather remit every one of you somewhat of the rigor of your full jurisdiction, and (for the love of God) take some indifferent course to joyn in unity: the Nobles for their part, by suffering Military Tribunes to be created in lieu of Cof, the Tribunes again by no more thwarting and interposing their negative, but that four Questors may be chosen by the free voices of the people, from out of the Commons and Nobles, one with another. First therefore was the High Court held for choosing sovereign Tribunes: and Tribunes there were created in Consular authority, all of the Nobility: namely, *L. Quintus Cincinnatus* the third time, *Sex. Furius Medullinus* the second time, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*. When this Tribunal last named, was president of the Election for Questors, and the son of *Atratinus* a Tribune of the Commons, and a brother besides to another Tribune, one *S. x. Pomplius* stood for the dignity, among certain other of the Commons: neither all their own means that they could make, nor all the voices they could procure, were able to prevail, but that the people preferred persons to replace according to their gentry and high birth: namely, whole fathers and grand-fathers they had seen Consuls. All the Tribunes of the Commons stormed and chafed at this, but especially *Pomplius* and *Atratinus*, being set on fire at the repulse of these their friends. "What should this mean (say they) that none of the Commons, neither in regard of their own merits, nor considering the injuries at the Nobles hands nor yet for desire they might pierce to the first handle of that authority, which now was lawful, and never heretofore: that none of the Commons (I say) was created, if not a Military Tribune, yet not so much as a Questor? What, that neither the fathers prayer in the behalf of his son, nor a brothers suit in favour of a brother, being Tribunes both of them, invested in that sacred authority, and which first was erected for the maintenance of common freedom, could ought at all prevail? Surely there is some fraud and juggling in the matter: and *A. Sempronius*, hath in the Election used more art and cunning than truth and fidelity. O Complaining that by his injurious and indirect dealing, their friends had taken the foil. When as therefore they might not by any violence touch his own person and attach him, being fenced with innocency in this action, and secured by virtue of the office which then he bore: they wreaked their selves and discharged their choler upon *C. Sempronius*, the cousin german of *Atratinus*: by the brother: and with the help of *M. Canuleius*, one of their colleagues, arrested him for the ignominious service in the Volscian war. Ever and anon, also the same Tribunes made some words and motion in the Senate-house, concerning the division of Lands, and revived the law

Agraria

Agraria (which *C. Sempronius* at all times most sharply and eagerly had withstood, Supposing, as it fell out indeed, that the accused person should either by giving over the cause, be lets esteemed of the Nobles: or if he stood to it till until the time of judgment drew near, he should displease and offend the Commons. But he chose rather to be the object of the displeasure and malice of the people, that were opposed and bent against him, and so to wound his own private estate: than to betray the common and public cause: and perished resolute in the same made (till that there should no bribing donative be granted, that might win and procure favour unto those three corrupt Tribunes: "For it is not land and living (quoth he) that they shoot at, for the benefit of the Commons: that is not their seeking: but their drift is to work and procure displeasure unto me: and therefore I will stormy part, abide that storm and tempest with a resolute mind. And the Senate ought not to esteem either of me, or of any citizen else so highly, as to buy the sparing of one man so dear, even with the harm and damage of the whole state. The day of judicial trial came. When as he had pleaded for himself, and seemed nothing daunted at the matter: yet for all that ever the Nobles could do, who tried all means, but in vain, to mitigate and delay the heat of the Commons, condemned he was in "fifteen thousand Asles. The same year *P. P. h. m. a Vestal Nun*, was called in question for incontinency and in chastity, and came to her answer. A Virgin guileless for any deed done: but scarcely of good name and fame: by reason that she was suspected for her apparel and going more light and garish in her attire: yea, and for her wit, more concited and pleasant, than became a maid, and nothing respective of the speech of the world. Her trial was put over to a farther day, and she (after she had twice pleaded) in the end was acquitted: only the high Priest by the advice, and in the name of the whole college, rebuked her, and gave her warning to leave her sports, taunts, and merry conceits: and in her payment to be clean not to go as devout, and wear her garments rather sanctity than lightly. The same year was *Comus*, a City inhabited at that time by the Greeks, taken by the Campanians.

The singular
confrancy of
C. Atratinus.* 46. lib. 17. C.
o. d. Herl.
Paphlunia fu-
spe of In-
continency,
for her plea-
sant wit and
gay apparel.

The year following had military Tribunes with Consuls authority, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *Sp. Nautius Servilius*. A year, by the happiness and good fortune of the people of Rome, more notable for a danger elapsed, than for any harm received. Certain bond-servants had conspired to fire the City in divers places far and near: for this intent, when the people should be busily occupied, here and there, to divers their houses, then by force and armes to surpris the Castle and Capitol. But Jupiter turned away and disappointed their wicked design. For by the peaching and information of twain, the rest of the malefactors were taken and executed. For those that disclosed and revealed the conspiracy, had ten thousand pound in brass money (which was in those days thought to be great riches) weighed them out of the City chamber, and freedom besides, for their reward.

A conspiracy
of bond-slaves.

31 lib. 5. lb. lb.

After this, began the Aquians to renew war: and word was brought to Rome by credible persons, that certain new enemies also, to wit, the Lavicans, joyned together in counsel with the old. These Aquians, were good neighbours: for once a year ordinarily, they were put to the City of Rome to the pains of warring with them, and not mis. Embassadors then were sent to the Lavicans, who brought doubtful answers from thence: whereby it appeared that neither at that instant they were ready to war, nor yet were like to continue long in peace. The Tribunes were charged, to take good heed, and have an eye that way, that no new stir and trouble should arise at Lavice. There came Embassadors from *Tusculum*, to *L. Sergius Fidenus*, *M. Papirius Mugillanus*, and *C. Servilius*, the son of *Q. Servilius Priscus*: (by whom, being Dictator, Fidenus was won) who were Military Tribunes in Consuls authority the year following. These Embassadors brought news that the Lavicans were out, and in armes, and joyning with the Aquians army, had foraged the country of *Tusculum*, and encamped themselves in *Agidium*. Then was war proclaimed against the Lavicans. And when by a decree made by the Senate, that two of the Consular Tribunes should go to war, and one manage the affairs of Rome: there arose a contention on a Sunday, among the said Tribunes. Every one thought himself the meekest and most sufficient man, to be General of the war, refusing the charge of the City, as a bale, dishonourable, and thankless office. As the Senators mused and wondered, to see amongst those that were fellows in government so undecent a strife and contention; then *Q. Servilius*: "Seeing that (quoth he) there is no reverent regard, either of this honorable house, or of the Commonwealth: the father his contentment e, "dread Majesty, shall end this debate. My son without any lot calling, shall govern the City as President. God grant, that they which love war so well, may manage it with more discretion and concord than they wish it. As for a general muster to be levied out of all the people indifferently, that was not liked of. So ten Tribes were drawn by lot, out of which, the younger sort were prest forth to war under the conduct of the two Tribunes. The strife which began to be kindled among them in the City, through the same desire fill of sovereignty, brake forth and grew much hotter in the camp. In nothing agreed they, striving whose opinion should stand: each one would have his own way: his own commandments obeyed and none else: one despised another, and were despised one of the other: until at length, upon the Lieutenants reproof, they grew to this point, and this order was taken: That they should each on other day, rule one alone by himself absolutely. Which news being brought to Rome, it is reported that *Q. Servilius*, a man for his years and long experience right skillful, prayed of the immortal Gods, that by the variance and discord of the Tribunes, the Commonwealth sustained no more harm, than they had received at *Fiden*. As if there were no doubt, but that some great loss and overthrow was

ready

* The vacancy
of the so-
vereign Ma-
gistrate.The Oration
of *L. Papirius
Mugillanus*, to
the Nobles &
Commons of
Rome.The com-
plaints of *Pom-
plius* and *Atratinus*
against
Atratinus the
Tribune mili-
tary.

ready to happen, he was instant upon his son, to levy souldiers, and to provide munition for war. Neither proved he a false and vain Prophet. For by the leading of *L. Sergius*, whose day it was to rule, when as the enemy under a colour of fear, withdrew unto the trench, and to trayed them thither upon a foolish hope to win the camp, even under the very camp of the enemies in an uneven ground of disadvantage, they were suddenly charged by the *Æquians*, discomfited and chased down the valley: and many in their fall, which was greater than the flight, were trod under foot and slain, and with much ado that day kept they their own tents. The morrow after, when as now the enemies had beset a great part of the camp, they shamefully fled away, at the back gate, and forsook the camp. The Captains, Lieutenants, and the strength remaining of the army, which kept to their ensigns and colours, went to *Tusculum*. Other that were scattered here and there about the fields by sundry ways, made halt to *Rome*, and reported there the overthrow to be greater than indeed it was. Left was the trouble and sorrow, because men looked for no better issue and success: and also for that, there was help and succour (which they were to have an eye unto in to fearful a case) provided by the Tribunes aforehand. At whose commandment, when as the tumult was by the inferior Magistrates appeared in the City, espials were sent out in haste: who brought word that the Captains and the army was at *Tusculum*: and that the enemy had not removed his camp. And then (which encouraged them most of all) by the Senates decree, *Q. Servilius Priscus* was chosen Dictator, a man whose Providence over the Common-wealth, the City as many other times afore, so in the event of that war had experience of: for that he only suspected the contention of the Tribunes afore this unhappy toil. Who having nominated General of the Horsemen, his son (as some say) by whom being military Tribune, himself was declared Dictator (for others there be that write how *Servilius Hala* was that year General of the Horse) went forth with a fresh army to war, and having joynted unto him those which were at *Tusculum*, he pitched his tents, two miles from the enemy. But see the fruit of good success. The pride and negligence which had been amongst the Roman Captains, went from them to the *Æquians*. Therefore in the first beginning of the conflict, when the Dictator with his Horsemen whom he sent against them, had disordered and put out of array the foremost ranks of the enemies, then commanded he the ensigns of the legionary footmen with all speed to follow hard upon: and one ensign-bearer of his own, who made some stay, he flew with his own hand. Then were they to earnestly set to give an hot charge, that the *Æquians* could not abide their force: and being in fight overthrowen, when as they fled all main to the camp, the assault thereof was both shorter and with less ado, than was the battel. When the camp was taken and spoiled, and that the Dictator had given the pillage unto the souldiers: and that the Horsemen, which chased the enemies from the camp, had brought word back, that all the Lavicans were overthrowen, and a great part of the *Æquians* were fled to *Lavicos*: the day following was the army also led thither, and the Town compassed and beset round about, scaled, and sacked. The Dictator having brought home to *Rome* his victorious army, upon the eighth day after he was chosen, gave over his office. And in very good time, before there was any edition stirred up about the Law *Aggraria*, by the motion of the Tribunes of the Commons, for the division of the Lavicans Lands: the whole body of the Senate appointed that a Colony should be sent to *Lavicos*. So there were sent from the City M a thousand and five hundred to inhabit there, and two acres apiece given them of Land.

A Colony
planted at *Lavicos*.

After the winning of *Lavicos*, there were created Military Tribunes with Consuls authority, to wit, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*; and *L. Servilius Structus*, with *P. Lucertius Tricipitinus* (all three the second time) and *Sp. Velutius Crassus*: and the year following *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, the third time, and these twain, *M. Pappius Mugillanus*, and *Sp. Nauius Rutilius* the second time: for these two years there was peace abroad, but discord at home about the Laws *Aggraria*. They that troubled the people, were *Sp. Mælius*, who now the fourth time, and *Mætilius*, who the third time were made Tribunes of the Commons, both absent. And when they had published their Act, That all Lands conquered from the enemies, should be divided by the poll: by which Ordinance, the possessions of a great part of the Nobility became confiscate, (for since their City was situated and built in a strange ground, there was in a manner no Land lay to it, which had not been purchased by the sword: neither enjoyed the Commons any, but that which either had been sold or assigned to the Commons) this seemed to be a bone cast between the Nobles and the Commons, to set them together at strife and contention. Neither knew the Military Tribunes any way to take counsel in this case, albeit one while they assembled the Senate, and another while met in private conference with the Nobility. Then *Appius Claudius*, (the nephew or grandson of notorious *Appius* the Decemvir, created for the making of Laws) the puny of all the council of the Nobility, made (as it is reported) this speech, and said, "That he would impart unto them that which he had received by tradition from his ancestors, to wit, an old device, and appropriate to his house, for that his great grandire *Appius Claudius*, had shewed unto the Nobles "the only way, to abate and take down the Tribunes power: namely, by the coming between "and negative voice of their fellows. For men new come up, and risen to promotion, might "soon by the authority of the chief rulers be brought from their purpose, and made to change "their mind, if otherwhiles those great men in place would use some speech upon them fitted and "framed rather to the time and present occasion, than respective to their own high place and dignity: for evermore the heart and courage of such, is according to their degree and wealth. And "when they see once their fellows possessed with force of the cause, and thereby creep wholly
"into

The speech of
App. Claudius to
the Senators.

A "into all the favour with the Commons, and that no room is left for themselves to have any "part thereof, they will be willing enough to encline and ondescend unto the Senate, and take "their part: by means whereof they might wind into the love and good grace of that univer- "sal State, and particularly with the principal Lords of the Nobility. Which speech, when they all had approved, and especially *Q. Servilius Priscus*, who praised the young Centurion, for that he was not grown out of kind, nor degenerate from the stock and race of the *Clauus*, then every man was set about this business, to see whom of the College or company of Tribunes they could win and draw to cross and stop the Act for going forward. The Senate now being broken up, the chief of the Nobles caught hold of the Tribunes, and were in hand with them, perswading, exhorting, and assuring them, that they should every one in private gratify not only, but also the whole body of the Senate in general: and never gave over, until they had procured fix of them to interpose their negative, and to cross the Law. The morrow after, when as of purpose a matter was propounded afore the Senate, about the edition which *Mætilius* had raised, by a Largess of dangerous consequence: such speeches were by the principal of the Nobles delivered, that each one for himself confessed, that now they were to seek for counsel, and saw no other help nor remedy but in the authority of the Tribunes: to the protection and safeguard of which Magistracy, the Common-wealth becom her self, and fled for succour, as being beset with danger, like some poor private person, and had no other means to save herself: saying, That it would be good for themselves, and also for their authority, an honorable thing, if it might appear, that the Consul and of their Tribuneship were not more employed in molesting the Senate, and making discord amongst the States than in reuniting the peevish wills of their colleagues. Whereupon arose a great noise through the whole company of the Senators, whiles out of all parts of the Court there assembled, they called upon the Tribunes for their helping hand. Then after silence made, they (who for the favour of the Lord of the Senate, were made aforehand to their cause) declared and confessed, that they were ready to cross that Act, by their fellows published, seeing the Senate judged it to be prejudicial to the Common-wealth. These Tribunes for the offer of their good service, were by the Senate highly thanked. But the Authors and Patrons of the Act afore said, calling together an assembly of the Commons, when they had inveighed against their fellows most sharply, terming them betrayers of the Common-wealth, and slaves to the Nobles: and using other bitter speeches, gave over their action and suit.

Two grievous wars had continued all the year next following (wherein *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Quintus Cincinnatus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, were military Tribunes in Consilium) but that the Veientian war was deferred by the superstitious fear of their own Princes: whose grounds, *Tybris* (overflowing the banks) had spoiled, and overthrowen also the villages and houses that stood thereupon. The *Æquians* likewise by reason of their loss received three years before, made no great haste to aid and assist the Volans, a people of their own nation. For they had made certain rides into the Lavicans Country, confining upon them, and warred upon the inhabitants, lately there planted. Which trespass by them done, they hoped to have been able to maintain by the banding and assistance of all the *Æquians*: but being forsaken of their allies, they lost both their Town and territory, only by siege, and one light skirmish, and never fought for any memorable war. *L. Sextius* also Tribune of the Commons, assayed to make an Act, that there might be sent to *Vole* as well as to *Lavicos*, Colonisers to people it: but by the negative of his Associates, who shewed, that they would not suffer any Statute of the Commons to pass without the assent of the Senate, it came to nothing.

In the year following, the *Æquians* having recovered and won again *Vole*, and brought a Colony thither, fortified the Town with a fresh power, at what time were Tribunes Military in Consilium authority at *Rome*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* the second time, and *M. Posthumius Regillensis*. The war against the *Æquians*, was committed to this *Posthumius*, a man of a crooked disposition, as his victory shewed more than the whole craft of the war. For having levied an army in haste, and brought it before *Vole*, after some small skirmishes, he turned the *Æquians* and at length entered the Town. And when he had done with the enemies, he began to quarrel with his own souldiers: for whereas during the time of the assault, he had given out by Proclamation, That they should have the facage after the Town was won: once he brake promise with them. For I am induced to believe that this was the cause rather why the army murmured and was discontented, than for that in a Town lately sacked before and in a new Colony there was found less spoil than the Tribune made boast of. But this displeasure and anger once conceived was made the worse after that he returned into the City: for being sent for by his fellows upon occasion of the Tribunitian seditions, there elapsed him an indelible speech. I must needs lay yea, and without all fence, wit, and honesty. Which he let fall in an assembly of the Commons: wherein it happened that as *Sextus* a Tribune of the Commons, was preferring the law *Aggraria* and saying withal, That he would propose an Act that Colonisers should likewise be sent to *Vole* for that they were worthy to have both the Town and Lands of *Vole*, who had by sword and spear conquered the time. *Posthumius* caught the word out of his mouth: And that shall my souldiers, dearly abide (quoth he) unless they be more quiet, which word being overheard offended not to the Commons presently there in place assembled, as the Lords of the Senate awhile after. Moreover the Tribune afore said an active man, and eloquent withal, having among his adversaries met with a proud humorous spirit, and an insolent and intemperate tongue, which walked
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The Oration
of Sextus
against *Posthumus*.

to ireeily and so long by his provocation, that he uttered these speeches, whi. h bred not only ill will and displeasure to himself, but also wounded the cause, and the whole state of the Patrii; This *Sextus* (I say) was busy, and quarrelling with none of all the Military Tribuns: more than with *Posthumus*. And even at that time, taking advantage of the same cruel and inhuman speech of his: Hear ye not, O ye Commons (quoth he) how he threatneth mischief unto his soldiers, as unto bondslaves? "And yet this beast ye will think more worthy of io great dignity wherein ye have placed him, than thole that induce you with house and lands, that lend you abroad to inhabit Colonies, that provide habitation for you against old age, that tending your wealth, take part and defend you against io cruel and proud adversaries. Begin now henceforth to marvel why io few take in hand to maintain your cause: For what may they look for, and hope at your hands? for honors, which ye bestow rather upon your adversaries, than thole that are affectionate defenders of the people of *Rome*. Ye fought even now and groaned again, at the words uttered out of this foul mouth. But what matter makes that? If ye were now to go to an election, and to give your voices, ye would no doubt for al that, prefer this man (who threatneth to mischief you) afore them that are willing and desirous to establish your Lands, your dwelling places, and the whole state of your substance and living. But when that lowd language of *Posthumus* was reported once to the soldiers, it bred a far greater indignation (be sure) within the camp. How now? (say they) is he, who hath interpreted our booty, and de-frauded us poor soldiers of our due, not content therewith, but must menace mischief besides unto us, as his varlets? When as therefore they openly muttered thereat, and the Quetior or Treasurer *P. Sestius* thought that the mutiny might be restrained with the same violence by which it was first raised: he sent an Officer to one clamorous soldier, that kept a noise above the rest. Whereupon arose an outcry and a brawl: and he got himself a good rap with a stone for his labour, that he was faine to go out of the press. And he that smote him, spake aloud besides, and bad the Quetior take now that for his pains in a mischief, which the General had threatened his soldiers. *Posthumus* in this hubbubly was sent for, and he, when he was come, made all worle and worle with his sharp examinations, tortures, and cruel punishments. At the laits, when he could not see to make an end nor bridle his cholier: they all ran on heaps together, at the lamentable cry of thole whom he commanded to be choked in the mire and killed under the hurdle: and he half besides himself, full foolishly stepped down in more haft than good speed from the Tribunal feart, to chastise one that contended with him, and made a great brawling. Now when as the Li-tors and Cenensors every where laid about them to make way, and il intreared the multitude in the throng they moved their patience to much, that in that furious fit of the soldiers: the Military Tribun was by his own army stoned to death. Which horrible act, after it was noised at *Rome*, and the Military Tribun by the Senates authority, were about to sit in commission for the examination of the death of their colleague, by way of rigour and torture: the Tribuns of the Commonalty oppoyed themselves, and resisted them. But that contention depended upon another quarrel. For the Senate doubting lest that the Commons for fear of those examinations intended, would in their anger create Tribuns military from out of their own body and degree: were very careful, and studied all they could, that Consuls might be chosen again. But when as the Tribun of the Commons would not suffer an act of the Senat to pass, and hindered also the election of the Consuls, the matter came to an Interregne. But in the end the Nobles had the upper hand. For when as *Q. Fabius P. Valerius*, the Interregent, held a Court for the said Election, there were created Consuls *A. Cornelius C. Sossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*.

Posthumus Ro-
ned to death
by his own sol-
diers.

An inquisition
about the
murder of
Posthumus.

In the beginning of these Consuls year, the Senate made a decree: that the Tribuns with all speed possible should propoie unto the Commons, concerning the inquisition of *Posthumus* his death: and that they should make chief Commissioner and Judge, whom they would. The Commons by the consent of the whole people, gave the Consuls commission to see it done, and performed acordingly. Who notwithstanding, that with exceeding moderation and lenity, they dispatched and ended the matter, by punishing a few, who (as it was credibly thought) made themselves away: yet could they not for all that bring about, but the Commonalty took it very haينfully, and in the highest degree, saying, That the Acts and Ordinances, which had been propounded concerning their weal and commodities, thole lay a long time asleep in the deck, and nothing done: but an order granted for their bloudshed and death, that was presently put in execution. Of io great force and importance was it. Now this had been the fittest time, that after these mutinous soldiers were chastised, the division of the Volane territory, should have been offered unto them for to comfort their poor hearts again. By which deed (no doubt) their hot desire and longing after the law *Agraria*, had been abated, which tended to dispossefs at length the Nobles of the common grounds, which they injuriously were seized of. But this indignity stuck in their stomacks, and was taken neerer to the heart, when they saw the Nobility so stiffly bent, not only to keep the common grounds in their hands, which they held by force: but also unwilling to divide among the people io much as the waist and void ground, lately gotten by conquest from the enemies: but that it was like, within a while (as all the rest) to be a booty, and di-vident, to be shared among a few.

The same year were the legions led by *Furius* the Consul, against the Volcians: who foraged the borders of the Hernicks. But finding not the enemy there, they van *Ferentinum*, whither a great number of the Volcians had retired themselves. The booty there was less than they hoped for:

A for: by reason that the Volcians, seeing small hope of keeping the Town, trussed up and carried away both bag and baggage in the night, and quit the Town: which was won the morrow after, being left well near destitute and empty. All the Lands were given freely to the Hernicks. When this year now was passed in a good quiet by the modesty and peaceable carriage of the Tribuns, then in place, there succeeded another Tribun of the Commons, *L. Scilius*, when *Q. Fabius Ambrosius* and *C. Furius Pacilius* were Consuls. Whiles this man in the very beginning of his year, was busy in stirring new seditions (as if it had been a task imposed upon his name and lineage) by propoing of the Agrarian laws: behold, there arose a pestilence, more fearful than hurtful, which turned away mens minds, from their publick assemblies and accustomed contentions, to tend their houses, and to care for the cherishing of their bodies. And (as men verily think) the sickness was less dangerous, than the seditions were like to have been. When as the City was now excised, as it were, and well elapsed, with the sickness only of many, and death of very few: presently after this pestilent year, followed (as it is commonly seen) a great dearth of corn, by reason of the neglect of tillage. *M. Porcius Cato*, and *C. Nauius Rutilius* being Consuls. This famine would have been more grievous, than the plague, had they not provided well for corn, by sending forth their Embassadors to the neighbour nations all about, inhabiting along the Tufcan Sea and the *Tyber*, for to buy grain. Proudly were the Embassadors prohibited all commerce and traffique with the Samnites, who held at that time *Cappia* and *Cumes*: but contrary-wile bountifully were they relieved, by the Tyrants or Potentates of *Sicilia*. And such was the willing endeavour of *C. Horatius*, that great store of victuals came down the *Tyber*. In what desolation the City was during this affliction, the Consuls, tried by this: that when they could not furnish an Embassage, but with one Senator, they were compelled to adjoin two Knights unto them. And letting aside the sickness and dearth, there was no trouble either at home or abroad for those two years. But when these storms were once overblown, and that care pats then began again the old troubles wherewith the City had usually been disquieted: diffention at home, and war abroad.

A pestilence.

A famine.

When *M. Aemilius* and *C. Valerius Rutilius* were Consuls, the Aequians made preparation for wars, and banded with the Volcians. Who albeit they took arms by no publick commission: yet such as would of themselves serve for hire or wages, followed the wars. At the bruit of which enemies (for they were already come over into the Countrey of the Latins and Hernicks) whiles *Valerius* the Consul mustered his men and levied soldiers: *M. Menenius* a Tribun of the Commons, and a publisher of the Agrarian laws, opposed himself against him. And when as by reason of the protection and assistance of the Tribun, no man would be compelled to take a soldiers oath against his will: suddenly news came, that the Cattle of *Carmentis* was by the enemies forced. This dishonor thus received, as it was a cause that *Meneius* was hated among the Noblemen, so it gave to the rest of the Tribuns, who were already framed and prepared to withstand the law *Agraria* more just cause to resist their colleague. The matter being thus for a long time protracted by much debating, the Consuls called both God and man to witness, that whatsoever shame or loss, either had been already received, or were like to be sustained by the enemies: the blame the Consuls imputed to *Meneius*, who hindered the mustering. And *Meneius* protested again aloud, that if the unlawful Landlords, would surrender the tenure of the common fields which they unjustly de-tained, he would not stay the musters. Then the nine Tribuns, by setting down a decree between them, made an end of the strife: and pronounced by authority of their colleague, that they would assist *C. Valerius* the Consul, (all contradiction of their colleague notwithstanding) to award any penalty, restraint or chastisement, upon them that refused to be enrolled for warfare. The Consul, being armed with this decree and warrant, after he had caused some few to be had away by the neck and laid fast, that called upon the Tribun for help, the rest for fear were sworn to serve. Thus the army was led forth to the Cattle of *Carmentis*. And although the soldiers were as odious to the Consul, as wickedly bent against him, yet at the very first coming, having manfully and lustily dispossessed the garrison, they recovered the fort. The soldiers who were flit away from the hold, and gone a plundering, by their negligence gave the Romans a opportunity to enter and to surprise it. And a good booty there was: by reason that they had customarily gotten prizes, and laid up all there as in a place of safety. Which being told in portale, the Consul commanded the treasurers for robbing the money into the common Chamber of the City: giving out these words withal, that the army should then have part of spoil, when they denied not their service in war. Hereupon both Commons and soldiers were more angry with the Consul. And therefore when as by a decree of the Senate he entered the City *Quintus* in a pety triumph, the soldiers according to their licentious manner (in that case permitted), followed after with long and sonnets, answering one another in rude time and groles meter by a alternative flaves. Wherein the Consul was greatly blamed, but *Meneius* the Tribun, his name was set out to the height, his praises were blasoned and ex-celled aloft: and at every time that he was named, the affectionate favour of the people that stood in the streets appeared, by clapping of hands and great applause, striving much to exceed the songs chanted by the soldiers. Which caused the Nobles to look to it, and troubled them more than the misappert sauciness of the soldiers, with their Consuls, which is an ordinary and usual fashion among them. And *Meneius* (who doubtless had been one of the Military Tribuns, if he had lived for it) was excluded from that dignity by an Election of Consuls. So there were created Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus* the second time.

Never took he Com, the matter more to the heart, that the Election of Tribuns escaped their hands:

hands: which grief of theirs in the Election of *Questors*, they both shewed and revenged. For this was the first time that the *Questors* were made of the commonalty: so that in choosing of them, there was but one place left for *C. Fabius Ambulustus*, a Nobleman: and 3 of the commonalty, *Q. Silius*, *P. Atilius*, and *P. Papirius*, were preferred before young Gentlemen of most noble houses. I find that the partisans of the people to use their full liberty in bestowing their voices, were the three *Ididj* (descended of that house, which ever was most maliciously bent against the Nobles) who were for that year chosen *Tribuns* of the commonalty, and possessed the peoples heads with a world of great matters, after which they gaped greedily: but so, as they flatteringly gave out and said, They would not stir at all, if the people had not courage enough, so much as in the election of *Questors*, which only the *Senat* had left indifferent to the commonalty and Nobility, to effect that which so long they had desired, and now by law was warranted. Thus the Commons assured themselves hereby of a mighty great victory: and esteemed not the dignity of *Questorship* to be the end and type of honor, but that thereby they seemed to have made a way and overture for new risen upstarts, to be advanced to Consulships and triumphs. The Nobles contrary wisely flattered, not for that their dignities were made common and imparted to other, but for the better loss thereof: protesting that if things went to no end, they would neither get, nor bring up children any more: who being put from their Ancestors place, and seeing others in possession of their dignity, should be disabled for bearing rule and authority in the state, and be good for nothing but only to be made *Priests* for *Mars*, and *Flamines* for *Jupiter*, employed about nothing else but to sacrifice (soforth) for the people. Thus on both parts were their minds nettled and provoked, and whilst the Commons took heart, and had three champions of great reputation to back them, and maintain their cause: and the Nobles, seeing all would prove like to the *Questors* Election (if it lay in the peoples choice) addressed themselves to the Election of *Consuls*, which as yet was not so free, and indifferent both for Commons and Nobles. Contrary-wise, the *Ididj* perished still, and urged the point, that in any hand *Tribuns* Military should and must be created. For now it was more than time that the Commons had their part in offices of state. But no action hitherto belonging to the offices and charge of the *Consuls* had been presented unto them, by the hindering whereof they might wing from them, that which they desired and fought for. But see, how even then, in wonderful good opportunity; word was brought that the *Volcians* and *Aequians* were departed out of their own *Confines*; and made an expedition into the *Latine* pale for to rob and spoil. To the which war, when as by virtue of an order from the *Senat*, the *Consuls* began to muster: the *Tribuns* laboured tooth and nail to hinder it: giving out that this occasion befell them happily on their sides and the Commons. Three there were of them, and all most quick, brave and courageous men: yea (and for commanders) of good birth, and worthily defended. Whereof *twain* took in hand, by their continual travel to attend and watch the *Consuls*, to keep them asunder, and either of them to hold one occupied: the third, was appointed to entertain the commonalty: and in all assemblies, with their Orations, one whilst to rein them in, another while to give them the head, as occasion required. But all this while, neither *Consuls* went through with the musters, nor the *Tribuns* with the election which they desired. But afterwards when fortune began to incline to the Commons side, Messengers came with news, that whilst the *souldiers* had lay in garrison at the *Castle Carventina*, were steps afield to get a booty, the *Aequians* having slain a few wanderers that kept the hold, entered it: and thence all the *souldiers* were slain: some as they ran into the fort again, others as they were scattered in the fields. This thing falling out so cross against the whole State, gave strength yet unto the designs of the *Tribuns*. For being dealt wial, that now at length they would force out from hindering the war, nothing would prevail: for that they neither gave place to the public calamity and necessity, nor yet regarded their own private peril of displeasure: and they obtained in the end that an Act of *Senat* was granted for to chuse *Tribuns* Military. Howbeit with this expresse proviso, it was capitulated: That none of them who had been *Tribuns* that year of the Commons, should be eligible and propounded: no, nor chosen again *Tribuns* of the Commons for the year following. Whereby no doubt, the *Senat* intended and pointed at the *Ididj*, whom they charged to seek to be *Consuls*, for a reward of their sedulous *Tribunship*. Then went the mustering forward, and preparation of war, by consent of all the States.

Sundry Authors write diversly and make doubt, whether both the *Consuls* went to the *Castle Carventina*, or whether one of them stayed behind in the City for to hold the foresaid Election. In this they disagree not, but set down for certain: that when they had assailed the *Castle* a long time without effect, they were compelled from thence to remove: and that *Verrugo* in the Country of the *Volcians* by the same army was recovered, and that great foraging there was, and driving of booties, both in the Country of the *Aequians* and also of the *Volcians*. Now at *Rome*, as the victory of the commonalty rested in this, that they had the Election which they desired: so in the issue and success of the Election, the Nobles had the better. For besides all men's hope and expectation, there were three *Tribuns* Military chosen with *Consuls* authority, all of the Nobility, *C. Julius Tullus*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Servilius Hala*. Men say that the Nobles used a subtle practise and cunning device, which even then the *Ididj* charged them with: to wit, that by intermingling a many of unworthy and unmeet competitors with others of mark and quality, they had alienated the peoples hearts from the commoners, seeing them to be men of no worth, and loathing the notable baseness that appeared in their persons.

After

A After this, tidings came, that the *Volcians* and *Aequians* (were it that the *Castle* of *Carventina* which they held and guarded still, put them into some hope: or their garrison and fort lost at *Verrugo* drove them into anger) were up in arms, with allforce ready to make war: that the *Antians* were the principal and chief in this intended action: that their *Embassadors* had solicited the people of both nations, rebuking their cowardize, for keeping within their walls, and suffering the Romans the year before, to forrage and drive booties in their territories, and the garrison of *Verrugo* to be surprized and lost. Moreover, that not only hoils of armed men were sent against them, but Colonies also were placed in their frontiers and marches: and that the Romans not content to divide their lands and goods among themselves, had bestowed upon the *Hernicks* the town *Ferentinum*, which they had won from them. At these speeches they were kindled and set on fire: and in all places whither they went to solicit, the younger fort and able men in great number were levied. So the youth and manhood of all those nations, gathered together to *Antium*, where they encamped themselves, and expected the enemy. Which tidings being brought to *Rome*, caused more fear then need was. And the *Senat* presently (which in all fearful occasions was ever their last remedy and refuge) gave order that a Dictator should be created, Which thing *Julius* and *Cornelius*, two military *Tribuns* (they say) took in great displeasure. And hereof ensued much heart-burning and dissention, whilst the LL. of the *Senat* of one side complained in vain of their grievances, That the *Tribuns* Military would not be ordered by the authority of the *Senat*: and at the last had recourse to the *Tribuns* of the Commons for helpalleging wial, that the very *Consuls* power upon the like occasion had been by their authority overruled and set down. And the *Tribuns* of the Commons on the other side, rejoicing at the discord of the *Senators*, made answer again, and said, That for their parts, they were not able to yield any incour at all, who were of no reckoning themselves, being reputed neither in the roll of Citizens, nor yet so much as in the number of men. But if to be (say they) dignities and honors were communicated to us, then would we provide and take order, that by no pride of any magistrate whatsoever, the *Senats* decree should be made frustrat and disannulled. And in the mean whilst, seeing the Nobles were exempt from all reverence of laws, and regard of magistrates, let them of themselves also exercise the *Tribuns* authority if they would. This discord falling out so unfitly, when so great war was in hand, occupied and possessed mens heads a long time: whilst *Julius* and *Cornelius* one after another, thus reasoned and discoursed: That seeing they themselves were Captains good enough for the conduct of such a war, it was not meet that the honour once bestowed upon them by the people, should be made void and taken from them. Then *Servilius Hala*, who also was a *Tribun* Military spake and said: I have been silent thus long, not for that I was doubtful in mine opinion, or to seek what to say. (For what good Citizen (quoth he) would have his advice by himself, and go from the publick Council?) but because I had rather, that my brethren of their own accord should give place to the *Senats* authority, than to suffer the *Tribuns* power to be called for, against them. And even now also, if the case would permit, I could willingly give them time and space to retract their too too obstinate, perverse and peremptory opinion. But seeing that the necessities of war, wait not upon human counsel, I will have more respect and consideration of the Weal-publick, than of the favor of my brethren. What, were it the *Senat* persist still in that mind and resolution of theirs, I will the next night following nominate a Dictator. And if any one withstand me, I will ask no more, than the power and virtue of the *Senats* Act. By which speech of his, having won deserved praise and thanks of all men, he declared *Publius Cornelius* Dictator, and was himself by him nominated General of the horsemen. A singular example to teach as many as beheld him and his Colleagues, That otherwise favour and honor sooner fall to them that least desire the same. The war was final and nothing memorable: for in one ease and slight battel were the enemies overthrow and slain at *Antium*. The army upon this victory wafed the *Volcians* Country, won by force the *Castle* upon the lake *Fucinus*, and within it took three thousand prisoners: having chased all the rest of the *Volcians* within their walls, not able to keep their frontiers. The Dictator, after he had performed this war in such sort, as only he might not seem to neglect his wonted fortune but keep it still in use, returned into the City with greater felicity than glory, and resigned up his place.

The *Tribuns* Military, making no words at all of the choosing of *Consuls* (for anger, I suppose, that a Dictator had been created) published the election of *Tribuns* Military. But then the *Senators* were in greater care and perplexity, seeing their cause betrayed even by those of their own company: Wherefore, as in the former year, by sojourn in the basest of the Commons for competitors, they had caused even men of good worth to be deposed: so, now by procuring the principal of the Nobility, both for honour and for favour, to stand for the dignity, they obtained all the places to themselves: so as no one Commoner could be chosen. So there were created four, *Gaius* having afore born that Magistracy, *L. Furius Medullinus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Cn. Fabius Ambulustus*, and *C. Servilius Hala*. This man was chosen again to the place, as well in regard of other virtues and worthy parts, as for the late labour which he won by his late moderation, and singular carriage of himself.

In that year, for as much as the time of truce with the *Vicentian* Nation was expired, they began by *Embassadors* and *Heralds of Arms*, to challenge of them amends and restitution. Whom as they entered into their territory, the *Embassage* of the *Vicentians* encountered in the way requesting them not to go forward to *Vei*, before they had presented themselves to the *Senat* of *Rome*.

Who

The Oration
of
Servilius
Hala.

Who being thither come, obtained of the Senat, that for as much as the Veientians were at civil discord among themselves, they would not claim any amends at their hands. Lo, how far they were from seeking their own vantage by other mens distresses and calamity. Allot the Volscians hands they sustained damage by loss of their garrison at *Ferruge*. But (see what a thing it is to slack the time) For whereas the souldiers besieged there, by the Volscians and tending for aid in due time, might have been relieved if speed had been made, the army which was sent for the succour, came too short, and after the fray was ended. Only this exploit they did: The enemies, who after their fresh massacre committed upon the garrison, were gone abroad (dragging for to raise booties, were by them overtaken and put to the sword. The cause of this slackness was imputed to the Senat, rather than the sovereign Tribuns: who because intelligence was given, that they in the garrison resisted and defended themselves most manfully, little considered, That there is no prowess of man whatsoever, but by valour again it may be overmatched, Most brave and valiant souldiers they, that neither whilst they lived, nor after death were unrevenged.

The year following, when P. and Cornelius both furnished *Cossus*, C. *Fabius Ambustus* and L. *Valerius Potitus* were Tribuns Military in Consuls authority, began the Veientian war by occasion of a proud and arrogant answer returned by the Senat of the Veientians: Who commanded that the Embassadors which came to claim amends, should take this for their dispatch: That unless they departed presently out of the City and Country, they would serve them as *Lars Tullianus* had done others before. The Senators of *Rome* hardly could digest that: and therefore decreed, That the Military Tribuns should propole unto the people as speedily as might be, even the day before to morrow, concerning proclamation of open war, and sending defiance to the Veientians, Which as soon as ever it was noised and published, the younger sort and men of service, murmured and muttered in this manner: "That as yet they had not fully ended the war with the Volscians: that even of late two whole garrisons were lost, and their throats cut, and the forts kept fill with danger and great hazard. There is not (say they) a year passeth over our heads, but one field or other is fought: and as if we had not work and trouble enough already, there was now intended new war with a most mighty nation confining upon us, and which was like enough to raise against us all *Hetruria*. And as they were forward enough of themselves to conceive thus, and utter these speeches, so the Tribuns of the Commons were not behind to buzze more maliters into their heads, and set all on a light fire: Who gave out till, That when all was done, the greatest warring was between the Nobles and Commons: and that the Commons on purpose were to be toiled out with travel or warfare, and exposed to the enemies for to be murdered: and that they were to be kept far off from the City, and as it were confined and sent out of the way: left by they were quiet at home, and minding their freedom and Colonies, they should contend and devise, both how to dispose of the common grounds, and to give their voices freely. And ever as they could meet with any old beaten souldiers, they would hold them with talk, take them by their hands, reckon up how many years they had done service in war, fall to telling of their gashes and scars, asking them what whole place they had left in their bodies to receive new wounds, and what blood was behind to spend and shed, in the quarrel of the Common-wealth? When as by iterating these and such like speeches, both in their private talk and conference, and also other whiles in their publick assemblies, they had turned clean away the hearts of the Commonalty from taking war in hand: the fore said Act propounded, was put off untill a farther day, and lay still for the time. Which no doubt, had been nipe in the head, and never would have passed farther, in case it had been referred and subject to the hard opinion and conceit of men, as then they stood affected. In the mean whiles agreed it was, that the military Tribuns should conduct an army into the Volscians country. Cn. Cornelius alone was left at *Rome*. The three Tribuns, after that they perceived the Volscians in no place encamped, and nothing minded to try a battel, parted themselves three ways to waste and forrage the frontiers. *Valerius* he marched to *Antium*, *Cornelius* to *Ecetra*. And every way as they went, they spoiled all before them, both house and field, and all to amuse & keep the Volscians occupied that way. But *Fabius* without any foraging at all, came directly to assault *Anxur*, which was the service most desired. Now *Anxur* was that, which at this day is called *Tarracina*, a City seated upon marshes. And at that side *Fabius* made shew of assault. But there were four cohorts under the leading of C. *Servilius Hala* sent out to fetch a compass: who having gained the hill that over-looketh and compasseth the town, from that higher ground, with a mighty shout and outcry assailed the wall, where it was dismanned of guard to defend it. At which sudden alarm, they were amazed who manned the wall of the bawle rown against *Fabius*, and suffered them to set ladders to, and to scale. By which means every place was full of enemies. And upon the walls for a good while there was nothing but killing, as well those that fled, as those that resisted armed and unarmed, one with another. So that, albeit they were too weak, yet forced were they to fight: because in yielding they saw no way but one. But upon proclamation once made, that none but armed men should be killed, all the multitude besides willingly were disarmed. Of which number there were upon a good taken alive. From the sacking *Fabius* kept the souldiers, until his Collegues were come: saying, that *Anxur* was taken as well by those armies, which had driven away the rest of the Volscians from the defence of that place, as by themselves. Who being come, the three armies jointly ravaged it, and had the pillage for their labor of that rich town, that had gathered wealth a long time, Which

A Which courtesie and bountifullness of the commanders, was the first thing that reconciled Commons and Nobles together. Over and besides this munificence of the Rulers, the Nobles also began in a most happy hour to be liberal unto the multitude. For before, that either the Commons or Tribuns made the motion, the Senat decreed, that souldiers might have their pay out of the City chamber: whereas before that time, every man in that service had born his own charges. Never was there any thing, by report, so joyfully accepted of the Commons: who ran by heaps together to the Council house: took the Senators by the hands as they came forth, and said, "They were now truly called *Patres*, Fathers, confesting that now the day was come, that in the quarrel of so bounteous a City, there was no man would so long as his breath lasted, spare either limb or life, Seeing that this commodity they should have to help them, namely, that during the time that their bodies were employed, and busily occupied in the defence of Commons, wealth, their private estate should stand at one yet, and not decay. And forasmuch as it came of themselves, and never moved by any of the Tribuns of the Commons, nor called for and craved importunately, by their importune speeches; that was it, that multiplied their joy, and made the boon it self much more acceptable. But the Tribuns of the Commons (who only had not their part in this common joy and concord of all States) came in with their opinion, and said, that it would not prove so joyous and happy to the Nobles all in general, as they supposed: that this course and order taken, was at the first sight better then it would be found in the practice and execution. For how could that money possibly be made and raised, but by levying a tribute or exaction of the people? they were therefore liberal: but of other mens pities. But admitt to say: that the rest would bear it, yet those neither could nor would endure it, who were paid war-service, and lived upon their pensions and annual salary: who would grudge and repine: that others hereafter should serve in war for more gain then they had in their time done; who having been charged with the pay of their own service, should now again be put to contribute to the wages of others. With these words they moved part of the Commonalty. Last of all, when there was levy enacted, the Tribuns also proclaimed, That they would bear as many out, as would not contribute to the souldiers pay. The Nobles continued still to maintain that which they had so well begun, and were the first that opened their purse, and for that as yet they had no silver coin, some of them carried gross pieces of brass in Vains to the treasure house, and made goodly shew of Contribution. When as the Nobles had most faithfully paid according to the rate of their wealth: the chief of the Commons also, friends of the Nobility, as it was storied began to lay their penny to theirs: whom when the common fort law both to be commended of the Nobles, and to be admired and revered of the souldiers as good Citizens: they all upon a sudden, refusing the Tribuns assistance, began to strive who should pay first. And the decree or act being once passed, of proclaiming war against the Veientians, the new Tribuns Military led an army to *Veios*, consisting much upon voluntary souldiers. Now the Tribuns were T. *Quintus Capitolinus*, P. *Quintus Cincinnatus*, C. *Julius Tullus* the second time, A. *Mamilius*, L. *Furius Mcallinus* the third time, and M. *Emilius Mamercus*. And these were the first that besieged *Veio*.

E About the beginning of which siege, when the Tuscans held a Council in a solemn assembly at the Temple of *Votumna*, they could hardly agree upon this point, Whether the Veientians should be defended by general war of the whole Nation, or no. The year following was the siege not so hot, by reason that some of the Tribuns, and part of the forces, were called away to the Volscian war. The Tribuns Military in Coss. authority, that year were, C. *Fabius Potitus* the third time, M. *Servilius Eidenas*, P. *Cornelius Maluginus*, Cn. *Cornelius Cossus*, C. *Fabius Ambustus*, P. *Naucius Rutilius* the second time. With the Volscians there was a pight field fought between *Ferentinum* and *Ecetra*: wherein the Romans had the day. Then the Tribuns began to lay siege to *Artena* a Town of the Volscians: where, by reason of a falling forth by them attempted, the enemies were driven back into the town, and the Romans took occasion and vantage thereby, to break in with them pell mell, and so they won all, save only the Castle. Into this fort naturally fenced, a good company of armed men betook themselves: but beneath the Castle, many a man was either slain or taken prisoner. Afterwards was the fortress besieged also. Neither could it by assault be forced, for that there was a guard sufficient to man it, considering the bigness of the place: nor gave the assailants any hope of yielding, for before the town was lost, they had conveyed all their publick provision of corn into the Castle. So that the Romans had for very reason, some departed from thence, but that a bondslave betrayed it unto them: who let in certaine souldiers at a steep high place, and those were they that won the fort: for when the warders were by them slain, the rest of the multitude with sudden fright were soon overcome, and ejected. Thus, when both the Castle and town of *Artena* was sacked and spoiled, the legions were brought back from the Volscians, and all the Romans power employed against *Veio*. To the traitor aforesaid, there was given besides liberty, the pillage of two householders for a reward. And he was named ever after *Servilius Romanus*. There be that think *Artena* was a town of the Veientians, and not of the Volscians: the occasion of which error is, for that there was a town of that name between *Cere* and *Veios*. But that town the Roman Kings destroyed: and it belonged to the *Cereres*, and not to the Veientians: but this other, whereof we have reported the destruction, was in the country of the Volscians.

The Fifth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Flarus upon the fifth Book.

AT the siege of Veii, the souldiers had hold made them for a winter in, which being a new kind of service, struck an heat in the Tribunes of the Commons, who complained that they had no rest from warfare, so much as in the winter season. Then the Gentlemen of Rome began first to serve upon their own horses. When the Alban lake overflowed, a certain Prophet or Wizard was taken captive from the enemies, who should interpret that strange wonder. Furius Camillus, after ten years siege, was Veii: he translated the Image of Juno from thence to Rome. The tenth part of the spoil and sacrifice he sent to Apollo at Delphi. The same Camillus being Tribune military, whilst he laid siege unto the Falisci, sent back again to the parents his enemies sons that were betrayed unto him: Whereupon the Falisci yielded themselves, and so by his righteous and just dealing, obtained victory over them. When one of the Censors C. Julius was deceased, M. Cornelius was substituted in his place which was never done again afterwards, because in that five years space, Rome was taken by the Gauls. Furius Camillus, being indicted by L. Apuleius a Tribune of the Commons, departed into exile. When as the Senates a people of the Gauls, besieged Clusnum, and the Embassadors sent from the Senat to conclude a peace between them & the Clusines, fought themselves in person against the Gauls in the Clusines army. The Senates hereupon made quarrel, and with a cruel army came against the City of Rome: and after they had defeated the Romans at the river Allia, they were Masters of the City, all but the Capitol, into which the able and serviceable young men of the City broke themselves. The elders with their ornaments of state belonging to the officers had each one had borne, they flew sitting in the porches and streets of their houses. And when they were now gotten up to the top of the Capitol, by the back side of the hill, they were discovered by the galling of Geese, and were turned down, principally by the valour of M. Manlius. Afterwards when through famine the Romans were forced to capitulate and grant for to give them the sum of 1000 pound weight of gold, and for that to buy their redemption from the siege: Furius Camillus, who was created Dictator in his absence, came with an army, whilst the gold was in weighing: and drove the Gauls out of the City, after they had been possessed of it six months, and slew them. A Chappel was built to Locustus: in that place where before the taking of the City, there was a voice heard, that the Gauls were coming: whereas it was whispered and propounded to remove to Veii, because the City of Rome was burnt and razed: that came by the advice and authority of Camillus was crossed and dispatched. The people was moved thereto the rather, by occasion of the omen of a word spoken by a Centurion, who being come with his band of souldiers into the Forum, was heard to say thus, Stand souldiers, here will be our best abiding place.

The fifth Book of T. Livius.

Vhen peace elsewhere was obtained, the Romans and Veians were at war, with such mutual malice and hatred: it that seemed, whether part were vanquished, should come to final destruction. The assemblies for the election of the Rulers of both Nations, far differed one from the other. The Romans augmented the number of Tribunes Military in Consuls authority: for eight of them (so as never afore) were created: M. Emilius Mamercus the second time, L. Valerius Potitus the third time, Appius Claudius Crassus, M. Quintilius Varus, M. Julius Tullus, M. Posthumus, M. Furius Camillus, and M. Posthumus Albus. The Veientians contrariwise, being weary of suing for dignities every year (a cause sometimes of civil discord) made themselves a King. Which offended the people of *Hetruria*: who as they abhorred all regal government, so they hated the person of the King himself. He had aforetime oppressed that nation, in regard of his greatness and pride: withal in that he had violently put down their solemn plays, the intercession whereof was held unlawful and detestable. For upon a time, in an anger that he received a repulse, and by the suffrages of the twelve Nations, another was preferred before him to be high Priest, in the very midst of their solemn Games and sports, he took from them the very Players and Actors, whereof a great sort were his own servants. That people therefore given to superstition above all other, and so much the rather for that they excelled in the skill of religious observing the same, decreed to deny the Veientians their aid, so long as they were governed under a King. This decree was suppressed and not spoken of at Veii for fear of the King, who would accompany him that should report such rumor, for a lower sedition, rather than an author of news. The Romans, albeit they heard that all was quiet from *Hetruria*, yet because they were advertised that in all the Dicts and Councils of that Nation, the question was on foot and much debated, made their fortifications at Veii, so as they stood two ways: some looked towards the City against all sallies and eruptions of the townsmen: others toward *Hetruria*, to stop all succours that haply might come from thence. But the Roman Captains having greater hope in long siege, then in quick assault, began to build winning harbours (a strange thing to Roman souldiers.) Their intent was all winter time to keep continual war. Which after it was told at Rome to the Tribunes of the Commons

A Commons (who now a long time could find no matter and occasion of troubles and alteration) they leapt forth into the assembly of the people, founding and soliciting the minds of the Commons, and often saying, "That this was the only matter, why a set way was appointed for the souldiers: and that they were not ignorant, that the gifts of enemies would prove to be belmeared with poison: That the freedom of the Commons was bought and sold: That their young men were sent away far off, and as it were banished from the City and Common wealth, so that now they had not so much spare time as winter, nor any reason else of the year, for to visit home and see unto their estate. What think ye (say they) is the cause of continuing this warfare? No other verily should they find it but this, left by reason of the frequent number of those young men, in whom the whole strength of the Commonalty consisted, there might be something dealt in, and effected, concerning their commodities. Over and besides they complained how they were much more hardly used, then the Veientians. For as for them, they spent the winter within their own houses, defending their City, fortified both with goodly walls, and also by natural situation of the place: but the Roman souldiers abode by it still in labour and travel, shrouded under booths of poor hides, overwhelmed with snows and frosts, not laying away their harness and weapons, so much as in winter the ordinary time of rest from all wars both by sea and land. This manner of hard bondage, neither the Kings, nor those proud and imperious Consuls (before the Tribunes authority was ordained to take them down) nor yet the Lordly ruling Dictator, nor the insolent and unportable Decemvirs, ever enjoined: thus to dwell in continual souldiery, as these Tribunes Military do: who exercise upon the Commons of Rome, an absolute and kingly authority. What would they do another day, when they were Consuls or Dictators indeed, who now but representing only the Consuls government (as Vice-Consuls) are so cruel and unreasonable? But we are well enough served, and justly have deserved no less, for that there was not so much as one place for a Commoner amongst eight Tribunes. Afore time, the Nobles were wont with much labour and toil, to fill but three rooms: and now they go eight in a rank together, to obtain all charges and dignities of State and Government: and in that throng, a Commoner cannot have a place amongst them, to put his Colleagues in mind (if he did nothing else) that they that go to warfare were free-men yet, and Citizens with them, and not bondslaves. Who in winter at the least, ought to be brought again to their houses and homes, and once a year visit their loving parents, their sweet children, and best beloved wives: to make some use of their liberty, and chuse their Magistrates: These and such like speeches, whilst they broadly uttered and multiplied, they met at length with an adversary that was able to match them, Appius Claudius, left for the purpose at home by his brethren in office, to restrain the Tribunes seditions: a man ever from his tender youth trained up in the broils and contentions of the Commons. Who certain years before (as we have said) gave shrewd and unhappy counsel to dissolve and put down the Tribunes authority, by the contradiction and inhibition of their own Colleagues. This man being not only in wit prompt and ready, but also exercised by long practice, made at that time this or such like speech: "If ever doubt were made, O Quirites, whether the Tribunes of the Commonalty have for love of your good or their own particular advantage, been always the authors and beginners of discord and dissention, this year I know assuredly, ye need no more stand in doubt. And as I rejoice ye are at length come to an end of this your long wandering, so I congratulate both you, and the Common-wealth for your sake, that this error is cleared, and especially in the midst of your prosperity. Is there any man maketh question now, that the Tribunes of the Commons were not offended, nor took snuff so much at the injuries at your hands received (if haply there have sometimes been any) as at the bounty of the Nobles, towards the Commons, in allowing pay to those that serve in war? What think ye else, either they feared then, or would at this day disturb and disquiet but only the concord and agreement of the States? Which they suppose tendeth most, and is sufficient, to abolish and overthrow the Tribunes authority. And verily, as naughty Artisans or lewd leeches, seek for work still, and would be ever doing: so they likewise desire to have something or other out of frame and amiss, in the Common-wealth, that to the repair and cure thereof, they might be ever sent for and employed. For whether do ye (and speak truth) maintain or impugn the commonalty? Are you the adversaries or the advocates of them that serve in the wars? Unless peradventure this be your saying, Whatsoever the Nobles do, it misliketh us, be it for the good of the common people, or to the prejudice and damage. And even as masters forbid their own servants and slaves, to have any dealing at all with strangers, and think it meet and reason, that they meddle neither hot nor cold with them: even so forewarn ye the Nobles from all commerce and enticement with the Commons: to the end, that neither we by our courtresie and liberality, should allure and win them: nor they again become dutiful and obedient to us. How much more ought you (I pray you) if there were any spark (I say not) of civillie, but of common humanitie and good nature in you, rather to favour, and as much as lieth in you, foster and cherish, as well the gracious kindnes of the Nobles, as the willing service and obedience of the Commons? Which accord, if it were perpetual, who would not undertake to warrant, that this Seignory and Empire, within a while, might prove the mightiest and most renowned of all those States that border hard upon our confines? As for this purpose intended, and plot devised by my Colleagues, whereby they would not have the army withdrawn away from the siege of Veii, before the service were brought to an end:

The Oration of App. Claudius.

"how it would not be only profitable, but also necessary, I will hereafter argue and prove. Now, for this time, I list rather to treat and speak of the present condition and state of those, that are employed there in warfare. Which Oration of mine, if it were pronounced, not before you only, but also in the camp, and there canvassed and scanned of, by the very army itself, I suppose, would seem equal, and be received for good and reasonable. Wherein, if nothing else should come into my head to speak, I would content my self, and rest satisfied with the only speeches given out by the very adversaries. They said of late, That pay was not to be allowed to the soldiers, for that never before it had been allowed. How then can they now be offended, and to male-content, if they who have some new commodity coming to them, be enjoined also new labour proportionably? For never lightly is there travel any where without gain, nor gain commonly without travel and employment. Pains and pleasure, things of themselves in nature most unlike, yet by a natural kind of society (I know not how) are linked together. The soldier (as of late) thought much to bestow his labour & service upon the Common-weal, at his own private charge; yet was he glad with all his heart, that one part of the year, he might look to home, husband his land, and get maintenance to feed himself and his, both at home in Italy and abroad in war. Now, take he contentment, and is well pleased, that the Common-weal is gainful to him; and with joyful heart receiveth his wages. Let him likewise be content, with patience to forsook his house and family (since he is at no great charge) somewhat longer than ordinary. Might not the Common-weal, if he would call him to reckoning, justly say: Yearly pay thou hast, perform therefore thy yearly service? Dost thou think it reason, to receive full wages for the whole year? and to be employed but six months for it? Much against my stomach, O Quirites, enforce I this point, and dwell still in this one part of my Oration: for in this wise ought they to reason that have mercenary and hired soldiers: but we will use them as fellow Citizens, and think it meet likewise that they treat us kindly, and speak unto us as to their native Country. Either it behoved us, not to have begun the war at all: or else to proceed forward, now it is begun: yea, and for the honour of the people of Rome, to finish it with all speed possible. And finished it will be, if we press upon our enemies thus besieged: if we depart not afore we have accomplished our hope, by the winning of Veii. And surely, there were no other cause but this, even the very shame and indignity of the thing, might force us to continue siege unto the end. In old time the whole power of Greece laid siege full ten years to one City, and that for one only woman: How far (good god) from their own home? how many lands and seas between? Are we then loth and weary being within 20, miles of our dwelling place, and almost in the sight of our own City, to endure the toil of one years siege? Because (forsooth) we have but small cause given us to war: and not griefs enough that might justly provoke us to abide and see the end. Seven times already they have rebelled: In peace never were they true. Our Country have they spoiled and wasted a thousand times. The Fidenates they have caused to revolt from us. Our inhabitants there by us placed, they have slain: and against all law of nations they were the principal instruments of that unworthy and unhuman murder of our Embassadors. All *Hetruria* would they have raised up against us, and at this day about it they go. And when our Embassadors came to demand amends, they had like to have run upon them and killed them. And ought we then with these kind of men to stand at a bay and to war coldly and by lease? But if you just an hatred as this move us not: do these things (I pray you) move what move you neither? Their City is environed and beleaguered with deep trenches: blocked with mighty sconces, whereby the enemy is pent up and pinned within his own walls. His fields he cannot till, and what so ever was afore tilled, hath been destroyed by war. If we dislodge and withdraw our army back, who doubteth, but that they (not for desire only of revenge, but upon necessity also and constraint to prey of other towns goods, having lost their own) will invade and over-run our country? So that by this means we defer not the war, but bring it within our own borders and confines. But now as touching that which properly indeed concerneth soldiers (of whom our good Tribunes of the Commons would now in all the haste seem to have too great regard, from whom erewhile they would have wrested their wages): but what is that (I say)? At trench they have cast, a rampart and platform they have raised, (matters of exceeding travel and labour) so far about: sconces at the first a few, but after as their army encreased, they have erected very thick in every place. Ports they have built, not only to command the town, but also looking toward *Hetruria*, to impeach any relief, if any aid should from thence come. What should I speak of the rolling frames and towers, the mantlets and other Fabricks? What should I speak of the Tarraces, Tortoises, Rams, and all other engines of assault and battery? Think ye it meet, that after so great toil and pains taken, now that the works at length are brought to an end, these things should be left and abandoned, that against summer we should be new to begin again, and sweat afresh about the same? How much less travail rather is it to keep these munitions already made? to be instant, and constant to endure, and abide? yea, and to rid our hands off all the care at once? For surely we may soon dispatch the service, if it be plyed thoroughly and followed on till without stay: and if we ourselves by these intermissions and respites between, make not a long piece of work off, and draw our hope at length. Thus much of the labour and toils of time. What else? Considering these so many Parliaments, these Diets and Councils continually in Tuicany, about sending aid to Veii, can we forget the danger that we incur by deterring the War? Indeed (as things

now

A "now presently (and) I confess the Tuicans with the Veientians are angry, they hate them and deny to send: and for any thing by them done, we might win Veii out of hand. But who dare warrant, that if the war be delayed, they will hereafter be of the same mind? Seeing that if the Veientians have any rest and breathing time given them, they are like to fend off their Embassadors, and those more honourable than heretofore. All the King who newly is set up and created at Veii (the only thing that now offendeth the Tuicans) in process of time, may be charged for another governor, either by agreement of the State (thereby to reconcile the hearts of the Tuicans) or of his own accord: who will not peradventure that his princely regiment should be hurtful to the safety of his subjects. See how many things, how many inconveniences follow low and ensue upon that course and manner of proceeding. The loss of the fabrick and fortifications, with so great labour already prepared and achieved: the imminent and present waiting of our own borders: the Tuicans war instead of the Veientians. These your devices, O ye Tribunes, are much what like to his, that offering a sick man some kind of meat or drink, for the very present to gratifie him withal, to please his palate and to content his taste, maketh his disease long, and peradventure incurable: who might have been recovered out of hand, in case at once, he would have resolutely endured the right cure of a skilful Physician. And surely, if we were not material to the managing of this war, and, yet would it import much to martial discipline, that our soldiers should be acquainted, not only with the sweet fruit of a victory achieved, but also if occasion required longer time, to abide this tediousness: and to wait for the end of their hope, be it never so long: and if war be not finished in summer, to stay for winter: and not as summer birds by and by in the fall of the leaf, to look about and seek for housing, harbour and covert. Consider, I beseech you, and see. The love and pleasure of hunting carrieth men into mountains, woods and forests: through frost and snow, after their game: shall not we then the like sufferance in the needful exploits of war, which patimes sports, and delights, are wont to draw and fetch out of us? Think we the bodies of our soldiers to effeminate, their hearts so tender and delicate, that they cannot for one winter abide in a camp, and forbear their home, but must needs war as men at sea, watching times and seasons, and observing the quarters of the year? Cannot they endure both parching heat and chilling cold? They would blush and be abashed verily, if a man should therewith charge them: and they would stand stiffly in this, and avouch, That they had both in body and mind manlike sufferance and patience: and that they were soldiers as well for winter as summer: and that they yet not the Tribunes work for any patronage of cowardice and flattery of idleness: but remembered well enough, that their forefathers were not under shade for fear of sun-burning, nor had their houses over their heads for taking cold, when they first created and ordained that magistracy of Tribunes. This rather is becoming the valour of your soldiers, this fiteth well the name of Romans, not to have their eye upon Veii only, and this war now in hand, but to seek for fame and glory both by other exploits, and also with other nations in time to come. And think ye that there would ensue hereupon a small crack of credg, and hazard of reputation? Would ye have the neighbor nations confining upon us, conceive thus of the people of Rome, That if a City could receive their first brunt, and abide their assault for a very small while, it need not after to fear any more? Or rather should not this dread and terror of our name spread all abroad, both far and near, That no weariness of long siege and assault, no violence of bitter winter, is able to raise the Roman army from any town once by them invetted? as knowing no other end of war but victory? and whose manner of service is not by way of violent force more than of oblique continuance, which (as in all other military occasions) so in besieging of Cities is most needful: the greatest number whereof, being either by strong bulwarks and other fortifications, or by natural situation impregnable, yet by famine, by hunger and thirst, procel and tract of time only doth force and overthrow. As it will (I doubt not) Veii at length: unless the Tribunes of the commonality favour our enemies: unless that the Veientians find that relief and aid at Rome, which they seek in vain throughout all *Hetruria*. For can there ought happen to the Veientians so wished for, as that first the City of Rome should be full of variance, and then the Camp (as it were by a contagion from thence) as full of munities? But contrariwise I assure you, amongst the enemies, to good order there is and government, that neither the tediousness of long siege, nor yet the loathing of Kingly rule, hath caused any stir or commotion among them. No, nor the denial of help from the Tuicans hath one whit troubled and discomfited their minds: but die he shall forthwith, that is the author of sedition. Neither shall any man there be suffered to speak those words, which are spoken here amongst you without any punishment or controlling. He deserveth the bastinado, to be dry beaten and wel cudgelled that forsaketh his Colours, or departeth from his guard and quarter. But here, in open assemblies, they that perswade and counsel not one or two soldiers, but whole armies to leave their Standards and Ensigns, and abandon the very camp, have audience with applause. Insomuch, that whatsoever a Tribune of the Commons speaketh, although if were to betray the City, and undo the whole State, ye are used to hearken and give good ear to him: and being ravished and carried away with the sweetness of that authority, ye suffer under it to lurk any mischief whatsoever. There remaineth now no more but this, that the words they give out here with open mouth, the same they might iterate in the camp among the soldiers, to corrupt the army, and not suffer them to obey their Captains. For to such licentious liberty they are grown at Rome, that they fear and reverence

neither

"neither Council nor Magistrate, neither Laws nor ancient Customs, neither Decree of Senators, nor yet the Discipline of Military service.

Now was *Appius* with his Orations good enough for the Tribuns, and able to meet them at every turn: But see: (a thing that no man would have thought) a loss and foil received before *Vetius* made *Appius* to have the better hand of the cause, wrought a greater unity among the States, and kindled an ardent desire to assail *Vetius* more hotly, and to besedge it with more resolution. For when they had raised up a mount near unto the City, and approached in a manner to the walls thereof, with their rolling towers and roofed mantlets, whiles (I say) they were not so vigilant in the night season to tend and watch these Fabricks, as they were buie and earnest in the day time to rear and plant them: behold, all of a sudden the enemies opened a gate, and armed in great numbers, especially with burning firebrands, set all on a light fire: and in the space of one hour consumed both the mount and the mantlets, which had cost so long time in making. And many a man besides that came to help (but in vain) by sword and fire lost his life. Which being reported at *Rome*, made all men heavy and lad, and caused the Senators to take care and fear, how upon this accident, they might possibly prevent and Ray, either commotion in City, or mutiny in camp: doubting lest the Tribuns would have insulted over the Common-weal, as if they had gotten a great conquest. At what time, they that were by calling Gentlemen and so assailed, and had no horses of service assigned them from the City, after some consultation together among themselves, suddenly came into the Senat: and having liberty granted of speech, promised to serve in the wars with horses of their own. After that the Senat had right honourably thanked and given them most gracious words, the newness thereof was no sooner bruited through the market place and whole City, but behold, all on a sudden the Commons came running unto the Council house, saying, that as they were then to serve as footmen, so they offered their service to the Commonweal extraordinarily without mustering, whether they should be led, either to *Vetius*, or to any other place whatsoever. And if they were conducted to *Vetius*, they would not return again (they say) from thence, before they had won that City from their enemies. At which words, the Senators rose exceedingly joyed above measure, that hardly they could temper themselves. For they took not order, as they did by the Gentlemen and horsemen afore, that they should be praised by the mouth of the Magistrates thereto appointed, nor called them into the Council house, there to give them an answer, neither could they keep themselves within the Council house door. But every one of them in his own behalf, so well as he could signified from aloft, both by word of mouth, and gesture of hand, unto the multitude standing in the *Comitium*, a general joy conceived: saying, That the City of *Rome* in that concord and unity would be happy, invincible, and perpetual: commending the horsemen, praising the footmen, extolling and magnifying that very day, and confessing that now they had surpassed the courtesy and bounty of the Senat. So that Nobles and Commons both, for joy wet again who could weep most, until the Senators were recalled into the Court: where a decree was made, That the Tribuns Military should assemble the people, and give thanks both to horsemen and footmen, and promise in the name of the Senat, that they would be mindful of their affectionate kindness to their Country: and to signify that it was their pleasure, that they all, who had offered extraordinary service so willingly. Noly, should have their pay notwithstanding: yea, and for the horses also there were assigned a certain rate and proportion of wages. This was the first time that the Gentlemen began to serve on horseback for money. This voluntary army marched to *Vetius*, and not only repaired again the works which had been destroyed, but also went in hand to erect new. And from the City was provision of victual brought, with greater care of convoy than afore, that nothing might be wanting to an army so well delivering of the Common-weal.

The year following had for their Military Tribuns in Consuls authority, *C. Servilius Hala* the third time, *Q. Servilius*, *P. Virginus*, *Q. Sulpicius*, *A. Manlius* the second time, and *M. Sergius* the second time. In these Tribuns time, whiles every mans care was bent to the Veientian war, the sort of *Ansur* being neglected, by occasion that the garriſon ſouldiers were diſbanded and ranged much abroad, and commonly received Volſcan Merchants into the town, was ſuddenly ſurpriſed, by reaſon that the warders of the gates were betrayed. Leſs company of ſouldiers there were ſlain: becauſe that all of them (beſides thoſe that were ſick) found themſelves occupied and traded all the country over, and in the Cities adjoining, like to lawleſſ lackies that follow the Camp. Neither was there better ſucces at *Vetius*, wherein reſted the chief care now, of all their publick affairs. For not only the Roman Captains were more angered one at an other, than courageous againſt the enemy: but alſo the forces of the enemies were encreaſed by the ſudden coming of the Captains and the *Falſci*. Which two nations of *Hetruria*, becauſe they inhabited next, ſuppoſing when *Vetius* ſhould be forced and loſt, that their turn would be next to be warred upon by the Romans: and the *Falſcians* beſides, upon a ſpecial grudge and old quarrel of their own, for that aforetime in the Fidenat war, they had intermeddled and intereſted themſelves, ſent their Embaſſadors to and fro, and by binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath one to the other, came unlooked for with their power to *Vetius*. And by chance they aſſailed that ſide and quarter where *M. Sergius* a Military Tribun had the charge of a ſconce. Who gave a great alarm and cauſed exceeding fight: becauſe the Romans ſuppoſed certainly that all *Hetruria* was raiſed one of every part, and there preſent, with all the power they could make. The ſame imagination animated the Veientians alſo within the City, to make a ſally. So was the Camp of the

At the Romans aſſailed on both ſides. And whiles they ran together up and down, and turned their enſigns every way, and could hardly keep the Veientians within the ſtrength of their Fortreſſe, nor yet repulſe the violence from their own fortifications and ramparts, and defend themſelves from their foreign enemies behind: their only hope was to have help from the greater leaguer: that the legions in ſundry places might make head, ſome againſt the Capenates and the *Falſci*, others againſt the ſally of the townſmen. But *Virginus* had the charge of that main camp, one that bare a privat grudge and inward malice againſt *Sergius*, and was hated again of him. This man, when word was brought that moſt of the Fabricks and bulwarks were aſſaulted, that the ramparts and trenches were won, and that the enemies on both ſides charged luſtily, kept his ſouldiers well appointed in arms: ſaying, that if there were any need of help, his Colleague ſhould ſend unto him, if he would. And he for his part was not ſo arrogant and inſolent, but the other was as ſpecivith and wiſul. Who becauſe he would not ſeem to ſeek unto his adverſary, nor crave aid at his hand, choſe rather to be vanquiſhed of his enemy, than to overcome him by help of a fellow-Citizen. Thus between them roſe a good will the poor ſouldiers went to wrack, and were ſlain. At the laſt, forſaking their ramparts, a very few of them eſcaped into the maine camp. But the moſt part, with *Sergius* himſelf, went through to *Rome*. Where when he had laid all the fault upon his fellow in government, it was thought good that *Virginus* ſhould be ſent for out of the camp: and that in the mean while their Deputie, and Lieutenants ſhould command the forces. Hereupon was the matter debated in the Senat, and the two Tribuns kept a taunting and reviling: and many hard tearms were dealt between them. Few there were that tendered the common good, but took part either with the one or the other, as each of them were fancied and beloved. Howbeit the LL. of the Senat thought good: howſoever that ſo ſhamefull chance hapned either through the default, or unlucky fortune of the Captains not to expect the ordinary full time of the election, but that preſently there ſhould be new Tribuns military created, to enter into their office on the Calends of October. To what opinion when they were all agreed, the other Tribuns military nothing gainſaid. But *Sergius* and *Virginus* (for whole ſake it appeared that the Senat was weary of the Magiſtrates that year) at the firſt made means & beſought them not to digraſe and diſcredit them ſo: and afterward aſſayed to croſs the decreed election: ſaying that they would give over their place, before the Ides of December, which was the laſt and ſual day of entering yearly into new offices. Amid this buſineſſ, the Tribuns of the Commons, who had kept ſilence even againſt their wills, ſo long as men were at unity and the affairs of the City proſpered, upon a ſudden brake out and threatned ſharply the two Tribuns Military, that unleſs they would ſubmit themſelves, and reſt in the authority of the Senat, they would commit them to ward. Then *C. Servilius Hala*, a Military Tribun, ſtood up and ſaid, "As for you and your threats, O ye Tribuns of the Commons, in good faith, I would gladly fee once, that there were no more power and authority in theſe here, then will and ſtomack in you. But who ſeeth not that there is no ſtriving againſt the authority of the Senat? And therefore hold ye content: and forbear you to ſeek opportunity and occaſion upon our variance to offend wrong. And my brethren for their parts ſhall either do that which the Senat thinketh good: or elſe if they ſhall continue ſtubborn ſtill in their contumacy, I will preſently nominate a Dictator, to force them to leave their office. This ſpeech was approved with a general accord. And the Senators being glad that without the terrors and affrightments of the Tribuns authority, there was found out another greater power to bridle magiſtrates: the two military Tribuns aforeſaid, were overweighed with the content of all parties, and held a new election of military Tribuns, to begin their government on the Calends of October: and before that day they reſigned up their places. Thus were *L. Valerius Poturius* the fourth time, *M. Furius Camillus* the ſecond time, *M. Emilius Mamercus* the third time, *Cn. Cornelius Cofſus* the ſecond time, *C. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *L. Julius Tullus*, Tribuns military in Conſuls authority.

In whole time many worthy Acts were performed both at home and abroad. For not only they had war in ſundry places at one time, namely, at *Vetius*, at *Capena*, againſt *Faleris*, and with the *Velleſi*: to the end that *Ansur* might be won again and recovered from the enemies: but as *Rome* alſo, what about muſters and paying the tribute for ſouldiers pay, there was much trouble. Beſides, there was ſome variance, about taking in certain Tribuns of the Commons to the reſt: and the two arraignments of thoſe, who a little before had governed in Conſuls authority, cauſed no ſmall ſtir. But the principal care of the Tribuns military, was that the muſter ſhould go forward. Neither were the younger ſort and ſerviceable men only preſt forth, but the elder alſo compelled to give their names, and to keep watch and ward in the City. But look how much greater was the number of ſouldiers, ſo much more money they needed for their payment. And the ſame was levied by a contribution: but unwillingly of as many as tarried at home. For that beſides the levy they were enjoined to become ſouldiers alſo, in defence of the City and to ſerve in perſon for the Commonweal. Theſe things, grievous as they were of themſelves, ſo by the ſeditious Orations of the Tribuns in their aſſemblies, they ſeemed more grievous and heavy. Who argued and diſcourſed thus, "That wages was appointed for ſouldiers to this end, only that what by warfare, and what with exactions and impositions, they might unto the Commons, and make an end of them at once for ever. One war (ſay they) hath now continued three years, and the ſame, on ſee purpoſe, ill managed, that it might be drawn out the longer. Again, in one muſter there were armies enrolled for no fewer than four wars, whereunto beardless boyes and old craſe men,

* 1. day of October.

* The 13. day of December.

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"were taken up and haled forth. Now there was no difference of winter or summer: so as the poor Commons at no time can have any rest. Who now at last are taxed also and racked to the uttermost, so that after they have brought home with them their bodies overtired with travel, weakened with wounds, and lapt of all, wasted and spent with age: and finding all things at home unassisted by reason of the long absence of the masters and owners, they must beain to pay tribute even out of their poor decayed quick stock, and repay again with great usury to the Common-wealth, their wages received in war, as it were upon interest.

Between the muliers of one side, and the levy of souldiers pay on the other side, and their minds occupied about greater affairs, at the election of Tribuns of Commons, the number could not fully be made up: Whereupon there was great labour made, that into the rooms that were void, there should be some of the Nobility taken in and admitted. When that could not be obtained, yet to assume and overthrow * the Tribuns law, it was effected or brought to pass that they should affume unto them for Tribuns of the Commons, C. *Lucerius*, and *Marcius Attilius*, by the might and practise no doubt of the *Patritii*. It happened, so that the same year C. *Trebonius* was a Tribun of the Commons, who would seem to undertake the patronage and defence of the Law *Trebonia*, and discharge it as a duty to that name and house belonging. He spake aloud and said, "That

"whereas the Tribuns Military had won that; whereof some of the Nobles had born the repulse in their first suit, and that the Law *Trebonia* was dissanull'd, in that certain Tribuns of the Commonalty were taken into their fellows, not by suffrages and free voices of the people, but by the rule and commandment of the Nobles: and that the matter was come to that pass, that either Noble men, or their favourites and followers were to become Tribuns of the Commons: that their sacred laws were taken from them perforce, and the Tribuns authority wrested from out of their hands by violence: all these inconveniences he complained to have happened through the fraudulent practise of the Nobles: and the mischievous lewdness and treachery of his own companions in office. Thus whilst there grew great heart-burning among them, and that not the Nobles only, but also the Tribuns of the Commons, as well they, which were elected, as they that were electors, were hardly thought of by the people: Then three of the Company, P. *Cerarius*, M. *Mellius*, and *Munius*, fearing some shrewd turn, like to fall upon *Sergius* and *Virginius*, (the Tribuns military of the former year) and by serving process, giving them a day to answer, turned from themselves the anger and displeasure of the Commons, upon those two persons: publishing openly, "That whosoever were grieved for the muliers and the Tribune, whosoever thought the war long, and the continual soldiery tedious, whosoever sorrowed for the damage and discomfort received at *Veii*, whosoever for the loss of their Children, Brethren, Kinsfolk, or any of their alliance had heavy and mournful houses: to them they offered liberty and power to vent their publick and privat grief, upon their two guilty persons and offenders, *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the very causes of all the mischiefs and calamities that were happened. For why? the adversary charged them with no more then was confessed by the very parties: who finding themselves both faulty, laid the blame one upon the other: whilst *Virginius* reproached *Sergius* with running away, and *Sergius* laid treason to *Virginius* his charge, in that he denied his help in time of need. For so say they were both of them to inconsiderate and foolishly only, were to speak beyond all compass of belief. But much more likely it was, that there was some packing rather, and that the matter was contrived, and practised of set purpose, and by an ordinary and common fraudulent plot of the *Patritii*. By whose means both at the first the Veientians got opportunity to fire their works, thereby to draw out and prolong the war, and also now the army was bought and sold, and the Roman camp betrayed to the *Falisci*. And all this to no other end, but that the youth and flower of the City might wax old at *Veii*, and that the Tribuns might not propole and consult with the people about the distribution of lands, or any other commodities of the poor Commons, or in frequent and full assembly of Citizens intend and follow their publick actions, and withstand the conspiracy of the Gentry and Nobles. Moreover there is already (say they) a prejudice passed against the offenders, both by the Senat and people of *Rome*, and also by their Collegues. For as they were displaced and depoted from their office, by an Act of the Senat: so when they refused to give over, they were for fear of a Dictator forced by their own companions to resign up their government: and the people of *Rome* had created other Tribuns military to enter into their charge, not upon the usual day which was in the * Ides of December, but forthwith in the Calends of October: as who would say, the Common-wealth had not been able to stand any longer, if these men had remained still in place. And yet for all this, these persons thus convicted and fore-condemned by so many prejudices, come now to be judged of the people: thinking they are sufficiently quit, and discharged, yea, and have suffered punishment enough, in that they were two months sooner then ordinary, made private persons: and perceive not, that thereby was taken from them the power only to do any harm, and no punishment inflicted upon them. For as much as, even their very Collegues, who had not offended, were likewise discharged as well as they: Let the *Quirites* therefore and people of *Rome*, take that heart to them again, which they had upon the late overthrow fresh and bleeding new, when they beheld the army running in fearful flight, fore wounded and agast, arriving at the gates, blaming no fortune, nor any of the gods, but only their two brave leaders. And as for us, we know assuredly that there is not one of all them here presently assembled, who that day

* Lex *Trebonia* published by L. *Trebonius*. See the third Book.

The invective speech of C. *Trebonius* against *Sergius* and *Virginius*.

* The 13. day of December.

A "fled not in his heart and drested the head, the house, and whole estate of L. *Virginius*, and M. *Sergius*. Neither is it convenient, that upon whom, erewhile every man prayed that the anger and vengeance of God would light against them now when they both may and ought, they should not extend their full power with rigour. Since that even the very gods never lay hand themselves upon sinners and offenders: but it sufficeth that they aim the wronged and oppressed persons with means and opportunity of revenge. The Commons upon these speeches moved with indignation, condemned the two offenders in * 100.000, brazen Aesses a piece: notwithstanding that *Sergius* pleaded for himself, blamed the common fortune of war, and laid all upon fortune: and *Virginius* besought them (but both in vain) that he might not be more unhappy, and speed worsted home, than abroad in war. Thus the peoples wrath being diverted upon these two, obscured and darkned the remembrance both of the assumption and admitting of the Tribuns aforesaid, and of deluding and dissanulling the Law *Trebonia*. The Tribuns thus having got the upper hand, to the end that the Commonalty might have a present reward for awarding this doom, publish the Law *Aggraria*, and forbid the levying of the Subsidy for souldiers pay: seeing there was need of pay for so many armies: and sped so well they had, in the managing of warfare, as they were like to come to an end, without any waiting at all. For at *Veii* the pery camp which was lost, being recovered again, was fortified with strong bulwarks, and furnished with good guards. The Tribuns Military, M. *Enyllus* and Q. *Fabius*, had the charge there. And as for M. *Enyllus* in the Faliscan, and Cn. *Cornelius* in the Capenit Country, they could meet with none enemies without their town walls. But they drove away booties, and waited their manes, by firing their villages and their corn: but as for their towns, they neither assaulted nor besieged them. But in the Volscian country, alter their territory was wasted, *Anxur* also was assaulted (but in vain) for that it was situate on high. Whereupon *Valerius Potitus*, who had the charge of that province, seeing that force would not prevail, began by trench and rampart to lay siege to it, and invest it round. The affairs of war abroad standing in these terms, there arose domesticall strife and sedition at home: and the same was followed more earnestly and with greater ado than the wars were managed without. And when by reason of the Tribuns there could no fundies and exactions be gathered, nor money for souldiers pay sent to the Generals, and that the souldiers called on them hard, and were hairy for their wages: the camp also had like to have been troubled and infected with the contagion of those civil mutinies. During these heats and angries of the Commons against the Nobles, albeit the Tribuns of the people said, That now the time was come of establishing their freedom, and translating the chiefest dignity from the *Sergii* and *Virginius* to the Commoners, such as were men of valour and action: Yet they prevailed no more then thus, that one only of the Commonalty, (as it were to make entrie and take possession in the right of that dignity) *Jo. wits*, P. *Lucinius Calvus*, should be created Tribun Military with Consul authority: the rest were all of the Nobility, Pub. *Manlius*, and P. *Titinius*, P. *Mellius*, L. *Enyllus*, *Medullinus*, and L. *Popilius Volsesus*. The very Commoners themselves marvelled that they had obtained to great a thing, and not he only who was created, a man that aforesaid had never been in place, and born no magistracy, yet an ancient Counsellor of State, an elderly person, and well

P. *Lucinius Calvus* the first Commoner advanced to sovereign government.

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E slept in years. Neither as yet is it for certain known, why he first and above all others was counted a meet man to have hanfel, or make essay of this new dignity and promotion. Some think, that for his brother Cn. *Cornelius* his sake, who had been the year afore a Tribun Military, and had given to the horsemen triple pay, he was through favour drawn in, and called to go great honour. Others, for that himself had picked out a convenient time, and made a plausible Oration, that both Nobles and Commons liked very well, concerning the agreement and unity of the States. The Tribuns of the Commons rejoicing highly for this their victory in the Election, remitted and called in the Inhibition of the subsidy or imposition aforesaid, the thing that most of all prejudiced the service of the Common-wealth. By means whereof payment was made in all dutiful obedience, and sent it was unto the army. Then within short time was *Anxur* (in the Volscians Country) recovered: by occasion that on a festival holy day, the watch and ward of the City was neglected. This was a year notable and famous for the cold and inowny winter, so as the high ways were choaked up, and *Tiberis* was unnavigable: Howbeit, by reason of provision brought in aforehand, the want of corn arose not. And for because P. *Lucinius*, as he entered his government without any troubles, and with greater joy and contentment of the Commons than indignation of the Nobles: he so ruled and executed it all the year long accordingly: therefore their teeth watered at the next election also, to make Tribuns military of their own body. Only M. *Terentius*, of all the Nobility that stood in suit for the dignity, had a place among them. But as for the other Tribuns Military in Consular authority, all the Centuries in a manner chose Commoners, to wit, L. *Titinius*, P. *Menenius Rutilius*, Cn. *Gennatius*, and L. *Attilius*.

F After this hard Winter, either by reason of a disemperature and disposition of the weather, suddenly changed to a contrary: or upon some other hidden and unknown cause, there followed presently a contagious and dangerous summer, by occasion of a pestilence, noisome to all kind of living creatures. Of which incurable malady, when as neither the reason could be found, nor any end thereof seen, the Books of *Sibylla*, were by a decree of the Senat perused: and *Dumvires*, appointed for Divine Rites and Ceremonies, by celebrating a *Læstifene* (then first instituted in the City of *Rome*) to appease and pacifie *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury* and *Nephtune*: feasted them (as it were) for the space of eight days together, & for that purpose they set out three

G After this hard Winter, either by reason of a disemperature and disposition of the weather, suddenly changed to a contrary: or upon some other hidden and unknown cause, there followed presently a contagious and dangerous summer, by occasion of a pestilence, noisome to all kind of living creatures. Of which incurable malady, when as neither the reason could be found, nor any end thereof seen, the Books of *Sibylla*, were by a decree of the Senat perused: and *Dumvires*, appointed for Divine Rites and Ceremonies, by celebrating a *Læstifene* (then first instituted in the City of *Rome*) to appease and pacifie *Apollo*, *Latona*, and *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury* and *Nephtune*: feasted them (as it were) for the space of eight days together, & for that purpose they set out three

three beds or banquetting tables, with as magnificent and stately furniture as could be for that time possibly devised. Which solemnity was privately also performed. All the gates and doors through the City flood wide open forsooth of viands were set out abroad to be used in common open house kept for all comers, one with another, as well unknown strangers as their acquaintance, with all friendly welcome, and entertainment. Kindly, and courteously would they talk and devise, even with their adversaries: all chiding and brauling was laid aside and put under foot. The prisoners also for that time were enlarged, yea, and confidence made afterwards, that any should be laid or kept in irons, unto whom the gods had vouchsafed that gracious deed.

But all this while much trouble there was, and many alarms before *Vei*, by reason that three wars were joyned now in one. For when as all at once the Capenats and the Falisci came (in manner as afore, about the fortifications and trenches of the Romans) for to rescue the besieged, they were forced to make head, and hazzard a doubtful battel against three armies. But the best help here had, was the remembrance of the late condemning of *Sergius* and *Virginius*. Therefore having conducted by a nearer way, their forces from the greater camp (which before lay still and would not come to incur) they set upon the Capenats backs, as they turned against the rampart of the Romans. The battel there begun, made the Falisci also afraid: in which affright of theirs they suddenly sallied out of the lesser hold, in so good time that they forced the enemies to turn their backs, all quaking for fear. And having got the upper hand, they followed the train of the victory, and in the chase made a very great slaughter and destruction of them. And not long after, the foragers that wasted the land of the Capenats, as they ranged abroad here and there, encountered the residue and remnant of this battel, as if fortune of purpose had presented them to their hands, and swept them up clean. Also many of the Veientians as they fled back into the City, were cut in pieces before their very gates: whilst they within for fear lest the Romans at once should rush in, made the gates fast and so shut out the hindmost of their own men. These were the achievements of this year.

And now approached the Election of the Tribuns military, whereof the nobles had in a manner a great care then of the war: as who saw now that the sovereignty rule was not only parted with the Commonalty, but welnear on their own behalf quite lost. Therefore albeit of set purpose they had prepared most noble and excellent men to stand in suit, whom to pass by and let slip, they thought the people would have been ashamed: yet nevertheless they themselves (as if they had been the parties that stood tried every way, and not only sought the help of men, but also craved it at the hands of the gods: making it great scruple and a matter of conscience: and alledging that the elections for two years past were not according to the wil of God: as appeared by this, say they, that in the former year there was an intolerable winter, and such asportended some heavy judgements from above: how also the year following, there were no prodigious tokens shewed abroad, but even the very events and effects thereof, were seen and felt: namely, the pestilence both in Country and City, through the very indignation, no doubt, of the gods, for that in the fatal Books of *Sibylla* it was found out, that they ought to have been pacified, for the diverting away of that pestilent influence. As if in those solemn assemblies which ought in the name of the gods & religiously to be held, the gods thought it an indignation and unseemly thing, that the honourable offices of state should be made common: no distinction of degrees, no difference of honours observed, but all confused and shuffled together. The people therefore being driven into amaze, not only in regard of the Majesty and Dignity of those that were competitors, but also of a very remore of conscience, chose for Tribuns military in Coff. authority: all of the Nobility; and a good part of them, the most honorable personages of the rest, to wit, *L. Valerius Potitus* the first time, *M. Valerius Maximus*, *M. Furius Camillus* the third time, *L. Furius Medullinus* the third time, *Quintus Servilius Fidenas* the second time, *Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus* the second time. Howbeit in this year no great exploit worthy record, was performed at *Vei* under these Tribuns. All the service that was, consisted in foraging and wasting. The two Lord Generals raised huge booties, to wit, *Potitus* from *Falerii*, *Camillus* from *Capena*: leaving behind them nothing whole and untouched, that might be spoiled by fire or sword. In this mean time many fearful prodigious tokens were reported, the most part whereof were slenderly credited, for that there was but one only author: and because there were no soothsayers, by whom they might make procuration therefore (since that the Tulsans were now professed enemies) they were altogether neglected. But one especially there was, which all men had an eye and regard unto, namely, for that a certain pool within the Alban forest, without extraordinary rain from above, or any other occasion which might make the thing seem less miraculous and wonderful, was risen unto an unusual height. Certain Orators therefore were sent to the Oracle of *Delphi*, to know what the gods foresignified by that prodigious token. But they, as god would, met with an interpreter of the Destinies nearer home, to wit, an ancient Veientian, who (upon a time, when as the soldiers, both of the Romans and Tulsans, let fly one at the other taunts and scoffs from their stations and guards) thus spake in propheticall wise: That until the water were drained and let out of the Alban poole, the Romans should never be masters of the town of *Vei*. Which saying of his was at the first condemned as a foolish word: rashly let fall from him: but after, it began to be much talked of, so long, until a certain Roman souldier from out of his ward, enquired of a townsman that warded next unto him (for now by reason of long war they had encrease of speech one with another) what he was who had cast out such an ambiguous riddle of the Alban Lake? When

The Alban lake risen to a wonderful height.

A When he heard that he was a soothsayer, being himself also a man not without some sense of religion, he strained that wildfirth to communication, pretending that he would gladly be resolved himself, as touching a particular prodigious object that troubled his mind: & therefore requested him at his good leisure, to take to much pain as to confer with him, and give him counsell about the expiation and diverting the danger thereof. Now when they were both gone a good way from their fellows, unarmed, and without all fear and suspicion of the other, the Roman being alittle tall young man, caught the feeble old fellow in the sight of them all, and notwithstanding a great stir that the Tulsans made, but all in vain had him away perforce to his own company; who being brought before the General, was sent afterwards to come into the Senat. And being demanded what the meaning of that should be, which he had prognosticated and presaged concerning the Alban lake, answered thus: "Certainly the gods were offended with the people of *Vei* that day on which they put this into his mind to betray the fatal and inevitable destruction of their State and country: and therefore that, which is the people being stirred by divine inspiration had prophesied, neither might he call back again his utterance, and besides, happily by concealing those things, which the immortal gods would have to be published, there might be committed as great sin, as by disclosing mysteries to be concealed. Thus therefore (quoth he) it is written in the fatal books of fortunes, and thus in the Tulsans learning, to us is delivered, that when the Alban water overflowed, if then the Romans with due and religious ceremonies let it out, they should have the victory of the Veientians: but before that the gods would not forsake the walls of the Veientians. Then went he on still, and shewed what was the solemn and right manner of draining the water. But the Nobles supposing authority to be the light of credit, and not of sufficient account in so weighty a matter to be believed, resolved to expect the Embassadors, and the answer of the Oracle of *Apollon*. But before these messengers were returned from *Delphi*, or any expiation found out for this Alban miracle, the new Tribuns Military with Consuls authority, *L. Julius Tullus*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the fourth time, *L. Sergius Fidenas*, *A. Posthumus Regillensis*, *P. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *A. Manlius* began their government.

In that year there arose new enemies, the Tarquinians; they seeing the Romans busied with many wars at once, with the Volscians at *Anagnin*, who laid siege to the fort there: with the *Aequians* at *Lavinia*, who assaulted the colony of the Romans: besides, with the Veientians the *Faliscians* and *Capenats*: and that within the City there was no greater quietness, by reason of variance between the Nobility and Commons: supposing, I say, that hereby they had good opportunity to do some injury and harm, they sent forth certain bands of souldiers lightly appointed, into the territory of *Rome*, to forrage and make spoil: thinking that the Romans would either put up that wrong at their hands without revenge, because they would not charge themselves with a new war: or encounter them and make head with a small power and the same but slender and disarmed. The Romans were more offended at the indignity of these bravadoes, than they cared much for the spoil done by the Tarquinians. And thereupon they neither made much ado about the matter, nor drove it out any long while. *A. Posthumus* and *L. Julius* levied a power without any ordinary muster (for letted they were by the Tribunes of the Commons) even in a manner of voluntary souldiers, whom they had procured with good words and comfortable speeches. And passing throughout the country of the *Caris* by crofs & crooked waies, surprised the Tarquinians upon the sudden, as they returned from plundering & laden with great prizes. Many they slew, all they cayed of their loading: and thus having recovered the spoils of their lands, they returned to *Rome*. Two daies were allowed for the owners, every own to own his proper goods: & on the third day, such goods that were unknown (whereof the most part belonged to the enemies) were sold in port-sale: and that money which was made thereof was divided among the souldiers. All other wars, and especially the Veientian, had doubtful issue. For now the Romans despairing of a morsel help, regarded and expected only the courtes of destinies and the will of the gods. By which time the Embassadors were returned from *Delphi*, bringing the answer of the Oracle, agreeable to the former answer made by the wizard, with taken prisoner: and it ran in this forme: Beware O Romans that the Alban water be not kept too long in the pool. Beware thou let it not discharge it self into the sea. Let it fresh and wear the fields therewith, by sundry rivuluses or streams: thou shalt waste it and draw it dry. Then assault valiantly the enemies walls, remembering that out of that City which so many years thou hast besieged, victory is promised to thee, if by those destinies which now are revealed. And after the war ended and conquest achieved, see thou bring unto my temple, an ample and honourable present: and perform shiftered ceremonies of thy country according to the old custome, and renew those fresh which have of late time been neglected. Here grew this captains prophet above said to be greatly accounted of: and the Tribuns military, *Cornelius* and *Posthumus*, began to take his counsel and advice, about the procuration of the Alban miracle, and to appease the gods in due order. And found it was at last where it was that the gods blamed the neglect of ceremonies & for letting the ancient solemnities and sacrifices: and that certainly it was nothing else, but that there was an error committed in creation of the Magistrats: and they created, had solemnized the Latine holidays wrong and celebrated the sacrifices in the Alban manner amiss. The only purging or expiation whereof was, that the Tribuns military should give over their office, and that they should take new Auspices again by the flight & singing of birds, and so to proceed to an Interregnum. All which things were according to a decree of the Senat performed. Whereupon there interreg-

The prophesie of the destruction of *Vei*.

The answer of the Oracle.

gents succeeded one after another. *M. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius Camillus*. But all this while no end there was, nor intermission of troubles and dissensions. For the Tribunes of the Commons disturbed and staid the assembly for the election so long, until it was agreed that the greater part of the Tribunes military should be created from the Commons.

During these affairs, the Tribunes held certain Diets and Councils at the Temple of *Vulcanus*: where when the Capenats and *Falisci* required that with one common assent and resolution, all the people of *Hetruria* should raise the siege from *Veii*, this answer was returned: "That here-fore they had denied the *Venicians* their help in this regard, that they were not to seek for aid at their hands, from whom in so weighty a matter they had not sought for council: but now their own fortune made answer for them. For such was the difficulty of their present estate, that if they would, yet they well could not: considering especially how into that part of *Hetruria* there were newly arrived to seat themselves there, the Gauls, a strange nation unto them: with whom they neither had assured peace, nor yet certain war to trust unto. Howbeit for blood sake, and for the very name, and in regard of the present perils of their kindred, they would grant thus much: that if any of their youth would go forth to the war willingly and of themselves, they would be no hindrance. Now was it noised at *Rome*, that a mighty great number of these enemies were come to raise the siege. Whereby the civil discords of (as it is commonly seen upon a general fear) began to wax more calm and to slacke. For the principall Tribe that had the prerogative to give their first voice, chose *P. Licinius Calvus* Tribune Military, without his own suit (but not against the will of the Nobles) a man of approved good carriage, and moderation in his former government, but exceeding old. And it appeared evidently, that all the rest for that year, should be choiceworthy after him, out of the College of those that had been Tribunes Consular beforetimes: namely, *L. Titinius*, *P. Menenius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *L. Attilius*: who before they were elected and pronounced, *P. Licinius Calvus* spake in this manner (by the permission of the Interreges) unto the other Tribes, that were called in their right and orderly course, to their suffrages. "I see well, my masters O ye Citizens of *Rome*, that in this election, wherein ye have in remembrance our former Magistracy, ye gaffe and preface happily against the year ensuing, concord and unity: the only thing at this time of all others most profitable: in case I say, you chuse again, those who by experience also are become now sufficient. But as for me, you see I am not the same man I was: but a bare shadow and name only is all that is left of *P. Licinius*. The strength of my body crasse, and feeble, the sense of my eyes and ears dim and dull: my memory faithle, the quickness of my spirit grown heavy and lumpish. But behold (quoth he, laying hand on his son) this young man, the very image and portraiture of him, whom ye afore time made Tribune Military, the first that ever was out of the commonalty, him I trained and brought up after my own order and discipline, in stead of my self. I bequeath, I give, I dedicate unto the commonweal And I beseech you *Quirites*, that the dignity which of your selves you have offered unto me, without my seeking, you would bestow upon him at his own humble suit, and the rather shew him this favour at my earnest request in his behalf. The father had his desire granted. And to his son *P. Licinius*, was with them, whom before we named, declared Tribune Military in Consular authority. *Titinius* and *Genucius* Tribunes Military, made an expedition against the *Falisci* and *Capenats*: Who managing the war in greater heat and courage, than with sage advice and counsel, plunged themselves headlong into an ambushment of their enemies. *Genucius* paid for his rashness, and made amends by an honorable death: For he was slain even before the ensignes, valiantly fighting in the vanguard of the battell with the formost. But *Titinius*, having after much fear rallied his souldiers, retired himself unto an high hill, and made head again. Howbeit he durst not encounter the enemy on even and plain ground. The same of this defeat was greater than the losse of his wife. And yet it had like to have turned into a right great damage and overthrow. So great was the fear, not at *Rome* only, whither much news came diversly reported: but also in the camp before *Veii*, that hardly could the souldiers be kept from running away. For it was noised all over the camp, that the *Capenats* and *Faliscians* had got the victory, slain the Generals and the whole army: and that all the flour and strength of *Tutany* was not far off. But at *Rome* there was much more burly-bury: For there it was verily believed, that the leaguer about *Veii* was assailed, and that, part of the enemies already were coming in warlike manner against the City: so as they came running on heaps to man the walls. And even the very matrons and dames of the City, whom publicke fear had caused to leave their houses, fell to their beads and supplication in the churches: beseeching the gods to avert and divert destruction from the houses, Temples, and walls of the City of *Rome*, and to turn away that fear from them upon *Veii* if they renewed aught their festivity daies, if they made satisfaction by sacrifice for the prodigious fights, and no otherwise.

Now by this time were the solemn plaies & the Latine holidays renewed, now was the water let out of the Alban lake into the fields, now *Veii* drew neerer to her final end, bated by the course of the Destinies. Therefore there was created *M. Furius Camillus* Dictator, the fatal captain, predestined to destroy that City, and to save his own country: who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* Collonel of the horimen. The change of the General made a change soon of all things else. The hopes of men were other than afore, the minds of men were altered, yea, the fortune of the City seemed not the same. But first of all, he proceeded by martiall law against them, who in that festivity

The Oration
of *Licinius Calvus*
to the peo-
ple.

A fright at the last alarm, were fled from *Veii*: and taught his souldiers not to fear their enemies' most, but likewise to stand in awe of their own Commander. And after he had published to take mutters upon a certain day, himself in the mean while rode post to *Veii*, there to encourage the hearts of the souldiers. From thence he returned to *Rome*, for to levy a new army: and there was not one that refused to serve under his standard. For even the youth of the forrainers both Latins and *Hernicks*, came & offered their service in that war. Unto whom, when as the Dictator had in the Senate house yielded thanks, and that all things now were in sufficient readines, by a decree of the Senat he made a vow, that when he had won *Veii*, he would inclemently celebrat the great games, and redifie and consecrate anew, the Temple to dame *Maiana*, which afore time had been

B dedicated by King *Servius Tullius*. Thus when he was gone forth from the City, and his army on foot, with greater expectation of the people then hope: first he fought a field with the *Faliscians* and *Capenats* in the Country of *Neper*, [called at this day *Nepe*] where he ordered all the exploits with as great discretion and policy as might be: and as it commonly falleth out heaped as well and fortune favoured his designs. He not only defeated his enemies in battell, but also drave them out of the field, and gained a huge booty, wherof the greatest part came to the Treasurer his coffers: and somewhat (though not much) was given to the souldiers. From thence he marched with his armour to *Veii*, and there he caused more lances and battillions to be made, and to stand thicker together. And having made proclamation, that none should fight without speciall commandment, he withdrew the souldiers to the making of trenches and rampiers, from their skirmishes that they made oftentimes, and that rashly, betwene their camp and the wall of the town.

C The great work of all the rest and most laborious, was the undermining that was begun into the Caille of the enemies. And to the end that this work should not be intermitted, nor yet the continual labour till under the ground might over-toll them: he divided the pioneers into fix parts, and each of them wrought fix hours round by turns, so that both night and day, they never gave over before they had wrought a way to the Caille. The Dictator seeing now the victory as it were in his hands, and a most rich City ready to be taken, and that there was like to be such sacceage, as never had been the like in all the wars put together aforetime: lest that he might incur either any mutiny and anger of the souldiers in pinching and scant parting of the pillage, or displeasure and discontentment of the Rulers and Nobles of *Rome*, by so prodigall a largesse in sharing all: dispatched his letters to the Senat, to this effect, "That whereas by the goodnesse of the immortal

D Gods, his own policy and direction, and the travell of his souldiers, the City *Veii* was now in a manner at his devotion; what they would advise, should be done with the rich spoils thereof. There were two divers opinions that mightily distracted the Senat: the one of the old *P. Licinius*, whose mind being asked of his son, spake first (by report) and said: that his opinion was, there should a proclamation be published abroad among the people, that whosoever would be partaker of the booty, should go to the Leaguer before *Veii*. The other of *Ap. Claudius*, who finding fault with this new, prodigall, unequal, and undiscreeit largesse, in that they thought it unlawful and unfit, that the treasure got of the enemies should come once at leastwise to the common purse of the City, which had been emptied to often by reason of wars: was of advice, "That the sould-

E ders should have their pay out of it, that the Commons thereby might be eased, in the charges of the subsidy levied of them: for so should every man house equally feel the poverty and part of that benefit, and the hands of idle persons remaining at home in the town, greedy now of rifling, and who would be fingerling of Pillage, should not pluck from the hardy warriors, their due rewards. For as much as it is usually seen, that as the valiantest man commonly smeth at the greatest part of travell and perill, so the more coward always reacheth at the biggest portion of the spoil, and hath his hand deepest therein: Contrariwise, *Licinius*, alleged that much money laid up would be always suspected and odious, and would mislead many unto the Commons of examinations & finding one fault or other, wherof conditions and commotions may arise, and would give occasions of new laws to be preferred: and there-

F fore better it were: that by this gift and boon the hearts of the Commons were won and reconciled: who being spent and eaten out by reason of their charges of so many years, here with might be well relieved. And that they ought to tast the fruit and sweetnesse of the booty out of that war, in which they had spent their years, and were waxen old men: And that it would be more welcome and acceptable, that every man should be his own carver, and with his own hand catch from the enemy what he could, and bring it home with him, than if they should receive much more by a great deal at the discretion and pleasure of another. And the Dictator himselfe (saith he) hath avoided as neer as he could, the displeasure, hatred, and offence that might arise thereof, and therefore posted it off to the Senat: the Senat ought likewise seeing the matter is put to them, to let the Commons alone therewith, and permit every man to

G have such share as the fortune of war will allot him. This advice which made the Senat gracious with the people, was thought to be the safer and better of the twain. Whereupon proclamation was made, That whosoever would have part of the spoil of *Veii*, should shew himselfe before the Dictator in the camp. So there went a huge multitude, that they filled the camp againe. Then the Dictator after sacrifice done, and advice taken of the lucky signes of birds, went forth and commanding his souldiers to take armes and weapons in hand, spake these words and said: "By thy conduct and the instinct of thy divine power *O Pythius Apollo*, I let forward to the winning of the town of *Veii*, & now to thee I vow the tenth part of the spoils thereof.

Difference in
the Senat:
about the pill-
lage of *Veii*.

"And thee withal (O Queen *Juno*) who at this hour dost inhabit within the compass of these walls, I beseech, that thou wouldst vouchsafe, to follow us after conquest into this city, ours now, and thine within awhile: whereas thou mightst be shrined in a Temple meet for thee, and the grandeur of thy majesty. Having made these prayers, with an exceeding multitude he invested the city, and assaulted it round on all parts: to the end that they within might have less perceivance of the peril intended towards them from the undermining. The *Venicians* little knowing that they were betrayed, partly by their own prophets, and partly by the Oracles abroad, and that some of their gods were invited and bidden to part of the spoil and massacre, and other by vows and prayers trained and called out of their own city, began to look after the temples of their enemies & their new habitations little weening that this was their last day, & fearing nothing less than that their walls should by undermining be overthrown, and that their Castle was full already of enemies: every man for himself ran armed to the walls, marvelling what the matter should be, that whereas for so many daies space no man stirred out of the Romans Leaguer, then of a sudden (as if it were in a wood rage) they ran upon head [so rashly to the assault. But hereto belongeth a tale.] That when the *Venician King* was at sacrifice, this voice of the Southsister was overheard out of the mine under ground, *That he whose day was to cut forth the Inwards of that sacrifice should obtain victory*, and moved the Roman souldiers, to break out of the undermining, and to catch up the entrails and bowels, and carry them to the Dictator. But as in things of great antiquity it is fittest me, that those which carry some likelihood of truth, be received for true: so for fabulous matters fitter indeed to make a show in a stage play (where people take delight in such miracles) than to be sadly believed, it will not quit for the pains either to avouch them, or disavow them. The mine or cave at the same time (no doubt) full of chosen souldiers, yielded forth all at once armed men into the Church of *Juno*, which was in the castle of *Veii*, and some of them set upon the backs of their enemies that were on the walls: others pluck up the portcullis of the gates: some of them, whilst from the houses the women and servants flung down stones and tiles, cast fire abroad. So that every place was full of cries and voices, partly of them that frightened others, and partly of those that were afflicted, with a confused screeking of women and children. When as now in a moment, the armed souldiers were thrown down from the walls eke every where, and the gates let open: whilst some entered marching in array, others scaled the naked walls, the city was filled with enemies a and skirmishes there were in every place. After great massacre and execution committed, the fight began to quail: and the Dictator commanded the Bedles to proclame and give commandment, to spare the unarmed. Thus the bloodshed ended, Whereupon the unarmed people began to yield: and by permission of the Dictator the souldiers ran to the spoil. Which being brought in sight of the Dictator, of greater price and value a good deal, than either was hoped or looked for: it is said that he stretched forth his hands towards heaven and praised, "That if his own fortune and the felicity of the people of *Rome* were thought by any good or man to be excessive, the envy belonging thereto might be mitigated with as small a privor losse of his own in particular, and with as little common calamity of the people of *Rome* in general, as might possibly be. And it is recorded, that in this manner praying and worshipping, as he turned himself about, he slipped forward and caught a fall. And as men afterwards guesse by that which fell out, it was supposed that the ominous token presaged the condemnation of *Camillus* himself, and the ruin of the city of *Rome*, which hapned within a few years after to be forced and sacked. Thus was that day spent in the slaughter of enemies, and in rifling of that most wealthy city. The morrow after, the Dictator sold in portsale the bodies of as many as were freeborn. That money only came into the common treasury not without some anger and repining of the Commons. And as for that booty and spoil which they brought with them away, they counted themselves beholden therefore, neither to the General himself (who to colour and excuse his own negligence had referred the matter to the Senat: wherein he might have used his own liberty and discretion) nor to the Senat: but unto the House of the *Licinius*, whereof, the son propounded the matter before the Senat, and the father was the author of so popular an overture.

When as now worldly and earthly riches, were carried forth and tumbled out of *Veii* by heaps, then began they to remove and have away the sacred gifts and oblations of the gods with the gods themselves, but after the manner of devout worshippers, rather than of greedy spoilers. For chosen there were out of the whole army, certain youths in the flower of their age, who having their bodies clean washed, and being arrayed in robes, had in charge to carry Queen *Juno* to *Rome*, and entered into the Church with great adoration and reverence: and at the first very charily and religiously laid hand upon her, for that (after the *Tuscan* manner) there used none to handle that Image but the Priest of one certain tribe. After this, when as one of them, wherewith were upon a certain divine inspiration, or in some youthful sport, call out these words, *Wilt thou march to Rome dame Juno?* The rest with one voice cried aloud, That she gave a nod, and seemed thereto to give assent: whereupon this also was added to the tale, that she was heard to say, *I will*. But for certain it is reported, that she was stirred out of her footstall, with the help of a small lever, and that as she willingly was displaced, so she was easily removed & translated, and so safe and sound conveyed into the mountain *Aventine*, there to abide and remain forever; which was the place assigned unto her by the vows of the Roman Dictator. And there *Camillus* according to his vow, dedicated to her afterwards a temple. This was the final end and fall of *Veii*, the richest City of all the *Tuscan*, which

The City of
Veii won by
Camillus

which even in the last and utmost calamity shewed her mightiness, and having been besieged round about continually the space of ten summers and winters, & in that time done much more annoyance and hurt then it received, was now at last through the necessity of final death, gained rather by long siege and secret undermining, then won by forcible assault and violence:

When tidings came to *Rome* of the winning of *Veii*, albeit both the prodigious signs that were seen, had been expiat by sacrifice, and that the answers of the Prophets and wilemen yea, and the Oracles of *Apollo* were well known: and that so far forth as mens counsel and policy might help, they had chosen for General *M. Furius*, the most noble captain and warrior of all others: yet considering they had there waited for many years with variable fortune, and received in any losses and overthrows, their joy was exceeding great, as if a thing had hapned unlooked for. And before that the Senat could make a decree, all the churches were full of the dames of *Rome* giving thanks to their gods. And the Senat ordained by an act, that supplications should continue for four daies, the like as never had been before time in any war. The Dictator also was met upon the way as he came home by all degrees and estates in great number, and was more welcomed and honoured then any man before time, to that day. And the triumph far exceeded the usual manner of the solemnity to that day belonging. But most of all was he himself all goodly to be seen, entering into the city in a chariot drawn with white steeds. And that was thought an honour, not only unmeet for the quality of a citizen, but hardly becoming the condition of any man whatsoever. For they made it matter of conscience, that their Dictator should be equal with *Jupiter*, and the sun, in respect of their honours: for which only cause especially, the triumph was more glorious than gracious, and taken in good part. Then assigned he & set out to Queen *Juno* a church in *Aventine* hill, and dedicated another to dame *Minerva*, and so having achieved and performed those divine and human deeds, he reigned up his Dictatorship.

After this began some speech about the Present to *Apollo*. Unto whom, when as *Camillus* said that he had vowed the tenth part of the spoil: and the Priests and Prelats thought good that the people should discharge their conscience in that behalf: there could no ready mean be found how to command them to give back again the spoil, that the due portion thereof might be set apart for the holy oblation. At the length they grew to this point, which was thought the easiest course of all, that whosoever would acquit himself and his house in conscience, should, after he had made an ultimatum to himself of his own share in the spoil, bring the value & price of the tenth part into the common Chest: that thereof might be made a golden oblation, meet for the state of that Temple, becoming the power of that god, and answerable to that dignity of the people of *Rome*. Yet even this contribution alienated the hearts of the people from *Camillus*.

Amid these affairs there came Embassadors from the *Volscians* and *Equians*, to treat for peace, and peace obtained they, rather because the city, wearied with continual wars, might now take rest and be at quiet, than for any defects of them that sued for it. After *Veii* was taken, the year following had his Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, two *P. Cornelii*, namely, *Cassius* and *Scipio*, *M. Valerius Maximus* the second time, *C. Fabius Ambulstus* the second time, *L. Furius Medullinus* the second time, and *Q. Servilius* the third time. Unto the *Cornelii* fell out by lot the *Faliscan* war, to *Valerius* and *Servilius* the *Capenates*. Who neither assaulted their cities by force, nor wearied them with siege: but foraged the countries, and drove booties away of such things as were in the fields, not a tree that beareth fruit, not any fruitful things besides, escaped their hands. This distress and calamity subdued the *Capenates*: who thereupon sued for peace, and had it granted. But amongst the *Faliscians* the war continued still. In the mean time, at *Rome* there were sundry seditions. For the appeasing whereof, it was thought good to send a Colony to *Volsci*, and thither three thousand citizens were appointed in checkroll. And *Triumvirs* were thereto chosen, who divided to every man three acres of ground and a half, and one twelfth part. That began to be despised, because they thought it but a poor comfort offered to stop their mouths withal, and to put them beside a greater hope. For why should the Commons be sent away into the *Volscians* land, seeing there was *Veii* within their eye-sight, a most fair city, and the land about more plentiful and large than that of *Rome*? And as for the city it self, they preferred it, either for the site, or for the private or public buildings and other places, before the city of *Rome*. Moreover a motion also was made (which, after that *Rome* was won by the French, was more hotly followed) concerning a General transmigration and removing to *Veii* for ever. Many, they intended that *Veii* should be inhabited, partly by the Commons, and partly by the Nobility: saying, That the people of *Rome* might well enough inhabit two cities jointly in one state of Commonwealth. Against all this, the *LL.* of the Senat laboured what they might, and plainly said, they would sooner dye in the sight of the people of *Rome*, than any of those matters should pass. For why? if there were now in one city so much contention, what would there be in twain? Would any man be so mad, as to prefer a conquered city, before his own country that had conquered the same? and suffered *Veii* after it is won to be in better estate then it was afore, even when it was at the bell? Finally, well might they be forsaken at home in their own country by their citizens, but to forsake their country and citizens, they would never be brought by any force whatsoever. They would not follow to *Veii*, *T. Sempronius* as their founder, for he amongst the *Triumvirs* for the Commons perswaded this Act: and leave their god *Romulus* the son of a god, the first flourisher and beginner of the city of *Rome*. Whilst these matters were in handling with so much stir and much debate and variance (for the nobles had won to their opinion some of the *Tri-*

The temple
of Queen
Juno, the temple
of *Minerva*.

Tribunes) there was nothing else that staid the Commons hands from outrage, but this, that when there was an outcry made to begin the quarrell, and to let them together by the ears, the chiefs and principal Senators first came forth to the multitude, and offered themselves to be laid at, smitten and slain. In regard of whose age, dignity, and honour, they forbearing to do violence, were likewise for shame staid in their mood, for any the like attempts besides. *Camillus* taking vengeance hereof, ever and anon in all places, made speeches unto the people, and said: "That it was no marvel truly, that the city was in a rage and madness, which being charged with a vow, made more care of all things else, then to discharge their conscience thereof and let it perform. As for the collation and gathering of a small donative, rather then a tithe, he laid nothing of it: seeing that every man privately bound himself thereto, and the body of the people stood free of it. But one thing there was that his conscience would not suffer him to hold his peace, that out of that booty only which was of moveable things, the tenth was appointed to be levied: as for the city and ground that was won, which also was comprised within the vow, there were no words at all made. When as the debating of this matter, which to the Senat seemed doubtful and hard, was put over to the Priests and Prelats: their college calling to them *Camillus*, thought good, that whatsoever the Veientians had before the vow made, and whatsoever after the vow, came into the hands of the people of *Rome*, the tenth part thereof should be consecrated to *Apollo*. So both the city and the lands were valued: and many taken forth of the city chamber. And the Tribunes military Consul enjoyed therewith to buy gold. Whereof there being not store enough, the dames of the city, having their assemblies and meetings by themselves for to consult therabout, by a common decree made promise to the Tribunes military, and brought into the exchequer their own gold, and all the ornaments and jewels they had. This was as acceptable a thing, and as well taken of the Senat, as ever any had been: and for this liberality (men say) they had this honour granted unto them, as to ride to church and to plaies in hanging or ship-coaches, and as well on working daies as holidays, to be at their wagoes. When the gold was of every one received by weight and priced to the worth, that they might again be paid money therfore: it was agreed that a standing cup of gold should be made thereof, and presented as an oblation to *Apollo* at *Delphi*. So soon as they had eased and disburdened their minds of this religious vow, the Tribunes of the Commons began edition anew. So as the multitude was incited and stirred up against all the peers, but above all other against *Camillus*; charging him that what by consecrating and consecrating the booty of the Veientians, he had brought it to just nothing. Those nobles that were absent they blamed and they cried out against mightily, but of such that were present in place, and offered themselves unto them in their anger, they had some reverence. Now so soon as they saw the matter in question to be deferred and continued past that year, they chose again for the year following, those Tribunes of the Commons, which were the authors of that act and law. The Nobles likewise endeavoured the same for those that should oppose themselves against the law. So the Tribunes of the Commons (a good part of them) were chosen the very same again. But at the Election of the Tribunes Military, the Patrij after very much ado got at length, that *Furius Camillus* was created. They made semblance and pretended, that they would be provided of a General for war, but indeed their purpose was to be furnished of an adversary to withstand the acts and proceedings of the Tribunes. Together with *Camillus* were made Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, *L. Furius Medullinus* the first time, *C. Aemilius*, *L. Valerius Publicola*, *Sp. Postumius*, *P. Cornelius* the second time.

In the beginning of the year, the Tribunes of the Commons stirred not untill *M. Furius Camillus* was gone against the *Falisci*, as his charge required for that war. And by delays afterwards the matter was well cooled. As for *Camillus*, whom of all other they most feared to be their adversary, he waxed great and glorious by his service against the *Falisci*. For when as at the first, the enemies kept themselves within the walls, thinking it the safest way: he by waiting their country, and setting fire upon their villages, forced them to come forth of their town, howbeit they feared to be too bold, and to go far forward: and encamped themselves a mile and less from the town, N repositing their safety and security in nothing else, but in the dangerous and hard passage, the walls about being rough, ragged, and stony, in some places straight and narrow, in other up hill and steep. *Camillus* having taken a prisoner out of the fields, and being guided by his direction, late in the night dislodged his camp, and betimes in the morning at break of the day, showed himself upon the higher rounds a good deal. The Romans on three sides, fell to fortify by trenching and casting rampiers, whilst the rest of the army stood ready ranged for the battell. And whereas the enemies assayed to hinder the work, he discomfited them and put them to flight, whereupon the *Falisci* were so frightened, that as they fled again in dismay, they passed beyond their own camp, which was nearer; and made as fast as they could to the town. Many were slain and many wounded, before that in this assault they could hit upon the gates. Their camp being taken, O the booty thereof came into the Quæstors coffers, with the great gridding and anger of the soldiery. Howbeit yielding to the severity of discipline and good government: the same virtue which they had hated before, they now honoured and held in admiration. After this was the city besieged, and sconces and platforms raised about it. Otherwhiles also, as occasion was offered, the townsmen would fall forth and assault the Romans camp, and make light skirmishes. Thus the time passed without any great good hope of either side: for that they within the town, besieged, had of their former provision more store of corn & other necessities than they that

A that lay at siege without. And it seemeth they would have had as long a peeces of worke there, as they had at *Veji*, had not fortune yielded to the Romans Generall, both a trial of his approved vertue in war and also speedy victory.

It was the manner among the *Faliscians*, to entertain for the government of their Children, one that should teach and instruct them in school, and withall bear them company wheresoever they went: and many children together (as the guile continued full even to this day in *Greece*) were committed to the charge and tuition of one man. As for the Nobles and principall mens sons of this City (as it is usually every where else) a speciall man had the teaching of them, such an one, as was thought most learned and the greatest clerk of all other. The man, having in time of peace begun to bring the children forth before the town side, to dispose and exercise themselves, gave not over his wonted manner now in time of war. And using still to train them abroad one while neerer, an other whiles further off from the gate, it fell out so, that one day what with pastime, and what with pleasant talk and discourses, he drew them further then he accustomed: and seeing his time, went forward as far as the enemies corps de gard, and so forth on, till he had brought them within the compass of the camp, and even to *Camillus* his pavilion. Where to his wicked intended act, he added also a more gracefull speech, saying, "That he yielded * *Falerij* into the Romans hands, in that he gave them those children to do with what they would, whose parents were the rulers and commanders of the city. Which words when *Camillus* heard, thou comest not (quoth he) lewd wretch as thou art, with thy lewd and curled pretence, either to a people or to a captain like thy selfe. We have not indeed with the *Faliscians* any league at all, by covenant of C man concluded and established: yet by nature, theris and will befall a kind of amity or society between us and them. There are laws due for war as well as for peace: and those have we learned to observe no less justly, than valiantly. We bear arms not against that filly age, which usually is spared in raising and lacking of towns, but against armed men, and those who being, by us neither harmed nor provoked, have assailed the Romans camp at *Veji*. And yet those enemies (as bad as they be like as thou hast for thy part exceeded them in a new and strange kind of wickedness: to will I conquer I doubt not, by fears that the Romans profess: by vertue, by travel, by hardy fight: like as I have done *Veji* already. After this he caused him to be stripped naked, and so with his hands bound behind him, he delivered him to the children, for to bring him back to *Falerij*; and gave them rods withall, wherewith they might whip and drive this traitorous D person forward into the city. At which sight the people at the first came, running together: and then the Magistrats called a Councell, to sit upon this strange occurrence. But see what a change it wrought in their hearts. They who a while before were with hatred and anger so cruelly set, as that they wished rather in a manner to be destroyed with the Veientians, then to accept of peace as the Capenates had done: now through out the whole city required to be at accord with the Romans. No talk in the Market place, no speech in the Councell house, but of the faithfulness and truth of the Roman, and of the justice of their Generall. And with one general consent of all, Embassadors were sent to *Camillus*, into the camp. And from thence by permission of *Camillus* to the Senat of *Rome* they went, to deliver up *Falerij*: and being admitted into the Senat house, in this wise (by report) they spake: "In that victory (right honourable) which neither God nor E man can chide but allow, are we by you and your General overcome and vanquished. And here we render our selves into your hands: supposing this (than which to a conquerour there can be nothing more honourable) that we shall live better under your government, than under our own proper laws and liberties. The event & issue of this war, hath afforded to mankind two worthy examples to follow. Ye for your part have made choice to observe faithfulness in war, rather then to achieve a present conquest: and we again, by this your faithful dealing induced and provoked, have willingly yielded unto you the victory: confessing our selves now presently to be your liege & lawful subjects. Send whom you will to receive our armor, our hostages, our town with open gates. Neither shall you ever repent of our allegiance nor, we think much of your rule & government. *Camillus* had thanks both of the enemies and of the citizens. The *Falisci* were charged F with money for that years pay, that the people of *Rome* might be freed of their subsidy. Thus when peace was granted, the army was brought back again to *Rome*.

When as *Camillus* was returned after this conquest of his enemies into the City, with much better commendation, than when as in triumph he rode in a chariot drawn with white horses through the city, as being now famous for his just dealing and faithfulness: fiercely the Senat was abashed for very reverence of the man, and could no longer bear, but without further delay to acquit him of the vow he made. So there were sent *L. Valerius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Manlius* as Embassadors in one galley unwitted, to present unto *Apollo* at *Delphi* by way of obligation, a standing cup of gold. Who not far off from the narrow seas of *Sicily*, were encountered & boarded by certain Liparian Pirates or men of war, and had to *Lipara*. Now the manner was of that city, as common rovers use to do, for to divide the prize among them. Haply the chief officer or Magistrat for that year, was one *Timarchides*, a man more like to the Romans than his own countrymen. Who having himself some reverent regard of the name of Embassadors, and the present of the god to whom it was sent, and the occasion thereof: possessed the multitude also (which also rightly relembreth their governor) with due religion and prick of conscience. This head ruler guided the Embassadors into their lodging, & entertained them courteously at the cities charges, waited them with the convoy of a sufficient fleet: accompanied them in person to *Delphi*, and from thence conducted them

Monte Fiascon.

The words of *Camillus* to the traitorous school-master of the Nobles sons of *Falerij*.

The Oration of the Embassadors of *Falerij* to the Senat of *Rome*.

struction was toward: but also the help of man (which rested only in *Furius Camillus*) they did out of the City. Who being arrested to appear at a day by *L. Apuleius* Tribune of the Commons, and to make answer for the sacrifice of *Vesta*, and having buried about the same time his son, a forward young Gentleman, sent for home to his house, those of his own tribe, his skinfolk and followers, whereof a great part were of the Commons. And when he had sounded their minds, and received this answer from them, That they would defray and lay down so much, as he should be condemned in: but as to acquit him, that they could not possibly. Hereupon he departed in exile: praying to the immortal gods, that as he was guiltless and wrongfully dealt withall, so he would with all speed, cause that unthankful City to stand in need, and to have a mischief of him. In his absence condemned he was in* fifteen thousand pounds of brass coin. When this citizen was thus expelled, who if he had tarried still, (for as we may make reckoning of any earthly security) *Rome* could never have been won: behold, ambassadors came from the Clusines, requesting aid against the Gauls.

This nation (as it is reported) allured with the Sweetness of corn and wine especially (dainty chaffer and a new delight in those daies) passed over the *Alps*, and possessed those countries which had been storetime by the *Tuicans* inhabited. The voice goeth, that there was one *Arnus* a Clusine, who had brought wine into Gaul, to ensue that people withall, upon an anger and displeasure that his wife had been deflowered by one *Lucanus* (whose grandfather *Arnus* himself had been) a young gentleman of great might and power, and whom *Arnus* could not chastise and bridle, without assistance of foreign forces: This man was the Gauls guide in passing over the *Alps*, and the principal instrument to set them a work for to assault *Clusium*. I would not for my part deny, but that the French were brought to *Clusium* by *Arnus* or some other Clusine: but most certain it is, that they who assaulted *Clusium*, were not the first that passed the *Alps*. For the Gauls two hundred years before they assaulted *Clusium* and won the City of *Rome*, came over into *Italy*. Neither fought the Gauls first with this nation of the *Tuicans*, but long after, and that oftentimes with those that dwell between *Arvernus* and the *Alps*. For, the *Tuicans* had all sovereign command, both by land and sea, before the Roman Empire was erected. The names of upper and nether sea, wherewith *Italy* is compassed about, as it were an Island, may be a sufficient proof, how great and puissant they were: seeing, that the one is by the general name of the Nation, called of *Italians*, the *Tuican* sea; the other the *Adriatick*, of a town of colony or the *Tuicans* called *Adria*. The Greeks do call the self same seas that (a) *Tyrrhene* and the *Adriaticke* seas. These *Tuicans* bending to both seas, inhabited those countries, consisting of twelve Cities: having first before on this side *Arvernus*, toward the nether sea, and afterwards beyond the (b) *Arvernus*, as many *Colanics* in number according to the Princes at the first beginning, and held in possession all those parts beyond the *Po* unto the *Alps*, except that Angle only of the *Venicians*, that are seated about the gulf of the *Adriatick* sea. And doubtless, the Nations about the *Alps*, especially the *Rhetian*, had their beginning thus whom the very country itself made savage, so they as retained nothing of old, but the found of their language, and the same broken and somewhat corrupted. Now for the coming of the Gauls over into *Italy*, thus much we have learned. In the daies of *Priscus Targuntius* King of *Rome*, the (c) *Celtes* which are athrid part of the Gauls, were under the rule of the (d) *Bittur* who chose a King over the *Celtes*, named *Ambigatus*, a great potentate and mighty, both in regard of valour and virtue, and also of his own private wealth and publick weal: for that under his regiment, Gaul was so fertile of corn, and grew so populous, that the exceeding number of the people could not well be governed. This man being of great age, and desirous now to disburden his Realm of that pestering multitude, declared that he would send *Belovefus* and *Sigovefus* his sons (two forward young men) to seek adventures, into what lands soever the gods and goddesses should by their token direct them: giving them commission to gather what number of men they would, to the end that no nation might withstand their coming. So it fell to *Sigovefus* lot, for to enter the forrest and woodland country of *Herminia*. *Belovefus* his fortune was a good deal better, to take his way (by the gods guidance) unto *Italy*: and he leaved of the *Bittur* rages, (e) *Arvern* (f) *Sonnes* (g) *Helvi* (h) *Ambarri* and (k) *Ambri*, those that might be spared out of those Countries: and setting forward with a mighty power of footmen & horsemen, came unto the (l) *Tricardians*. Now flood the *Alps* all against them in their way, which I marvel not were thought & insuperable impassable, as having not as yet any way made over them, (so far as any constant record maketh date) unless we list to believe the tales of *Heracles*. Now (as was the Gauls there, were hemmed in as it were on every side with those high mountains, and that they looked every way about them, how they might get over those high hills reaching up to the heavens, and so pass (as one would say) into an other world, they were fainted there and went no further, upon a scruple of conscience, for that it was reported, that certain strangers seeking land to inhabit, were by the people of (m) *Salus* set upon and assailed. These strangers were the (n) *Massilians*, who sailed from *Phocis*. This the Gauls supposing to be a fortunate preiuge of their success helped them forward, and took part with them: so as what place first they gat after they were landed, they fortified within the wide or broad forrests. They themselves passed through the Country of (o) *Taurini*, and over the fountains of the *Alps*, called (p) *Tulia*: and having vanquished the *Tuicans* in fight not far from the river (q) *Ticinum*, hearing that the Country wherein they abode (and sealed, was called *Insubrium* (after the name of a territory and thire of the *Heduns*) they following and embracing the lucky name of that place, so conformable to the other of their own,

M. Furius Camillus goeth into the exile.

* 39 lib. 7 st. 4 d. sterl.

M. Tullius of Marsus Mars' father
b. M. Tullius of Marsus

c. Langue
d. Berry at this day.

e. Avernus
f. Sma.
g. Buggians.
h. Chervini.
i. Chervini
j. Chervini
k. Euxineus
l. Euxineus

m. Salus
n. Ot. Massilians

o. Piemont.
p. Tulin.
q. Ticino.

A. builded a City and called it (r) *Mediolanum*. Afterwards another power of Germans with their captain *Eluvius*, following the steps of the former Gauls, by the same streights (with good leave and favour of *Belovefus*) passed over the *Alps*, and remained there: and where now (s) *Brixia* and (t) *Verona* two towns stand (the (u) *Libri* than inhabited those parts) made their abode. After this, the *Saluvii* passed over, who expelled all the Ligurians that dwell on this side the river *Ticinum*, but only the *Levi*, an ancient nation. After them the (x) *Baii* and (y) *Langones* passed over the hill (z) *Pennini*, dispossessed the *Tuicans* & the *Umbrians* of their territories, yet so as they kept them within *Arvernus*. Then the *Sonnes* which had the last command of those strangers, inhabited the country from the river (a) *Verna* unto (b) *Athesi*. This nation I find to have come to (c) *Clusium*, and afterwards from thence to *Rome*; many it is not certain whether this nation alone came, or that they were aided by all the Gauls, that dwell on this side the *Alps*.

The Clusines terrified with this new war, advising well both their number and the unaccustomed looks, and villages of the men, which they had not seen afore, and the strange armour withall: & hearing besides, that the legion of the *Tuicans* both on this side the *Po* and beyond, had been oftentimes by them discomfited: Albeit in the Romans they had no interest at all in regard of any league or amity, only this, that they had not maintained their kinsfolk the *Venicians* against the *Romans*, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, to crave aid of the Senat. Aid they obtained none: Embassadors there were sent three, the sonnes of *M. Fabius Ambulius*, who in the name of the Senat and people of *Rome* should treat with the Gauls and perfwade with them, not to set upon the confederates and friends of the people of *Rome* namely, such as at whose hands they had received no wrong: saying moreover, that if they would put the *Romans* to it, the *Romans* were to defend "Gauls by war, bowbeit they thought it better, if it might be, to have no wars at all: but that the them a new-come nation should grow into knowledge and acquaintance, rather by peace than by war. The embassy was mild and modest enough, but the Embassadors themselves were over fierce & hally, and more like Gauls than *Romans*: Who having done their message in the assembly of the Gauls, were thus again answered, "Although the name of the *Romans* was but of late heard of, yet they, yet they were perfwaded that they were hardy men, whose hands the Clusines in their fear, sought and requested succour. And whereas they choote rather to defend their allies by way of embassy, than by open war, they likewise neither desired nor refused peace: which they offered: If the Clusines would grant the Gauls (which wanted ground to inhabit) "a part of their marches, whereof they held in possession more than they did well people and ac-cupy: Otherwise, no peace would be had. And hereof would they have an answer whiles the *Romans* were in place: and if they were denied ground, they would also fight even before the *Romans* face, that they might make report at home, how much the Gauls went beyond other men in valour & chivalry. And when as the *Romans* demanded again what right they had to require ground of the owners or to threaten war? For what interest or title had the Gauls in *Tu-*cany? They again stoutly made answer: that they carried their right in their swords point, and that valiant men were Lords of all the world. So they were on both sides to set on fire, that they ran to their weapons & skirmish'd with the *Tuicans*. Then against all law of nations (a thing that bafened the destruction of the Roman City) the Embassadors took arms. Neither could this be so secret but it was known; For even before the engines of the *Tuicans*, there were seen three most noble & valiant knights of the *Romans* for to fight: so far exceeded the valour of those strangers above all the Clusines. Moreover and besides, *Quintus Fabius* riding out of the battell on horseback charged his lance upon the captain of the Gauls, as he fiercely assailed the engines and battell of the *Tuicans*, ran him through and slew him: and as he killed and disarmed him, the Gauls took knowledge of him, and throughout the whole host notice was given, that it was an Embassador of the *Romans*. So leaving their quarrell against the Clusines, they founded the retreat, and threatened the *Romans*. There were of them, that thought good presently to advance forward to *Rome*: but the elder sort prevailed, that there should be sent Embassadors first to complain of the injuries, and to require that for the law of arms broken, the *Fabii* should be yielded unto them. When as the Gaul Embassadors had declared their message according to their commission, the Senat notwithstanding of the *Fabii* deed, and thought the barbarous Gauls required nothing but just and reason. Howbeit suit of friends and private respects, would not permit to make an act of that, in personages of so great mark and nobility, which they deemed meet and requit. Therefore to the end it might not be imputed to them & they blamed, if peradventure any toil or overthrow should hap unto them, by war with the Gauls: they referred the hearing and discussing of the Gauls demands unto the people. Where might and favour so much prevailed, that even they who were in question to be punished, were created for the year following Tribunes Military in Consuls authority. At which time the Gauls being offended (as good cause they had) with open threats and menaces of war returned again to their company. There were with the three *Fabii*, *P. Scipio*, *Longus*, *Quintus Servilius*, the fourth time, and *P. Servilius Maluginensis*. When as now to great danger was towards and near at hand (see how for time blinded mens eyes, when as the will have her way and not be hindered) that City which against the Fidenat & *Venice* enemy & other nations bordering thereby, tried the utmost help, and oftentimes made a Dictator: now being threatened with a strange enemy never heard of before, coming to war upon them from the Ocean sea, & the farthest parts of the world, sought neither for governor nor help more than ordinary. Even those Tribunes by whose rash

Millaine.

s. Brixia
t. Verona
u. About a
v. Brixia
y. Langones
z. Pennini
a. Verna
b. Athesi
c. Clusina
d. Ticino

The answer of the Gauls to the Embassadors of Rome.

D. their allies by way of embassy, than by open war, they likewise neither desired nor refused peace: which they offered: If the Clusines would grant the Gauls (which wanted ground to inhabit) "a part of their marches, whereof they held in possession more than they did well people and ac-cupy: Otherwise, no peace would be had. And hereof would they have an answer whiles the *Romans* were in place: and if they were denied ground, they would also fight even before the *Romans* face, that they might make report at home, how much the Gauls went beyond other men in valour & chivalry. And when as the *Romans* demanded again what right they had to require ground of the owners or to threaten war? For what interest or title had the Gauls in *Tu-*cany? They again stoutly made answer: that they carried their right in their swords point, and that valiant men were Lords of all the world. So they were on both sides to set on fire, that they ran to their weapons & skirmish'd with the *Tuicans*. Then against all law of nations (a thing that bafened the destruction of the Roman City) the Embassadors took arms. Neither could this be so secret but it was known; For even before the engines of the *Tuicans*, there were seen three most noble & valiant knights of the *Romans* for to fight: so far exceeded the valour of those strangers above all the Clusines. Moreover and besides, *Quintus Fabius* riding out of the battell on horseback charged his lance upon the captain of the Gauls, as he fiercely assailed the engines and battell of the *Tuicans*, ran him through and slew him: and as he killed and disarmed him, the Gauls took knowledge of him, and throughout the whole host notice was given, that it was an Embassador of the *Romans*. So leaving their quarrell against the Clusines, they founded the retreat, and threatened the *Romans*. There were of them, that thought good presently to advance forward to *Rome*: but the elder sort prevailed, that there should be sent Embassadors first to complain of the injuries, and to require that for the law of arms broken, the *Fabii* should be yielded unto them. When as the Gaul Embassadors had declared their message according to their commission, the Senat notwithstanding of the *Fabii* deed, and thought the barbarous Gauls required nothing but just and reason. Howbeit suit of friends and private respects, would not permit to make an act of that, in personages of so great mark and nobility, which they deemed meet and requit. Therefore to the end it might not be imputed to them & they blamed, if peradventure any toil or overthrow should hap unto them, by war with the Gauls: they referred the hearing and discussing of the Gauls demands unto the people. Where might and favour so much prevailed, that even they who were in question to be punished, were created for the year following Tribunes Military in Consuls authority. At which time the Gauls being offended (as good cause they had) with open threats and menaces of war returned again to their company. There were with the three *Fabii*, *P. Scipio*, *Longus*, *Quintus Servilius*, the fourth time, and *P. Servilius Maluginensis*. When as now to great danger was towards and near at hand (see how for time blinded mens eyes, when as the will have her way and not be hindered) that City which against the Fidenat & *Venice* enemy & other nations bordering thereby, tried the utmost help, and oftentimes made a Dictator: now being threatened with a strange enemy never heard of before, coming to war upon them from the Ocean sea, & the farthest parts of the world, sought neither for governor nor help more than ordinary. Even those Tribunes by whose rash

deal

honour, and according to their virtue and deserts: in their most stately garments and habiliments, which they wear when they carried their sacred chariots upon festival daies; or wherein they rode in triumph, now sat upon their ivory chairs in the very midst and entry of their houses. There be that write, how they willingly devoted and bequeathed themselves to die for their Country and Citizens of Rome: and that *M. Fabius* the High Priest read and pronounced unto them a certain hymn and precript form of prayer, to that purpose. The Gauls, both for that now they had rested from fight a whole night, and for their choler was somewhat cooled, and also because they had not in any place fought a bloody and dangerous battell with them, nor even at that time won the City by any assault or force, entered the morrow after into the City, without anger and heat of furious rage, by the gate *Collina* standing wide open, and so passed forward to the common place of assemblies, calling their eyes about them towards the Temples of the gods, and to the castle, which only presented one shew of war. And there leaving a sufficient guard, left haply from the Castle and Capitol they should be violently assaulted, after they were once aunder parted, they fell to raniack and rife: and meeting none at all in the void streets, some rush by heaps into the houses next hand, others go to those that were further off, supposing them at leastwise to be untouched, full of riches, and fit for to fill their hands. From thence again (as frightened by reason of such desolation, and fearing lest haply any fraud of the enemy might entrap them as they wandered one from another) they returned round in a ring together, into the market place, and the places near thereto. Where, when they saw the Commoners houses fast shut to & locked, and contrariwise the stately palaces of the Noblemen and chief Senators standing wide open, they were at a stand, and doubted more in a manner to enter upon the open places than the shut. And they beheld as they were with capping and crouching after a reverend manner, certain ancient personages sitting in the porches and entries of their houses, who besides their ornaments and apparel above the ordinary estate of men, for a certain majesty which they carried in their countenance and gravity of visage, resembled the gods. And when as they turned to them, & stood looking upon them, as if they had been Idols and sacred Images, *M. Papirius*, one of them; when a Gaul began to stroke his beard (which then they used all to wear long) with his ivory staffe (as they say) gave him a rap on the pate, and moved his patience. Whereupon he was the first that was murdered, and so the rest were all killed as they sat in their chairs of state. After this massacre of these honourable personages of the Nobility, they fell upon all the rest, and spared no creature: they raniacked their houses, and when they were empty, set fire on them. But whether it were that they were not all of them desirous to destroy the City utterly, or that it was the mind of the Leaders and chief of the Gauls, that for a terror there should be (see some sayesfires (if haply for the love of their houses, they that were besieged, might be induced to yield themselves:) or that all their houses were not burned at once, to the end that the remainder of the City might be as a pawn and pledge to mollify their enemies, and make their hearts to relent: howsoever, I say it was, the fire for the first day (as usually in Cities forced and won) spread not all abroad every where, to make a general havoc. The Romans from the Castle, seeing the City full of enemies, and in every street running up and down, and in all places fresh calamities and miseries one in the neck of another, were not able to conceive the same in mind and spirits, nor, nor so much as to have the right use of their ear: and eyes. For to what place soever the shouts and noise of the enemies, the howling and wailing of women and children, the noise of fire, and the rading and cracking downfalls of houses turned them aside in exceeding fear, thither they bent their minds, their faces, and eyes, as men by fortune set up aloft, as upon a stage or scaffold, to behold the fall and ruin of their Country: reserved to save nothing of all their wealth and substance, but only their own bodies: by thus much, more miserable and pitifull above all others that ever were besieged, in that being shut out from their native Country and City, they were besieged and beheld it, and all that they had in the enemies hands. Neither as ill as the day was spent, followed there a better night. Yea & when after this trouble some night the like morrow was come, there was no time but misnifed still some heavy object: and one impediment or other of new and fresh calamities. And albeit they were laden and overwhelmed with so many miseries, yet they nothing at all let fall or abated their courages, but resolved still, notwithstanding they saw all fired, all ruinate and laid even with the ground, manfully to defend that poor naked little hill which they held, and was their only hope left them to recover their freedom. And now seeing the same desolations daily happen they were so inured to misery, that past all sense and feeling of their own state and private fortune, they regarded nothing but their armour on their backs, and swords in their hands, as the only remnants and reliques of their hope. The Gauls likewise for certain daies, had made war with the poor houses only of the City, and all to no purpose: and when they perceived in all this burning and ruins of the City, no conquered, nothing now left but armed enemies, who were not, for all so many calamities, one jot terrified, nor their minds once inclined to yield without further force and violence were used: they determine to try the utmost, and to make an assault upon the fortresse. So on the morrow morning very early at sound of trumpet, all the whole multitude of them, arranged themselves in the market place. From whence with an out-cry and shout, under a fence of targets over their heads, they approach the Castle. Against whom the Romans behaved themselves, neither unadvisedly, nor fearfully, strengthening their wards and quarters, with a good *Corps de guard* against all Advences: and whereas they saw the banners displayed, that

A that way they opposed their strongest guards: and suffered the enemies to climb up the hill, supposing that the higher they were got up, so much the easier they might be beaten down. And being come up to the midst of the cliff, there they staid: and thence from the higher ground, which of it self in manner bare out against the enemy, with all their force they charged upon the Gauls, overturned them, and sent them down headlong: so as never after that, their any part of them, or all together would attempt that kind of service. Being therefore past hope to get up by force and arms, they make preparation for long siege: whereof until that time they had no mind: both for that the corn which was within they had consumed in burning of the City, and in the mean space, that which was in the country about, was carried and brought to *Vei*. Whereupon they divided their Army, purposing with one part thereof, to forrage and drive booties all about the nations thereby adjoining, and with the other to inveit the Castle: to the end, that the forragers abroad might bring in corn to serve them that lay at the siege. Now as those Gauls departed from the City, it was their hap and fortune to come to *Ardea*: (where *Camillus* abode in exile) there to make triall of the Romans vaieur. This *Camillus* being more penive in the behalf of the publicke calamity, than careful of his own: spending his spirits and wasting his body with crying out upon gods and men: thus fretting and chafing with himself, and wondering what was become of those valiant and hardy men, who under his conduct won *Vei* and *Falerii*, and who had fought other wars more valiantly alwaies than fortunately: of a sudden he heard that the Army of the Gauls approached, and that the Ardeates in great fear, fell to consultation thereabout what to do: and even as if he had been inspired from God above, he put himself forward and entered into the midst of the people assembled, who heretofore had obtained and forborn such publicke meetings and consultations. And thus he said: "You my Masters of *Ardea*, mine old friends sometimes, and now my new neighbours and fellow-Citizens, for so it is fallen out by your kindnes & desires, and by mine own fortune and condition: let no man think that I, forgetfull of mine own estate, am come thither hither into this audience. But the present object and publicke danger forceth every man to utter and bring forth in to fearful a time and business as this is, what help he can. And when shall I ever be thankful unto you for your favours and demerits, if now I stand still and do nothing? Or where shall I ever stand you in stead, if not in war? By my skill herein, I flourished in my Country, and being in war invincible, was in peace by unthankfull neighbours and unkind Citizens banished. And now have yegood occasion offered, and opportunity (O ye Ardeates) both to make recompence, for those great pleasures and curtesies in times past received of the people of *Rome*, as your selves do well remember, (and therefore be it spoken without upbraiding and reproaching of any mindfull persons) and also to win great honour of war, unto this City, by defeating a common enemy unto both. This nation, which thus cometh towards us with a dissolute and disordered army, are those to whom God and nature hath given bodies more big and corpulent than strong and able, hearts more stout and courageous than constant and resolute: whereby they bring with them alwaies into the field more few of terror, than true valour and execution. Whereof the late fall and disconsure of the Romans may be a sufficient proof and triall. They won the City when the gates stood open unto them: a small power from the Castle and Capitol was able to withstand and repell them. And weary already of the tediousness of siege, they are faine to depart. Stragling up and down, and wandering along the country. Their manner is when they have filled their bellies with wine and good victuals, (which they devour full greedily and hastily whereforever they can come by it:) so soon as night cometh on, without any place of defence, without watch or ward to lay themselves along like brute beasts, here and there by the waters sides. And now upon their good luckes, are they more secure and retchless, than they were wont to be. If ye be disposed to defend your walls, & not all to turn French, gather your selves together & at the first watch of the night arm, and to your weapons: Follow me to a massacre, and not to a skirmish: for if I do not deliver them unto your hands fast asleep to be hewn in pie like sheep and oxen, I refuse not to see the same end of mine estate at *Ardea* that I have found already at *Rome*. There was no one there, howsoever affected he was, friend or foe to *Camillus*, but was perswaded that the like warior was not in those daies to be found again. The assembly being broken up, they refresh their bodies, ready to fight so soon as ever the Signall should be propounded. Which being put forth, in the beginning and first watch of the night, they were ready with *Camillus* at the gates. And gone they were not far from the town, but they found (as it was foretold them) the Gauls camp without *Corps de guard*, neglected on every side: and it with a mighty cry they assail. There was in no place fight, but killing every where: and their naked bodies (as they lay fast asleep) were hacked and cut in pieces. However, some of those that were furthest off, being scared out of their couches, not knowing what violence or from whence it was, took to their heels and fled: other some stumbled at unawares upon the very enemy. A great part of them being come into the territory of *Ardea*, were by the townsmen who fellied out upon them as they were dispersed, environed and slain. The like slaughter to this there was of the Tuscans in the Country of *Vei*: who had so little pity and compassion, to see a City which well near forsook hundred years space bordering upon them, was now surprised by a strange enemy not heard of afore, that even at that very time they made rides into the Territory of *Rome*, and laden with booty from thence, purposed to assail even *Vei* also and the garrison, being the only place and means of rescue, and the last hope of the Roman name.

The Oration
of *Camillus* in
the Assembly
of the Ar-
deates.

The Roman soldiers that lay in garrison there, had espied these Tuscans ranging about the country, and gathered together in a body to drive booties before them: and withall they desir'd their Camp pitched not far from *Veii*. Where, at first they pitted their own estate, but after, they fell into an indignation and anger that the Tuscans also, from whom they had diverted the Gauls war upon themselves, should in their calamities thus from them and have them in derision: so as they could scarcely temper themselves and forbear, but presently set upon them. But being fasted perforce by Captain *Cedius*, a Centurion whom they themselves had made their Ruler, they put off this exploit until night: Only their Commander and Leader was not to be compared with *Camillus*: else all the service was achieved in the same order, and with as good speed and happy success. Over and besides, by the guidance and direction of those prisoners which remained unslain overnight, they went forward as far as *Soline*, to another power of the Tuscans, and in the night following, upon a sudden they made a greater havoc and slaughter of them, and so in joyous manner with double conquest they return to *Veii*. At *Rome* in this mean time, the siege for the most part was but cold and slack, and all quiet on both sides: whilst the Gauls regarded and looked to this only, That none of their enemies should make an escape through their guards. At what time a certain valiant young Roman behaved himself so, as his own countrymen and enemies too had him in great admiration. There was a set sacrifice or solemnity to be celebrated by the house and lineage of *Fabii*, in the Mount *Quirinal*. For the accomplishment whereof, *Caio* *Fabius Dorso* in his holy robes, after the *Gabins* fashion, bearing in his hand the holy complements thereto belonging, came down from the Capitol, passed through the midst of the enemies' corps de *K* guard, and nothing moved whatsoever was done or said to terrify him, went on forth right to the mount *Quirinal*. And when he had there performed and dispatched all solemnities, returning the same way with like constant countenance and comely pace, hoping assuredly, that the gods would be merciful and gracious unto him, whose worship he had not left undone for any fear of death: he retired again to his company into the Capitol: whether it were that the Gauls were astonished at his wondrous boldness, or rather were touched in conscience with a reverent regard of Religion, wherein that nation is very zealous and devout. At *Veii* in the mean while they gathered not only heart every day more than other, but strength and forces also: for that not only Romans thither repaired out of the country, such as either in discomfiture of the battell, or for the calamity of the City now taken, had been attracted: but also out of *Latium* divers of their own accord had flocked thither to have their share in the pillage. Now they thought it high time to return to their country again, and to deliver it out of the enemies hands. The body was strong enough, but without an head it was. The very place put them in mind of *Camillus*, and a great part of the soldiers were such as had achieved prosperous exploits under his leading and conduct. And *Cedius* gave out plainly, that no god or man should make him give over his government, but would himself as mindfull of his own place, call for a General. So by general consent it was agreed, that *Camillus* should be sent forth from *Ardea*, but with the advice before of the Senat which was at *Rome*. So modest were they in all their carriage, and so precisely observed they (even in their desperate case) the due respect and regard of every action. Now to pass through the wards of their enemies, was an hard and dangerous adventure. To this exploit therefore, *Pontius Cominius*, a valorous young man, promised his service. Who bearing himself upon a bark or corke under him, hulled along the *Tiber* down the water to the City: and so then next way from the strand, over a steep cliff (which was negligently or not at all guarded by the enemy) he passed through the Capitoll, and being brought to the Magistrates, declared there his message from the Army. When he had received the Senates decree to this effect: *Imprimis*, That *Camillus* should be called back again out of exile by a Ward-leer, or the suffrages of the *Curia*: *Item*, that by the voices of the people he should be created Dictator out of hand: and that the soldiers might have for their General whom they desired: the messenger returned the same way back again to *Veii*. And Embassadors were sent to *Camillus* at *Ardea*, who conducted him to *Veii*. But I would rather believe that he departed not from *Ardea*, before he had certain intelligence of the Act of the Senat. *N* And for that neither without the will of the people, he might change the place whereto he was confined, nor unless he were named Dictator, have the conduct of the Army: they passed an Act of all the Wards, and Dictator was he declared in his absence. Whilst these things were a doing at *Veii*, the Castle of *Rome* and the Capitoll was in very great danger. For the Gauls, either having found out a mans footing that way as the messenger went from *Veii*, or espied at the cliff of *Carmentis*, an easie place to climb up: in a clear night sent a man before unarmed to assay the passage, & then gave him up his armour, and where it was steep, one helped, lifted up, and drew up another, as the difficulty of the place required. So as they got up to the top with such silence, that not only the Sentinels were not aware of them, but also the dogs (a watchfull creature at every noise in the night) were not once awakened therewith. But they could not so escape the gods, which were consecrated unto *Juno*, and for all the scarcity of visuals, were spared and not killed up. And this it was that saved them all. For with their gagling and fluttering of their wings, *M. Manlius*, who three years before had been Consul a right hardy and noble warrior, was awaked. Who taking weapon in hand, speedily went forth and raised the rest withall to take arms. And whilst all else made haste in a greatfright, he broke the Gaul who now stood upon the top, with the bolts and pike of his buckler, and turned him down. The fall of whom overturned them were

The adventure of Pontius Cominius.

Camillus chosen Dictator.

A were next. Then slew he others, (whiles they were in fear) who had laid their weapons out of hand, and took hold of the stones whereto they clinged close. By which time, the rest being come together, some flinging darts, others casting down stones, tumbled their enemies back, and the whole power of them lost their sure footing and fell down headlong. This tumult being appeased theret of the night (so far forth as men might with troubled minds, seeing that even the danger, past disquieted them) they gave themselves to sleep. When day was come, the soldiers by sound of Trumpet were summoned to assemble before their Tribunes, and considering there was reward due both to well-doing and mis-doing: *Manlius* first for his valour was commended and rewarded, not only by the Tribunes military, but also by consent of all the soldiers. Upon whom, they amongst them all, bestowed and brought home to his house (which stood upon the Cattle hill) whear-meal by the half-pints, and wine by the quarts. A matter of small reckoning to be spoken of: but in that scarcity this might be an argument of their love and affection, when every man beguiled his own belly, plucked from himself and the necessities of his life, and conferred the same to the honour and recompence of that one man. Then were summoned to appear the sentinels of that place where the enemy climbed up undetected. And when as *P. Sulpicius* a Tribune Military, had pronounced that he would exercise martial law upon them all, the soldiers cried out with open mouth, and laid all the fault on one watchman: and so for fear of a cruelty he spared all the rest: and with their general consent and approbation, he caused that undoubted guilty person to be thrown down from the rock. Whereupon they were more careful and circumspect in their watch, both amongst the Gauls (because it was commonly noised that there passed messengers to and fro between *Veii* and *Rome*: and also amongst the Romans, for the remembrance of the late danger by night. But above all other miseries that follow war and siege, the famine was fore in both the Armies. The Gauls were plagued with pestilence besides: for that they had pitched their tents in a place lying between two hills; exceeding hot by reason of the fires, and full of smook, carrying both dust and ashes, when any wind was stirring: which beethings that of all others, that nation cannot abide, as being used to wet and cold. Thus being smothered with heat, and therewith stifled and choked again, they died with contagious diseases like rotten sheep. And now for idleness that they would not bury them severally one by one, they laid the dead bodies on heaps one with another, and so burnt them: and made that place famous and notable by the name of *Busta Gallica*, i.e. Gaubury. Hereupon they grew to make some truce with the Romans, and emparled together by suffrance of the Generals. In which parties, when as the Gauls very often alleged the famine, and upon that extremity perswaded them to yield: it is said, that the Romans for to put them by that opinion of them, in many places from the Capitoll flung out loaves of bread into the very stations and camps de guard of the enemies. But at length neither could their hunger be dissembled, nor sustained any longer. Therefore, whilst the Dictator misseeth a power at *Ardea* by himself, he commandeth the General of horsemen, *L. Valerius*, to have away the Army from *Veii*: and maketh so good preparation, and furnisheth himself so, as he might be able to match his enemies, and to charge upon them. In the mean season, the army of the Capitoll wearied out with watchjog and warding, having fountained all humane miseries besides Hunger, which only of all others, nature would not suffer to be overcome: looking day by day for succour from the Dictator, now at last when not only their food, but their hope also failed them, and were grown to that weakness, that when they went to keep their guard, they could hardly bear the weight of their armour, they agreed and gave consent either to yield or to ransom themselves upon any condition they cared not what. Whiles the Gauls also gave forth plainly, and said, they might be entreated for a small consideration to give over siege. Then the Senat went together, and gave Commission to the Tribunes Military, to bargain and go through with them. So by a parley or treaty had between *P. Sulpicius* Tribune Military, and *Brinnius* the Duke of the Gauls, a conclusion was made, and that people, who within a short time should be Lords of the world, were valued and esteemed at a thousand pound weight of Gold. This in itself was a most odious and shameful thing, but there was adjoynd thereunto a foul indignity. For the Gauls brought forth false weights and uneven balances. And when the Tribunes refused them, behold, the insolent and proud Gaul would needs have his sword weighed too for advantage, adding this speech moreover, (which was intolerable for the Romans to hear) *Woe worth men conquered, and down with them still*. But neither God nor man would abide the Romans to live ransomed. For by good hap, before that shameful sum of money by composition was paid, before (I say) that upon some wrangling that fell between, all the Gold was weighed out, cometh the Dictator in the manner, and commandeth the gold to be had away, and the Gauls to void. And when as they made resistance and pleaded the capitulation and bargain, he again replieth, and saith, That the composition was not good, nor ought to stand, which after he was made Dictator, had been by an inferior Magistrate concluded, without his commandment & warrant: and withall warneth the Gauls to prepare themselves to fight: commanding his own soldiers to cast all their bag and baggage down on a heap, to put on their harness, to make ready their weapons, and by dint of steel, and not by weight of sword to redeem their Country, having in sight before their eyes the Churches of their gods, their wives and children, and the soil whereto the City stood (deformed now with miseries of war) and all things else which they ought by good reason to defend, recover, and be revenged for. Hereupon he marshalled his battell as the ground

Busta Gallica.

† 1000 lib. English.

ground would give him leave, being the plot only of a City half ruinate and lying along, and with all of it self naturally uneven. Forecating and providing for all things with special choice and preparation to serve his souldiers turn, as far as martial skill could possibly reach. The Gauls affrighted at this so strange an occurrence, betook them to their weapons, and in a furious fit of anger rather than with any confidant discretion, they ran upon the Romans. Now had Fortune turned her wheel: now Gods help and mans policy assisted the Romans. Therefore at the first encounter the Gauls were discomfited with as little difficulty, as they themselves had achieved the victory at *Allia*. Afterwards also, in another more set battell in the way of *Cabris*, about eight miles from *Rome* (to which place they were fled) they were vanquished by the conduct and leading of the same *Camillus*. For there were they slain in every place, their Camp taken, and not so much as one left to bring news of their overthrow. The Dictator having thus delivered his Country out of the enemies hand, returned again with triumph into the City. And in all the sports and pleasant ditties which the souldiers rudely after their manner devised, he was filled *Romulus* the father of the Country, the second founder of the City, which were no vain titles of commendation.

When he had saved his Country thus in war, he preserved it afterwards again indoubtably in time of peace, namely in gaining their transmigration to *Vei*: while both the Tribunes enforced that matter more earnestly, now after the burning of the City, and the Commons also of themselves were more inclined thereunto, than before. Which was one cause, that after his triumph he resigned not up his Dictatorship: being requested also by the Senat not to leave the City in so doubtful terms of perplexity. And first and foremost (as he was evermore a most precise devout man and religious) he proposed those things which concerned the immortal gods: and cautieth an act of the Senat to be made. *Primum*, that all the Temples (for that the enemies had held and possessed them) should be repaired, bounded out new, and purged. *Item*, that the manner of cleansing them, should be searched out of the books of *Syllabus* by the *Duumvirs*. Moreover, that with the inhabitants of *Cere*, there should be made a league of publike and mutual hospitality, for receiving the sacred Images and Priests of the people of *Rome*: by the means and favour of which people, the honour and service of the immortal gods was not forelost and discontinued. *Item*, that there should be set on the Plains called *Capitolina*, for the *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* had still defended and preferred his own seat, and the Refuge of the people of *Rome* in that fearful time of trouble. And that *M. Furius* should ordain a guild, of fraternity out of those that dwelt in the hill of the Capitol, for the celebration of those plays. Finally, to the end these should be all some satisfaction and expiation made of that night voice which being the fore-messenger and warning-giver of their destruction before the coming of the Gauls, was heard and yet neglected, a motion was made, that a Temple should be erected in the new casely to *Ani Locutius*. The Gold which was recovered by force from the Gauls, as also that which out of other Temples in that fearful hurly-burly, was brought into the channel of chappell of *Jupiter*, because they could not call to mind precisely into which Churches they were to carry it again accordingly, was all judged holy, and sacred to *Jupiter*: and order taken, that it should be bestowed and laid up under his shrine. And how devout the City was, appeared before in this. That when there was not gold enough in the common chest, to make up the full sum of the ransom that was agreed upon between them and the Gauls, they took that which the matrons and wives of *Rome* contributed, and all to spare and save the gold appointed to holy uses. The Matrons were therefore thanked, and this honour besides done unto them. That after their death they as well as their husbands, should be openly praised in a solemn funeral Oration. When those things were once accomplished which appertained to the Gods; and all that belonged to the Senat for to do: then and not alone, upon the suits that the Tribunes kept with the Commons continually, with their speeches in all their assemblies, soliciting them to leave the ruins of the City, and to remove with all they had to *Vei*, a town readily furnished to their hand: then (I say) and not before, *Camillus* accompanied with the whole Senat, came up into the common place of audience, and there before the people spake in this wise. "So grievous to me, O *Quirites*, is all contention and variance with the Tribunes of the Commons, that while I lived at *Ardea* I found no other comfort and solace in that most heavy and woful banishment of mine but this, That I was far enough off from all debates and jars. In regard whereof, I would never have come again, I assure you, but that you called me back, both by act of Senat, and also by approbation of the people. And it is not in me any change of mind, but your calamity and distressed estate, that hath forced me to return again unto you. For this was the very point that you stood upon, namely, that our country might continue still and keep her ancient place: and not I wist, that I should remain and dwell therein again. And even now verily, would I be still and keep silence willingly, but that this quarrel also is in the behalf of my forefaded country: the which to fail (so long as life doth last) for others might be a shameful reproach, but for *Camillus* it were most impious & abominable. For to what end have we returned to it again? To what purpose when it was besieged have we delivered it out of the enemies hands, if when we have recovered it, we our selves abandon and leave it the same? And when as the gods and men of *Rome* kept still, and inhabited the Capitol and the castle, notwithstanding the Gauls were Lords, and possessed of the whole City, is it possible that both Castle and Capitol, after the City is regained, should be forsaken and abandoned of the

"Roman

The Oration
of M. Furius
Camillus to the
people of
Rome.

A "Roman victors? And that our prosperous hand over our enemies bring greater desolation to our City, than adversity hath? Verily, if it were so, that we made no reckoning of that religion and divine solemn service, instituted even with the foundation of our City: & that we counted all vanities that have been delivered unto us by tradition from our ancestors: yet to evident a power of God hath afflicted the Romans, that I must needs think, that men can now no longer neglect the worship of God. For consider with me I pray you, either the prosperity of the adversity of these years late past, one after another they shall find, that as long as we served God and followed his will so long we prospered & went forward: and all the while that we despised the same, we ever went backward and fell to decay. And first and foremost the Veient war (recount I beseech you) how many years lasted it? how troublesome and painful was it? And ended it was not because that by the direction and advertisement of the gods, the water was let out of the Alban Pool? What shall I speak of this late & strange calamity of our own City? Began it (and say truth) before that voice which came from heaven was made so light of, concerning the coming of the Gauls; before the law of nations was by our Umbra's broken and before that through the same neglect of the gods, that fact was by us winked at and put up, which indeed should have been punished and revenged? This was the cause that we were vanquished made captive, put to our ransom, and suffered such condign punishment both at Gods hand and at mans, as that we are made an example and amazement to the whole world; Then our adversity and affliction put us in mind of our religion, and the fear of the gods. We fled into the Capitol to the gods even to the very feat of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*: and when our own private estate went to havock, the sacred monuments yet and holy Images some we hid in the earth, some we conveyed away into the neighbour Towns, and removed them out of our enemies fight. And albeit we were forsaken and given over both of God and men, yet gave not we over, nor did we diminish the service of the gods. And therefore gave they us our Country again, they gave us victory, and the ancient honour of war which we had lost; and upon our enemies heads, who (blinded with covetousness) in the weighing of gold brake both covenant and fidelity; they have turned all fearfulness, all flight & laughter. Considering then, O *Quirites*, by these great and apparent signs, & testimonies in the course of this world, what it is to serve God, & what it is to dishonour him, perceive ye not what wickedness we go about to plunge ourselves into, being scarcely got forth and escaped out of the shipwreck and perill of our former sin and calamity? A City we have founded and built, by the will of God and the observation of Angury and Auspices, nor corner therein, but full of religion, full of divine Majesty: and for solemn sacrifices, there are set days when they shall be celebrated, there are places also appointed wherein they ought to be performed. And are ye about then, O *Quirites*, to leave all the gods both publike & private; how forgeth this deed of yours with that, which lately during the time of the siege, was leech with no less admiration of our enemies, than our own selves in that Noble young Gentleman in *C. Fabius*, when through the pikes of the Gauls, he departed out of the Castle and performed a solemn duty of the house of *Dubius*, even upon the mount *Quirinal*? What, can ye allow and like that the sacred ceremonies of privat families, should not so much as in time of war be intermitted? E and suffer now the publike sacrifices and the Roman gods, in time of peace to be neglected, and the City abandoned? That our High Priests and Flamines should be less curious and precise in the publike service of God, than a private Citizen was in the Anniversary feast of his family and kindred? But peradventure some one may say, We will do the same at *Vei*, or we will send from thence our Priests hither, for to execute that ministry. Neither of which can be done saving the due observance of holy ceremonies. For, to say nothing in general of all other holy daies, and of all the gods besides; In that one high feast and solemn dinner of *Jupiter*, can a Pulvinar be celebrated, or a sacred Table be spread and furnished in any place; but in the Capitol? What should I speak of the eternal fires of *Vesta*, and of that Image, which as a pawn and security of our imperial State, is kept within the sacred walls of that Temple? What should I speak of those your *Aeneas* and Scythians? O *Mary Gracchus*, and then father *Quintus*: are ye well contented, that all these festival and sacred solemnities, which were all of equal time with the City, yet, and of more antiquity (some of them) than the foundation of the City, should be forsaken, in a private place? But see what gods there is between us and our ancestors? They left unto us certain solemn feasts and sacrifices to be celebrated in the Alban mountain and in *Tavinium*. Was it then a matter of conscience and religion, that some festival solemnities were brought unto us from our enemies Cities to *Rome*? And shall we translate the same from hence to our enemies City *Vei*, without a great and heinous offence, that would require expiation? Do but call to mind I pray you, how often our feasts and sacrifices have been renewed and reformed, and for that some one old accustomed ceremony, either by chance or for want of taking heed, hath been over-slip and left out. And even of late, what was it else that (after the strange miracle of the Alban Pool) relieved our Common-wealth distressed with the Veient war, was the restoration of our divine service, and renewing of our Auspices? And more than this, we as it were in remembrance of ancient religion and devotion, have both brought unto *Rome* forrain gods, and also have instituted and devised new. What a notable and festival day was that in regard of the exceeding zeal and forward affection of the Matrons upon which Queen *Tullia* late translated from *Vei*, was dedicated in *Aventum*? And to *Ani Locutius*, for a voice from heaven heard

"heard in the new cauley, we caused a Temple to be erected. The Capitoline plaies have we ad-
 "ded to other solemn feasts & thereto we have ordained and founded a new guild or fraternity,
 "even by the advice of the Senat. And what need was there, that we should have done any of these
 "things, if we meant, together with the Gauls, to leave the City of Rome? If we abode not in
 "the Capitol (so many months while we were besieged) willingly and without constraint? And
 "if we were for fear of our enemies, held back from going elsewhere? Thus much of our festival
 "daies and temples. But what shall become now, I pray you of our Priests? Never think ye once
 "of it, what a sinful deed you are about? As for the Vestall Virgins and Nuns, it is certain, this
 "is their only place, forth of which nothing ever could drive them but the winning of the City.
 "The Flamin of Jupiter may not lie forth of the City one night: and will ye make these Priests I
 "of Romans to become Veientians? And shall thy virgins indeed, O *Vesta*, leave thee now? and
 "shall the Flamin dwelling in a strange place, for every night he is absent, taint with so great im-
 "piety, both himself and the Common wealth? As for other matters, which we do with great so-
 "lemnity by the direction of the Augurs (and all well near within the Pomeroy or compalls of
 "the City) how can we forget or neglect them? Namely, the Ward-leer or assembly of the *Curiae* for
 "matters of war: also the other of Centuries, wherein ye chuse your Consuls and Military Tri-
 "bunes, where can they be held (if we respect the will of the gods and regard the Auspices) but in
 "the places accustomed? Shall we remove all these to *Vestii*? or shall the people repair thither from
 "thence with so great trouble and inconvenience, to a desolate City, forsaken of God and man,
 "whensoever they would hold those assemblies? But the present necessity (they will say) forceth us
 "to leave a town that is wasted with fire, and wholly ruinat, and to go to *Vestii*, where all stands
 "safe and sound, and not to put the poor Commons to the toyle and charge of new building. That
 "this is a pretence and cause rather devised than meant in earnest, if I should say nothing, I think
 "appeareth manifestly unto you already, O *Quirites*, who remember that before the coming of
 "the French men, whilst your public buildings and privat houses were whole, and whilst the
 "City stood upright on foot, this self-same motion was made and debated, as touching the re-
 "moving to *Vestii*. Consider now ye Tribunes, what difference there is between mine opinion and
 "yours: ye are of mind, that if it had not then been meet to be done, yet now verily it were
 "good and requisite: I contrariwise (but marvel not I pray you before you hear what I will say) am
 "of opinion, that albeit we might have then gone, whilst our whole City flourished, yet now we
 "were not to leave it thus ruinat & decayed. For at that time we had some cause to remove into
 "a conquered City, namely, Victory, a glorious thing to our selves and our posterity: but this re-
 "moving now, were reproachfull and shameful to our selves, but glorious and honourable to the
 "Gauls. For we shall not bethought to have left our country as conquerours, but to have lost it as
 "conquered. And shall it be said, that our running away at *Allia*, the winning of our City, the be-
 "sieging of the Capitoll, hath imposed this necessity upon us to leave our house and home and
 "to make shifts, to seek our own exile and departure out of that place which we are not able to
 "defend? And were, indeed, the Gauls able to pull down and rase that City of Rome, which the
 "Romans shal not be thought able to redifie and set up again? What remaineth now, in case they
 "should come upon us afresh, with a new power of men, for certain it is that their multitude is
 "incredible? & were willing to dwell here in this City by them conquered & by you abandoned,
 "but that ye gently permit and suffer them? Nay, What and if not the Gauls, but your old enemies
 "the *Aequians* and the *Volscians* would remove and come to Rome, would you be willing to have
 "them become Romans and your selves Veientians? Would ye not rather, that this desert and
 "wast ground as it lieth, were yours, than to be a City peopled by your enemies? For I cannot see,
 "I assure you, whether of the twain, were more to be desired. And because (forsooth) ye are loath
 "to fall to building, are ye resolved to abide these mischiefs & these shameful reproaches, yit through-
 "out the whole City there might not be built a more commodious or stately house, than is that
 "cottage there of our founder, were it not better to dwell in cottages like shepherds & peasants, so
 "it be among your sacred monuments and household gods, than all at once generally to go into
 "exile? Our ancestors and forefathers being a mixture of divers countries, and no other than herd-
 "men, finding in these parts nothing but woods and bogs in a short time built a new City out of
 "the ground: and are we loath, having yet our Capitoll, our castle, the Temples of our gods
 "standing still, to redifie it now, that it is burnt. That which every one of us would have done, if
 "our houses had been fired, refuse we altogether to do in the common sacrifice of the City? Give
 "me leave a little, What & if by some villany, or by mischance there should be a sacrifice at *Vestii*,
 "by reason of the wind (as it is often seen) the flame spread & catch, and so consume a great part
 "of the City, shall we go from thence by and by, and seek to *Fidenam* or *Gabii*, or some other City
 "near as hard to remove unto? Is the very native soil of our country, and this ground which we
 "call our mother, of so power at all to keep us here, but both the whole love and affection of
 "our country, reit in the superficial outside, and in the timber and rafters of our houses? Verily,
 "confess I will unto you (although I take less pleasure to remember the wrongs you did me, than
 "the calamity which I endured) when I was absent and in exile, so often as I thought of my coun-
 "try, all these things ran in my mind: the hills, the plain, the *Tiber*, the coasts all about, which was
 "my daily prospect, and this air, under which I was born and brought up. All which, O *Quirites*,
 "let them move you rather now with an affection to them for to carry thil in this your habitation,
 "than

A "than disquiet you hereafter, and torment you for the want and mis of them, when you have
 "once left and forgone them. Not without good cause both God and man chose this place for
 "the building of this City: most healthy and wholesome hills: a very convenient and commodi-
 "ous river: to bring in corn and other fruits out of the inland parts, to receive provision and o-
 "ther victuals from the sea-coasts: the sea it self near enough for commodities, and not exposed
 "and open by too much nearness to the dangers of forrain navies: the very heart and centre of
 "all Italy, a place as a man would say, naturally made, and only for that City to grow and encrease
 "in. And that doth the very largeness and greatness of a City so newly founded, plainly prove.
 "It is now three hundred threescore and four years, and not above, since the foundation there-
 "of, O *Quirites*. Amongst so many Nations of greatest antiquity, thus long ye have made war:
 "and all this while (to lay nothing of particular Cities) neither the *Volcians* together with the
 "Aequians peopling so many towns, and those so strong, nor all *Hetruria* so mighty by sea and
 "land, and containing the whole breadth between the two seas, are in war to you comparable.
 "Which being so, what reason have you (in the devils name) when ye have had sufficient proof
 "already oft, to try again new experiments? considering now, that albeit your valour and virtue
 "may go with you elsewhere, yet surely, the good luck and fortune of this place can never de-
 "part and remove from hence? Here is the Capitoll, where sometimes upon the finding of a
 "mans head, answer was made by diviners and wizards, That in that very place it should be the
 "head of all puissance, and the imperial seat of the whole world. Here, at what time as the Ca-
 "pitoll, by the direction of the Augurs should be voided and cleared of all other Chapells, Lady
 "C *Juventas*, and god *Terminus*, to the great joy of our forefathers, would not suffer themselves to
 "be stirred out of their place. Here are the fires of *Vesta* here be the *Sutrochons* come down from
 "heaven, here are all the gods, favourable & gracious til unto you, so long as here ye make abode
 "and remain. *Cominius* in all his Orations throughout moved them much: but that part thereof
 "touching religion (by report) was most effectual. But that which struck it dead, and put all out
 "of doubt, was a certain word that fell out to be spoken fyt to the purpose. For at what time as
 "the Senat a while after was gathered together in the Court *Hylitia*, to debate about these things
 "and certain companies of souldiers that returned from their guards, chanced in the mean time
 "to march through the market place, one Captain hapned to speak in the *Comitium*, and said,
 "D *Pitch down thy ensigns and standard beaver, here will be our best abode*. Which voice was not so soon
 "heard, but the Senat being come out of the Council Houe, cried with one accord, That
 "they took that omen for good luck, and happy preface: and also the Commons all gathered
 "thereabout, approved the same. After this, when the forelaid Act of transmigration was once
 "clean dashed and abolished, the City began to be built confusedly, and without order. Tite was
 "allowed at the common charges: to dig either stone, or hew timber, every man had liberty
 "where he could, putting in surceries, that within the compais of that year they would finish their
 "buildings. The haste they made, caused them to have no regard of drawing out the streets di-
 "rectly, whilst every man built in the void places without respect of his own or other mens
 "ground. Which is the cause that the out-links and vaults which first were conveyed through
 "E the common streets, now run every where under mens houses, and the form of the City seemeth
 "as if it were built at random (as every man could catch a place for himself) rather than distinct-
 "ly ranged, and set out in good order unto them.

The Sixth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Sixth Book.

It containeth the fortunate wars against the *Aequians*, the *Volscians*, and *Tuscan*. Four Tribes were
 added to the former, *Stellatina*, *Sabbatina*, *Promentina*, *Armenis*, *M. Manlius*, who had defended the
 Capitoll from the Gauls, whilst he discharged the debts of those that were in danger of their creditors,
 and released such as were then imprisoned, was convicted of aspiring to be King, and thrown down from
 the cliff *Tarpeia*. In whose reproach a decree was made by the Senat, that none of the house of *Man-*
lius should be so named. *Marcus C. Licinius*, and *L. Sextius*, Tribunes of the Commons, proposed a
 law, that Consuls also might be chosen out of the Commons, who were created before from among the
 Nobles only. And albeit the Senators withstood them with earnest endeavour, yet by reason that for
 five years (since the same Tribune continued the only Magistracies of the City, they went through with
 that law and got it enacted. And *L. Sextius* was created the first Consul that ever was of Commons.
 A second Law there passed likewise, That no man might possess above five hundred acres of land.

What

The Sixth Book of T. Livius.

The Recapitulation of the former five Books.

Vhat acts from the building of the City of Rome unto the taking of the same, the Romans have achieved, first, under the government of Kings; afterwards of Consuls and dictators, Decemvirs, and Tribunes Consular, as well in the wars abroad as seditions at home; I have in five books declared. Matters obscure, both in regard of exceeding antiquity (as things that a far off hardly be discerned) and also for that in those dates there were very few writings and monuments, the only faithful safeguard, and true remembrancers of deeds past: and besides, whatsoever was registered in the Commentaries of the Priests, and in other public or private records, the same for the most part, when the City was burned, perished withall. But now from henceforward, their civil affairs of policy, and martial exploits in war, ensuing after a second beginning of the City (as springing again with more fresh shoots and fruitful sprouts from the root of the old stock) shall be delivered in more plain and certain manner.

Camillus bore the Dictatorship a whole year, which otherwise was limited within six months.

Q. Fabius executed.

Difmal dates, † 18 of July.

† 16 of July.

And to begin withall, look by whom the state first was underpropped and set upright, upon him (as chief and principal) it still bare and rested, and that was *M. Furius*: whom the Romans would not suffer to give up his Dictatorship before one year was fully expired. As for those Tribunes (Consular) in time of whose government the City was lost, they liked not that they should call and hold an assembly for Election of Magistrates the year following. So the matter came to an Interregnum. Now while the City was buſie in continual work and labour, about rebuilding and repairing their buildings, *Q. Fabius* so soon as he was out of his office, was by *C. Martius*, a Tribune of the Commons, arrested to make his answer at a day appointed, who laid to his charge, That he contrary to the Law of Nations, had fought against the Gauls, unto whom he was sent in embassy, and as an Orator only. But he avoided his judicial trial, by his death: and died to just against the time, that many men thought it was voluntary and wrought by his own hands. Then *P. Cornelius Scipio* first entered upon the Interregnum: and after him *M. Furius Camillus* the second time. He created Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, *A. Valerius Publicola* the second time, *L. Virginii*, *P. Cornelius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Emilius*, and *L. Posthumus*. These men presently after the Interregnum, were not so soon entered into office, but before all other things, they consulted with the Senat in matters concerning Religion and conscience. And first of all they commanded, that all the instruments of leagues and confederacies, the ordinances and laws also (& those were the twelve tables & certain Statutes made by the Kings) should be sought up as many as could be found extant. Whereof some were published abroad, even amongst the Common people: but such as pertained properly to holy Rites, and divine service, were by the Priests and Prelates suppressed: especially, of purpose to hold the minds of the people in a reverent awe of religion and devotion. Then began they to reason and debate about the difmal dates. And the fifteenth day before the Calends of August, so notorious for a twofold loss and overthrow, upon which day at *Cremora* the *Fabii* were all slain, and after at *Alia* an unfortunate field was fought, even to the utter ruin and desolation of the City, they named of the latter misfortune, *Albensis*: and set this unlucky mark upon it, That it should be reputed unmeet and inconvenient for any business as well public as private. Some think, because upon the next day following the Ides of July, *Subrinus* the Tribune Military could not by sacrifice find any tokens of happy speed, nor obtain the grace and favour of the gods; whereupon three daies after, the Roman host fell shamefully into the hands of the enemies: therefore, the morrow also after the Ides was interdicted and men were commanded to forbear and abstain from doing sacrifice: and thereupon likewise, the day next following the Calends and the Nones, were by tradition held as ominous and difmal as the other.

But long they might not quietly sit about the devising of means to reform the Common-weal, N and set it upright again after so grievous and dangerous a fall. For of the one side, the Volscians, their old enemies, took arms, intending the final destruction of the Roman name. On the other side, the Merchants brought news, That the Princes and chief of all the Nations of *Hetruria* were banded and confederate together in a Diet held at the Temple of *Voltumna*, to make war upon them. Besides a fresh and new fear came upon them by reason of the rebellion of the Latines and Hernicks, who after the battell at the pool *Regillus*, for the space almost of an hundred years, had continued fast in loyal league and amity with the people of Rome. Therefore being thus greatly affrighted on every side, that all the world might see apparently that the State of Rome was not only hated of her enemies, but despised also of her allies: it was thought good and resolved upon, that by his direction and rule, the Common-wealth should now be maintained and defended, O by whose conduct and guidance it was relieved and recovered: and that *M. Furius Camillus* should be created Dictator. He being declared Dictator, named *Q. Servilius H. L.* for General of the Horsemen. And having proclaimed a law (stated (or vacation from Courts of Law) he took muster of all the younger sort and servicable men: but so, as the elder people were not left out, as many as were of strength sufficient for service. Unto whom he likewise ministered the military oath of Allegiance, and enrolled them by hundreds in the muster-book. When he had

A had thus levied a power of men, and furnished them with armour, he divided them into three parts. The one he opposed against *Hetruria* in the Country of *Vej*: another he commanded to lie encamped before the City. Over these *A. Manlius* a Tribune military was made Captain: those which were sent against the Tuscans had *L. Emilius* for their Commander. A third part he himself led against the Volscians: and not far from *Lanuvium* (the place called *Ad-Metrium*) he began to assault their Camp. The enemies had put themselves on this their journey, with a kind of scornful contempt, as thinking the whole manhood in a manner of Rome, was by the French clean spent and wasted. But when they heard once, that *Camillus* was the Lord General, it stroke such a fear and terror among them, that they were glad to defend themselves by the strength of their trench and rampier, yea, and to fence it round about with huge-piled heaps of wood and trees, that their enemies might have no passage to enter in upon their munitions. Which when *Camillus* perceived, he gave order to let on fire that Barricado which stood in his way. And as good hap was, the wind was big and high, and blew full upon the enemy. So that not only he made way by fire, but also with the flames thereof that went toward the Camp, with the vapour likewise and smoke, and the crackling noise of the green wood, he so amazed & astonished the enemies, that the Romans had less ado to pass the trench and palliade, into the Camp of the Volscians, than ingetting over the mound and enclosure consumed with fire. Having thus defeated and slain his enemies and won withall the Camp in the flame burnt, the Dictator gave the whole spoile unto the soldiers: which to them was so much the more welcome, as they less hoped for it at their General's hand: who was never known to be lavish of gift, and over-liberal in dealing rewards. After this he followed them that fled, in chase, waited and foraged their whole country, and at length (in the seventieth year of the war) he wholly subdued the Volscians, and forced them to yield submission. After this conquest, he departed from thence against the *Æquians*, who likewise made preparations for war. Their forces he surprised and defeated at *Bule*, and assailed not only their Camp, but also forced the City, and at the first assault won both.

But while fortune smiled thus, what way soever *Camillus* went, as being the only stay of the Roman state: so on another side the fear of peril greatly increased. For the Tuscans well near all up in arms, lay before *Saturnium*, and besieged it being in league with the people of Rome. Whose Embassadors came unto the Senat to entreat for succour in their distress, and had a decree granted unto them, that the Dictator with all speed should relieve the *Sutrinus*. But being so straightly beleaguered, that they might not abide the delay of this their hope, for that the townsfolk, who were but few in number, were over-wearied with working, watching, and bloody fighting, (all which lay still upon the same men without intermission) they were driven by composition to surrender up the City to the enemies: and being disarmed and sent away with a single tute of apparel (after a piteous sort all a-row) departed the town, & left their dwelling places. But see, it fortune that *Camillus* at the same time came in the very manner with the Roman Army and met them. At whose feet the multitude all sorrowful lay prostrate: their Nobles and chief men in this extremity fell to beseech him to be good unto them: the women and children which went along with them, as partakers and companions of their exile, seconded them with woful tears and lamentations. But he willed the *Sutrinus* to forbear their mourning plaints, and give over their doleful moan: saying that he brought the Tuscans heavy and weeping cheer. Then caused he his soldiers to lay down their packs and load, the *Sutrinus* likewise there to abide with a mean guard, and his men to follow him with armour and weapons only. Thus marched he forward with his Army lightly appointed for ready expedition, and advanced before *Sutrium*. Where, according to his expectation, he found the enemies all careless and secure (as commonly it falleth out upon a prosperous success.) No warders, no corps de guard quartered before the walls, the gates wide open, the Conquerours here and there sacking, rifling and flinging the goods out of their enemies houses. So was *Sutrium* in one day twice won. The Tuscans (for all their former victory) were hewn in peeces on every side, by a new-come enemy. They had no time to cast themselves round, nor gather together into one place, nor to take weapon in hand: whilst every man for life, made in all haste to the gates, if haply any way they might escape into the fields. But when they came thither, the gates they found all shut, for so the Dictator had given order afore-hand, Heteupon some betook themselves to their weapons: others (namely, such as hapned to be armed when this sudden tumult surprised them) fell to call their fellows together for to begin a skirmish: which no doubt in that desperate case of the enemies had been hotly fought, had not the Critics and Trumpets which were sent into all parts of the City, made proclamation to lay down their weapons, to spare them which were unarmed, and that none should have any harm but those that were found in arms. Upon this, even they who in that extremity and despair were fully bent to fight it out, for hope of life on all hands flung away their weapons: and thus disarmed as they were (for as the case stood, it was the safer course) presented themselves to the enemy. A great number of them were bestowed in several places, and were attended upon with good guards. And before night the town was delivered again unto the *Sutrinus*, safe and found without any hurt at all done unto it, as being not won by force, but (surrendered upon composition. *Camillus* then returned with triumph into the City of Rome, victor at one voyage in three sundry wars, the greatest number by far, of prisoners, whom he led before his chariot in triumph, were Tuscans: whom he sold in port-sale at the spear, and raised such a sum of money, that when he had

Sutrinus 12; won it one day.

had out of it repaid the dames [of Rome] to the worth of their gold; there were of the surplage thereof three bouls made of massie gold: which with the title and inscription of *Camillus* his name, were for certainty, before the Capitol was burnt to be seen in the chappell of *Jupiter* set up and bestowed at the feet of *Juno*.

The same year, there were enfranchised and made Citizens of *Rome*, such Veientians, Capenates and Faliscians, as in the time of those wars were fled to the Romans: and for these new Citizens were certain lands set out. Those also, who for idleness loath to build at *Rome*, were gone to *Vesii*, there to inhabit the vacant houses, were by an Act of the Senat recalled home from thence. And they at the first grumbled & refused to obey; but after that a day was set them, & they threatened upon pain of death to return again to *Rome*; as it out as they were, and obdurate all of them together now for fear every one became obedient. As *Rome* now increased in number of inhabitants, and became well peopled: so on all hands in every place they fell to building new edifices: whilst the Common-wealth somewhat eased them of charges, and the Ediles by virtue of their office called hard upon them, hasting them forward as to a publick works; yea, and every man privately made all speed possible, according as each ones need required, to make an end and finish his own house. So as within the year the City was new built and stood on foot again.

At the years end was the great Election held for Tribunes Military in Consuls authority. Wherein were created *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* the fifth time, *Julius Tallus*, *L. Agilius Corvus*, *L. Lucratius Tricipitinus*, *Ser. Sulpicius Ruffus*. One army they let out and led against the *Aequians*, not to war with them (for they granted themselves conquered) but upon meer spight and deadly hatred, to waste all their borders utterly, and to leave them no power and strength to enterprise any new rebellion. The other, into the territory of *Tarquini*. Where, two resistance made. For the Romans surprised them on a sudden, and at the first shout and impression they were masters of it: The town was sacked and burned. As for *Contebrus*, it endured the assault for some few daies: but the continual labour, slackening neither day nor night overcharged them; whereas the Roman Army divided into six parts, fought six hours in their severall turns round one after the other. And the townsmen being but few, and those overtired, were fain without any supply, still to maintain fresh skirmishes. Whereupon at last they retreated back & yielded, giving the Romans leave to enter the City. The Tribunes were of mind and thought good, that the spoil should be confiscated and go to the common treasury: but the commandment and proclamation was more slack than their purpose on that behalf. For whilst they lingered and protracted time, the souldiers already had seized in their prizes: and taken from them again without much offence and hatred, the booty could not be. In the same year, because the City should not flourish in private buildings only, the Capitol was also built of squared ashler stone: A piece of work even in this so glorious estate, and magnificence of the City, to be had in price and esteemed excellent. And now before this time, the Tribunes of the Commons, whilst the City was busied about their buildings, began often to move for the Laws *Agria* (about the division of the lands) in all their assemblies and speeches before the people. For to draw them on and to let forward their hope, they presented unto them very often the Pomptine Territory, which then above all others, so presently upon the subduing and subversion of the Volscians by *Camillus*, was no doubt, the rightful possession of the people of *Rome*. Complaints were made, that those grounds sustained much more detriment and damage by the Nobility, than they had received before from the Volscians. For they, so long only as they were able to bear arms and maintain war, made inroads thither: but the Noblemen forcibly entered and made havoc in the possessions of the common lands: and unless (before they had let sure footing there, and got all into their hands) a division were made, the Commons should never enjoy one foot of ground there. These Remonstrances of the Tribunes little moved the Commons, both because few of them resorted to the common place of assemblies, whilst they plied their building: and also for that money was away, and their purses so emptied in the charges of workmen, that they had little mind of holding those lands, which to store and stock they were not able.

The City was now given much to their devotions and religions, and the rulers also somewhat superstitious upon their late calamity: Insomuch as they minded to renew the *Auspicia* (or solemnity of prelates taken by bird-flight) for some error supposed therein: and therefore they agreed that the government should return to an Interregnum. So there were Interregents one after another, *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, *Valerius* at length held the assembly for to elect Tribunes Military in Consuls authority, and created *L. Papirius*, *Cn. Sergius*, *L. Emilius* the second time, *L. Licinius*, *T. Valerius Publicola* the third time. These presently after the Interregnum, began their government. That year, the Temple of *Mars* vowed in the Gauls war was dedicated by *T. Quintius*, a Duumvir deputed for the executing of holy duties. Four Tribes of new Citizens were now adjoined, *Stellatina*, *Pomerina*, *Sabatina*, *Arminensis*, and these made up the number of the 25 Tribes. And now *L. Licinius* a Tribune of the Commons, was in hand with the people in greater number assembled together, about the Pomptine lands: and more inclined they were and forward to hearken after grounds, than they had been afore. And whereas it was moved in the Senat house, to make war upon the Latines and the Hernicks, that matter was not followed, but put off to a further time: by reason of preparation for a greater war,

Some new built.

The Capitol built of square stone.

The Temple of Mars dedicated.

Four new Tribes adjoined to Rome.

Herutia was already up in arms. And all was laid again upon *Camillus* his shoulders, who was made Tribune Military with Consuls authority, and had five other brethren in office joyntly unto him *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* the sixth time, *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Horatius Pulvillus*, *P. Valerius*. In the beginning of the year, the minds of men were turned clean away from the careful regard they had of the Italian war, by reason that a number of people that fled out of the Pomptine country, came all of a sudden in great halt to the City, and brought word, that the Antians were up in arms, that the nations of the Latins had sent their able youth to that war (lovely underhand: thereby disavowing it to be any action of the State and standing upon this point, that by the covenant there was no provilo, but that voluntary souldiers might arise in what wars: soever they would. Now had the Romans been well taught, and learned to let fight no more by any wars. The Senat therefore thanked the Gods, that *Camillus* was in place of government, who if he had been a privat person, was no doubt to have been nominated and created Dictator: yea, and his companions in office, consulted frankly that he was the only man to have the overrigan and absolute Regiment of all, in case there were any fearful and dangerous war toward: and were fully resolved, to yeild up all their interest in government unto him, thinking it no disparagement at all unto them, nor any loss of their own honour and reputation, in conferring the same upon the Majesty of so worthy a person. The Senat highly commended the Tribunes, and *Camillus* was much abashed in his mind, howbeit he gave them hearty thanks, and spake in this wise. "A weighty burthen (quoth he) I fee is imposed upon me by the people of *Rome*, in that they have elected and nominated me Dictator now the fourth time: a greater charge is enjoyned me by the Senat: the whole state and body of which order, hath delivered to me singular good opinion and judgement of me: but the heaviest load of all is laid upon me by the exceeding kindness and obsequious benignity of these my honourable brethren and colleagues. If any painful travel of mine theretore, and watchful care may be redoubled, I will earnestly endeavour, I will strain and strive to answer thereunto: that the opinion which the City wish so great content hath conceived of me, right as it is exceeding great, so it may continue still and be perpetual. As to that war of the Antians, there are more brags and threats than any danger and peril from thence. But as I would counsel and advise you to be afraid of no war, so I would not have you to be careless and secure of any. The City of *Rome* is beset on every side: partly envied, and partly hated of her neighbour borderers. Need there is both of more Captains, and also of more armies, to manage the affairs of the Common-wealth. I think it good theretore (quoth he) *O Valerius*, that you assist me in government and counsel, and have the leading together with me of certain legions against the Antian enemies. That you *Q. Servilius*, with another army well appointed, and in readines, lye encamped hard by the City side, having an eye and good regard left either *Herutia* in the mean while, (as of late daies) or the Latins and Hernicks (who trouble us now afresh) break out and make some rising. Assured I am, that you will behave your self, and quit you in this service so worthily, as may answer the famous memory of such a father and grandire as you have had, may becom your own honourable person, and those six Tribunships which you have already performed. As for *L. Quintius*, let him leave a third power of men, consisting of those that are by reason of sickness or otherwise excused for warfare, and are above the ordinary age for military service, to be in stead of a garrison for defence of the City and the Walls. Let *L. Horatius* provide harness, weapons, corn, and other necessities for war, at all occasions whatsoever. Finally, *O Sergius Cornelius*, we your fellow Tribunes, ordain you President of this publick Council, the *Cybas* and keeper of Religion and Church-matters, of general assemblies, of the Laws and all other civil affairs of policy whatsoever. Now when they had all made promise, and that most willingly to do their endeavour in performing their severall charges, *Valerius* whom he had joyntly with himself in commission, added moreover and said, That as he would take *M. Furius* to be Dictator, so would he be unto him again in stead of his Coronel of Horsemen. And turning to the Lords of the Senat, exhorted them, that what opinion they had of one only Sovereign General, the same hope they would conceive of the whole war. The Senators herat took great joy and contentment, giving out willingly with one accord, that they hoped exceeding wel of war, of peace, and generally of the State. Neither shall the Common-wealth (say they) ever stand in need of Dictator, so long as such Magistrates be in place, so jointly agreeing in one mind together, so indifferent and ready as well to obey as to rule, and rather yeilding their proper praise to the honour of the Common-wealth, than dismembering and plucking from it to their private glory and reputation.

After a Vacation or Law-need proclaimed, and the Musters taken and past: *Furius* and *Valerius* set forward to *Saracum*: whether the Antians had not only lent the flour of all the Volcians, and hence youth out of a fresh fry and new generation: but also had raised a mighty power of Latins and Hernicks, out of those Nations that by long peace were most fresh and lusty. These new enemies and old thus combined together, troubled the minde of the Roman souldier, and made him to flatter. Which when the Centurions reported to *Camillus*, as he was Marching and setting his batrels in array: and that in these terms: to wit, that the hearts of his souldiers were disquieted and dismayed, that they took themselves but slowly to their weapons, made slaying and idling when they should come forth of their tents; yea, and that there were some of them overheard to say, that, They must fight one to an hundred, and that so great a multitude of

The Oration of *M. Furius* *Camillus*, to his companions in government.

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The Oration
of M. Furius
Camillus to his
soldiers.

their enemies (if they were unarmed) might hardly be encountered, much less, being so well armed and appointed: he mounted presently upon Horieback, and rode before the enigma, and then turning himself affront his army, traversing between the ranks and armies: "What heaviness is this my souldiers (quoth he) what means this strange and unwonted lagging behind? Why? Know ye not your enemy? Know ye not me? Or, know ye not your own selves? The enemy, 'tis he who is the perpetual matter and subject of your valour and glory? And ye again are 'tis what is he who is the perpetual matter of the winning of *Falerii* and *Veii*, and of the men, who under my conduct (to say nothing of the winning of *Falerii* and *Veii*, and of the slaughter of the Gauls Legions, put to the sword by us, even when our native City was by them taken and they matters thereof) of late, and but the other day, made a three-fold triumph, upon a triple victory, over the same Volscians, *Æquians* and people of *Hetruria*. What, do ye not I agnize and accept me for your General, because not as Dictator, but as Tribune, I gave you the watchword, and put out the banner of battle? For mine own part, I stand not much upon absolute and sovereign command over you: no more likewise should ye regard ought else in me, but mine own self. For never yet did my Dictatorship make me haughty and set me up aloft, no more than my banishment abated my courage and cast me down. We are the same men till all of us: and since we are come to this war, furnished with the same means that we carried with us unto the former, let us look for the same event of our service, and no worse. So soon as ye shall encounter and join battle with them, perform each one that which he hath been taught and wonted to: the journey surely will be ours, and they (no doubt) shall run away. Then after he had founded the battle, he alighted from his Horie, and caught the ensign-bearer that stood next him, with his hand, hale him forward against the face of the enemy, crying very often aloud, On afore with thy banner, Port-ensign, and advance forward, souldier. When they saw that *Camillus* in person, a man well steeped in years, and thereby weak to perform the parts of bodily strength, put himself forth against the enemy: all at once they pressed forward, set up an outcry and shouted, every man calling upon his next fellow, to follow their General for flame. Over and besides, some say that by the commandment of *Camillus*, there was an ensign flung into the very battle among the enemies. Whereupon they of the forefront, beset themselves lustily to recover it again. And thereby were the Antates first discomfited, and the fear not only came upon them in the vanguard, but entered also and reached as far as the rearward, that stood ready for supply. And as the violent force of the souldiers, provoked by the presence of their Captain, much troubled the enemy: so nothing more daunted the hearts of the Volscians, than the very sight of *Camillus* himself, when they chanced to elope him. So surely carried he the victory with him, which way soever he went! And that appeared most evidently in this, That when he saw the left wing at the point to give back and run away, he took himself in all haste to his Horie, rode thither with his light footman buckler and with his only presence renewed the fight, shewing unto them how the rest of the battle had the better. Now were the enemies put to the worst, and the victory inclined to a side. But their multitude both hindered themselves in their flight: and also a long piece of work the wearied souldiers of the Romans: had to put to great a number, all to the sword. But behold, there fell a great tempest or rain of a sudden, which poured down with so mighty winds and storms, that it rather put them by the execution of assured victory, than parted any battle or stayed the fight. Whereupon the retreat was founded: and the night ensuing, whilst the Romans were at rest, made an end of the war. For the Latins and Hernicks forsook the Volscians and departed home, with as ill speed, as their enterprise was bad. The Volscians seeing themselves abandoned and left in the lurch by them, (upon whose trust and confidence they had rebelled) quit the camp and field, and put themselves within the walls of *Saturnia*: whom *Camillus* at first began to besiege, casting a trench and rampier about them, raising bastions and plat-forms against the Town. And seeing his munitions and fabricks by no talking forth of the enemies impeached, he supposed there was no such courage in them, that he should need to stand so long about the hope of victory: and thereupon, encouraged his men not to wear themselves out in a tedious and toilsome piece of service as if they lay at the siege of *Veii*: assuring them that the victory was in their hands already: and so with exceeding cheerfulness of his souldiers, he set ladders upon every side, scaled the walls, and entered the Town. Then the Volscians flung away their weapons and yielded themselves.

Saturnia won.

But the General his mind was bent upon a greater exploit, and that was the winning of *Antium*, being the seat Town of the Volscians, and from whence the beginning of the last war arose. Howbeit because so strong a City might not be won without great preparation of artillery, ordnance & engines of battery leaving his colleague behind him with the army, he went himself to *Rome*, to persuade with the Senat. for to destroy and raze *Antium* utterly. And whilst he was embarking with them (such was the will of God I believe, that *Antium* should stand still & continue longer) there came Embassadors from *Nepe* and *Saturnia*, craving aid against the Tuscans, saying: That it was more than high time, that they were succoured and relieved. Upon which occasion it fell out, that *Camillus* was withdrawn thither from *Antium*. For seeing that those two Towns stood even against *Hetruria*, as it were the very keys and bar-gates from thence: both the enemies laboured to gain them afore-hand, against the time that they went about to make new wars: & the Romans also held it a matter of great consequence, to rescue and defend those frontier Towns. The Senat therefore thought good to be in hand with *Camillus*, for to leave *Antium*, and to undertake the war with the Tuscans. The City-legions under General *Quintius*, were appointed unto him, And

A And albeir, he rather would have had the leading of that army, which lay now in the Volscians Country, and which he had good tryal of, and were acquainted better with his government, yet refused he nothing: only he required to have *Valerius* his associat till, and joined with him in commission. So *Quintius* and *Horatius* were sent to succeed *Valerius* in the Volscian war. *Furius* and *Valerius* took their voyage from the City to *Saturnia*, and found the one side of the Town possessed already by the Tuscans. On the other side, the Townsmen, for that the enemy had toppled all passages between, hardly able to repel the force of the assailants. But the coming of the Roman aids, and the name besides of *Camillus*, (so highly renowned as well amongst the enemies as Allies) both for the present gave them heart to abide the brunt, and thik to it till that B were before at the point to give over: and also gained time and respite, to come in with fresh supplies and succours. *Camillus* therefore divided his forces, and gave direction to his colleague, for to bring about his power, to that side which the enemies held, and there to make an assault: not so much for any hope he had by scaling the walls to win the City: as by withdrawing the enemies thither, not only to ease the Townsmen of their toil, and give them a breathing time (who were now wearied with assaults) but also to get himself some opportunity and vantage, to enter the City without skirmish and resistance. Which being put in execution on both hands accordingly, and performed at once: the Tuscans beset with a two-fold fear round about, seeing the walls assailed, most fiercely one way: and the enemy got within the Town another way: hung out at one gate (which as it hapned was not beset) and in great haste altogether fought to elape C away. But as they fled, they were slain by heaps both within the Town and abroad all over the fields. The greater number were killed within the walls by *Furius* his souldiers. *Valerius* his men were more ready and nimble in the chase, and gave not over the execution until the night came, that they could not see and discern them.

Saturnia recovered.

When *Saturnia* was thus recovered and restored again to their allies they led forward the army to *Nepe*: which Town the Tuscans held wholly, as surrendered already into their hands. Every man thought it would be a busie piece of work to win that City again: not in this regard only, that it was fully in the enemies possession, but also because some of the Nepefines, by treason had yielded it up. Howbeit, they resolved to send unto the heads and principal citizens, that they should sever themselves from the Tuscans, and perform on their behalf truth and faithful loyalty, like as they had craved and besought at the Romans hands their friendly help and protection. D From whom they received this answer again, That it lay not now in them to do anything at all, for that the Tuscans kept the walls, and warded the gates: Whereupon they first terrified and scared the Townsmen with foraging and spoiling their territory: after that, seeing they made more reckoning of keeping their faithful loyalty to their enemies unto whom they had lately surrendered, than observing the league with their friends, which they had long before concluded: they provided themselves out of the fields of a number of faggots, of brush wood, and such like trouts, and so approached the City with the army filled up the ditches close to the walls, set ladders to, and at the first shout and assault given, the Town was taken. Then proclamation was made, that all the Nepefines should part with their armour and weapons, and so many as were found unarmed, should be spared. But the Tuscans, as well armed as unarmed, were put to the sword every one. As for the chief authors that persuaded the Nepefines to deliver the Town to the enemies, they were beheaded. The harmless multitude had their goods restored, and so the Town was left with a garison. Thus the two Tribuns (Consular) having regained out of the enemies hands two confederat Cities, returned in great glory to *Rome* with their victorious army.

Nepe taken.

The same year the Latins and Hernicks were required to make amends for harms done, and restitution of goods wrongfully detained: and the cause demanded why of late years, according to a covenant in that behalf provided they had let forth no souldiers to the Romans wars. Answer from both Nations in their solemn Councils was returned: "That neither the fault was general, nor proceeding from council of the State, in case some of their youth served under the Volscians: F and yet themselves had well paid already for their lewd and rash projects, in that not one of them was come home alive. And as to the not sending forth of souldiers, the cause was, for that they were in continual fear and danger of the Volscians: which noisome plague (as it were) sticking so close unto their sides, unless they could be rid of, notwithstanding so many wars one in the neck of another. When relation hereof was made unto the Lords of the Senat, they thought to well of their answer and excuses, that they deemed they had quarrel and occasion good enough to war upon them, if they might have had while and time as well to follow it.

The excuse of the Latins and Hernicks.

In the year following, when *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *Titus* and *Luscius Quintius*, both Capitans, and *L. Papirius C.* for the second time, were Tribuns Consular, there arose a grievous war abroad, and a more dangerous sedition brake forth at home. The war, from the Volscians, banded with the Latins and Hernicks, that were fallen away and revolted. The sedition (where it was least feared) from a perionage of noble lineage defended, of great name and reputation, *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. Who being a man of too lofty and haughty a minde, despised all other of the Nobility, and envied one above the rest, *M. Furius*, so singular, as well in regard of his honourable dignities, as his worthy parts and commendable virtues. He could not brook and endure, that he only should ever be Lord General in the field: who now was exalted to high above others, that even those who were created with him in equal authority, he accounted not as

The discontents of *M. Manlius* breeding sedition.

his peers and fellows, but employed as his Ministers and Servitors. "Whereas (quoth he) if men would weigh aright, and duly consider every thing, *M. Furius* could never have delivered his Country from the siege of the enemies, had not the Capitol and Cattle cliff been saved by me alone. *Camillus* let upon the Gauls, when they were amused in receiving their gold, when they were upon terms of peace, and their hearts quiet and secure: whereas my self chafed them away whilst they were in arms, and at the point to win the Cattle Hill. In that exploit of *Camillus* the souldiers, had each one his share proportionably of the glory, who together with him did their parts: but in the service performed by me, no earthly creature was fellow and partner with me. With these conceits he fed his own humour, and puffed up his proud spirit, being withal by corrupt disposition of nature, hot and hasty, arrogant and insolent. Discontented besides, that of the Nobility, his gifts and qualities were not esteemed of that worth, as in his own judgement they deserved: first, of a Senator he became popular, and began to break his mind, and impart his designs unto the Magistrates of the Commons: finding fault with the Nobility, and complaining of them: soliciting and inveigling the Commons, to cast ailing and favour toward himself: carried away with the vain gale of the peoples opinion: not guided by sage counsel and discretion: and in one word, chusing rather to be of great name, than of good and honest report. And not contenting himself to deal in the *Laws Agraria*, about the division of Lands, which had always ministered to the Tribunes of the Commons matter enough of mutinies and seditions: he began to intermeddle between the debtors and their creditors, and to overthrow all keeping of credit. And indeed, deep debts are sharp goads, and prick shrewdly: threatening not only poverty and shame, but also terrifying the bodies of free men with hard imprisonment, little ease, and Irons. Now there were exceeding many far in debt (a thing most dangerous and hurtful to mens state) even of the richer sort, by reason of their great expenses defrayed in building. The war therefore of the *Volscians*, which was it self of great importance, but much more, in regard of the Latins and Hernicks Rebellion withal, was in shew pretended, as a cause to seek for to have a more sovereign and absolute power to govern the State: but in truth, these new designments and plots of *Manlius*, rather than the war, forced the Senate to create a Dictator, And *A. Cornelius Cossus* being created, nominated for his General of Horse, *T. Quintius Capiplinius*. The Dictator, albeit he saw a greater contention toward, at home than abroad, yet (because it that the war required some speedy expedition, or because by victory and triumph, he thought to make his Dictatorship more mighty and powerful) he took musters, and set forward into the Pomptine Land, into which parts he had intelligence, that the *Volscians* had proclaimed their forces, to repair.

A digression of the author.

I doubt not, but they that read in so many books already, of these continual wars fought with the *Volscians*, besides their tedious satiety of reading, will muse also at this (which to my self was likewise a wonder, when I perused the writers that lived near about the times of these acts) how these *Volscians* and *Equians*, so often vanquished and defeated, were furnished with supply of souldiers to maintain their wars. But seeing by the ancient Chroniclers it hath been overspiced with silence, what should I alledge, but only mine own opinion and bare conjecture, which every man hath liberty to put in for himself? Likely it is, that either between the times of wars as now we see in the Roman musters) they used to breed up one supply under another, of the younger sort, to the maintenance and renewing so oftentimes of their war: or that their armies were not always levied out of the same States, albeit the wars go under the name of one and the self-same nation: or that those countries yielded in those days an infinite number of freemen, which now are well near waft and delart but for some Roman slaves, which keep those parts yet from being void and dispeopled, as having but a very small seminary, or none at all, left, of serviceable souldiers.

The Oration of A. Cornelius Cossus Dictator to his souldiers.

Certainly, the *Volscians* army, as all authors agree, was very great at this time: albeit of late dayes by the leading and conduct of *Camillus* they were (ore weakened, and their strength much abated. Besides, there were with them in field, the Latins and Hernicks, some of the *Circians*, and other Coloners from *Velitra*. The Roman Dictator having that day pitched his camp, and the next morrow came abroad with happy tokens of good speed from the Birds: having also slain a sacrifice, and procured thereby the favour and grace of the Gods, in joyous manner shewed himself unto his souldiers: who according as they were commanded, were ready early in the morning, by break of day in arms, attending the found of Trumper for battel. The day is ours (quoth he) my valorous souldiers, if either the Gods or their Prophets can foretell future events. "Therefore as valour men of assured hope, and such as shall encounter with far meaner than our selves, pitch we our javelins down at our feet, and draw our swords only. Neither would I have you to run out of the main battel, and to give the charge, but to keep your ground, and stand stedfast, and abide the first flock of the enemy. And when they have spent their volley of shot in vain, and shall with full force come upon you as you stand, then brandish your swords, and let them glitter in their eyes, and think every man of the Gods, that they will help the Romans. The Gods I say, which in happy hour, by the lucky approbation of their Birds, have sent us into the field to fight. And as for you, O *Quintinius*, keep your Horsemen close together, marking advisedly the first beginning of the skirmish: and when you see the battels buckle together pell-mell, and come to hand-strokes, whilst they are buffed and occupied one way, fright them another way with your Horsemen, ride among their ranks as they fight, and break their arrayes. Thus fought both Horse and Foot according to his direction, And

As the legions wanted not a worthy Captain, no more missed the Captain of happy speed. The multitude of the enemies trusting upon nothing but their own number, which they measured and compared together only by their eye, interviewing both the one army and the other, rashly gave battel, and as rashly gave over again. In shout only and shot shewing themselves hot and eager at the first encounter: but were not able to abide the sword-fight, the closing together foot to foot, and the fiery countenance of their enemies, which for the very heat of their courage, shined and glittered fully in their eyes. So the forefront being put back, a fear came upon them likewise, that stood behind for supply, and withal, the Horsemen for their parts set foot and fought most terribly, Whereupon the ranks of the enemies in sundry places were broken, and all set out of order, so as their battalions seemed to floure and wave up and down to and fro, in suspense whether to fight or flye. Afterwards, when they law the foremost smitten down and slain, and every one thought no other but his own turn was next to be killed, they turned their backs and fled. The Romans came forward still and chafed them. And so long as they went their way armed and thick huddled together, it was the footmens work to pursue them: but when it was perceived once, that they flung away their weapons on all hands, and that the enemies army fled dispersed all abroad in the fields: then were the troupes of Horsemen set out after them, with this caveat and charge, to make no stay and forlet the time, by killing them one by one, and so to give the main multitude of them in the mean while sufficient respite to escape: but that they should content themselves, only to let flye some shot amongst them, and by scaring them to hinder their running: and when they were ridden beyond, to cross upon them and stay them, until the footmen might overtake them, slay them down right and make an hand of them clean. Thus fled they, and thus were they followed in chafe until night. The very same day was the *Volscians* camp taken and ransacked, and the whole pillage, besides the bodies of free men, was given unto the souldiers. The greatest part of the prisoners were Hernicks and Latins: and those not of the common sort, and such as might be thought to have served for pay: but there were found among them certain young Gentlemen of good mark, a plain proof and evidence, that the *Volscian* enemies had aid from thence by the publick and general warrant of the State. There were known also to be among them some of the *Circians*: yea, and certain of the *Velitern* colony likewise. All of them were sent to Rome, Where being examined before the chief of the Senators, they confessed every one in plain terms, the reviving of their own Nation like as they had before bewrayed it unto the Dictator. The Dictator kept his forces together within the standing camp, making no doubt, but that the rulers and Senators of Rome would determine to war upon those countries.

The *Volscians* defeated.

But even at that time a greater heap of troubles which arose at home, caused him to be sent for to Rome, by occasion of a sedition which grew daily more and more: and by reason of the Author thereof (a man of quality and note) was more feared than any usually had been afore time. For now by this, had *M. Manlius* not by speeches only, but by plain deeds also, (which in outward shew seemed popular and plausible) shewed evidently upon what trouble some and tumultuous spirit all proceeded. For seeing upon a time a Centurion, of good worth for his service in war, condemned in an action of debt, and upon an execution of judgement carried to prison: He in the midst of the *Forum*, came running unto him with a rout and crew of his followers and retinue, laid hand on him, and took him perforce from the officers: and after he had given out some words aloud touching the pride of the Senators, the cruelty of the iudgers, the calamities of the Commons, the valour and present distress of the party; Marry then (quoth he) I have I done a great deed, to no purpose, in saving the Capitol and the Cattle with this right hand of mine, if I could abide to see my fellow souldier (as it he were taken prisoner of the Gauls by way of conquest) had away into bondage and captivity, and laid up fast in gyves and fetters. And therewith openly in sight of all the people paid the whole debt downright on the nail, unto the creditor: and so after the usual and solemn ceremony by a brazen peece of coin and the ballance, he set him at liberty out of the creditor's hands, and let him go at large: "Who prayed heartily to God and man, for to requite accordingly *M. Manlius* his only deliverer, and the very patron and protector of the Commons of Rome. And when he was once got into that unruly and seditious throng, he presently himself set all a madding, shewing the Gats of his wounds received in the *Veientians* and Gauls wars, and in other services one after another: saying, "That whilst he thus followed souldiery, and rebuilt his house that was destroyed, he became indebted, and that so deeply (by reason that the interest alwayes overgrew the principal, which he by that means had paid and paid again) that he was not able to creep out of the iudgers book, but was plunged therein over head and ears. And now behold (quoth he) by the only goodness of *M. Manlius*, I have the liberty again to see the light of the Sun, to behold the Common place, to look my neighbours and fellow citizens in the face: at his hands I acknowledge to have received all the benefits that mine own parents could give me: unto him I vow whatsoever in me is left, and in his quarrel to spend that little life and blood which remaineth in my body: and in one word look what privilege I may enjoy in right of my country, and in the communion of the Gods, publick or private, the same do I impart and communicate with that one man. By these speeches the Commons were set on and pricked forward mightily, as wholly devoted unto one person: and who but *Manlius* now in every mans mouth? And presently in the nick he entred into another action that tended more effectually to mar all quiet, and to set every thing out of order. His Land in the territory of *Veii*, which was the chief and capital Manor

The malicious speeches of a Centurion.

Manor of his inheritance, even the fairest flower of his garland, he set upon sale, causing it openly to be cried; and said withal, I will not O *Quirites*, so long as I have one foot of ground, or any thing else left, see one of you condemned and upon execution carried to prison. This let them to a floor, that they were ready, as it seemed, to follow him as the only protector of their liberties, in any action, were it right or wrong, they cared not which way, all was one with them. Besides, at home in his own house, he spared not to cast out scandalous speeches against the Senators, as if he had been at the open Crois, making Orations, Amongst which, without all regard whether he spake true or false, he let fall these words, "That the Senators kept in secret certain hidden treasures of the Gauls gold, and were not now contented to hold in possession the common grounds, but they would also embezzle the treasure publick, which if it came abroad, the Commons might soon be acquit and discharged of their debts. This gap being once laid open, and this light given the people, they thought (ye may be sure) an unworthy indignity, that when there was gold to be levied for redemption of the City out of the Gauls hands, it then should be gathered by a general contribution of all: and the same gold, now recovered from the enemies, should be as a prey in the clutches of a few. Therefore they followed instantly upon him and were very earnest to know, where so great a mass of money and stolen good was hidden. But when he posted them off, and said he would in due time disclose all: they were not content, but setting all other matters apart, their whole care was employed about this business, and nothing else. So as it plainly appeared that neither he should reap a mean thank if he reported a truth, nor incur a small offence and displeasure, in case he told a false tale.

Things hanging thus in these doubtful terms, the Dictator who was sent for, returned from the army into the City. The next day he assembled the Senat: and after he had thoroughly founded and felt the minds of them, that were there met, he commanded the Senators not to depart from him: and assisted as he was with that company, he caused the Ivory chair of estate to be set in the Comitium or common Hall, and sent a servant for *M. Manlius*. Who being thus peremptorily summoned by the Dictators express commandment, gave warning by a token to his complices and favourites, that there was a broil and fray toward: and with a mighty retinue of his followers, he presented himself before the Tribunal. On the one side, stood the Senators, on the other the Commons: either part beholding their Captain, as it were in a pigst field ready to joyn battle. Then after silence made, "Would to God (quoth the Dictator unto *Manlius*) I and the Senators of Rome, might in all other things fort as well with the Commons, as I am assured, we shall agree all together about thee, and the matter which I shall ask and demand of thee. I see thou hast put the City in some good hope, that by the Gauls treasure which the principal and chief of the Senators detain with them secretly hidden, all men may keep their credit, and fully pay and discharge their debts. Which I for my part, to God me help, am lo far from hindring, that contrary-wise I would exhort thee, O *M. Manlius*, to ease the Commons of Rome of the usurers' book: to discover these fellows and make them known, that gave so greedily after the common treasure, and to disappoint them, and turn them out of this their privy booty. Which if thou do not effect, either for that thy self wouldst have a fleece with them, or else because it is but a forged tale that thou hast made of thine own fingers ends. I will not fail, but commit thee to ward, and suffer no longer the multitude upon a vain and deceitful hope, thus by thee to be abused and disquieted. To this, *Manlius* made answer and said, "I was nothing deceived but will tell enough, that a Dictator was created not against the Volcians, who are enemies (forsooth) to oft as our great Masters think it for their purpose: nor against the Latins and Hernicks, whom they drive and provoke to rebellion by false and forged rumours: but against my self and the Commons of Rome. For now I see well, that the Dictator professeth to maintain and bear out the Usurers against the Commons: and that against my self, for the favour that the multitude beareth unto me, there is matter devised to charge me withal, and to procure my utter ruin and overthrow. Doth it offend and grieve you indeed, O *A. Cornelius*, and you my Lords of the Senat, that the people thus stand about me on every side? Why do not ye every man for N his part, by your good deserts divide afunder this company, and draw them away with you from me? Namely, by your mediation and intercession, by giving your word for them, by ridding out of gyves and prison your fellow citizens, by saving them that are condemned, from being awarded to the thralldom of their creditors, and out of the overplus and superfluity of your own living and goods by relieving their present need, and supplying their necessities? But what mean I to perwade you to forgo any thing of your own, and bestow it upon them? Take another course with them, and make them another offer. Do but deduct out of the principal debt, that which hath been paid, for consideration of the loan; you shall soon see that my retinue will make no greater shew, than any other mans else. But why am I the only man so careful of the citizens and people? Certainly, I can make no better answer herunto, than if one should ask me, O wherefore I alone saved the Capitol and the Cliff? As I then yielded my helping hand to all in general, so will I now to my power relieve each one in particular. For as touching the treasure of the Gauls: the thing in it self being easy, this demand of yours maketh hard and difficult. For what need you ask me that which you know already your selves? Why lay you not that open which is in your secret bosom, rather than to have it fitted and bolted out? but that there is some privy juggling, some cunning practise and packing therein? The more ye would seem to have your leiger domain to be fought into and detected: so much the more, I fear me, ye will

The speech of
A. Cornelius
Cassius Dictator
to *M. Manlius*.

The answer of
Manlius to the
Dictator.

A "hide it even from the eyes of those that are watchful and quicksighted. And therefore am not I to be forced to reveal and shew where your stolen goods are: but you would be made, if you were well served, to bring them abroad into the view of the World. At these words, the Dictator commanded him to leave off these foolish vapourings and trifling shifts: urging him either to go through with his challenge and prove it true: or if he could not justify it, to confess that he had falsely handled and wrongfully charged the Senat, and sought to bring upon them the ill will and hatred of men; for a vain surmise and insinuation of Theevery. But as he stoutly inferred and replied again, that he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies, nor owed them any such service: he commanded him to be had away to prison and kept in bonds. And as he was apprehended by the Officer, "O *Jupiter* (quoth he) *Optimus Maximus*, O *Luna* Queen of heaven, St. *Manlius* apprehended.
"O *Minerva*, with other gods and goddesses, that inhabit the Capitol and the Cattle; Suffer ye your Knight and Defender, to be thus tugged, misused, and evil entreated by his adversaries? And shall this right hand wherewith I defeated the Gauls, and drove them from your Chapels and shrines, be now pinnioned and manacled? There was no one man there, that lay and heard him, who could indure this indignity. But this City, as most patient of all other Cities to abide any just, righteous and lawful commandment of the Magistrate, contained her self and was content in some cases to be overruled: so far forth, that against the authority and absolute power of the Dictator, neither the Tribuns of the Commons, nor the Commons themselves, durst either cast up their eyes to look awry, or once open their mouths. But after *Manlius* was committed, it was for certain known, that a great sort of the Commoners, changed their weed and put on their worst apparel and mourning array: many a man let his head and beard grow long; yea, and a number of them with sad and heavy cheer, kept commonly about the Goal-dore.

Now when the Dictator triumphed over the Volcians, his triumph bred him more hatred and displeasure than honor and glory: for it is commonly spoken, that he got it at home and not abroad, and triumphed over a citizen not over an enemy: and this only wanted, (say they) to make up his pride to the full, that *Manlius* was not led before his chariot. Whereupon there was like to grow much scandal and very sedition. For the appeasing and mitigation whereof, the Senat upon a sudden, without any motion made, of themselves became bountiful, and assigned 2000,

D Citizens of Rome to be sent to *Savennum* to inhabit as a Colony. And to every man was set out two acres and an half of Land apiece. Which the Commoners construed to be a matter of nothing, a small boon bestowed upon a few, the very hire and reward for betraying *Manlius*. So that this proved a mischief for a remedy: and by this salve, the sore rather festered and rancled, than healed up, and the sedition thereby fretted more and more. For now the crew of *Manlius* his followers made shew of greater mourning and heaviness, in their vile clothes and sad countenance, after the guise of persons accued during the time of their troubles. And when the fear and terror was once overblown, by reason that the Dictator after his triumph resigned up his authority, then folks hearts were set at liberty, and their tongues walked at will. Some were heard in open audacity to upbraid the multitude and cast in their teeth, "That it was their fa-

E lions always to lift up and advance their Protectors and Defenders into high places, and afterwards, in the very pitch of danger and point of downfall, to forsake and leave them destitute. Thus was *Sp. Cassius* served, that solicited the Commons to the division of Lands: thus was *Sp. Melius* overthrown, that put his hand to his purse, and at his own proper charges kept extrem famine from the hungry jaws of the poor citizens. Semblably, *M. Manlius* endeavouring to deliver a great part of the City (drowned as it were and overwhelmed in debt) and to enlarge them and let them abroad at liberty, now for his pains is betrayed unto his deadly enemies: so that the Commons do feed and frink up, even for the shambles and butchers knife the fautors and maintainers of their weak and liberty. And ought indeed (say they) a Noble man, that sometimes had been Consul, thus to be misused, if he answered not to the good liking

P and pleasure of the Dictator? Suppose, he had over-reached and made a lie afore, and so had not a present and ready answer at the time: was there ever any servant and slave, for leaving cast in prison and laid up in Irons? And how could they forget that night, which was like to have been the last night that ever the Romans should have seen: that fatal night of their final destruction for ever? Or how could they chafe, but have still in their eye the army of the Gauls, climbing up the Cliff *Tarpeia*? and how *M. Manlius* in person, so bravely seen in his armour, all wearing all bleeding, rescued and saved *Jupiter* himself in a manner out of the enemies hands? What? Did they think that with half-pound measures of wheat meal, they had insufficiently recompensed the Saviour of their Country? And whom they had well near canonized amongst the holy hallows of Heaven, or at least-wise by his new addition of surname made equal to

C *Jupiter Capitolinus*, was it well done to suffer him, imprisoned in chains, lying in a dark dungeon, to draw his lively breath at the pleasure of the Hangman? Was he alone able to succour you all, and are ye all not able to help him alone? Thus ceased not the multitude to exclaim and make their plaints, and would not depart from that place, no, not all the night long, but threatened to break the prison by force: until such time as they got that remitted, which otherwise they would have wrested, and *Manlius* by an act of the Senat was released out of prison and enlarged. Whereby the mutiny was never the more ended, but rather a Captain given them to maintain the Sedition.

Savennum made a Colony, and peopled with Romans.

The feditious speeches of the multitude in the behalf of *M. Manlius*.

* *Capitolinus*, because he saved the Capitol.

About the same time the Latins and Hernicks, the inhabitants also of the Colony *Circen*, and they of *Volturne*, who came to excite themselves for the Volscian war, wherein they were charged to have had their hands, and required to have the captives delivered, for to proceed against them, according to their own Laws, had a heavy answer. But the Coloners received the sharper check and rebuke, because they being Roman citizens, were entered into that wicked plot and abominable action, to combine against their native Country. And they were not only denied their prisoners, but also (wherein the Romans dealt more favourably with the rest that were their Allies) they were warned and commanded in the name of the *Senat*, to avoid and that with speed out of the City, from the sight and presence of the people of *Rome*; for fear lest the privilege of Embassy, provided for the security and safe conduct of forrainers and not of citizens, should not serve to protect them. Now when the Sedition of *Manlius* was set on foot again, somewhat before the end of the year, the great assembly was holden for the Election of Magistrates; wherein there were created Tribuns in Consuls authority *Serg. Cornelius Maluginensis* the second time, *P. Valerius Patruus* the second time, *M. Furius Camillus* the fifth time, *Ser. Sulpicius Ruffus* the second time, *C. Papirius Crassus*, *T. Quintius Cincinnatus* the second time, all of Senators calling.

In the beginning of this year, peace they had with forrain nations; a matter very commodious both for the *Senat* and the Commons. For the Com, in this regard, that being not called away by any matters, they had some good hope (especially having so mighty a champion) to be rid at once for ever of fury. For the Senators again, because their minds being not distracted by any fear from abroad, might attend about curing and healing the intestine maladies at home. When both parts therefore were now more sharp set, and eagerly bent, they thought out of hand to trie what would be done, and to make either a shaft or a bolt of it. *Manlius* calling the Com, to his house, devised with the principal heads of them both day and night, to bring in a change and alteration of the State: and fuller of stomach, anger and gall he was now a good deal than aforesaid. Nettle he was, the rather by his late disgrace and shame, who never before had been touched in credit, nor tasted of any reproach and contumely. Heart he took unto him, for that the Dict, durst not execute that rigor against him, which *Cincinnatus Quintinus* had extended upon *Sp. Melius*: and it seemed unto him, that not only the Dict, sought to wind himself out, and in resigning up his room, to avoid the offence given by his imprisonment; but also that the very *Senat* was not able to endure the manner of proceeding. With these imaginations being puffed up and galled too, he failed not wital to prick forward and exasperate the minds of the Commons, who of themselves already, were kindled and set on fire. And with these and such like speeches he entertained them. "How long (quoth he) I pray you, will ye be ignorant, and not know what ye may do, and what power ye have? A thing that nature it self would not have so much as the very dumb beasts, but to understand. Do but count how many you are in number you yourselves, and how few adversaries ye have against you. If ye were but one to one, yet (I would think) you should more eagerly strive for to maintain your liberty, than they, to set up their Lordship. For, look how many favourites ye have been, following and courting one patron, or many shall ye now be opposed to one enemy. Make but shew only of war, ye shall have peace. Let them see you once ready to make head and offer violence, soon will they yield and part with their right: Either ye must adventure, all jointly together to do somewhat, or else make account each one, to abide and suffer all. How long will ye stand looking from every side upon me? I for my part, surely, will not fail any one of you. Look ye then to it, that fortune fall not me. I, even I, that was your redeemer and deliverer, was all at once (when it pleased mine enemies) taken down and made no body. And ye, all of you saw him led to prison, who saved every one of you from prison. If happily those mine enemies should attempt to do me more spight, Where am I then? and what were I bet to trust unto? Should I look for that end that *Cassius* and *Melius* came unto? Ye do well to signify how you dread the pefage, and with the contrary. And the Gods forbid that it should so come to pass. But look not that ever they should come down from Heaven to protect me. That mind they must give you, to preserve me from so hard a hap, like as they gave me a resolute heart, both in mine armour to save you from barbarous enemies, and in my gown to defend you from proud citizens. Is there so little courage in you (to mighty a people otherwise) as to think it sufficient, and to stand contented, if you may be backed only, and meet with some help against your enemies; and to know no other scuffling with your adversaries (the Senators) but wherein you suffer your selves to be commanded in the end? This baseness cometh not to you by kind. By use and custome only, you are become their vassals and subjects. For what is the cause ye are so courageous against your enemies abroad, that ye think it meet and reason to rule and govern them? No other in truth but this, because with them you have been ever wont to strive for sovereignty; whereas against these, ye have been used rather, to make some flight proof and tryal what you may do by your liberty, than to do your best, and to put your selves forth for to maintain it and extend it to the mozt. And yet what manner of captains soever ye have met withal to lead you, and howsoever affected ye have been your selves, obtained ye have hitherto all things that ye shot at, and they never so great: Such was your might, or such was your felicity. Wherefore now it is high time to give the adventure of greater matters also. Make but tryal only of your own good fortune, and of my self, whom I hope ye have had happy experience

The feditious
Oration of
M. Manlius to
the Commons
of Rome.

A "experience of already: with less ado shall ye be provided of one to over-rule and command the Senators, than ye have been hitherto of those, that were to resist only their imperious government. Down we must with these Dictatorships and Consulships both, and lay them level with the ground: that the commonalty of *Rome* may once be aloft, and bear up the head. Bettir your selves therefore, and play the men. Hinder process and course of law for actions of debt. I profess my self a Patron of the Commons, which name my care over you, my faithfulness to you, hath indured me with. And if you please to entitle your leader and Captain, with a more glorious title of honour and Majesty, ye shall find it more potent and available to effect that which you long for and desire. And so from that time forward, began some practise to set up the Government of a King: But neither who were the agents in this action, nor to what terms these plots proceeded, is it plainly enough recorded. But on the other side, the Senators far in Council, and debated about the Section and secret meeting of the Commons in the privat house of *Manlius*, and that house, which stood (as it fell out) upon the Cattle Hill: likewise of that imminent engine and fabric, devised for the overthrow of the present liberty. Many were of opinion, and spake it aloud, That there was need of a *Servilius Hala*, who not by commanding a publick enemy of the State to prison, would provoke him and make him more eager; but by dispatching of one wicked member out of the way, and cutting him off; might end this intestine and civil war. But they came down at length, and grew to a resolution, in words mildere; yet indeed and effect all ones. That the Magistrates should have a careful eye, whither these mischievous plots and practises of *M. Manlius*, the Commons, had incurred no damage and hurt. Then the Tribuns in Consuls authority; and the other Tribuns of the Commons (or even they also seeing, that in the loss of the publick liberty of all, their power likewise should come to an end, had yielded to be advised and ruled by the *Senat*) laid all their heads together, and consulted what course was best to be taken. When as no man could be think of any way, but plain violence and bloodshed (a piece of work in all appearance, of great adventure and doubtful hazard) then *M. Menenius*, and *Q. Publilius*, two Tribuns of the Commons stepped forth and said, "What mean we to make that, a quarrel between the Senators and Commons, which the whole body united of the City, indeed should undertake against so dangerous and pettillous a member? Why trouble we our selves to set upon him and the Commons with him, whom by the means of the very Commons themselves, we were the safer course, and less offensive to assail? that being surcharged and overweighed with his own power whereupon he presumeth, he may fall down and take his overthrow. We are fully minded to arrest him, to convent him judicially, and call him to his answer. Nothing is less popular, and more odious to the people, than to hear of Kings government again. The multitude shall not so soon see and perceive, that our quarrel is not with them, but that they shall become his competent Judges, and pass upon him, who now are his Advocates: also, that his accusers from out of the Commons, shall behold one of the Nobility to hold up his hand at the bar, and the indictment framed, upon the crime of usurping the Kingdom: but (be ye sure of it) they will tender and favour the fair looks and person of no man, before the cause of their own free estate. When all the house liked well, and allowed of this advice and overture, they made no more ado, but served *Manlius* with process to answer at a day appointed. Which was not so soon done, but the Commons at the very first, began to storm and be enraged, especially when they saw the accused man, during his trouble so fully arraigned, accompanied with none of the Senators, nor so much as one of his kindred and affinity, nor, nor his very brethren *An*, and *T. Manlius*. A thing before that day never seen nor known, but that in so great a danger as this was, the nearest kinsfolk in blood, did change their weed. For even when *Ap. Claudius* his adversary, yea, and the whole lineage and name of the *Claudii*, were mournfully clad, and poorly apparelled. Now surely (say they) it is a very compact amongst them all, that this popular man, so gracious and welbeloved, should be confounded and overthrown, because he was the first that ever fell away from the Senators to the Commons. When the day was come of his arraignment, I can find in no author, what was objected against the prisoner by his accusers, directly tending to prove the crime of aspiring to a Kingdom, but only the convictees of the multitude, certain seditious words, his overmuch largels, and his forged fummie and false information of the gold. I doubt not but there was matter of great importance, urged and enforced against him, seeing that the Commons delay in proceeding to his condemnation, was not long of his cause, but occasioned by the place only. This one thing seemeth worthy to be noted, and for all mens learning, that how notable and how great soever his honor, worship, and commendable parts were: it the soul and cursed desire of tyrannical rule, made nor only unpleasant and without grace, but also odious and detestable in the eyes of the people. He brought forth, as it is reported, welnear four hundred men, whom he had laid out money for gratis, and without any interest or consideration: those whole goods he saved from port-sale, and kept from the bondage of their creditors, after they were condemned. Over and besides, he not only reckoned up, but shewed also in open fight, the honorable testimonies of his service in the wars: as the spoils of his enemies by him slain and disarmed, to the number of 30. gifts bestowed upon him by Generals in way of reward, 40. amongst which were two goodly mural garlands for scaling and entering upon the walls first: eight civic coronets for saving the lives of citizens in danger. Moreover, he presented there in place, the parties themselves in person, whom he had rescued out of the enemies hands: and amongst them he nominated *C. Servilius* at that instant General of the Horsemen, and now absent.

* i. of King.
M. Manlius af-
fects to a
Kingdom.

A form of
commission
granted in
great danger
of the State.

On overture
to the over-
throw of Ma-
nius.

M. Manlius ar-
raigned, and
answereth for
himself.

* Fashioned in
form of the
bustlements of
a wall.
Made of oak
branches.

absent. And when he had rehearsed his noble fears of arms, and amplified them according to the height of their worth in a most glorious and eloquent Oration, as one whose words were futable and answerable to his deeds: at the last he tript his breast bare, and shewed the scars there remaining of wounds received in the wars: and ever and anon looking to the Capitol, very often he called aloud upon *Jupiter* and the other Gods, to help him now in this extremity and peril of his state: and prayed that the same mind which they had given him to defend the Capitol cliff, and even to the safeguard of the people of *Rome*, they would vouchsafe the same people, in this distress of his woful calamity: beseeching them both all and some, to look up to the cliff, and to the Capitol, to turn themselves toward the Gods there, and so to proceed to judgement of him. All the whiles the people were cired and called by their Centuries, and the prisoner stretched forth his hands, and converted his prayers from men to the Gods: the Tribunes evidently saw that unless they freed the eyes of the people from beholding the memorial of so great a deiert, it would never be that so long as their minds were thus foretalled and possessed with that benefit of his, they would find the enditement, were it never so true. So the matter being put off and deferred to another day, the people were summoned to assemble in the grove *Parthena*, without the gate *Flumentana*, from whence they might not have a sight of the Capitol. There the accusation prevailed more than compassion, and the matter went against him: and so with hard and obdurate hears, they pronounced a heavy and dolorous sentence, and which the very judges themselves had in horror. Some there be that say there were Duumvirs ordained for the purpose, to make inquisition and fit upon this treason against the State. Thus being condemned the Tribunes caused him to be thrown headlong down the rock *Tarpeia*. Which place was the self same that yielded to that one man a monument and memorial both of singular glory, and also of extreme punishment and ignominious death. After his death there remained two infamous marks behind him of shame: the one publick, occasioned by his dwelling house. For whereas it was situate, where now the chappel and work-house, or mint-house of *Moneta* standeth, an Ark was propoied unto the people, That none of the Senators shoud dwell on the cliff or Capitol Mount. The other proceeding more properly from his owne life and kined: For that by a general decree of the house of *Manlius* it was provided, That none of that family and race shoud ever after bear the name of *Manlius*. This was the end of him, who, but that he was born in a free City, had been a right worthy and renowned man.

But the people being now pait all danger from him, calling to mind and considering without all affection, his vertues as they were, found a misde of him shortly after. Yea, and for the pettillence also which ensued soon upon, for that there could be no causes known of so great mortality, was imagined of many a man, to have grown upon the execution of *Manlius*: arguing thus, That the Capitol was polluted with the blood of the Saviour thereof: and the Gods took no delight and pleasure to have (as it were) presented unto their eyes, the punishment of that man, by whose means their Temples had been delivered out of the hands of the enemies. Upon this plague and scarcity of corn withal, and the common brute that spread abroad both of the one and the other, there ensued the year following many wars, when as *L. Valerius* the fourth time, *A. Manlius* the third time, *Ser. Sulpicius* the third time, *L. Lucratius*, *L. Aemilius* the third time, and *M. Trebonius* were Tribunes Military in Consuls authority. For besides the Volscians, who by destime were appointed for ever in a manner to busy and keep occupied the Roman souldiers: besides the Colonies *Circinea* and *Velutia*, which a long time were about to rebel: besides *Latium*, that stood in doubtful terms and was suspected, the *Latunives* also, who had been a most fast and loyal City, all of a sudden rose and became new enemies. The LL. of the Senat supposing all this grew upon contempt, for that the revoluing of the Veliterns, who were their natural citizens, had so long time escaped punishment, decreed with all speed to move the people to denounce and proclaim open war against them. And to the end that the Commons might be more forward in this Military service, they created certain *Quinquagiri* for the division of the Pomptine Lands: and *Triumviri* for the planting of a colony at *Neper*. Then they propounded unto the people, that they would appoint and determine of the war to be made. And notwithstanding the Tribunes of the Com. laboured earnestly, but all in vain, to dissuade, yet the tribes throughout generally granted it, and gave their voyces for war. All that year passed in preparations only, but no army set forth by reason of the plague: which protracting of time and long delay, gave the inhabitants of the Colonies respite to sue unto the Senat for peace. Many of them were inclined and stood thus affected, to send a solemn embassage with humble supplication to *Rome*: but that (as commonly it falleth out) the publick perill was entangled and interested with the jeopardy of some private persons: and the authors of the backsliding and revolt from the Romans, fearing lest they alone should bear all the blame and be delivered up as a sacrifice to satisfy the wrath of the Romans, turned away clean and aliened the Colonies from all consultation of seeking for peace. And not only in their Councel-House was this Embassage then crossed, but many of the Commons also they excited to invade the territories of *Rome*, to drive booties, and make spoil. This new wrong by them offered, clean put them by all hope of peace. In that year was the first rumour raised, concerning the Rebellion also of the *Preneftines*. And when the *Tusculans*, *Gabines*, and *Lavinians* unto whose marches they had made inrodes, complained unto the Senat, and laid much matter against them they received at their hands so calm and cold an answer, that it seemed they gave less credit to their complaints, because these were not willing they should prove true.

The

A The year following, *Sp.* and *L. Papirius*, new Tribuns Military with Consuls authority, led the legions to *Velutia*, whole four Collegues, *Ser. Cornelia Maluginensis* the fourth time, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Sulpicius*, *L. Aemilius* the fourth time, were left Tribuns behind for defence of the City: and for fear lest they should hear some intelligence of new and fresh stirrs out of *Hebrania*, where they suspected all would be naught. At *Velutia* they had the better hand of their enemies: there they found more *Preneftines* well neer, that came to succour, than the very *Colones* themselves. For the City was so neer at hand, that it both gave the enemies occasion to flye the sooner and yielded them the only place of safe refuge, after they were fled. The Tribuns forbore to assault the Town, as well in regard of the dangerous enterprise, as also for that they thought it not good to hold fight to the utter destruction of that Colony. Letters were dispatched to *Rome* with tidings of victory, implying more sharp informations against the *Preneftines* than the *Veliterns*. So by an Act of the Senat and assent of the people there was proclaimed war against the *Preneftines*: who in the year following joyned with the *Volscians*, and by force won *Saturnia* a Colony of the people of *Rome*, notwithstanding it was manfully and valiantly defended by the Townsmen even to the last: where most heafty and cruelly they exercised their victory upon those that they took prisoners, and put them to the sword. The Romans took this in a very ill part: and elected *M. Furius Camillus* Tribun Military the seventh time: who had for his companions in office, *A.* and *Lucius Pesshumus Regillensis*, *L. Furius* and *L. Lucratius*, and *M. Fabius Ambulstus*.

C The *Volscian* war was appointed to *Camillus* extraordinarily: and to assist him therein, it fell to *L. Furius* his lot, one of the State-Tribuns, not so much for the good of the Common-weal, as to minister unto his fellow all matter of honour and renown: as well in publick, (for that he set all upright again, which by the rashness of *Lucius* was tain down) as also in private, for that out of his error and misdoing *Marcus Furius*, rather fought for thanks and love at his hands, than aimed at any vain glory to himself. *Camillus* was now far grown and steep in years and very aged, and when in the assembly for Election, he was about to take the usual form of oath, for to excuse his feeble and craty body, the people with one consent would not permit him. Howbeit for all his age, he carried a lively spirit and lusty courage with him still: his senses were all fresh and found: and the late civil affairs had stirred him up and gave him an edge, who now had no great mind to manage martial exploits. So he gathered a power of four legions, consisting of 4000. apiece, and made proclamation that all his forces should be ready the next day, at the gate *Esgulonia*, and then he put himself in his journey to *Saturnia*. The enemy who had won the Colony, nothing dismayd therat, and trusting in the number of his souldiers, wherein he had the better by odds, expected and stayd his coming there. And so soon as he understood that the *Romans* approached, forthwith came into the field, minding without delay to put it to an hazard and try it out: presuming, that the skill of the Romans General, were he never so singular (in whom their enemies only trusted) would little or naught avail in regard they were so few in number. The Roman army was as hot as they, and one of their Generals as forward every way. And presently without any stay, had they tried the fortune of a batell, but for the policy and rule of one man: who by holding off, and protracting time of fight, fought it to help himself through good order and skill. But so much the more the enemy urged still, and was more sharp set: to know he not only ranged his men before his own camp in battell array, but also let forward into the mids of the field: and advancing himself with ensignes displayed, neer unto the trench and rampier of his enemies, made a proud bravado and shew of his strength, whereupon he bare himself so confidently. This could the Roman souldiers hardly endure: and *L. Furius* one of the Tribuns Military, had more ado by far to digest and put up that at the enemies hand. And a venturesome Knight he was, both by reason of his youthful years and natural disposition: and also pushed up with hope of the multitude, which commonly taketh heart, and presumeth upon small fights and grounds, and buildeth upon greatest uncertainties. And the souldiers being of themselves already hot enough, he inflamed and set them more on fire, by elevating and making light of his fellows reputation, in regard of his old age, the only thing that he could alledge: giving out ever and anon, "That wars were for young-men, that mens hearts flourished and faded as their bodies did: which was seen in *Camillus*, who of a most valorous and forward warrior, was now become a draw-back and a temporiser, and one that would take his leisure: and he that was wont, so soon as he came to a place, with the first assault to win Forts and strong Towns, was now within his mures and rampier fast still and trilled out the time. And what hopes had he? Dreameth he, that either his own power should encrease, or his enemies strength decrease? What occasion, what opportunity of time, what place of vantage for ambush laid he for? Tush, these policies and inventions of the good old man, are cold and dull. God wot. In faith, *Camillus*, as he hath lived long enough, so hath he gained glory enough. To what purpose then (quoth he) should we suffer the whole puissance of a City, which ought indeed to be immortal for to age and wax old with the body of one man, whom all men see to be but mortal. With these and such like words he had drawn away the whole camp after him: and when from all parts thereof, they called hard, and cryed for batell: "We are not able (quoth he) *M. Furius*, to keep in and repress any longer the violence of our souldiers: and as for the pride of the enemy, whose courage by our delays we have encreased, and who infiniteth over us, it is intolerable. Give place then, you that are but one man, and yeeld unto us all. Suffer your self to be overcome."

The cruelty of the *Preneftines*.*L. Furius* to his souldiers.*L. Furius* to *M. Furius*.Five officers called *Quinquagiri* created,

M. Furius his
answer to L.
Furium, and the
soldiers.

"come with reason and counsel, that you may sooner overcome by force and arms. Hereunto
"Camillus made answer again: What wars soever (quoth he) unto this present day have by mine
"own entire conduct, and sole direction been managed, neither can you nor the people of Rome
"deny, but that in them you never repented, either of my policy or happy success. Now I know
"full well, that I have a companion joyned with me in government & rule of equal commission;
"for the prime and luteness of youth, much above me, and my better. And as to the army, I have
"indeed been used ever to command, and not to be commanded: but yet my fellows authori-
"ty, I cannot be against. Let him do in Gods Name, what he thinketh good for the Common-
"weal, and God speed his hand. Only in regard of mine old age I crave this favour, that I may
"not be set in the forefront: but for other labours, look what an old man may or ought to do
"in war, therein surely I shall not fail. And this one thing would I crave at the hands of the im-
"mortal Gods, that some notable mishap befall not, to make my former counsel good and praise-
"worthy. But neither would men be ruled by his advice to profitable and wholesome, nor the
"Gods vouchsafe to hear his prayers to holy and devout. Then Lucius Furius, the author and principal
"periwader of battel, set forth the vanguard in array. Camillus he fortifieth the Regiments and
"Squadrons for supply in the rearward: but above all, he placeth a strong guard before the camp.
"Himself took up his standing on a higher place, to behold and mark the issue of another mans
"counsel. So soon as at the first brunt and encounter, they rushed and made a noise with their ar-
"mour, the enemies on purpose (of policy, and not for fear) gave footing and lost ground. Now
"there was behind them on their back a pretty rising of an Hill, between their camp and the battel;
"and by reason that they were well stored of men, they had left behind them in the camp certain
"strong companies armed and well appointed: with this instruction, that whiles both armies were
"hard in fight, and when their enemies should come near their trench and rampier, they might fall
"out on a sudden upon them. The Romans following out of measure upon the enemies as they re-
"treated, were drawn upon the disadvantage of the ground, and gave occasion and fit opportunity
"unto the enemy to issue out of the camp upon them. So the terror returned upon the supposed vic-
"tors, by reason both of the new supplies of the enemies, and also of the fall and descent of the
"Hill: and forced the battel of the Romans to give back. The Volscians that charged them from
"out of the camp, and were fresh and lusty pressed hard upon them: they also that made as though
"they fled, began now to fight again. The Romans soldiers forgetting now both their late lusti-
"ness, and their ancient honour, retired not easily and softly in good order, but plain turned their
"backs on all sides, fled again by heaps, and ran away toward their own camp. Whereat Camillus
"being by them that attended about his person, mounted upon a good Courser, and with all the
"speed he could make, opposing the Squadrons of the rearward against the enemy: "Is this (quoth
"he) the fight, you soldiers, that ye fo called for? what God, what man can ye lay the weight
"on now? It was your rashness and fool-hardiness afore: and it is your dastardly cowardice
"now, and nothing else, that is the cause of all this. Followed ye have already one General,
"Follow Camillus now a while: and as ye have been always wont by my leading, once more
"win the victory. What look you toward the hold and the camp? there is no coming thither,
"there is no being there for any of you without victory. At the first they were abashed, and
"stayed themselves from farther flight: but after that they law once the ensigns wheel about, and
"the Squadrons turn again, they made head, and charged the enemy again. And the General
"himself, a man renowned for so many triumphs, and besides, for his venerable age so revered, even
"amongst the foremost ensigns, amidst the greatest perils, and most distresses, advanced forth in per-
"son. Hereupon every one for his part, for the better leg forward, provoked his fellow withal, and
"encouraged one another, so as with a cheerful and lively shout, the whole field rang again. Nei-
"ther was the other Tribun behind hand for his part: but being sent by his Colleague unto the
"Horsemen (whiles he in the mean time marshalled again the Footmen in order) not by way of
"chiding (for what might he avail thereby, so long as he was himself in fault as well as the rest?)
"but laying aside all Lordly command, fell wholly to entreating, and besought them both all
"and some to quit themselves like men, and acquit him of the guilt and blame of that unlucky dayes
"work. "Indeed (quoth he) when my brother Camillus would not agree thereto, but expressly
"forbad, yet I chose rather to be partaker of the folly and rashness of all, than the widome and
"sage advice of one. Camillus (come what will of it, speed you well, or speed you ill) seeth the
"glory will be his: but I, unless the battel be reversed, shall take such part as you all, (a most mi-
"serable and pitious case) but the flame will redound and light upon my head and none else.
"Well, at length they agreed, and thought it best to abandon their Horses to bestow them among
"the waving and disordered companies, and on foot to make head upon the enemies. Thus they go
"both together, as bravely minded with resolution, as they were richly and gorgeously armed. And
"in what part soever they saw the footmen most distressed, there wanted neither in the Generals
"nor in the soldiers, courage in the highest degree to fight it out lustily. Well was it seen by the
"happy event, that valorous endeavours speed ever well. For the Volscians the same way that
"erewhile they made semblance oliving ground upon a counterfeite fear, now fled in good sadness
"as hard as they could. A great number both in the conflict, and after in the chase were slain. As
"for the rest that remained in the camp, which presently at one brunt was won, more of them
"were taken prisoners than killed. In the view & account taken of the captives, there were some of
"them known to be Tufculans, who were severed apart from the rest, and brought before the State-

L. Furius to his
soldiers.

The Volscians
defeated.

A State-Tribuns, And upon examination, confessed flatly, that they served by the publick warrant
of the City. Camillus herewith disquieted, for fear of war from so near neighbors, said he would
forthwith have those prisoners with him to Rome, that the Lords of the Senat might not be ig-
norant how the Tufculans were revolted from their society. In the mean while, his brother
Tribun might, if he so pleased, have the regiment of the leaguer and the host. That days work
had taught him now, not to prefer his own ways before the better counsel of another. And yet
neither he himself, nor any man else in the army, thought that Camillus would quietly digest this
fault of his, whereby the State of the Commonwealth was driven upon so dangerous a point of
downfall. And as well in the host, as also at Rome, it was rife and current in every mans mouth:
that whereas the fight with the Volscians was variable, and the service doubtful: for the ill speed,
the discomfort, and the running away, L. Furius was all in fault: but for the good success, Ca-
millus only had all the honour.

When the captives were brought into the Council House, and the Lords of the Senat were of
opinion and determined war against the Tufculans, and had laid the charge thereof upon Camil-
lus, he requested to have an assistant joyned with him in Commission: and being left to his own
choicest, take whom he would of all his Companions in office, contrary to all mens expectation,
he chose L. Furius. By which moderation of his affections, and good carriage of himself, he both
delayed the infamy of his Colleague, and won himself great glory and commendation. Yet for all
this, proceeded not they to any war with the Tufculans. For they by their constant observation
of peace, kept off the violence of the Romans, which by force of arms they had not been able,
When the Romans entered and invaded their territory, they went not so much as out of those
places that lay near the high way, whereas the enemy marched: they forsook not the tilling of their
grounds, but kept the gates of their City wide open, came forth solemnly in their long gowns to
meet with the L.L. Generals in the way, and brought victuals right courteously to serve the army,
as well out of the City as Country. Camillus having pitched down his tents before the gates, and
desirous to know, whether there were the same appearance of peace within the wals, as bare they
abroad in the Country, entered the City: and seeing the doors standing open, the shop-windows
up, all kind of wares set out to sale upon the bulks: the Craftsmen and Artificers busily every one
occupied at his work: the Grammar schools ringing again with a chime of scholars, learning and
saying their lessons: the streets full of women and children amongst the other common people
going to and fro about their business: he could perceive no where about him any thing that car-
ried a resemblance of fearful men, no, nor so much as of those that made any wonder at their com-
ing in that warlike order. Thus cast he his eyes into every corner, seeking where this war should
be. For there was not so much as any token to be seen, either of ought removed out of the way,
or brought in place, upon this present occasion: but all so settled quietness and peace, as if they
had scarcely heard any inkling or rumor of hostility. Being therefore overcome with this pa-
tience and sufferance of the enemies, he caused their Senat to assemble, unto whom he spake in this
wise: "Ye alone to this day of all that I know, O Tufculans, have found the only armor of
"proof, and the forcible fence indeed, to save your selves and all ye have from the Romans ire,
"Go your ways to Rome unto the Senat there, The Lords of the Council will weigh and consider,
"whether ye deserved more punishment before, then pardon now. I will not forestall and pick my
"self a private thank for a publick benefit. At my hands ye shall have this favour and liberty, to
"speak for your selves and plead your own cause: as the Senat shall think good, so shall you speed
"of your suit. After that the Tufculans were come to Rome, and their Senat (who but a while a-
"fore had been faithful Allies and kept their allegiance) seen to stand waiting with heavy cheer,
and giving their attendance at the entry of the Court and Council Chamber: the Lords of the
Roman Senat, were presently moved thereat, and caused them forthwith to be called in, and re-
ceived by way of hospitality, more like then hostility. Then the Dictator of Tufculum made this
speech and said: "Right honorable Senators, we against whom ye have proclaimed and made war,
"came forth to encounter your Generals and Legions, armed and appointed as ye see us at this
"present standing in the porch of your Council House. This was our array, this was the habit of
"our Commons, and always that be, unless at any time we shall put on arms for you and in your
"quarrel. Thanks we yield to your Captains and to your Armies, that they have beleaved rather
"their eyes than their ears: and where they saw no hostility at all, there they offered none them-
"selves. That peace which we have shewed and observed, the same crave we humbly fill at the
"hands of your clemency. Turn we beseech you from us your forces thither, where war is to be
"found. And if we must needs make trial (by suffering ought) of your puissance and power bent a-
"gainst us, we will try it surely without armor. This is our full resolution, God grant it prove
"as fortunate, as it is well meant and proceeding from a single heart. As for the trespasses, where-
"upon ye were moved to denounce war against us: although it be bootless and to no purpose to
"disprove that by words, which by deed is already proved: yet surely, were they never so true,
"we think verily, that without prejudice to our selves, we may safely confess the same, since that
"we have so evidently repented thereof. And for you, so long as you be worthy to have so full
"satisfaction made it skilful not, what default or transgression be committed against you. Thus
"much in effect spake the Tufculans. At the very instant they obtained peace: and not long after, the
"right of free burgesies, to be made Citizens of Rome, so the Legions were withdrawn back again
"from Tufculum. Thus Camillus having won great honor by his policy and valour both, in the Vol-

The prudent
diffimulation
of the Tufcu-
lans.

Camillus to the
Senat of Tuf-
culum

The Dictator
of Tufculum
to the Senat of
Rome.

rebellion again'. In the same year the men of *Stiria* made moan of their elres for want of people, and thither new Coloners were assigned to inhabit there.

Albeit the Romans sped but badly in wars, yet the quietness at home was some comfort; which the Tribuns Military chosen from out of the Commons had procured, by reason that they were so gracious and revered among those of their own coat and faction. All the beginning of the year following, was at the first but a light fire with hot discord and mutiny, when *Sp. Furius*, *Quintius Servilius* the second time, *Lucius Mucius* the third time, *P. Clælius*, *M. Horatius* and *L. Geganus* were Tribuns Military with Consuls authority. The matter and cause of which sedition and broils, were the debts above specified. For the due inquisition whereof, and to know to what times they amounted, *Sp. Servilius Priscus*, and *Clælius Stentus* were made Censors, but stopped them they were for doing any thing, by occasion of wars. For first, fearful messengers in all haste brought word, and after, the flight of the Country people confirmed it, that the legions of the Volscians were entered into the confines, and fell to spoiling every where the territory about *Rome*. Note withstanding which fear and foreign terror, so little were the civil disorders appealed, that contrariwise the Tribuns of the Commons extended their power with more violence to hinder the levy of soldiers, until they had indentured and capitated with the Senators, that so long as the wars lasted, no man should either contribute and be charged with any impost, or be sued in any action of debt. When the Com. took hold once of this talent and liberty, the musters were delayed no longer. And after they had levied and enrolled two new legions, it was thought convenient that the legions should be divided, and two armies sent forth into the Volscians Country. So *P. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* went on the right hand along the sea coast to *Antium*. *Q. Servilius* and *L. Geganus* on the left hand, by the way of the mountains to *Ecetra*. But on neither side met they with the enemy. Whereupon they fell to foraging the Country, not here and there in scattering wife, as the Volscians had done, after the manner of robbers, at starts upon advantage taken of their enemies discord, and by stealth for fear of their valour: but being a full power and army of men, and justly provoked to anger, the longer they continued there, the sooner work they made. For the Volscians standing in fear, left in the mean while they should be encountered with a power from *Rome*, had made roads only into the utmost frontiers: But contrariwise, the Romans made stay in the enemies land, the rather to train them forth and draw them to a field-fight. Having therefore burned up, in a manner, all the uplandish houses and granges, and some villages also, and left behind them no fruitful tree standing, nor the sown corn for hope of grain, and driven away whole booties of men, women, and cattle, which they could light on without the walls, they reduced their armies of both sides home again to *Rome*. In this mean while the debtors had some little lespit to breathe themselves in. But so soon as all was quiet from enemies abroad, they began a fresh to be sued and troubled by their creditors at home. And so small hope they had to be released of their old usury, that they fell into a new, by reason of a contribution collected toward a wall, which the Censors had set out to be made of square Ashler stone. To yield unto this imposition and burden, the Commons were driven, because there was no muster for the Tribuns of the Commons to hinder. Forced they were likewise through the might and power of the great men, to admit for Tribuns Military, all of the Nobility, to wit, *L. Emilius*, *P. Valerius* the fourth time, *C. Fictorius*, *Servilius Sulpitius*, *L.* and *C. Quintius Cincinatus*.

By the same hand also they prevailed so much, that without impeachment of any man, all the younger sort took the military oath, so that they levied three armies against the Latins and Volscians: who joining their legions together, had encamped themselves at *Satricum*. One army was gathered for the defence of the City: another to be set out against all sudden wars, if haply elsewhere some tumult should arise: & a third, of all other the strongest, was under the conduct of *P. Valerius*, and *L. Emilius*, led to *Satricum*. Where, finding the enemies embattled in good array upon a plain & even ground, they charged upon them presently. But ere that they had got the victory evidently in sight, and were but only in some good hope of having a fair day of their enemies, the rain so poured down with huge storms and tempests, that it parted both hosts asunder. The morrow after began a fresh conflict. And for a good while, the legions of the Latins especially, which by long alliance with the Romans had learned their manner of warfare, stood to it as valiantly, and sped as fortunately as the Romans. At length, the Roman horsemen that rode in amongst them, brake their ranks: and when they were once disarrayed, the footmen displayed their ensigns, and advanced upon them: and look how much the Romans battel set forward, so much the enemies gave backward. But when they began once to faint in their fight, then the violence of the Romans was insupportable. Thus the enemies were discomfited and scattered: and flying nor toward their camp, but to *Satricum*, which was two miles off, they were by the horsemen especially beaten down, trod under foot and slain. Their tents were taken and rifled. From *Satricum* they dislodged, the next night after the battel was fought and marched in great haste (as if they fled) to *Antium*. And albeit the Roman army followed them by the tracks hard at heels, yet their footmanship served them better in their fear, than it did the Romans, for all their anger. So the enemies put themselves within the town walls, before the Romans could overtake them, and either cut off the tail of their rearward, or force them to stay. After this, some days were spent in waiting the Country. For neither were the Romans sufficiently provided with warlike engines of battery and artillery to assail their walls, nor they well appointed to abide battel in plain field. Then arose some discord within the town, between the Latins and the Antians. The

Antians,

A Antians, of one side wearied with calamities that follow long wars, wherewith all their life time they had been exercised even to their old age, were of mind to yield. The Latins by reason of their late revolt and rebellion (whiles after long peace, their courages continued yet fresh) were more forward and earnest to maintain wars still. But when they saw on both sides that they might do as they purposed, and follow their own designments, without being hindered one of another, their strife was soon ended. So the Latins leaving their fellowship & society of peace, so unhoneft & dishonourable (as they thought it) departed from them, and stood out still to revenge their own quarrels. But the Antians being well rid of these Counsellors of theirs, so cross unto all wholesome courses, tending to their good and safety, yielded up their town and country to the Romans. But the anger and furious rage of the Latins, for that they could neither annoy the Romans by wars, nor keep the Volscians still in arms, brake out thus far, that they fired the City *Satricum*, which had been the first place of refuge, after their defeat and unhappy flight. Neither left they any house in that City standing, but set fire upon all indifferently, as well profane as holy edifices: only the Church of *Dame Marya* they spared. From which, it was neither any religion and conscience of their own, nor fear of the gods that kept them, but (as men report) a fearful voice heard out of the Temple with heavy threats, unless they held their hands, and kept them far enough from burning the sacred habitations so impiously. In this rage and mad fit of theirs, to *Tusculum* they go: for very spite that they forsaking the general council of the Latins, had not only yielded themselves to be in league with the Romans, but also became incorporate Citizens with them. And coming upon them on a sudden, while their gates were open, at the first shot the whole Town, all but the Castle, was surprized. The Townsmen with their Wives and Children were thither fled: and sent messengers to *Rome* with certificat to the Senat of this sudden and unlooked for accident. And with all speed (as appertained to the fidelity of the people of *Rome*) an army was led to *Tusculum*: whereof *L. Quintius* and *Servilius Sulpitius*, had the conduct. At *Tusculum* they found the gates fast shut against them, and the Latins, as men both besieging and besieged. And whiles of the one side they intended the defence of the walls, on the other side assaulted the Castle, at one time they were afraid themselves, and put others in fear likewise. But the coming of the Romans wrought a great change and alteration in the hearts of both parties. For it caused the Tusculans of fearful men to become exceeding cheerful: and the Latins who made full reckoning to win the fortrels out of hand, as being matters already of the town, had but small hope now to help and save themselves. The Tusculans they set up a great shout from the Castle: and answered it was again with a greater from the Roman army. The Latins were put to it hard on both sides: For neither were they able to abide the violence of the Tusculans running down the hill upon them, nor to put by and keep off the Romans, coming had under the walls, and assaying to break the bars of the gates. First, they scaled the walls and got upon them: after, they brake the port-cullis down. Thus the Latins environed with enemies both before and behind, that pressed sore upon them, having neither strength enough left to fight, nor room of ground to make an escape, were slain in the midst between the enemies, every mothers son. So when *Tusculum* was recovered out of the enemies hands, the army was brought back again to *Rome*.

But the more quietness there was that year without the City by reason of prosperous wars, the more encreased the violence and hard dealing of the Senators within: and the calamities of the Commons grew every day more than other. For they wanted means and were not able to pay for the interest that needs must be paid. When nothing therefore was to be had, to make payment out of their goods, they were adjudged and awarded to satisfy their creditors in their body and name: and so their punishment served in stead of keeping their credit and discharging the consideration. Whereupon, not only the meanness of the Commons, but also the very chief, began now to let fall their hearts and stoop so low, that there was not a witty and nimble headed man and of experience amongst them, that would put himself forth to stand to be a Tribun Military, in concurrence with the Nobles, (which they had so earnestly shot at and laboured for) nor so much as to bear and sie for any offices of the Commons, so as the Senators now, seemed to have recovered again for ever to themselves, the possession of that dignity, which the Commons of late, for some few years, had usurped and occupied over their heads. But that this order side might not joy too much hereat, a small occurrent hapned between which (as it falleth out most commonly) gave the occasion and first footing to an enterprize of much importance.

M. Fabius Ambustus a great and mighty man, as well amongst those of his own calling, as also with the Commons (whom he was reputed never to despise, as other did of his condition and estate) had two daughters married forth: the elder unto *Servilius Sulpitius*: the younger unto *C. Licinius Stolo*, a man verily of good worth and re-ckoning, but yet a Commoner. And *Fabius* disdaining not this alliance and affinity, was himself much love and favour among the Commons. Now it fell out so, that these sisters were upon a time together in the house of *Servilius Sulpitius*, then Trib. Military: and as they passed the time away (as the manner is) in much good talk, discussing one with another of many matters, it chanced that a Sergeant or Verger of *Sulpitius*, at what time as he was coming home from the Forum or Common hall, rapped as the order was, with his rod at the door. When the younger *Fabius* not acquainted with those fashions was therat somewhat amazed, hee after making a wonder at her ignorance, laught her to scorn. But that laughter (as womens minds got wor, are soon kindled with a little) set her a work & hammered in her head,

Besides, the train of many that came about her, waiting and giving attendance, ready to know her pleasure and what she would, mended the matter much. I suppose the thought her sister happily wedded, and repented her own marriage; upon an ill and fitter judgment, whereby every man repined that his neighbor and nearest of kin especially, should go beyond him and do better than he. Upon this discontentment and fresh heart-burning of hers, her father haply seeing her dimaid, asked her whether all was well at home? But when she would have turned the cause of her grief another way, (for that it stood neither with her love and kindness towards her sister, to envy her another way; nor with the reverent honor that she was to yield unto her husband, to find fault with estate; nor yet with mild questioning came about her so, that he drew from her the truth: so as she confessed her grief to arise upon this, that she was disparaged; and namely, married not according to her quality, but into an house incapable both of worship and favour. Then *Ambulius*, comforting his daughter, wished her to be of good cheer, and said, That ere it were long, the Commons, favoring his daughter, would see the same advancement and dignity at home, which she had seen already in her sister's house. Hereupon began he to plot with his son in law, joyning also unto them, *L. Sextius*, a stout young man, and one that was like enough to come to preferment, but that he was not of noble race. Good occasion and opportunity they seemed to have of compassing some alteration in the State, by reason of the excessive debts that men were grown into: for the redressing and easing of which malady, the Com. had no other hope, but in advancing some of themselves into the sovereign room of government. They thought it needful therefore, presently to address themselves to the execution of these designs, considering that by endeavor and industry, the Commons were climbed to that degree already, from whence if they would enforce and put themselves forward, they had but one step more unto the highest, and might be equal with the Nobles, as well in honour as in virtue and prowess. And for the present, it was thought good to make them, two Trib. of the Com. in which office they might open a way unto themselves, for other dignities. So *C. Licinius* and *L. Sex.* proposed laws, all tending to abate the power and might of the Nobles, and wholly for the good and benefit of the Com. One, as touching taking order for debts: That when so much was default and deducted out of the principal, as had been paid for the use and interest, the residue should be discharged by even portions in 3 years. A second, concerning a proportion and quantity of lands, That no man might hold in possession above 500. acres. The third, That from thenceforth there should be no election of Trib. Military, but of Coss. provided always, that one of them be chosen out of the Com. Matters all of right great weight and consequence, and such as without exceeding strife and contention, could not possibly be carried and obtained. When all these things at once lay a bleeding, and were in hazard to be lost, which the whole world unmeasurably coveteth and longeth after, to wit, land, money, and promotions: the Senators were put in a bodily fear, and began to startle. And laying their heads together both in public consultation and private conference, they could devise no other remedy, but that which in many commotions already they had tried, namely, the stepping between them and negative voice of some of the Tribuns. And so, to cross those bills aforesaid put up by themselves, they had wrought and made to their purpose certain of their own brotherhood. Who so soon as they saw the wards and tribes called forth by *Licinius* and *Sextius*, to give their suffrages, being well backed and guarded with the assistance of the Senators, would suffer neither those laws to be read, nor any other besides (as yearly they used) to pass by the voices of the Commons. Thus the two Tribuns aforesaid, having oftentimes (but ever in vain) assembled the people together, and seeing their laws still suppressed, as it were, in the head for ever going forward; "It is well," quoth *Sextius*, and since ye like so well that these inhibitions may prevail so much: "we will likewise defend the Commons with the same weapon and no other. Go to now my Masters of the Nobility, proclaim an election for the creation of Trib. Military: I will make it row, that this word [* *Peto*] shall do you selves no good at all: howsoever now ye take so great pleasure to hear our brethren keep that note still, and evermore ring that sweet conceit of "muck. And surely, those threats proved indeed to good earnest and took effect. For there was no election at all but of *Adiles* and Tribuns, and those both of the Commons. For *Licinius* and *Sextius* being chosen Tribuns again, suffered no Magistrates of the Chair, or of State, to be created. Which defect and delation of sovereign Magistracy continued in the City for the space of five years: whilst the Commons for their part chose the same two Tribuns still, and they again ever laid a bar and put in a caveat against the election of Tribuns Military.

All other wars, as good hap was, were asleep for the time. The Colonies only of *Peltre*, upon so long rest and quietness began to be lusty and wax wanton: and for that there was no army of the Romans stirring abroad, they not only made inroads sundry times into the territory of *Roms*, but also assailed the town *Tusculum*. And when the *Tusculans*, the ancient Allies and new enfranchised Citizens of *Rome* craved help, the Senators and Commons both, were moved especially for very fame to succour them. And the Tribuns of the Commons yielded at length, and permitted an assembly for election, to be holden by an Inter-regent: and Trib. Military there were created, *L. Furius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *A. and C. Valerius*. Who found not the Commons so tractable in the mustering, as they were pliable in giving their voices at the Election. Yet after much ado & great contention they levied an army, and set forward on their journey: drove the enemies not from *Tusculum* only, but forced them within their own walls besieged *Peltre* more straightly a great deal, and in more forcible manner, than *Tusculum* had been by them.

Howbeit

A Howbeit, they that began the siege were not able to win the town. For, before that time, were new Tribuns Military chosen, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Varrinus*, *A. and M. Cornelius*, *Q. Quintus*, *M. Fabius*. Neither performed these Tribuns any notable exploit at *Peltre*. But the State at home fell in more dangerous terms than before. For besides that *Sextius* and *Licinius*, the publishers of those laws aforesaid, were now the eighth time made Trib. of the Commons again, *F. Abius* also a Trib. Military, *Sto* his wives father, was seen openly in the action, to set forward and persuade for the same laws, which in very deed himself had devised. And whereas at the first, eight of the College or Company of the Tribuns of the Commons, had crossed the proceeding of them: now there were but five left that shewed themselves, and those (as commonly they use to do that disband from their own faction) like men bereaved of their wits and amazed, being indeed the tongues and thinks that others spake by, pretended and made allegations in their prohibition, only as they were schooled and taught their lessons at home: (to wit) That a great sort of the Commons were in the army at *Peltre* and absent, and that the solemn Session or Assembly for enacting laws, ought to be adjourned until the return home of the soldiers: to the end that all the Commons generally, might give their voices concerning their own commodity and benefit. *Sextius* and *Licinius* with part of their brethren Tribuns, and *M. Fabius* one of the Tribuns Military, being their own craftsmasters, knew well enough by so many years experience, how to manage and handle the minds of the Commons: and plied the chief of the Senators (produced forth before the people) so hard with interrogatories of every particular that was proposed, that they wearied and tired them out: Demanding, how they could require to be allowed themselves to possess more than 500. acres a man; whereas the Commons had but two a piece divided amongst them? Whether that every one of them might in equity hold the lands, well neer, of 300. Citizens: and a Commoner to have hardly ground enough for to build him a necessary house upon, and to serve for a place to bury his dead? Also, whether their will and pleasure was, that the Commons oppressed with usury, should yield their bodies to bear irons and suffer torment, unless they paid the interest before the principal? And that daily by whom companies they should be had away from the bar, condemned to thralldom, and Noble mens houses to become goals, filled and pestered with prisoners? And wherefoever a Patrician dwelt, there should be a private prison? These indignities and piteous matters as he heard, when they had with a loud voice charged upon them even before those that were afraid of the like measure themselves; with more indignation and disdain of all that heard them, than they themselves shewed in the uttering and delivery: "But these Senators say they (and that they redoubled) will never make an end either of getting more land still into their hands, or spoiling and undoing the Commons with usury, until the Commons make once out of their body one Consul, for to be the maintainer and protector of their liberty. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, they were now just nothing let by: as who by their privilege of Inhibitions and negative voices, spoiled themselves and overthrew their own power. And never will there be any indifferent and equal course taken, so long as the Nobles keep the sovereign place of command, and the sword to strike whiles the poor Commons have only the buckler hand to ward all venues. For unless the government be parted between both alike, the Commons shall never have their due and equal portion in the Commonwealth. Neither is it reason that any man should stand contented with this only, that in the Election of Consuls, the Commons are eligible and capable of the dignity: for in case, it be not concluded absolutely, that one Consul at the least should be of necessity a Commoner, there will never be any at all. Have ye forgotten already (say they) that notwithstanding an Act made, That there should be Tribuns Military created rather than Consuls, for this intent that Commoners might aspire and reach unto the chief place of honor; yet for all that in 44. years space, there was not so much as one of the Commons chosen Trib. Military? And will any man believe that they will of their own accord conier upon the Commons (when otherwise they may chuse) that dignity in the disposing of two places, who were ever wont in the making of Tribuns Military, to take up eight rooms all wholly to themselves? And will they allow them a way unto the Consulship, who thus long have held the (Consular) Tribunship so guarded, as no man might have access thither but themselves? Nay, it must be got by a positive law, which in their Assemblies for Election, by favour and grace might not be obtained. One of the Consuls rooms must be set aside, past all peradventure and question, and that for a Commoner, to enter into: For as much as if it stand still upon a choice, the mightier man will ever go away with the game clear. And whereas heretofore they have been wont to alledge and say, That the Commons are not sufficient and able men to bear the offices of the chair and of state: that, now cannot be truly objected. For was the Commonwealth I pray you more slackly and negligently governed upon the (Consular) Tribunship of *P. Licinius Calpurnius* (who was the first Commoner that ever was made Trib. Military) than it was ruled for those years space, in which there was not a Trib. Military but of the Nobility? Nay, on the contrary side it will be justified that some of the Nobles were condemned after they were out of their Tribunship, and not one of the Commoners. And whereas not many years past, we began to make Quæstors or Treasurers out of the Commons, like as we did Tribuns Military, the people of *Rome* repented never of the choice of any one of them. It remaineth now, that the Commons bear the office of Consuls too; That were a forfeit of their liberty, that were a strength and sure hold to ruin unto. If they were once come and slept to that degree, then may the people of *Rome* think assuredly and be persuaded

The Laws of
Licinius and
Sextius.

* I forbid. It
was the negative
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Sextius and
Licinius against the
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p. 16.

"swaded, that the KK. are banished indeed out of the City, and their freedom fully establish'd for ever to endure. For, from that day forward shall the Commons be partakers of all those things, wherein the Nobles now surpass them: namely, sovereign rule and authority, martial renown, parentage and Nobility: great ornaments doubtless, unto themselves to enjoy here in this life - but far greater to leave behind them unto their Children and Posterity. These and such like Orations when they: law to be plausible, and willingly accepted, they preferred a new Statue, That in stead of the two Dumvirs for holy Ceremonies and matters of the Church, there might be chosen ten Decemvirs: Provided always, that one part of them should be created forth of the Commons, and another from among the Nobles. The Session for enacting of all those Laws, they deferred until the army was returned, which lay then at the siege before Velitæ.

But the year was come about and fully expired, before the legions were reduced home from thence: and by that means the whole business about these new Laws, hung still in suspense, and was put off unto the entrance of the new Tribuns Military. As for the Tribuns of the Commons, the Commonalty chose the same again, even those twain who had been the proposers of those Laws. And the Tribuns Military were these, *T. Quintius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpitius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, L. Veturius*. Presently in the beginning of the year, they put unto the jump and final trial what should become of those Laws. And when as the Tribes were called, and none of the Tribuns Colleges stepped between to stop the proceeding of the Law-givers: the Nobles were afraid, and ran unto their two last helps, to wit, the height and absolute office, and the greatest man among them. They thought it good therefore to create a Dictator. And *M. Furius Camillus* was nominated, who elected unto him *L. Æmilius* for General of the horse. The Law-makers likewise for their part, against to great preparation of their adversaries, armed at all parts the cause of the Commons, with stout stomach and courageous heart. And having assembled an Hall of the Commons, they called forth the wardsto give their voices. At what time the Dictator accompanied with a great train of Nobles, full of wrath and menacing frowns, took his place and set him down. And after the matter was canvassed first, by the ordinary conflict of the Tribuns among themselves, whiles some propounded, and others gain-said the Law with their negatives voices: and that by how much in right the prohibition was the stronger, so much it was overweighed in favour and affection both of the Laws and Law-givers: and when the first Tribes had given their voice (* *Uirgatus*) affirmatively: then *Camillus*. For as much as (quoth he) *O Quirites*, ye are ruled now by the will and pleasure, and not by the authority of the Tribuns, and as in times past ye obtained the privilege of a negative voice and * Intercession by your departure and Secession, so now ye make it void and nothing worth, even by the same force that ye got it by: I, chosen Dictator as well for your sake as for the whole Common-wealth, will assist your privilege of Intercession and by mine absolute authority maintain this your help and succour, now revered and overthrown. If therefore *C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius*, give place unto the negative voice and interceding of their fellows in Office: I will not in a meeting and assembly of the Commons, once intermeddle, nor bring in the authority, of a Magistrate of the Nobles: but if they shall go forward still (notwithstanding all prohibition) to impose and give Laws unto the City, as if it were won by conquest of the enemy, I will not refuse the Tribuns power by their own selves to be defaced and come to nothing. But (all these big words notwithstanding) when the Tribuns of the Commons made but a tufft thereto, and went never the less forward with their enterprise, then *Camillus* thoroughly angered indeed, sent his Lictors and Sergeants to command the Commons to avoid the place and depart: Threatening withal, that if they proceeded thus, he would take a Military oath of all the younger people, and lead an army presently forth of the City. This put the Commons in a very great fright, but let their Captains and Ring-leaders, rather in a greater heat of contention, than abated their courages one jot. And when he saw no relenting on either side, he gave up his office: Whether it were that there was some error in his creation (as some have written) or because the Tribuns of the Commons had put up a bill to the Commons, and they granted it: that if *M. Furius* (as Dictator) had proceeded to any action, he should have a round fine set on his head of 500000 * *Aſſes*. I know not certainly, but I believe that he was terrified upon some unlucky signs of the birds, rather then with any such strange Act never heard of before, and without precedent. And hereunto am I induced, both in regard of the disposition of the man so well given and of so good conscience, and also for that *P. Manlius* was Dictator the next year following, doubtless, he would never for shame have resumed that office, wherein the year before he had received the foil and disgrace, to be so overruled. Over and besides, at the same time when as this bill was supposed to have been preferred, concerning his fine, either he might have withstood it too, (whereby he saw himself to be bridled) or else he had not been able to have hindered so much as those, for which this also was propounded. Finally, it was never seen to this day wherein we live, so long as the Tribuns and Consuls with their factions and parts-taking have been at variance and debate with all their might and main, but evermore the authority of the Dictator controlled them all, and put them down.

Between the former Dictatorship of *Camillus* now resigned up, and the new by *Manlius* accepted

And begun, there was an assembly of the Commons summoned by the Tribuns, in time as it were of a vacancy or Interregnum: wherein the overture was made and evidently it was seen, which of the laws propoſed the Commons liked better, and which the Law-givers. For those that concerned duty and land, they granted to pass, but that other of a Commoner to be Consul, they denied and dashed quite. And surely both matters had been dispatched fully and established at once; but that the Tribuns bid directly, that they required the Commons, to give their voices and speak to all three directly together. After this, *P. Manlius* the Dictator favoured somewhat, and helped the cause of the Commons, by nominating out of the Commons for his General of horsemen, *C. Licinius*, who had been a Tribun Military before time. The Senators bitom hereat, as I find in records. And the Dictator was wont to exult the matter unto them, alleging for himself the near affinity and kindred that was between him and *Licinius*: saying also, that the dignity of the General of horsemen was no greater then of a Tribun Consul. Now when the election day was published for the Tribuns of the Commons, *Licinius* and *Sextius* so demeaned themselves, that by pretending that they would not any longer now continue in the office, they set the Commons on to be most earnest and hotly bent for that, which they under colour of refusal, desired and sought for. They seemed, forsooth, to alledge and say, "That for these nine years they had stood, as it were, in battel array, and affronted the States and Nobles of the City, to the right great peril of themselves in privat, and to no good effect at all in publick: and now together with them, both the laws propoſed, and the whole strength of the Tribuns authority, were waxed old and decayed. At the first their Laws were crossed by the interceding of their brethren Tribuns: afterwards by packing away the youth of the City to the Velitæ war: and last of all, the Dictators lightning flashed in their faces, and their thunderbolts forth against them. "Now (say they) neither their fellow Tribuns withstood them, nor forraign was hindered them, nor yet the Dictator himself, as who for his part hath given a good fore-tokening and preface of a Consul Commoner, in electing his General of horsemen out of the Commons. The very Commons and none else, are they that hurt themselves, and delay their own goods. Who might presently if they would, have their City, their common Hall, and place of assemblies freed from these Creditors: yea, and their grounds recovered again from the unjust Land-lord: Which benefits and liberties, when are they like to weigh and esteem with thankful minds accordingly, if in the very time that they are accepted the Laws devised for their own wealth and good, they cut off all hope of promotion and honour, from the publishers and proposers thereof? For it standeth not with the modesty of the people of Rome, to require to be eased themselves of liberty, and to be set in possession again of the land, wrongfully withheld from them by the mighty men: and then to leave the old Trib, by whose means they have come by those good commodities, to shift for themselves, not only without honor, but also without all hope of honor. Let them therefore first down with themselves, and resolve, what they are minded to do: and afterwards in the election of Trib, declare the same openly. If they would be willing to speak affirmatively to those Laws, all jointly as they were propounded, then there were some reason to chide the lame Trib again: and then would they enact & establish finally that which they had published. But in case their wil was to accept of that and no more than which served each privat man turn then there was small need, or none at all to have them fill in office, with the envy and grudging of so many. And to be short, neither would they accept of the Tribunship any longer, neither should the Commons have those Laws ratified, which were already granted. When as all the rest of the Senators were struck into their dumps and blank, for the very indignity to themselves thus go: As the last, one *Appius Claudius Crassus* (the nephew or son of that notorious *Appius* the Decemvir) upon a malicious mind and fell stomach, as it is reported, rather then for any hope he had to disavow the matter, stood up, and to this effect answered that so stout and peremptory speech of the Tribuns, in this manner, "It can be no strange matter to me, nor unlooked for, *O Quirites*, if that which hath been the only thing at all times objected by feditious Tribuns against our house, I also should hear at this present: to wit, that the whole name and lineage of *Claudius* have ever from the first beginning, regarded nothing more in the Common-wealth, than the Majesty and honor of the Senators and the Nobles, and always set and opposed themselves against the good and well-fare of the Commons. Of which two challenges, the one I neither can, nor will deny and disavow: namely, that we, since the first time that we were enfranchised Citizens, and therewith at once taken into the number of Senators, have endeavoured and strained our selves, that it might be said and that truly, that the honor and dignity of that state and degree into which it was your good pleasure we should be incorporate, and graced with, was by us augmented, rather then impaired. And as for the other challenge, this I dare be bold, in mine own behalf, and in the name of my ancestors and progenitors, to aver, *O Quirites*, that (unless a man would think whatsoever is done for the Weal-publick generally, is directly against the Commons, as if they were meer aliens of another City) we to our knowledge have practised nothing, writing and willing, either whiles we lived privat, or during the time we bare office, prejudicial to the commonalty: and that neither in deed nor word, we can be justly charged to have wrought and contrived any thing contrary to your good: although peradventure somewhat hath fallen out cross against your will and mind. But were I not a *Claudius*, and of that family, nor descended of noble blood, but some one of the Burgeſſes or Citizens: and knew my self to be but free born,

* *As pro-
posed* The
form of an Af-
firmative voice
in their scitu-
ations.

The Oration
of *M. Furius
Camillus* the
Dictator to the
Quirites.

* *Intercession*
signifies here
the privilege
of the Tribuns
of the Com-
mons to deny
and stop any
Act, that it
pasts not.

* 1150. *l. l.*

The Oration
of *Appius Clau-
dius* against
the Tribuns of
the Commons.

staid not there. For, by reason that the Nobles denied to approve & give assent thereto, the matter was like to grow unto a Seccession and general departure of the Commons, yea, and to other fearful terms and perilous threats of civil wars and intestine troubles. Howbeit, by means of the Dictator, the flames were quenched and the discords appeased, upon these capitulations. *Imprimis*, that the Nobility should accord unto the Commons, to have one Consul from among themselves, *Item*, that the common people should be content that the Nobles might out of the *l. artium* create a Pretor or Lord chief Justice for ever and determiner in causes within the City. Thus when after long anger the two states of the City were grown to unity and concord, the Senat thinking it a worthy matter (& good cause they had verily as every time before) willingly determined, for the honour of the immortal gods, to set out those most lately [Roman] plays. And whereas before they had continued but three daies, to add one more, and to celebrate them full four. And when the *Ediles* of the Commons refused that charge & excused themselves, the younger Gentlemen of the Nobility cried all with one voice, That they would most gladly do that service and honor to the immortal gods, so as they might be made *Ediles* for that purpose. Thanked they were generally of all hands; and the Senat made a decree, That the Dictator should propound to the people, that two men of the Nobility might be *Ediles*, and that in all the Assemblies and Elections for that year, whatsoever passed, should be ratified by the sovereign assent of the Senators.

The Seventh Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Seventh Book.

TWO new officers of State, to wit, the Pretorship and *Adileship* of the Chair: were adjoined to the rest. The City was sore visited with the pestilence: which was more noted by reason of Furius Camillus who died therein. The remedy and end whereof, whilst they sought to procure by bringing in new and strange Religions, at length they devised stage-plays, which then first were set forth. M. Pomponius a Tribune of the Commons, arrested L. Manlius for his exceeding rigour in taking muster of souldiers: and for confining and hardly intreating his own son, T. Manlius, for no crime but his famous offence. And the young man himself, whose confining and misusage was laid unto his father's charge, entered the bed-chamber of the said Tribune, drew his Skee and forced him to swear unto him, that he would let fall his suit and proceed no further. Then all mischiefs intended, were laid apart and had an end. Curtius armed at all pieces, mounted upon a Courser, rode headlong into the wide gaping chink or gulf within the City of Rome, and so it presently filled up again. The same young Manlius who had freed his father from the troubles of the Tribune, entered into combat with a French-man, that challenged any one of the Roman Souldiers to single fight, slew him: took from him his collar of Gold, which he wore about his neck afterwards himself, and thereof was called Torquatus. Two Tribes more were added, Pontina and Publicia. Licinius Stolo was condemned by a Law of his own making, because he held in possession more then five hundred Acres of ground. M. Valerius a Colonel of one thousand foot, killed a Gaul, who challenged him to fight: and that, by the means and help of a Raven that settled upon his Merion, and with talons and bill annoyed his enemy, and thereupon was named Corvinus. For which vertue and valorous Act, he was the year next following created Consul, being not full three and twenty years old. Amity was concluded with the Carthaginians. The Campanians being warred upon by the Samnites, craved aid of the Senat against them: and when they could not speed, yielded their City and Territory to the people of Rome, whereupon it was thought good, seeing both they and theirs, were now become propriety to the people of Rome, that they should be defended. A force of arms against the Samnites. When A. Cornelius the Consul, had led his host into a place of disadvantage and was in great peril, he was by the industrious service of P. Decius a Colonel saved: who having gained the hill top, which commanded the ridge, whereon the Samnites lay encamped, gave the Consul opportunity to escape and pass into a plain ground: and himself, notwithstanding he was enveloped by the enemy, brake through them, and gat away. The Roman souldiers left in garrison at Capua, having been confpired to keep the City to their own behoof, were detected and their plot disclosed: and for fear of punishment, revolted from the people of Rome contrary to their allegiance: but by the policy and wisdom of M. Corvinus, they were reclaimed from their outrage, and restored again to their country. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate wars against the Hermicks, Gauls, Tyburs, Privernats, Targuinians, Samnites, and Volscians.

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The seventh Book of T. Livius.

Here enueth a year of especial note and mark, for the Consulship of a man newly risen: also for two new offices, the Pretorship and *Adileship* of the Chair. Both which dignities, they of the Nobility purchased to themselves in lieu of granting to the Commons one place of the two Consuls. The Commons bestowed the Consulship upon L. Sextius for his good service, in propounding the law, whereby that promotion was first obtained. The Nobles conferred the Pretorship upon Sp. Furius Camillus the son of Marcus: and the *Adileship* upon Cn. Quintus Capniculus; and P. Cornelius Scipio, personages of their own order and degree: So gratus were they with the people in Marshfield. L. Sextius had companion with him in government, L. Amilius Mamercus one of the Senators. In the beginning of the year, much debate there was and hard hold, both as well about the Gauls who at the first ranged abroad over all *Apulia*, and were now (as the report went) gathered together: as also concerning the Rebellion of the Hermicks. But all matters being put off for purpose, until a further time, because nothing should be done by this new Consul a Commoner, all things were still and quiet, as it had been vacation or *Non-term*: this only excepted, that the Tribuns muttered and could not endure with patience, that for one Consul of the Commons, the Nobility had got to themselves three Magistrates, all of the Patritii, sitting like Consuls, with their purpled and purpled long Robes in Ivory chairs of estate, And as for the Pretor besides, as L. chief Justice to hear and decide causes, he was fellow with the Consuls, and with the same Auspices and authority created. Hereupon the Senat was abashed to be infant and to enforce that *Adiles* of the chair should be chosen out of the Nobility. And first it was agreed amongst them, that every second year they should be elected forth of the Commons: Afterwards, indifferently one with another in common, without that regard. Now when L. Genucius and Q. Servilius were Coll, and all at good rest for any home-edition or forrain war: behold, left they should at any time be void of care and danger, there began a great plague: In which died, as men say, one Centor, one *Adile* Curule, three Tribuns of the Commons: besides, many a dead corps from among the multitude, was carried forth, proportionable to the rest. But above all, the bitter death of Camillus and much lamented (notwithstanding the long and goodly time he had in this life) caused this pestilence to be much spoken of and remembered. For he was (in truth) the only person in all fortune both of prosperity and adversity, as well in peace as war: a rare and singular man before his banishment, and during the same more famous and renowned: either in regard that the City had a mis of him, and being taken by the enemy in his absence sought unto him for his help; or in respect of his hap-pines, in that together with his own restitution home, he therewith restored his natural country. And after this, for 25 years space (for so long he lived afterwards) he bare him self answerable to the title of forgot glory: accounted worthy to be surname and reputed a second founder after Romulus, of the City of Rome. All this year long and the next which followed, when T. Sulpitius E. Peisicor, and C. Licinius Stolo were Consuls, the sickness continued. By reason whereof, nothing was done worth remembrance, but that for to obtain the mercy and grace of the Gods, there was a Lectistern solemnized, which was the third since the City was first founded. But when by no device of man, nor help of the Gods, the violence of the sickness abated; their minds and consciences were so possessed with superstition, that among other pacifications and appeasings of the heavenly ire, the stage-plays (a strange and new device for a warlike and martial people, who afore time used only to behold the solemne games and feats of strength and activity, in the great Lils or Race called *Circus*) were (as men say) first begun and ordained. But (as all beginnings lightly are) a small thing (God wot) it was at first: without long and metre, without gesture and action furbled unto long and verse, and the same also mere outlandish. For the players, who were first for out of *Hetruria*, as they danced the measures to the minstrel and sound of flute, gestured not undecently withal, after the Tuscan fashion. But in procees of time the youth began to imitate and counterfeit them, jelling pleasantly besides one with another, and singing in rude rimes and disordered metre: and their gesture was forcing with their jests and ditties. Thus was this thing first taken up, and thus with much use and often exercise, practised. And hereupon our own Country Actors and artificial professors of this feat, were called *Hiistriones*, of *Histr* a Tuscan word, which signifieth a player or dancer. But theie uttered not (as they used afore time) in their turns one after another, disordered, and rude verses, like to the loose and bawdy Peseccion rimes: but went through and rehearsed out, whole Sayes, full of musical measures, with a set concert of long allo, to the instrument of the minstrel, and with gesture agreeable thereto. Certain years after, Livius, who was the first that after the use of Sayes, ventured to there forth an Enterlude, of some one argument and uniform matter, is reported to have been himself (as they were all no doubt in those daies) the Author and Actor both, of his own verses and songs: But being so often called on by the people to play, that he became hoarse again, and lost his voyce, he gat leave to set a boy to sing before the minstrels. And so being silent him self, he acted the song with more agility and nimbleness of motion a good deal: for, not employing his voyce, he had no hindrance of liberty in gesture. Then began the players to have others to sing, and they themselves used their voyces only in acting their parts in Comedies dialogue.

* Paglia.

The death of M. Furius Camillus.

Stage-players first at Rome instituted.

[Andronicus]

L. Gruntine
Consul A2in,

But it returned for that *Gentilis* being with great preparation and power set forth against the enemies, was entraped by an Ambuscado, his legions upon a sudden tear unlooked for defeated, himself (the Consul) environed round about, and slain by them that wilt not whom they flew. The common tidings being brought to *Rome*, the Senators were not so penive and sorrowful for the common calamity, as they fumed and took on most insolently, for this unhappy expedition and conduct of the Commoner Consul; and muttered in all places these and such like speeches: "Now let them go and create Consuls again out of the commonalty, and translate the *Aspicia* whither they ought not. What? Because the Senators by an Act of the Commons, might be defeated and dispossessed of their dignities, could so insauicate and irreigious a law, prevail likewise against the Gods immortal? Who now themselves have taken the matter into their own hands, and maintained their power, their title and Auspices: which were not so soon meddled withal, and polluted by one that had no right thereto, nor lawful title; but both the whole army, and Captain also, were vanquished and overthrowen; to teach them for ever hereafter, how they make their solemn Elections of Magistrats confidently, without regard of the rights and royalties of noble houses. Their speeches both Council-House and common place rung again withal, So the Consul *Servilius* with consent of the Nobles, named for Dictator *Appius Claudius*, who had sometime in an Oration before the whole assembly of the Commons dissuaded the proceeding of that law; and now with greater authority blamed the mishap of that council, which was by him disliked and reprov'd. A muster was proclaimed, and a publick Vacation. But before that the Dictator and these new enrolled legions were gone as far as the Hernicks confines, the other army under the leading of *C. Scipio* the Lieutenant, by occasion of an occurrent that fell out there, got a good hand against their enemies. For when as upon the death of the Consul, the Hernicks advanced in scornful and contemptuous manner, cloe under the camp of the Romans, with a full hope to be masters of the fame; behold, what with the exhortation of the Lieutenant, and what for anger and indignity, wherewith the souldiers stomachs were full, they made a fallly out against them. Whereupon the Hernicks came so far forth of their compact, that they had no hope to assail, no, nor approach the rampier; and so in disarray they dismarched and departed. Afterwards by the coming in of the Dictator with a fresh power, the old army was reinforced double. The Dictator in a solemn audience, having praised the Lieutenant and his souldiers for defending their rents so manfully, both encouraged them that heard themselves so highly commended according to their deserts, and also whetted on the rest to perform the like valorous service. The enemies on the other side were nothing slack to prepare themselves to fight again: who in remembrance of the honour they had already won, albeit they were not ignorant that the Romans forces were redoubled, encreased their own power also. For the whole Nation of the Hernicks, even as many as were able to draw sword, were called forth to the wars. Eight cohorts by themselves consisting of four hundred in a band were enrolled, even the most able and choice men of all others. This elect and especial flour of their youth and manhood, they fed with hope and encouraged the more to this service, because they had taken order they should have double pay. Freed they were besides from all other labour and Military toil that being thus reserved to intend the fight and nothing else, they should make reckoning and know, that they were to indeavour and strain themselves above the ordinary carriage of souldiers. Placed also they were in the battel, apart from the other ranks: to the end their valour and manhood might be more seen and marked. Between both camps of the Romans and Hernicks, there was a plain of two miles in length: and there in the mid way in a manner, was the battel fought. First, the fight was doubtful on both sides, whiles the Roman Horsemen charged and recharged again, but ever in vain, to see if they could break their battalions. Thus when the service on Horseback proved less in effect than in attempt, they asked the advice and craved leave of the Dictator: which being granted, they abandoned their Horses, and with a mighty shout, ran forth before the ensignes, and renewed the battel a fresh. Neither could they have been any longer endured, but that those extraordinary bands opposed themselves, and received them with equal might of body and valour of heart. Then was the fight maintained between the brave youth and principal flour of both nations. And look what slaughter there was by common hazard of war, as well of the one side as of the other, the loss was greater for the equality of the persons, than the proportion of the number. For the rest of the souldiers, as if they had shitted from themselves the whole conflict, and beakened to the vanguard only, repoked their own event and hap in the manhood of others. Many a man on both parts was mitted down and dyed in the place, but more were hurt and wounded. "At last, those Horsemen that dismounted, fell to call and rebuke one another asking what hope remained else besides? If neither on horseback they were able to drive the enemies back, nor on foot force them to give ground and remove them, what third kind of service looked they for? Why leave they out so lustily and bravely into the forefront before the ensignes? and fought in the place of others? With these words provoking one another, they pluck up their hearts, and with a fresh shout set foot forward and gave a new charge. First, they compelled the enemies to retreat and lose their standing: then to give more ground: and at length plainly to turn their back and run away. Hard it is to say, being so equally and indifferently matched as they were, what it was that turned the balance and gave the victory: unless it were the perpetual fortune that ever followed both nations, able to advance the spirit and courage of all the way, so far as to their camp: but of the other, The Romans had the Hernicks in chase all the way long, so far as to their camp: but

* A becaufe it was far in the evening, they Raid from affailing it. For by reafon that it was long ere the Dictator could by facrifice gather any fured token of Gods favour; he founded none but the rattle before noon: whereby it continued untill night. The morrow after, were the Hetrurians fled and their camp abandoned: only fome hurt and wounded foldiers were found left behind. But one troop of them that forfook their enignes (when as neer unto their walls and fortis their banners were difcovered, flenderly accompanied, and with few about them) was fattered abroad over the fields, and in great fear (tragled all about, and fhamefully fled away. And yerthis victory of the Romps coft them well the getting on, and fpent fome blood: for they loft a fourth part of their men: and that which was no fmall damage unto them, fome of the Roman Horfemen alfo were B lain.

The next year following, when *C. Sulpicius* and *C. Licinius C. Juv.* the Consuls, were gone with a power against the *Hernicks*, and finding not the enemy abroad in the country, had by force won *Forum* a Town of theirs: in their return homeward, the *Tyburns* kept their gates shut against them. And after many complaints and unkindnesses ripped up between them: this last quarrel was it, that moved the Romans by their Heralds (after restitution and amends demanded) to defend lance, and proclaim war against the people of *Tybur*. That *Titus Quintus Pennus* was Dictator that year, and *Serv. Cornelius Maluginensis* General of his Horsemen, it is agreed upon by all authors. *Maecius Licinius* writeth that he was created for the holding of an assembly for election of Magistrates, and that, by the Consul *Licinius*: because when his fellow Consul made halt, *C.* to have the Election before the war, thereby to continue his own Consulship, it was thought good to withhold and meet with his naughty desire in that behalf. But *Licinius* [Maecius] in usurping to his name and family, that praise and commendation, maketh himself to be of less credit in writing of the rest: especially, seeing that in none of the old records, I find mention of any such matter. Mine own mind giveth me rather, that the Dictator was created because of the Gauls tumultuous war. For certainly that year they encamped themselves three miles from *Rome*, beyond the bridge of *Anio*, in the way *Salutina*. The Dictator having proclaimed a Vacation, to be of their troubles of the Gauls, received the Military oath of all the younger sort: and with a puissant army departed the City, and upon the very bank on this side of *Anio* pitched his tents. In the mid way between them and the enemies there was a bridge: which they would not break down on either part, lest they should be thought fearful cowards. But about the seizing and gaining of that bridge, first, there was many a skirmish: and judged it could not be, considering the equal forces of both sides, who should be matters of it. Then advanced forward unto the bridge (void of all guards) a mighty tall and big Frenchman, and as long as ever he could set out a throat, maketh this challenge: Now (quoth he) let the bravest gallant that *Rome* hath, come forth and spare not, to combat if he dare, that the event of us twain may shew whether nation is more valiant and warlike. The brave Knights and youths of *Rome*, held their peace a good while, both abashed to receive the challenge, and also unwilling to run upon the present hazard of a single fight. Then *T. Manlius*, the son of *Lucius*, even he who related his father from the Tribunes troubles, goeth forth of his quarter unto the Dictator. "Without your leave and express commandment (quoth he) O Noble Sovereign, I would never presume to fight out of my rank and standing, no, nor if I should fee assured victory before mine eyes: but if it will please your Excellency to give me licence, I will shew unto that beast yonder (that so proudly and lustily is come forth leaping before the enemies chiefs, and braving as you see) that I am defended of that houle and race, that gave the whole army of the Gauls the foil and tuned them down the Cliff *Tarpeia*. Then said the Dictator unto him, God blese thee *T. Manlius*: On forth a Gods Name, in this thy dutiful mind and zeal that thou carriest both to father and Country: Go on I say, and with the help of the Gods, perform the Roman name to be invincible. Then his fellows and companions blode to arme the young Gentleman. A light footman shole he takes unto him, and a Spanish blade by his side, more handsome to fight short and close. Being thus armed and fet out, they bring him forth against this vainglorious Gaul, let all upon joy full foolishly, and (as the ancient writers have thought it worth the noting and remembrance) scornfully lolling and blaring out his tongue. Then the rest departed every man to his own quarter and ward: and the two armed Champions were left in the midst, more like a festival spectacle and pageant to behold, than any fight in field, suiting to the manner, guise, and law of combat, considering they were not equally matched, if a man should judge by the eye and outward view. The one of them of personage mighty and exceeding tall, his coat armour of sundry colours and gay, his harness glittering and all damasked and engraven with gold. The other, a man of middle stature of Soldiers, no great shew of armor, and that rather fit and handsome, than gaudy to behold: without any whooping, singing, and joyous vaunting of himself, without vain-flourishes and shaking of his weapons in the air: but he had a heart full of resolute courage, stomack, and close anger within, relieving all his fierceness and eagerness unto the very combat and tryal of fight. As they stood thus between the two armies, and so many men all about looking on, in doubtful suspense between hope and fear, the Gaul like as he had been a huge mountain aloft over the other, ready to fall upon him, held forth his target with the left hand to bear off the sword of his enemy coming against him, and let drive a down-right blow edgelong, that it rebounded again upon his shield, and did no harm at all. The Roman bearing his own sword with the point upward, and with his shield having [missen the nether part of his enemies target,

* *Teucrium*

T. Manly to
the L. General.

The combat
between *J.
Manlius* and a
mighty big
Gaul.

*Six foot high,
or five foot
and ten inches.

* *Tivni.*

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A ll these. The same year, the Consuls likewise warred, but with diverse fortune and success. For by *C. Plantius*, the Hernicks were vanquished and subdued. But his companion *Fabius* fought valiantly and unadvisedly against the Tarquinians. The loss in the battel received, was not so much, but that the Tarquinians sacrificed three hundred and seven Roman souldiers, whom they took prisoners. This foul and shameful execution, caused the ignominy of the Romans defeat afore. to be much more notable, and talked of abroad. Besides this loss, was the Roman territory much walled (to help the matter withal) by the Privernates, and after them by the Veliterns, who made sudden inroades into the Countrey. The same year also were two more Tribes added, *Pompina* and *Publia*. The votive solemn plays or games likewise, which *Marcus Furius* the Dictator had vowed, were then set forth and performed.

Then and never before was the first law put up to the people by *P. Petilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, and that by the consent and approbation of the Senators, against the excessive suit and ambitious flandering for dignities. By which law men suppold, that the ambition principally of certain persons new risen and of the first head, who were wont to haunt fairs and places of great resort for that intent, was repressed and kept under. But the year ensuing, when *C. Marius* and *Cn. Marius* were Consuls, *M. Duellius* and *M. Mæmilius* two Tribuns of the Commons, went through with alaw and gotic ended, which was not so well liked of the Senators, to wit, concerning Utiury, of one in the hundred. But the Commons were so much the more forward an better contented, to grant and accept it. Over and besides those new wars the year before intend-

C, the *Falisci* were declared new enemies: and that, for two quarrels pretended against them; One, for that their youth had served against the Romans under the Tarquinius: the other, because they had not delivered against those Romans which fled unto *Falerii*, after their defeat and unlucky flight, notwithstanding the *Heralds* had made claim unto them and demanded them, This Province fell to *Cn. Marius*. But *Marius* had the leading of an army into the Land of the *Privernats*, which by reason of long peace was unfoiled yet, and in very good state, and thereby enriched his souldiers with good prizes. For, to the plenty and store that there was found, he added his own bounty and liberality: in that he set out nothing for the common Treasury, but favoured the souldiers, and gave them leave to better their own private state. The *Privernats* lay strongly encamped before their own City: and when he had assembled all his souldiers together:

D "Now (quoth he) I give unto you the enemies camp and their City for a booty, so you "will promise to quit your selves like men, and to be as ready to fight as to spoil. Hereupon, with a great cry they call for the Signal of battel: and so advancing forward and exalting themselves bravely and courageously, with assured hope of victory, to battel they go. There, even before the engins in the vanguard, *Sextus Tullius*, of whom we spake before, cryed out aloud, Behold, Noble General (quoth he) how thine army performeth their word given unto thee: and therewith laying down his Javelin, with drawn sword confronteth the enemy. Then follow after *Tullius*, all they that fought in the vanguard before the Standards, and at the first shock put the enemies to flight, followed the chafe and drave them into the Town, And as they were scaling the Walls, the Town was rendred up into their hands. So he triumphed over the *Privernats*. By the other Consul there was no worthy exploit done, but that as he lay encamped before *Surrium*, he proposed a law to pass by the Tribes, (a course never taken before, and without example) concerning a twentieth part or vicimeff, to be levied of their goods that were made free. The Lords of the Senat (because by that Act there accrewed no small revenue to the Exchequer, that was now wanted) allowed thereof and gave their assent. But the Tribuns of the Com, moved not so much at the quality of the law in it self, as at the dangerous precedent given, ordained under pain of death, That no man ever after should in making of laws withdraw the people apart: For, if that were once by law permitted, there would be nothing, were it never so pernicious to the people, but it might be enacted by souldiers, that have sworn to their Consuls allegiance, and were at his devotion. The same year was *C. Licinius Stolo* at the suit of *M. Papius Lenas*, condemned upon his own statute in * 100000 Asles, for that he together with his son, was possessed of a chouldand acres of Land, and under colour of freeing his son, he had deluded the statute in that case provided.

After this, the two Consuls, *M. Fabius Ambulstus* the second time, and *M. Popilius Lenas* the second time made two wars. That which *Lenas* fought with the *Tyburtns* was performed with ease and facility. For having driven the enemies into the Town, he foraged their fields. But in the other war, the *Falisci* and the *Tarquiniars*, discomfited in the first battle the other Consul. Their greatest fear arose upon this occasion. For, their Priests carrying afore them light burning torches, and snakes besides, went after a lunatick and frantick manner, and with so strange and uncouth a shew terrified and disordered the Roman souldiers. And therewithal, at that very instant the souldiers, as if they had been distracted, besides themselves, and astonished, dismayed fearfully and fumbled upon the munitions and fortifications of their camp: But after, when as the Consul, Lieutenants and Colonels mocked and rared them, for being scared like children with these vain bugbears: for shame suddenly they took heart again, and like bold men ran upon those very same things, that before they had fled from. And so after they had dispatched this vain device and preparation of their enemies, they fell upon the armed men indeed, discomfited their whole army and put them to flight: and being the same day masters of their camp, with a rich booty returned victors, both recounting in their military merry ditties and

**A law against
ambitious see-
king for offices
of government.**

**A law against
Usury.**

* 26 lib. St. Petri

c. *Marius* *Rutilius* first Dictator of the Commons.

songs, the foolish preparation of the enemy, and also condemning their own fearfulness. After this, the whole nation of the *Tuicans* arose, having for their leaders the *Tarquinius* and the *Falisci*, and came as far as *Salina*. Against which fearful danger, was *C. Marius Rutilius* chosen, the first Dictator that ever was of the Commons: who named for his General of the Horsemen a Commander likewise *C. Plantius*. But the Senators thought this a shameful indignity, that the Dictatorship also should now be chosen in common: and did all they could possibly to hinder it, that there should be nothing decreed toward the war, nor any preparation made for the Dictator. But to much the sooner, and with more readiness, all that the Dictator proposed, the Commons granted. So he departed from the City, and marched on both sides of the *Tiber* (transporting his army in boats and planks fastened together) to what place soever he heard the enemies were gone: and surprised many foragers of them, as they wandered and straggled one from another, in the fields. He set upon their camp, and won it: and after that he had taken eight thousand prisoners, and either slain or chased all the rest out of the Roman pale: he triumphed, by the suffrages of the people only, without the approbation and assent of the Senators. And for almost as they would not in any case have an assembly for Election of Consuls, held either by the Dictator a Commander, or by the Consul: and because the other Consul *Fabius* was busied abroad in the wars, and not returned: therefore, *Q. Servilius Hala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *C. Sulpicius*, Interregents one after another, *Q. Servilius Hala*, of the Nobles. And when the Tribunes in some variance, for that both Consuls were *Patritius*, of the Nobles. And when the Tribunes interposed themselves, and crossed those proceedings, *Fabius* the Interregent, alleged a Law out of the twelve tables in these terms, That whatsoever the people ordained or granted last, the same should be good, and stand firm and raised: and in suffrages and voices of the people, were comprised their grant and ordinance. But when the Tribunes, for all their gain saying and stepping between, could prevail no more, but to prorogue the Comices for the Election, there were atween, two of the Nobles created Consuls, *C. Sulpicius* *Peticus* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*: who the same day they were chosen, entered into their office. Thus in the 400 year after the foundation of the City, and the 35 after it was recovered from the Gauls, the Commons lost the Consulship again, when they had enjoyed it nine years. And two Consuls of the Nobles, upon the Interregent, began to govern, to wit, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* the third time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*. The same year was *Emphum* won from the *Tyburins*, without any memorable warlike exploit: were it that, under the conduct of both Consuls there jointly together, the war was managed, as some have written: or that about the same time the *Tarquinius* gained the *Tybur*. But more also had the Consuls at home, with the Commons and Tribunes, the Consuls thought now, it concerned them in trust and credit, as well as in virtue and valour, that as they, being *Patritius* both of them, had received the Consulship, so they should make over the same again to twain of the Nobility: and either wholly to give up their interest and title for ever, if to be the Consulship should now become a Commons dignity: or else to keep it wholly in their possession, whereof they were first seized intirely, in right of their ancestors. On the other side, the Commons fumed and stormed in these and such like terms, "What should we live any longer? and why are we accounted citizens? In case, that which was first got by the virtue and power of two only persons, *L. Sextius*, and *C. Licinius*, we cannot now all of us together hold and keep? Certainly, better were we to endure the *KK*, and Decemvirs again, or any other heavier and more fearful name of absolute and Lordly Empire, than to see both Consuls of the Nobility: and that we, may not both rule and obey in turns, but that the one part settled in the place of rule for ever, should think us, the Commons, born for nothing else but to obey and serve. The Tribunes themselves were nothing behind to set forward these troublesome murmurs. But when the people are up once altogether and in commotion, the principal leaders are hardly seen above the rest in the action. And when as they were come down into *Mars* field (sundry times to assembly, by ever to no purpose and effect, and that many Comitial days of assembly were passed over, only in seditious troubles: at the last, the Commons being overmatched through the stiffness and obduracy of the Consuls, took the matter so grievously to the heart, that when the Tribunes brake forth into these speeches, "Now farewell freedom for ever: now are we driven, not only to forbear coming into *Mars* field, but also to abandon and forsake the City, taken captive and oppressed by the Lordly rule of the Nobles, and therewithal departed: the Commons with sorrowful cheer did the semblable, and followed after. The Consuls being thus left destitute of one part of the people, yet nevertheless went through with the Election, as few as they were there remaining. And Consuls there were elected of the Nobility both, *M. Fabius Ambulustus* the third time, and *T. Quintius*. In some annals or yearly records, I find *Coss. M. Papius*: in stead of *T. Quintius*.

In that year, were two wars performed with prosperous success. And the *Tyburins* were sought withal until they yielded. From them was the City *Sassula* won by force: and other Towns had tasted of the same fortune, but that the whole Nation laid arms aside, and submitted themselves to the Consul his mercy. He triumphed over the *Tyburins*: otherwise the conquest was mild and gentle enough, without extremity of execution. But the *Tarquinius* were cruelly dealt withal: and many a man of them slain in field. Of the prisoners that were taken, whereof

A whereof there was a mighty number, there were 358 of the Noblest and greatest Gentlemen chosen out, and sent to *Rome*. The rest of the common sort were put to the sword. Neither sped they better at the peoples hands that were sent to *Rome*. For in the mids of the *Forum*, were they all beaten with rods and beheaded. This execution made quittance with them, for sacrificing the Romans in the market place of the *Tarquinius*. This good success in war caused the Samnites also to seek for peace and amity. Their Embassadors were courteously answered by the Senat, and so upon covenants they were received into society. But the Commons sped not so well at home in the City, as abroad in warfare. For albeit the *Usury* was well eased by bringing it down from twelve to one, in the hundred: yet the poorer people were overcharged with the payment of the very principal, and became bond and thrall to their creditors. Whereby the Commons, in regard of their privat lights, that they were driven unto, never troubled their heads with the making of both Consuls of the Nobles nor with the Assemblies and Elections, nor other publick affairs. Still the two Consulships remained among the *Patritius*. And created there were Consuls, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* the fourth time, and *M. Valerius Publicola*: the second time.

Now when as the City was earnestly amused upon the *Tuican* war, by reason that the news went, how that the people of *Cere*, for very pity and compassion, and in regard also of consanguinity, took part with the *Tarquinius*: behold the Embassadors of the Latins turned them clean against the *Volscians*. Which Embassadors brought word, that there was an army levied already from thence and in arms, even now upon the point to invade their borders: and would from them enter the territory of *Rome*, and spoil as they go. The Senat therefore thought good to neglect neither business, and gave direction, that to both places certain legions should be appointed, and the Consuls to call lots for their several Provinces and charges. But afterwards, the greater care was taken for the *Tuican* war, upon intelligence given by *Sulpicius* the Consul his letters, whose commission was against *Tarquinius*, that the country was wasted and spoiled all about the *Roman-Salinas*, (or Salt-pits) and part of the booties carried away into the confines of the *Caritis*: and that the youth of that people were doublets employed in the driving of that booty. Whereupon *Valerius* the Consul, who was opposed against the *Volscians*, and encamped in the marches of *Tuiculus*, was called back from thence, and commanded by the Senat to nominate a Dictator, Who named *T. Manlius*, the son of *Lucius*, and he taking to him *A. Cornelius Cossus* for his General of the Horsemen, contenting himself with his Consul's army, by the authority of the Senat, and the peoples suffrages, proclaimed war against the *Caritis*, and sent them defiance. Then were the *Caritis* afraid of war indeed, and not afore, as though there had been more force in their enemies bare words, to denounce and signify war, than in their own deeds, who by spoiling and plundering, had provoked the Romans to war. Then saw they plainly that they were overmatched and not able to make their parts good: then repented they that they had made such wast and spoil, cursing the *Tarquinius* for soliciting them to revolt, not one of them making any preparation of armour or war: but every man labouring what he could, that Embassadors should be sent, to crave pardon for their trespass and offence. When their Embassadors were come to the Senat, they were from thence put over to the people. And then they beought the Gods, whose Sacred Images they had received in the French war and devoutly kept and cherished, That the Romans now in their flourishing estate, would take that pity and compassion of them, which they in times past had of the Romans, in their calamity and hard distress. And turning to the chapels of *Vesta*, they called upon the *Flamins* and *Vestal Virgins*, sometime their guests, whom they so chastly and religiously had received and given intertainment unto, saying in this wise, "Would any man believe we had deserved no better, but thus of a sudden, without cause given, to be reputed enemies? Or suppose we had done somewhat smelling of hostility, would any man impute it rather to deliberat counsel, than to some fit of heat and folly? And that we would blemish and mar our own good deeds, especially conferred and bestowed upon to thankful persons, with new misdeeds and shrewd turns? and chide to make the people of *Rome* their enemies now in their wealth and flourishing State, and in their most happy felicity of war: whose friendship in their adversity we had embraced? Beleeving them not to term that considerate advice, which rather were to be called force and necessity. For the *Tarquinius*, say they, passing with a cruel and pusilliant army through our country & requelling nothing but away, had drawn with them some of our rustical Peasants, to assist them only in fetching of that booty, which now so heavily is laid to our charge. Whom if you please to have them yielded, we are ready to deliver them: if to be punished they shall suffer accordingly: most humbly craving, that their City *Cere*, the very sanctuary of the people of *Rome*, the harbour and habitation of their Priests, the place of receipt for the Roman sacred images and reliques they would grant unto them safe from the calamity of war, and exempt from the slander thereof: and the rather for the professed *Vestal Virgins* sake, so kindly interceded, and for the love of the Gods, by them so devoutly honored. The people were moved, not so much with the justice and equity of the present cause, as for their old deserts and good turns to forget rather the harm sustained than the good received. Whereupon, the people of *Cere* were pardoned, and agreed it was that a truce for one hundred years should be registred among the Acts of the Senat. Then were the forces diverted against the *Falisci*, who were tainted likewise with the same offence. But the enemies would no where be found, they wasted therefore all over their confines: & forbore to assault their Towns. So they withdrew their legions to *Rome*. The rest of the year was employed in repairing their walls & Towers: and the Temple of *Apollo* was dedicated.

The Embassadors of *Cere*, to the people of *Rome*.

The temple of
Juno Moneta.

The combat
between a
Gaul and *Vas-*
trius furnam-
ed thereupon
Cervinus.

Among other heavy occurrences of that year, *Ap. Claudius* one of the Consuls, in the very preparation of the wars, departed this life. Whereupon the whole government was devolved up on *Camillus*. To which sole Consul, either for his quality and worthiness otherwise (not meet to be controlled by the absolute command of a Dictator) or for the lucky preface of his name to fortunate in all the tumultuous wars of the Gauls, the Lords of the Senat thought it not decent and convenient that there should be a Dictator adjoined. The Consuls having ordered and appointed two legions for defence of the City, and parted the other eight with the Pretor *L. Furius*, being in mind his fathers valour and manhood, undertook the Gauls war himself, without calling lots therefore: commanding the Pretor to keep the sea-coasts, and to put the Greeks back from landing on the shore. He went himself down into the country of *Pompitinnus*, and because he was not willing to give battell in the champion, unforth thereunto; and thought the enemy might be wearied out well enough by keeping him there, for foraging and fetching in booties, who of necessity was driven to live of prey, chose a convenient place for a standing camp. Where, as they passed the time quietly in their wards, as a felled Garrison: there cometh forth a mighty Gaul in perill tall and beg, for armour brave and glorious: who clattering his shield and spear together, and thereby making flence, gave defiance and challenged by his interpreter the Romans to a combat, man to man. There was one *M. Valerius* a Collonell of footmen, and a very young man, who thinking himself nothing less worthy of that honour than *M. Manlius*, having first known the Consul his pleasure, advanced himself forth apart from the rest, armed at all points. But this conflict (as touching the prowells of themen) was less notable than the other, by reason the hand of God came between and took a part. For as the Roman was ready to joyne and cope, behold suddenly a raven teiled upon the crest his of morion, even full in the face of his enimie. Which at the very full, the Collonell took joyfully as a token of good lucke sent from heaven. Afterwards he praised devoutly, that the God or goddesse whosoever, would be favourable and gracious to that augural fowl, to preserve and forsignifie the future event, would be favourable and gracious unto him. And lo, a prelude to be spoken) the bird not only held the place fitt, which it fitt unto him. And lo, as often as the champions buckled and cloied together, mounting up with the light upon, but also, as often as the face of the enimie, with beak and claws both, so long, until *Valerius* winns made at the sides and the face of the enimie, with beak and claws both, so long, until *Valerius* killeth him. For the Gaul being affrighted at this so strange & wondrous fight, both his sides dazzled, and his mind was mightily troubled. Then the raven took his flic, flew on high quite out of sight, and his mind was mightily troubled. And so the camp on both sides was quiet hitherto. But after that the Colonele began to rise and disarme the body of the slain enemy, neither could the French keep themselves within their Stations, nor the Romans contin, but run with more speed unto their Conquerour champion. And so about the bodie of the Gaul that lay slayne dead, began some skirmish, and thereof grew a sharp and cruell battell: for now not only the companies of the next quarters, and *corps de guard*, but also the whole legions on both sides, came abroad and fought. *Camillus* commanded the soldiery, joyous for the victory of the Collonell, joyous also for the gods, to be favourable and ready to help, for to go to battell: and shewing very often unto them the Collonell, set out bravely and enriched with the spoiles of his enimie, "Follow this brave gentleman, good soldiers (quoth he) and about the dead champion of the Gauls killed their whole troops, and lay them slong. In this fight appeared the help of God and magnificently: and they fought it out with the Gauls, and had no doubtfull conflict & both

αγοής

ous abundance and magnificence (at whole hands but a while before, the nations bordering had craved and begged their aid) to carry with them now so base and broken hearts, as of their own accord, to submit themselves and all they had in the whole world, to the power and devotion of others : were perfwaded now it was a matter of trust and faithfulness, not to abandon and be betrayed, those that thus were reduced under their protection. Neither thought they, that the people of *Sammnium* could in any equity or colour of Justice, invade that land, or assault that City, which was surrendered and annexed to the imperial State of *Rome*. Whereupon presently they agreed to dispatch Embassadors unto the *Sammnits*, who had incharge and commission to make declaration unto them; First, of the Campains petitions: secondly, of the answer of the Senate returned unto them, implying the remembrance of the *Sammnits* amity: last of all, of the Campains surrender. Then to requell and desire them in regard of their mutual society and friendship, to spare and forbear those, that were their vassals, and not with any hostility to invade that territory, which was become subject to the people of *Rome*. If by this courteous dealing they could do no good, then, to command the *Sammnits* in the name of the people and Senate of *Rome*, to abstain from the City *Capua* and the country of the Campains. When these Embassadors debated these matters in the Council House of the *Sammnits*, they returned so stout and arrogant an answer again, not in these terms only, That they would go forward in the war begun, but (that which more was) the rulers coming forth of their Council House, even whilst the Embassadors there stood, called to the captains of the cohorts, and with a loud voice commanded them forthwith to make a rode into the Campain country, for to spoil and fetch booties. This Embassage being returned home again to *Rome*, the Senators setting aside the care of all other matters, sent their heralds to demand restitution: and for default thereof, after the solemn manner to proclaim open war. Whereupon they decreed with all speed possible to propound this matter to the people: and by the consent of the people, both Coss, with two armies departed the City, *Valerius* into *Campania*, *Cornelius* into *Sammnium*: and pitched their tents, *Valerius* at the foot of the hill *Gaurus*, and the other at *Saricula*. The *Sammn* legions presented themselves first to *Valerius* (for that way they supposed all the forces would be bent) for indignation also, against the *Campanians*, because they were so ready one while with their own succours, & another while in fending for the aid of others against them. And so soon as they discovered the Romans camp, in all haste (every one for his part) called lustily to their captains for to strike up and found the battell: assuring themselves, and laying plainly, that the Romans should speed as well in fuccouring the Campains, as the Campains had done before them in aiding the Sidicins. *Valerius*, after he had assuaged the enemies not many daies together, with some light skirmishes, only to make trial of them what they could do, put forth the signal of battell at the last, but first exhorted his soldiers in a short speech in this wise, "That neither this new war nor new enemy should terrifie them: for as much as the far-ther they warred from the City, the more cowardly Nations they were and lesse warlike still: whom they went. That they should not esteem the valour of the *Sammnits* by the late losses & defeats of the Sidicins or Campains: For whoever they be that contend & fight together, one side or other cannot chuse, but go to the walls. The Campains, doubtlesse, had the overthrow: rather through their own effeminate tenderness, as flowing too much in exccesse and superfluity of pleasures, than by their enemies hardiness and valour. And what were two only fortunate battles of the *Sammnits*, in so many ages, to be set against so many honourable victories of the people of *Rome*? Who, from the first foundation of their City, may number more Triumphs well near: than years: who have by war subdued all Nations about them, the Sabines, *Hebrus*, the Latins, *Heinicks*, *Aequians*, *Volcians*, and *Auruncans*. And as they ought to go into the field, every man presuming & trusting upon his own manhood and glorious warfare: should they have an eye, and confider, under whose leading and regiment they were to enter into battell. Whether he were a man that in the hearing of his soldiers, could only make goodly and magnificent Orations, fierce in brave words, void of military works: or he who himself knew how to handle his weapon, to advance before the Standards, yea, and to be employed even in the middle of the battell. I would have you (quoth he) my soldiers, to follow my deeds and not my words, and of me to learn, not only discipline, but also good example. I have not by bribing and seditions, nor yet by courting and Orations (usual matters among Noblemen) but by this right hand of mine, attained unto three Consulships, and to the highest honour. The time had been indeed, when a man might have said thus unto me: No marvel, For why? You were a gentleman of noble blood, descended from those that were the deliverers of their country: & in the same year that the City had first a Consul, this house of yours had the Consulship. But now the case is altered, the way unto a Consulship, is as open to you Commoners, as to us of the Nobility. Now is it not the guerdon of birth and gentry, as aforetime: but the reward and recompence of virtue and valour. And therefore my soldiers, shoot at the highest dignities, and aim at sovereignty and honour. And although they that are men, have by the grace and approbation of the gods, given unto me this new addition of surname [*Cornelius*] yet have not I forgot the antique name of the *Publicians*, appropriat unto our family. I love and ever will (as always I have done) the Commons of *Rome*, at all times alike, both abroad in wars, and also at home in peace, as well a private person, as in my offices, were they little, or were they much: whilst I was Tribune, whilst I was Consul: and no changing have I bee throughout all my Consulships, one after another. Now for this present enterprise (which we are about, with the help of God, & in his name, have a call with

Defiance given by the Romans to the Samnites

A coat of arms of purple or scarlet colour hanging forth at the General pavilion. The exhortation of *Valerius* *Cornelius* to his soldiers.

me for a new and fresh Triumph over the *Sammnits*. Never was there a General more familiar with his soldiers: as willing as the meanest of them, to lay his hand upon any base offices that that were to be done: yea, and in the very training and exercises of the soldiers, at what time as equally their matters of activity and strength, one with another, gently would he otherwise take the toil, as well as the victory, and ever keep one countenance still: not rejecting or refusing any one whatsoever would offer to match him, or be his mate. For deed, benigne and bounteous to his power, and as occasion required: in his words, no lesse mindfull of the freedom of others, than respective of his own place and dignity: and (than which, there is nothing more popular) look by what virtuous demeanour & carriage of himself, he sought to attain unto honours and promotions, with the time he bare them, and went through with them. Therefore the whole army with incredible cheerfulness accepting this exhortation of their captain, issued forth of the camp into the field. Never was there battell fought more indifferently on both sides. Their hope was like, their forces equal, with full trust and confidence in themselves, and yet without contempt of their enemies. The *Sammnits*, for to what their courage, presumed upon their fresh and late achieved acts, and their double victory but few daies before. The Romans on the contrary side, stood upon their honour and reputation for the space of four hundred yeas, and their conquests every since the foundation of their City. Yet they were troubled, both the one and the other, to deal with a new and unknown enemy. The manner of their fight shewed what stomachs they carried. For the conflict was such, as for a good while they seemed on neither part to yield one foot. Then the Consul, seeing they could not by mere force be caused to retreat, thought to set a sudden fear among them: and therefore assailed, by sending in the horsemen upon the foremost ensignes, to break their ranks, and put them in disarray. But when he saw, that in so small room of ground they toiled themselves in vain, and could not well manage their troops and corners, nor break in upon the enemies, he rode back again to the van and forefront of the Legions, and dismounted from his back. "Whether are footmen (quoth he) when all is done, must do the deed themselves. Come on then, and as ye behold me (which waysoever I go) by dint of sword to make way and entrance into the enemies battell: so every man for himself, down with him that stands next in his way. Straightwaies shall ye see, that where as now their spears and pikes stand glittering and bent upon us, there will be a wide lane made over their slain carcases. He had not so soon spoken these words, but the horsemen at the Consul's commandment, ran upon both the wings and points, and made way for the footmen to enter the main battell. First and foremost the Consul in person charged the enemy, and whomsoever he hapned to encounter, him he killed in the place. This goodly fight set the rest on fire: and then every man did his best, laid about him manfully, and carried it afore him right worthily. The *Sammnits* stood to it till and moved not, albeit they got more knocks and wounds than they gave. Thus when the fight had continued a good while, notwithstanding much bloody slaughter about the *Sammnits* ensignes, yet no flying was there on any side: so resolute were they, by death only to be vanquished. Whereupon the Romans feeling their own strength for weariness decayed and spent, and but little day left, inflamed with anger, gave a fresh charge all at once upon the enemies. Then (and not before) began they to shrink and give ground, and incline to flight: Then were the *Sammnits* taken prisoners and slain thick. Few or none had escaped alive, but that the night came so fast upon them, that interrupted the victory, rather then ended the battell. Both the Romans themselves confessed, they never fought with a more stubborn and obstinate enemy: and the *Sammnits* also being demanded the primitive cause, which forced them (so fully bent as they were) to run away at the last, said, that the Romans seemed to have burning fire in their eyes, and to carry in their faces and visages the furious rage of mad and frantic persons: and thereat first began they to be affrighted, more then at any thing else. Which fearfulnesse of theirs, they bewailed not only by the present event of the battell but also by their dislodging and departure away in the night. The morrow after the Romans were walkers of their empty and naked camp: unto which all the whole multitude of the Campains came running in number to rejoice and congratulate their victory.

But this joy had like to have been foully blemished with an overthrow and defeat in *Sammnium*. For *Cornelius* the Consul being departed from *Saricula*, had engaged his army unadvisedly within a forest, through which went an hollow valley or lawn, forlaid on both sides with an embank: neither discovered he his enemies over his head, before such time as he could not retire with his ensignes into a place of late receipt. But whilst the *Sammnits* staid only until he had brought his army fully down into the bottom of the vale, *P. Decius*, a Colonel of footmen, espied in the forest one little high hill, which commanded the place where the enemies lay encamped: and as it was for an army heavily armed, and charged with carriage, hard to be got up unto: so for them that were lightly appointed and burdened, nothing difficult. He perceiving the *Consul* troubled in mind and affrighted: See you not (quoth he) O *Annius Cornelius* yonder hilltop above the encampment? That is the very fortress of our hope and safety, if so be that we can gaine the same lustily, as the *Sammnits* have left it blindly. I require no more of you, but to let me have the *Principes* and spear men of one only Legion. And when with them I have once seized the top thereof, let forward you from hence and fear not, neither make doubt to lay your self and the army. For the enemy being under us, and lying open to all our shot, cannot stir without great losse and present mischief. As for us, either the fortune of the people of *Rome*, or our own manhood shall work

The familiarity of *Cornelius* with his soldiers, and his other good parts.

A cruel battle between the Romans and *Sammnits*.

The policy and valour of *P. Decius*.

virtuals, and was both by their lying before *Suessula*, and also by their long stay there, without fight brought to (scarcely well-need of all things: it was thought good, that whilst the enemies lay within their hold as affrighted, the foeldiers should be sent about the country a foraging. In which mean time they supposed that the Romans likewise, would have spent all, who were either comely appointed, and had brought no more corn with them than they could carry on their backs, besides their armour. The Consul having eluded the enemies stragling over the country, and their guards handsly manned, after a brief exhortation to his foeldiers, led them forth to give an assault upon their camp. Which when they had won at the first shout and onfet, and killed most of the enemies within their tents, then either upon the gates or upon the rampier: he caused the ensignes that he had taken, to be brought together into one place: and leaving there two hundred for a guard and defence, with a slight charge, that untill he came again; they should fight with rifle and mike (spoil), he went forward in order of battell. And when the horfmen which he took out alone, had like hunters driven the scattered Samnites, as it were, within net and toll, he lay upon them and committed an exceeding great slaughter. Forfrighted as they were, they looked neither at what signall they should rally themselves together, nor whether they should make speed to the camp, or the further away. But to great was their fright and flight both, that there were brought to the Consul, 40000 shields, more indeed then there were men slain: besides 17000 signs, together with those that were won in the camp. Then returned he unto the enemies, and belloved the whole pillage there, upon the foeldiers. And such was the happy successe of this war, that it both caused the Falisci being in truce, to sue unto the Senat, for a league: and also turned the Latins, who had prepared their forces already from warring with the Romans, to war upon the Peligni. Neither relted the fame of this so fortunate a victory within the marches of *Italy*: for even the Carthaginians also, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, with gratulation, and present of a golden-crown weighing twenty five pounds, to be set up in *Jupiter's* Temple within the Capitoll. Both Consuls triumphed over the Samnites: and *Decimus* followed after, it goodly to be seen, with his gifts and worthy praises: whilst the foeldiers, as their manner was, with merry jells and rude ditties, magnified and renowned the name of the Colonell no less than the Consuls.

A notable defeat of the Samnites.

A Mutiny and conspiracy of the garrison foeldiers at *Capua*.

After this the Embassadors of the Campains and the *Suessians* had a day of audience: and upon their humble request it was granted, that thither should be sent a standing garrison to watch there, for to stop the excursions and invasions of the Samnites. But *Capua*, even then no good place for military discipline, wrought an alteration in the foeldiers there: who having once got a taste and taken a delight in a world of pleasures of all sorts, quite forgot their own natural country. For they of the garrison, began to lay plots and devise how to get *Capua* from the Campains: even by the same wicked practice, by which themselves had won it first from the ancient possessor and inhabitants, saying, "It made no matter, and they were but rightly served, in case their own precedent lewd example, should return upon their own heads. Again, why should the Campains, not able to defend themselves, nor maintain their liberties and goods, be LL. of the most plentiful country of *Italy*, and of a City answerable and correspondent therunto, rather then the victorious army, which with their sweat and blood had repelled and expelled the Samnites from them? And "was it any reason, that they who had yielded to be vassals unto them, should enjoy that fruitful and pleasant tract, while they themselves wearied with fighting, struggled still and wrestled in pestilent air, and dry barren toll, about the City of *Rome*, and within that City, endured the tedious inveterate and intestine mischief & plague of war, that surcharged them daily more and more! Whilst the projected conspiracies were contrived in secret conventicles, and as yet not broached and divulged to all mens knowledge, the new Consul, *C. Marius Rusticus* came in place: whose lot it was to be LL. Deputy of the province *Campania*, leaving his fellow *Q. Servilius* in the City, who having intelligence by the Captains and Colonels, of all the particularities of those designs: being a wise man, both for his old age and long experience (as who was now Consul the fourth time, and whilst had been Censor and Dictator) thought it best to dissemble the matter, and to make void and frustrate the present heat and outrage of the foeldiers, by deferring and prolonging their hope, as if they might put in execution their plots at their best leisure, whenever they pleased. He raised therefore a rumour, that the garrisons should in the same towns winter again the year following. [For divided they were into sundry Cities of *Campania*: & the web began at *Capua*, was spread from thence through all the forces.] By means of this good respite to bethink themselves and advise of these matters, the mutiny for the present was well quieted. The Consuls then led forth the foeldiers into the summer places of abode and repose, and purpose while he had the Samnites in quietness to cleanse the army by the cashiering & discharging those busie bodies and trouble-some spirits: pretending colourably, and saying, That some of them had served already so long as the law required, others were well now ripe in years, or waxen feeble and their strength decayed. Some had their passports limited, and were sent home: at the first only one singled out, afterwards, certain whole cohorts or bands, as having wintered far from their dwelling places, from their goods and subsistence. Under a pretence and colour also of military services and employments, whilst to me were dispatched one way, some another, a great part of them were rid clean away. All this multitude, the other Consul and the Pretor kept still at *Rome*, devising this craft, and that, of delays and abiding behind. And verily at first, they being not aware of this delusion, were not unwilling to visit home. But after that they perceived, that

The singular policy of *M. Rusticus* the Consul.

neither they who were dismissed first, returned again unto their colours, nor any in a manner discharged else, but such as had lien in winter garrison at *Capua*: and thence especially, who of them were the authors of the conspiracy: first they marvelled, and afterwards feared in very deed, that their complots were revealed and come to light, and that now presently, they should be put to examinations and tortures, abide arraignment and judgement, be executed secretly apart one by one, and suffer the insolent lordliness, and cruel tyranny of Consuls and Senators over them. These and such like speeches sow they and whisper secretly, that were in the camp, when they saw the principal authors of the mutiny, who were the sinews and strength thereof, by the wily policy of the Consul to be dimembered from them. One cohort of them, being not far from *Avus* lay them down at *Lautula*, in a narrow pass or wood between the sea and the mountains, to intercept and stay, whomsoever the Consul sent about this or that pretended business as is above said. Soon were there gathered together a right strong power: and nothing wanted to make a shew of a full army, but only a head and Captain. And disordered as they were, they went robbing and spoiling, as far as the Alban country, and under the hill of long *Alba* they encamp themselves within a trench and rampier. Which work being finished, they spend the rest of the day in consultation about choosing a Commander, little trusting any one there present in place. And who possibly (say they) could be sent for as far as from *Rome*? What Senator or Commander was there, that either wittingly would venture upon so great and dangerous an enterprise: or to whom the cause of an army, enraged upon an injury received, might safely be committed? The next morning, whilst they reasoned still about this point, and sadly debated the matter, some of the wandering and vagrant foragers of the Country thereabout, bring certain intelligence, that *Titus Quinctius* employed himself in husbandry, and held a farm in *Tusculum*, minding neither the City, nor dignities of state and Common weal. This man was come of noble lineage, and having served with great credit and honour in the wars by a wound received, was lame of a leg, and gave over soldiery, determining to lead the rest of his life in the country, sequestered far from all court and ambitious suing for civil offices. They had not to soon heard his name, but presently they took knowledge of the man, and (that which might turn to their good) agreed with one accord, he should be sent for. Small hope there was that he would willingly do any thing: they thought therefore to use force and to bring him to it by fear. So, in the dead time of the night, they that were sent thereto, entered the farm house, and finding *Quinctius* sound and fast asleep, they awakened him: propounded unto him either rule and honour, or else present death: and no mean between, in case he made stay and refused to go with them: and so they baled and brought him to their camp. Incontinently he was saluted L. General at his first coming. And when the man was affrighted at this sudden and wonderful occurrence, they endue him with the ornaments and ensigns to that honor belonging, and will him to lead them as their commander to the City of *Rome*. Thus having plucked up the standards, in this heady fit of their own, rather then upon any advice or counsel of their captain, they march in warlike manner with an army toward *Rome*, within eight miles of the City, upon the causey or street way, now called *Appia Via*: and had approached immediately in that train to the very City, but that they heard there was a power coming against them, and a Dictator created to withstand them, to wit *M. Valerius Corvinus*, together with *Laetilius Mamurcus* General of horfmen. So soon as they were come in interview one of another, and took knowledge of the armor and ensigns: the remembrance of their native country wrought with them straightway a mitigation of their mood. They were not yet so far gone, nor so hardy, as to shed civil blood: neither had they knowledge of any other wars but foreign: and the uttermost rage and maddest fit that ever they proceeded unto, was counted their Section and departure away from their own countyme. And therefore both captains and foeldiers on either side sought means to meet together, and draw to imparle. *Quinctius* for his part, who having had already his hands full of wars in defence of his country, could worse brook taking arms against the same: *Corvinus* likewise for himself, as one that with loving affection embraced all his fellow-citizens, but the foeldiers especially, and above all others those of his own army that fought under his banner, came forth to a parle. And forthwith as soon as he was once known, he had no less reverence done unto him of the adverse part, than silence and audience given of his own men. The immortal gods (quoth he) O foeldiers as well those which are common to you all, as mine own particular patrons, when I took my leave of the City, I adored and worshipped in this wise, craving humbly upon my knees at their hands, to vouchsafe me the honour, not of a victory over you, but of procuring concord and unity among you. Occasions there have been, and will be enow else where, to win glory and warlike renown: From hence, peace only is to be sought. And even that which among my vows that I made I becom to devoutly of the immortal gods, it lieth in you to make me enjoy. Doe but call to minde that neither in *Saunium*, nor among the Volcians ye are encamped, but upon Roman ground: that those hills which ye behold, are the hills of your native soile: this army which ye see, are of your own Countrymen and fellow Citizens: and my selfe your Consul, under whose conduct and Auspice, ye have the year past twice defeated the Samnite legions, twice by mere force won their campe, and driven them out of the field. I am, first, that *M. Valerius Corvinus*, whose

A mutiny and Edition of the garrison foeldiers of *Campania*.

T. Quinctius surprised by the rebels and made their leader against his will.

The Oration of *Valerius Corvinus* to the Rebels.

"nobleſſe yee have had triall of, not by any wrongs done, but by good turnes on your part received. Authour have I been of no proud law, nor cruell Act of Senat againſt you: a man in all my government and rule that I bare, more rigorous to my ſelfe than ſevere to you. And if ever there were one, who might be proud either of Noble race and gentry, or of his own vertue and valour, of majelty and high calling or honourable dignities, of ſuch progenitors am I defended, ſuch proove of powerfull hand given: at that age attained I to Conſular honour, and being three and twenty years old, I was able to have been feared and dread, not of Commons only, but alſo of the Senators. But what deed or word hath paſſed from me in your knowledge, more grievous and odious when I was once Conſul, then all the time I was but a Colonel? the ſame could he ſay I ſtill during my two Conſulſhips enſuing: and ſuch ſhall my carriage be, and none other, whiles I am Dictator: that I will be no more mild and gracious to theſe here above me that are mine and my countries ſouldiers, then to your ſelves affronting; who are, me that are mine and my countries enemies. Ye ſhall therefore draw ſword upon me, before I tremble to ſpeake it forth, mine enemies. Ye ſhall therefore draw ſword upon me, before I draw upon you. The trumpets from thence ſhall begin ſound, the ſhoutings from thence ſhall ariſe, the charge from thence ſhall be given fiſt, if we mult needs go to it and fight. Now, ſind in your hearts (if you can) to do that which neither your ſathers nor grandfathers before you ever could: no, nor they who went away and departed you the mount *Aſcer*, nor thoſe who afterwards held and kept the *Acetina*. Expect, until your mothers and wives, with their hair hanging about their ears, come forth of the City to meet with you one by one, as ſometimes they did to *Coriolanus*. Then, the Volſcan legions were quieted and pacified, becauſe they had one Roman for their leader: will not yet then, being a whole army, all of the Romans, ſurceaſe this unkind and impious warre? And thou *T. Quintius*, howſoever thou art come there to ſtand, whether with or againſt thy will: in caſe there be no remedy, but fight we mult, retire thy ſelfe ſomongt the hindermolt: ſay, with more honeſty ſie thou ſhalt, and ſew thy natural comen a fair paire of heeles, then fight againſt thy country. But ſtand ſtill hardly with honour and credit among the formolt to make atonement: thou ſhalt be a truce-maker in this ſharpley and conference, to all our goods. Ask and have, any reaſonable and indifferent conditions: although in truth we were better to yeeld unto hard and unequal capitulations, than wickedly and ungodly, one to fight with another. *T. Quintius* with teares galling out at his eies, turning to his owne companies: *"And even me alſo (quoth he) O ſouldiers (if need there be at all mee) yee have a much better captaine for peace than I wate. As for him who ever now uttered thoſe words in your hearings, was neither Volſcan nor Samnit, but a Roman, even your owne Conſul ſometime, ſouldiers, and your own Generall heretofore: whole Auſpicate conduſt, you having tried for you, and in your defence: doe not prove now againſt your ſelves to your perdition. Other had the Senate to lend as captaine, who would have fought more maliciously with you: but they have made choiſe of him who above all others, could beare with you, yea, and ſear you that have been his ſouldiers: whom you of all others eſpecially might truſt, as being been your Generall. Peace, yee fee, even they deſire that are to get the victory. And what is it then we ought and ſhould deſire? Why then ſet we not anger and hope aſide, two falſe motives, two deceitfull guides and counſellers; and beſeeke our ſelves and all wee have to a man of approved truſt and fidelity? Theſe words being liked well of all (as appeared by a Generall ſhout) *T. Quintius* went forth before the enſignes in the forefront, and pronounced that the ſouldiers ſhould be at the Dictator his devotion and pleaſure: beſeeching him to conſider and undertake the cauſe of poor and wretched citizens: and having taken it into his hands, to maintain and protect the ſame, according to that faithfullneſſe wherewith hee uſed to governe the Commonweale. As for himſelfe privately, he would not intend ought for his owne ſecurity: neither repoled he hope in any things elſe but in innocency. The ſouldiers indeed were to be capitulate, as once heretofore the Commons, and a ſecond time the legions had done with the Senators: namely, that their revolt and petty rebellion, might not be laid unto their charge, and their hurts and utter undoing. Then the Dictator, after hee had firſt commended *Quintius*, and willed theſe to be content and of good cheer, poſt to the City, and by the adviſe of the Senators, preferred a bill unto the people in the grove *Pelutina*: That the mutiny and inſurrection ſhould turne no man to ſea and danger. He beſought the *Quintius* alſo of this much favour beſides, That neither in fiſt nor earneſt, this ſhould be laid in no mans diſt. The ſame time there was propoſed beſides, a ſacred military law under pain of death. That no ſouldiers name once entered into the muſter after his booke, ſhould be raſed out againſt his will: With this branch annexed ever and beſides, That no man who had been ſervicing a ſenatoll or Tribune, ſhould after have the leading of bands, and be a *Centurion*. This was followed hard and urged by thoſe of the complicity, in regard of one *P. Sabinus*, who in moſt each other year had been either a Colonel, or a chief *Centurion*, whom now they call *Præſepili*. Him the ſouldiers ſpighted much, and were maliciously ſet againſt, becauſe he had alwaies oppoſed*

T. Quintius to his ſouldiers.

T. Quintius to his Dictator.

Military ordinances enacted.

* The next degree to a Colonel.

poſed himſelfe againſt their conſpiracies and innovations, and took not part with them who fled from *Lautula*. But when this one point could not be obtained of the Senat, for the ſavour they bare to *Sabinus*: then *Sabinus* himſelfe beſought the Senators that they would not regard his honour, more than the concord of the whole City: and to as length it alſo was granted and enacted. As unreaſonable a demand was this alſo, That of *horſemen pay*, (and that was triple at that time) ſome *Aſſes* ſhould be deducted, for that they alſo had wiſſed the conſpiracy. Over and beſides, I find in ſome writers, that *L. Genucius*, a Tribune of the Commons, publiſhed this Law unto the people, That *Horſes* might be made altogether unlawfull. Likewiſe in other Acts of the Commons it was provided, That no man within ten years ſpace ſhould be capable of the ſame Office twice: nor in one year bear two Offices: and that both Conſuls might be of the Commons. Which if they all were granted to the Commons, it appeareth that this ſubſtitution carried ſome ſway and force with it. In other Chronicles it is recorded, that neither *Falerius* was choſen Dictator, but that all this buſineſſe was by the Conſuls managed: nor to great a multitude of Conſpirators role, before they came to *Rome*, but even in *Rome* took arms: nor yet that they came by night, in ſorrible manner unto *T. Quintius* ſlarm-houſe, but in the dwelling houſe of *C. Manlius*: and that he was taken up by the rebels to be their General, and from thence went as far as four miles ead, and there encamped in a fortified place: that the motion of Concord aroſe not from the Caprains, but that of a ſudden, when both Armies ſtood arranged in order of battell, they ſelfe to greeting one another: and that the liquidiers began to take one another by the hands and embrace with tears: and that the Conſuls ſeeing the ſouldiers ſo backwark from fight, were forced to move the Senat for an atonement. So as among ancient writers, there is no certainty let down, but that a ſedition there was, and the ſame appeared. But the rumor thereof and the cruel war which the Samnites begun, withdrew certain nations from the Romans ſociety and alliance. For beſides the faithleſſe and untruſty League (a long time) of the Latines: the Privernates alſo with ſudden rodes, invaded and waited *Norba* and *Sessa*, two Colonies of the Romans near bordering and adjoyning.

The Eighth Book

Of the Hiſtories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the Eighth Book.

The Latines, together with the Capuans revolted: and the Latines having ſent their Embaſſadors to the Senat (of Rome) offered and preſented peace, upon this condition only, that they ſhould create one of their Conſuls out of them. This Embaſſie thus declared, Annus the Pretor, who had audience in the Capitoll, going down from thence, took ſuch a fall, that he died in the place. *T. Manlius* caſt his ſword to ſeſe his head, becauſe, contrary to his expreſſe commandment, he had fought againſt the Latines, without ſtanding his good ſucceſſe in that combat. At what time as the Romans were greatly diſtreſſed, and like to loſe the field, *P. Decius* then Conſul, with *Manlius* devoted and offered himſelfe to preſent death, for to ſave the Army: and ſetting fire to his houſe, rode into the miſt of the enemies battell: where he was ſlain, and by his death recovered victory to the Romans. The Latines yielded and rendered themſelves. When *T. Manlius* returned into the City, there was not one of all the youth came forth to meet him, and do him honour. *Minutia*, a profreſſed Veſtall Virgin, was condemned for her inceſt, for incontinent life. The *Aſſonians* being ſubdued, a Colony was planted in *Cales*, and another likewiſe in *Fregelle*. Many Roman dames were deteiled of praſtituting perſon: and moſt of them were forced to drink of their own empoſoned cups firſt, whereof they died preſently. Whereupon was the firſt Law then ordained againſt perſonning. The Privernates, when they rebelled were vanquiſhed, and afterwards ended, which the Burgeſſie of the City of Rome. The Palatians were defeated in battell firſt, and ſier ſiege ſurrendered upon compoſition. *Quintius Publilius*, who blocked them within their wail, was the firſt man that had his Commiſſion renewed, and continued ſtill in government, when the ordinary time was expired: and by means of the Conſuls had a triumph granted unto him. The common people were delivered from the danger of their creditors, by occaſion of the ſickly luſt of one of them, *Lu. Papirius*, who would have forced and againſt nature aſſeſſed *C. Publilius*, a debtor of his. When *L. Papirius* the Dictator was returned from the Army into the City, for to take the *Auſpices* anew, by reaſon of ſome errors ſuppoſed in the ſervice, *C. Publilius* the General of the horſemen ſhewing in his abſence offered the opportunity and advantage of performing a worthy exploit gave battell contrary to his Ediſt, and put the Samnites to the worſe. For which cauſe when the Dictator would ſeem to puniſh him accordingly, *Fabius* made an eſcape and fled to *Rome*. And when his cauſe would not beare him out, he had it pardon: at the worſt ſute and prayers of the people. This booke containeth alſo the fortunate exploits againſt the Samnites.

The Oration
of Annus in
the Senat of
Rome.

"Swer again of the Senat of Rome, that it plainly appeared that they themselves pretended not to require that *Latium* should be under the Roman Empire. Do ye but take upon you, and lay claim unto that which they secretly yield unto you themselves, and repofess it at your pleasure, Now if any man be afraid to be the speaker, Lo here am I, who profess to be the man, and to say thus much, not only in the audience of the people and Senat of Rome, but also of *Jupiter* himself, who is present in the Capitol, namely, That if they will have us to be of the League and confederacy, they shall admit from among us one of the Consuls, yea, and a part of the Senat. As he with great spirit and boldness, not only advised this, but promised also thus to do; all that were present with a general applause, and assent permitted him to do and say whatsoever he thought expedient for the common good of the Latine nation, according to that trust which they reposed in him. So soon as he was come to Rome (with other Embassadors) he was admitted into the Senat, and audience given him in the Capitol. Where when *T. Manlius* the Consul by the authority and direction of the Senators, had dealt with him and the rest, not to make war upon the Samnites their confederats: *Annus* raging like a conqueror, as if he had won by force and arms the Capitol; and not as an Embassador, who was to deliver his mind and message safely, by the protection of the Law of Nations, began in this sort: "The time required (quoth he) now at length, *O T. Manlius* and ye Senators of Rome, not to treat and deal with us in any affairs by way of authority and commandment, namely, when you saw *Latium* by the favour of the gods to flourish exceedingly both in men and munition, as having lubdued the Samnites, confederate with the Sidicins and Campsins, and now also combined with the Volscians; and besides, even your own Colonies and townships too, have made choice to submit themselves to the Latines rather than the Romans. But forasmuch as you cannot find in your hearts of your selves, nor see how to make an end of your proud and outrageous Lordship and tyranny; I We, albeit we are able to restore *Latium* unto her ancient freedom by force of arms, yet for kindred sake will be content to offer indifferent articles and equal conditions of peace, forasmuch as it hath pleased theheimortal gods, that we are equal unto you in power and puissance. *Impiis*, there is no remedy now, but your two Consuls must be one a Roman, and the other a Latine: Item, that the number of Senators be elected as well out of the one nation as the other, Item, that we become one people incorporate, and one Common-wealth. And to the end that there may be one imperial feat, and one name of all, and therefore we or you must needs yield, we are content a God's name (and to the good of both nations may it prove) that this City and State of yours be counted the better and more noble: and let us be called all by the name of Romans. By good hap it so fell out, that the Romans also had for their Consul *T. Manlius* to match him; one as stout and hot as the other: who could not contain his anger no longer, but openly laid, "That if the Senators were so far overseen and besides themselves, as to take conditions of a Setine, he would come with his sword by his side into the Senate house, and what Latine soever he saw there in council, he would not fail but slay him with his own hand in the place. And therewith turning to the Image of *Jupiter*: Hearken (quoth he) O good god *Jupiter*. Hear this wickedness and indignity: hear O Justice and piety to Godward, Wilt thou abide to see, O *Jupiter*, in this thy holy and sacred temple, wilt thou endure, as taken captive and troden under foot, to see Consuls of aliens & a Senat of forreiners: Are these the covenants, O ye Latines, which *Tullus* King of Rome made with the Albans your forefathers? or which *L. Tarquinus* after him, concluded with you? Remember ye not the battel at the lake *Regillus*? Have ye so forgotten indeed, both your own calamities and overthrowes of old, and also the good turns and benefits received at our hands? When this speech of the Consul was seconded with the indignation also of the Senators, it is recorded, that when they called upon the gods, witnesses of those covenants, and reiterated their names oftentimes. *Annus* in mockery of those protestations, was overheard to despise and scorn the power and godhead of the Roman *Jupiter*. But this is certain, that as he in heat of anger, stepped hastily to the entry or porch of the temple, and went up, he fell down the stairs, and so hurt his head that dashed against the bottom stair, that he swooned withall, and lay for dead. But he became all wretches agree not, that he yielded up his last breath thereupon, I also will leave it doubtful, as I find it: as also this, that in the very charging of him with breach of covenants, there poured down a tempestuous storm, with many mighty thunderclaps. For as these and such like things may be very true, so they may be prettily devised and invented on set purpose to represent & shew the wrath and vengeance of God, *Tarquinius* being sent by the Senat to give the Embassadors their dispatch, seeing *Annus* there to lie alone, cried out aloud, in the hearing both of the Senat and the people, and said, "No force, it is well, and as it should be: thus begin and bless, O ye immortal gods, our just and rightful war. Surely there is a God above, there is a power divine and deity in heaven, thou art not a feigned and imaginary god. O mighty *Jupiter*, & not in vain have we hailed thee in this place, as the father both of gods and men. Why say ye then, O Roman Quirites, ye likewise my I.L. of the Senat, to take arms in the name of the gods, having them already as you see to be your Leaders? I for my part shall soon overthrow and lay the Legions of the Latines along on the earth: as ye now see their Embassadors, lying here at the stairs foot. The words of the Consul, received with so great applause of the people, animated and emboldened him in such sort, that had not the careful diligence of the Magistrats been more (who by commandment of the Consul accompanied the Embassadors as they went) than the ordinary safe conduct of the Law of Nations, they had not escaped the rage and fury of the multitude.

The

A The Senat also gave their assent to this war, and the Consuls having levied two armies, and passed through the country of the Marnans and Pelignians, and joyned unto them the Samnites power, encamped themselves before *Capua*, whither the Latines with their allies, were already come together. There, as the report goeth, the Consuls both of them in their sleep had a vision: and there appeared unto them, one and the same shape of a mans personage, much greater and more stately than the ordinary port of men, who should deliver their words unto them, "That the two armies embattelled and affronting one another, the one was appointed as a due tribute to the internal spirits, and to Mother Earth: and of the other, the chief General only, and look of whether army the laid foreign General should devote and offer unto those internal spirits, and to mother Earth, the Legions of the enemies, and his own person withall, that part and that Nation shall have the victory. When the Consuls had imparted one to the other these night-visions, it was thought good and agreed (for to divert and appease Gods anger) that certain sacrifices should be slain, and also if the same shewed in their inwards, as appeared in their sleep, then one or other of the Consuls should fulfill the destinies, and accomplish fatal appointment. When as the answers of the Soothsayers agreed also to that secret religion which was now entered and settled already in their minds, then the Consuls calling together the Lieutenants and Colonels to a Council, and openly declaring before them all the pleasure of the gods (to the end, that the will and voluntary death of one of the Consuls, might not fright his army in the field) they agree between themselves, that of whether side the Roman battallions began first to give back and retreat the Consul of that Army, should devote and betake himself to die for the people of Rome and the Quirites. It was debated also in that assembly, that if ever at any time before there had been war managed by severe rule and government, the military discipline should now be revived and reduced to the old manner and ancient rigour: their care in that behalf was the greater and more redoubled, for that they were to fight against the Latines, sitting altogether to them in language, fashions, armour, and especially above all, in the orders and laws of warfare. For, many a time, in these two armies soldierly with soldierly; Centurion with Centurion, Colonel with Colonel, had sorted and converted together, as colleagues and compeers in the same garisons, yea, and under the same colours and ensigns, by reason whereof, to the end, that by no error the soldierly should be mistaken or deceived, the Consuls made proclamation through the Camp, That no man should fight with his enemy out of his own rank, and place appointed unto him. It followed now, that among other Captains and Cornets of horsemen, which were sent out every way as scouts and espials to discover the coasts, *T. Manlius* the Consul his son, together with the rest of his Cornet and Troup, was passed above the enemies Camp, so near, as he was within an arrow shot of their next *Corps de guard*. In which was quartered the cavalry of *Tusculum*, under the leading of *Geminus Metius* a Knight, both for birth, and also for his noble fears of arms highly esteemed in his country. He spying the Roman horse, and knowing the Cossion, advancing before them, and of especial mark above the rest (for all Noblemen and of quality were well enough known one to another,) What, will ye Romans (quoth he) with one Cornet of horse fight with the Latines and their confederats? What shall your Consuls, what shall two Consular armies do the mean while? Marry (quoth *Manlius*) they will be here time enough for you, and with them *Jupiter* himself, a witness of league and covenants by you broken. *Jupiter* I say, who only can do more than all mens forces in the world. And we who at the pool *Regillus*, have given you fighting your bellies full, will here also quit our selves so, that never after ye shall have any great joy and pleasure to encounter and joyn battel with us again. With that, *Geminus*, riding forth as he was on horseback, a little from his company, Wilt thou then (quoth he) till that day come wherein ye mean, with so great a do to set forward your armies to a general field, break a staff with me in the mean time; that by the proof and event of us twain, it may henceforth appear, how far the Latine men of arms, surpass the Roman? The young man his bloud and courage was soon up either upon anger and choler, or for very shame to refuse the combat, or because God would so have it, and it was his destiny that could not be avoided. Forgetting therefore his fathers commandment, and the express Edict of the Consuls, he returneth on head and rashly, to a single fight: wherein is skilled not much, whether he had the better or the worse, for any great odds thereby in the main trial of the quarrel. Thus when the rest of the horsemen of both parts were retired aside (as it were) to behold some spectacle or running at tilt: in the void place of the plain field that lay between, they ran their horses in full career one against the other, with sharp and deadly spear in rest. *Manlius* with his lance aloft glid over and raised the Morion of his enemy, and *Metius* with his spear lightly touched, and passed by the horse neck. Then having turned about their horses, *Manlius* came upon him first with a second charge, and so redoubled the push, that he thrust the others horse in between the ears. At the smart of which wound the horse reared and mounted with his forefeet, and with great force shaking his head cast his rider, And as he bare his spear and shield, to raise himself from his grievous fall, *Manlius* ran him through at the throat, so that the spear-head came forth at his ribs, and nailed him fast to the ground. And having disarmed & deploied him rode back to his own troop: and both together with exceeding joy hastened to the Camp, and so to the Generals Pavilion, even to his father: full little knowing his fatal destiny, and what was to befall unto him, whether he had deserved praise, or incurred danger of punishment. That all the world, quoth he, (O father) may be persuaded and report truly that I am defended indeed of your bloud, and your undoubted son. Lo here I am, who being

Manlius executed by his own father.

defied and challenged to fight man to man, have killed mine enemy a man of arms: see here thy spoils of him slain and dead. Which so soon as the Cof, heard, presently he could not abide to look on his son, but turned away, and by found of trumpet, commanded the host to a publick audience. Which being assembled in great number. "Forasmuch (quoth he) as thou, T. Manlius, without regard of Cof, authority, or dread of thy fathers majesty and power over thee, against our Edict and express commandment, hast fought with the enemy, and that without thy rank and place; and as much as by in thee hast broken the discipline of war, whereby to this day the State of Rome hath stood maintained, and hast brought me thy father to this hard point, that I must forget either the Common-weal, or else mine own self and mine, we will abide rather the punishment and smart for our own misdeeds, than the whole state, to her so great prejudice and damage should pay for our folly and transgression. A fearful and dolorous example will we afford: but good & profitable to all youth for ever hereafter. As for me verily, both the inbred love and affection of all fathers to their children, and also this shew and proof of thy valour and knight-hood (although seduced with deceitful appearance and vain resemblance of honour) moveth me not a little: but since that, either by thy death the Cof, commands must be established, or by impunity of thy disobedience for ever disannulled, I would not with thee to refuse (if there be any of my blood in thee) but by thy punishment to restore and set up again the military discipline which this day by thy default is fallen down and ruined. Go, sergeant, and bind him to a stake. At this so cruel a sentence, they were all amazed and in an ecstasy, that were present: and as if they had seen the edge bent against themselves, for fear more than for any modesty or reverence, they were quiet. So when they were come again to themselves, as if their spirits had been recovered after some deep impression of a wonder which had astonished them, they stood still with silence: but so soon as the poor wretch his head was chopp'd off, and his blood seen to gush and spin out, then began they all of a sudden to speak freely and complain with open mouth, so as they forbore neither lamentations nor curses: they covered the youth his body with his own victorious spoils, they erected a funeral pile of wood over his corps without the trench and rampiers, set it on fire, and burnt him accordingly: and so with as great love and affection as soldiers could shew, performed their last duty unto him, and solemnized his obsequies. Thus the commandments of Manlius were not only dreadful for the present, but gave an heavy and fearful precedent for the future, to all sovereign Commanders of an Army. Howbeit, the rigour of this punishment made the soldiers more dutiful to their Captains and Leaders: and besides that, the rounds and sentinels, and the set corps de guard, were every where more carefully looked unto and observed: even in the very hazard and extremity also of the battel afterward, that austere severity did much good. For their fight was much like unto a civil war. So little, or nothing at all in a manner, differed the Latines from the Romans Common-wealth, but only in heart and courage.

Aforetime they used Roman long large shields, covering their whole bodies; but in process of time, after that they became Stipendiaries and to take pay, they bare shorter targets. And whereas aforetime they had their battalions thick and close together, like to the Macedonian Phalanxes, afterwards they began to range their battel into bands more loosely and distinctly, and last of all, they were divided into thinner orders and squadrons: every such order or squadron contained threecore soldiers, two Centurions, and one Port ensign. The forefront of the vanguard were javeliners called *Hastati*, in fifteen squadrons, distant some little way one from another: such a squadron had twenty soldiers lightly armed, and all the rest a sort of Targeteers. And those were called light-armed, who carried only a spear or javelin to fight with at hand, and other darts to lance from them aloof. This forefront contained the flower of youths, that grew up as apprentices to war-service. Then followed after them of stronger and riper age, as many bands or squadrons, which were called *Principes*: whom there followed hard at heels, thirty squadrons, all targeteers or shield-bearers, with brave armour above all others. And this battalion of thirty companies, they called *Anteplani* (avant-d'atere) for that the other fifteen orders or bands were placed hard before the ensigns. And of these, every band consisted of three parts: and each of them they called *Primum pilum*, and it was composed of three banners or pannonces: and every such banner contained 186 men. The first Pannone or banner conducted the *Triarii*, who were old soldiers of approved valour: the second, those that were called *Rorarii*, of less puissance both for age and prowess: the third, such as were named *Accensi*, who were of least account and trust, and therefore they were cast behind unto the tail of the battalion. When the Army was thus ordered in battel array into these bands & squadrons, the javeliners foremost of all began the fight: if they were not able to discomfit the enemies, than they with steady footing and soft pace retired back into the void places between the squadrons of the *Principes* who received them: then began the *Principes* to enter into the battel and to maintain fight, and were seconded by the *Hastati* or javeliners. The *Triarii* remained standing all this while firmly, about their ensigns, setting off their left legs afore them at length, with their Targets on their shoulders, and their pikes or javelins sticking on the ground, with their heads somewhat bending forward, much like as if their battel were fortified with a Pallisado or rampier of pales and sharp stakes. Now if those *Principes* had not good success in fight, they retired themselves by little and little from the forefront to the *Triarii*. And hereupon grew the proverb, that when a thing was at a dead lift and in distress they would say, We are come to the *Triarii*. Then the *Triarii* standing up right, so soon as they had received the *Principes* and *Hastati*, into the void place between their files, presently drew in their ranks

A ranks and files close together, and shut up as it were all waies of passage and entrance, and with one main joint and close battalion (as it now there were no more hope behind) advanced toward the enemy. And this most of all feared and terrified the enemies, when thinking to chase those that they seemed to have vanquished, they saw a new battel of fresh men starting up, and the same increased in number.

Now were there commonly four Legions enrolled, consisting of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse to every legion. As many more were added unto them, and those mustered out of the Latines, who at that time were enemies to the Romans, and had ordered their battalions after the same manner in all respects. And they knew well enough that not only enlign with ensign, B all pikes and javelins with pikes and javelins, *Principes* with *Principes*, but one Centurion with another, if the stratagies were not broken, were to encounter. Two *Primipili* or chief Centurions, there were amongst the *Triarii* in the one army and the other. The Roman, of body not so strong and wellset, howbeit a good soldier otherwise, skillful and of great experience: the Latine, exceeding mighty, and a notable fighter of all others. Well known they were unto the other, because at all times they had the same conduct and equal place of charge. The Roman not greatly trusting to his own strength, was permitted even at Rome by the Cof, to chuse unto him a under-Centurion whom he would: who might protect and defend him safe from an enemy that should hap to deal with him hand to hand. And it fortune that the young man by him elected, fought in the throng and got the victory of the Latine Centurion. As for the battel, it was fought not far from the foot of the hill of *Vesuvius*, in the very way that leadeth to *Vesuvius*. The Roman Consuls before they came into the field killed their beasts for sacrifice. And the bowl-pyng Soothsayer (as it is reported) threwed to *Decius* the head of the Liver on the inner side wounded (as it were) and cut off: otherwise in all respects, his sacrifice was acceptable to the gods. As for Manlius, he had as good signs of Gods favour in his, and all as well as might be. That is well expressed (quoth *Decius*) if my colleague speed well, and have good success by his sacrifice, their battels being so arranged, as I said before, they marched into the field, Manlius led the right wing, *Decius* the left. At the first they fought on both sides with equal forces and like courage and heat of stomach. But afterwards on the left wing, the Roman *Hastati*, not able to sustain the violent charge of the Latines, retired to the *Principes*. In which trouble and fearful disorder, *Decius* the Cof, called aloud to *M. Valerius*. "We have need of Gods help (quoth he) O *Valerius*, Where art thou, the publick high Priest of the people of Rome? Come and lay afore me that form of words, whereby I may devote and betake my self for the Legions. The Priest commanded him to put on his long purple robe embroidered before, called *Prætexta*, to cover his head, and to put forth his hand under the said robe at his chin, and standing upon his javelin, with both his feet, to pronounce these words after him as follow: (O Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, O ye Lares and domesticall gods, ye gods Novensiles and Indigetes; ye gods likewise, whose power extendeth over us and our enemies, and O Manes the infernal gods, you I invoke, you I worship and adore, your pardon I beseech and fervour crave, that ye would prosper all power and victory unto the people of Rome and Quirites; and put to fear, fright, and death, the enemies of the people of Rome and Quirites. And just as I pronounce in these words, so for the weal publick of the Quirites, the Army, Legions and aids of the people of Rome, I betake me unto Manes the infernal spirits, and dame Tellus, the Legions and aids of the enemies, and my self after them.) Having made this prayer, he willed the Sergeants or Licitors to go to Manlius, and with all speed to tell him, that his colleague was devoted for the army. Himself girded after the Sabine fashion, and armed at all pieces, mounted on horseback and so rode into the midst of his enemies. Of both armies he was seen to carry with him much more stately and venerable port than a man as sent from heaven to be a satisfaction of all gods wrath, and to turn away all plague and mischief from his own people upon the enemies. All terror and fear he carried with him as he went, and first disordered the ensigns of the Latines in the edge and border of the battalions, and afterwards entered within into the whole army. This was noted and seen most evidently, that F which way so ere he rode the enemies were smitten with fear, as if they had been blatted and struck with some untoward aspect and influence of a planet. But so soon as he was slain and overcharged with shot of darts, presently from that place all about, the cohorts of the Latines (out of all question) as amazed men, fled away and avoided. And therewithal likewise the Romans, as if they had been discharged and freed from their religious fear and scruple of conscience, and as if they had but then and not before heard the sound of the trumpet to battel, began to charge and fight afresh. For both the *Rorarii* advanced forward and ran among the ranks of the *Anteplani*, and thereby re-enforced the *Hastati* and *Principes*, and caused them to fight more stoutly: and the *Triarii* kneeling on their right knee, waited till the Cof, gave them some token to arise. Afterwards in process of fight when in other parts the Latines in their number prevailed, Manlius the Consul, having heard of the final end of his companion, and (and right as piety would) accompanied as well with prayers and tears as with due praises to worthy and memorable a death for a while doubting, whether it were yet time for the *Triarii* to arise. Afterwards thinking it better that they should be relieved in heart and fresh, unto the last push of extremity, he biddeth the *Accensi* from the hindmost tail of the rearward to come forth before the standards. Who so soon as they were come in place, forthwith the Latines, supposing the enemies had done the like, raised their *Triarii*. Who having for a good while fought fiercely and wearied themselves, and either broken their javelins or dulled their points, and yet by meer force repulped their enemies; thinking now all had been done, and

and the victory achieved, as being come as far as to the utmost skirts of the battalions: "Then, H" quoth the Consul to the *Triarii*, life now fresh and lusty as ye are, against the wearied, mindful "of your country, parents, wives and children, mindful of the Consul, who for your victory hath "taken his death. The *Triarii* all hearty & unfeigned, were not so soon risen up, shewing themselves in their bright and glittering armour, but there began on a sudden & unlooked for, a new skirmish and conflict. For they receiving the *Anturiani* between their files, set up a shout and outcry, troubled & disordered the *Principia* of the Latines, gored their faces with their javelins, flew the principal flower and strength of their best & foremost men and passed untouched in a manner through the other bands, as if they had been disarmed: yea, and brake through their pointed and clove battalions, with so great a murder, that scarcely they left behind them a fourth part of their enemies alive. The Samnites also under the foot of the hill, being seen a far off in battel array, more a terror among the Latines. But among all either Citizens or Allies, the especial commendation of that service rested in the Consuls: of whom, the one turned all the threats and dangers from the gods both above and beneath, upon himself alone; the other in that battel shewed such valour and policy, that it is confessed both of Romans and Latines, who have written of that journey and commended it to posterity, that of whether army *T. Manlius* had the conduct, that way doubtless would the victory go. The Latines after their defeat and flight retired to *Minturnæ*: their camp presently upon the battel was won, and many a man there surprised alive and cut in pieces, but the Campains especially. That day could not the corps of *Decius* be seen, for that the night came upon them as they fought for it: the morrow after it was found amongst a mighty company of slain enemies, overwhelmed with swords, darts and javelins: and with all honour and solemnity according to his death performed by his brother Consul were his funerals.

This also amongst the rest, seemeth worth the remembrance and to be inserted in this place, namely, That it was lawful for Consul, Dictator, and Pretor, whensoever they sacrificed and betook to the Devil the Legions of their enemies, for to vow and offer withal, not themselves in any case, but any Citizen whom they would: provided always that he were one of the enrolled legion of the Romans. [And if the man who is thus addicted and destined to death, hap to die, all is well, and as it ought to be: But if he die not, then was the image of him seven foot high or above buried in the ground, and a purging or propitiatory sacrifice was slain in his stead: but wherefore it is chosen that image to be so interred, whether it is not lawful for any Roman Magistrate to set foot and come, But if a man would needs offer and vow himself to death, as *Decius* did; and die not, he shall not purely perform any sacred duty, do sacrifice, either for himself or the City, that hath once thus betaken himself. If he will bequeath and offer his armour to Vulcan, or to some saint whomsoever he listeth, it is permitted and lawful for him so to do, either by way of sacrifice or other offering as he pleaseth. As for the weapon or spear over which the Consul standing on both his feet, made his prayers and invocations, it is not lawful the enemy to seize thereon: but if he forsake to win the same, a propitiatory sacrifice must be offered to appease Mars, with swine, a sheep, and a Bull. And albeit the records both of all divine and humane customs and traditions, make no mention hereof, and are now grown out of use and remembrance, by reason that we prefer new and foreign ceremonies, before the old ancient rites of our own country and ancestors, yet I thought not amiss to make report hereof, even in those very words and terms, as they were used, delivered, and pronounced.

In some writers I find, that the Samnites having waited to see the event of this battel, came to aid the Romans when all was done and past. Also, that there was succour a coming from *Latium* unto the Latines, but not before they had the overthrow: by reason that they spent a great time in deliberation. And when as now the foremost ensigns and some part of the army was gone forth of the gates, and news came of the defeat and slaughter of the Latines; as they turned their banners and returned into the City, it is said, That their Pretor or Provost, named *Mithrinus*, spake these words, "That so small a way as they had gone, must cost them dear, and full sweetly "would the Romans be paid therefore. Such as were remaining of the Latines after the battel, and were scattered asunder in many and divers waies, when they were rallied together, shrowded themselves for safety in the City *Pesica*. Where, in their Councils and assemblies, *Nimfius* their General, averred, and assured them, that *Mars* indeed was common, and the hazard indifferent to both parties, as having made an equal massacre in the one army and the other; and that the bare name only of victory went with the Romans: for otherwise, they carried away with them the fortune of men vanquished, and sped no better than they. For (saith he) The two royal pavilions of their Coe are polluted and defiled: the one with the parricide of his own son, the other for the death of the Coe, who had vowed himself to die: all their forces in manner slain: their Javelineers and principals killed: a bloody slaughter committed both before and behind the Standards: and only the *Triarii* at the last uphonor renewed the fight and set all upright. And albeit (quoth he) the power of the Latines also be shrewdly abated, yet for a fresh supply, either *Latium* or *Volsci* are nearer than *Rome*. And therefore if they to thought good, he would with all speed raise the lusty flower and chosen manhood both out of the Latines and the *Volsicians*, and return again with a fresh army to *Capua*: and with his sudden coming unlooked for, surprise and defeat the Romans, expecting as then for nothing less, than a second battel. So by dispatching his cautious and deceitful letters into all parts of *Latium* and the *Volsician* nation (by reason that they who had not been present at the battel were sooner induced to give rash credit: there was a numerous army in great haste levied, enrolled, and assembled together out of all quarters. This

A This host as it marched, *Torgatus* the Consul met at *Tifinum*, a place between *Sinuesa* and *Adurnum*. And before they could chuse out a plot of ground to encamp in, they bestowed their carriages and baggage on heaps of either side: fell to a battel, presently, and made a final end and conclusion of all the war. For the enemies were brought to low, that as the Consul led his victorious Army to waste their Country, all the Latines yielded themselves to him: and this their rendering the Campains likewise followed. Thus *Latium* and *Capua* forfeited and lost part of their Territories. The lands of the Latines with the Privernates laid the top and the Territory of *Falerii*, which belonged to the people of *Capua*, even as far as the river *Volturnus*, was divided amongst the Commons of *Rome*. Two acres in the Latine Country, with a supplement of three four parts out of the Privernates land to make up the whole; and three acres in the Territory of *Falerii*, with addition of a fourth part to boot for amends, because it was so far off, were assigned for a m.n. The Laurentins only, of all *Latium*, and the horsemen of the Campains escaped this punishment and were exempted from the rest, because they had not revolted. And a decree passed, that the League with the Laurents should be renewed: and from that time, usually every year, is it renewed, after the tenth day of the Latine holidays. Those Campain horsemen were made free denizens of *Rome*, and for a monument and memorial thereof, they set up and fastened a brazen table at *Rome* in the Temple of *Castor*. The people of *Capua* were enjoined to pay yearly to every one of them, (and they were a thousand and six hundred in all) 45. Deniers.

Thus after the war fully determined, and both rewards dealt, and punishment inflicted according to each mans desert, *T. Manlius* returned home: whom the elders only for certain went forth to meet on the way: the youth, not only then, but ever after, during his life abhorred, and with curses detested him. The Antians made certain rides into the Territories of *Hortus*, *Ardea*, and *Sulana*. And for that *Manlius* the Consul was not able himself in person to intend and manage that war, by reason of sickness, he nominated for Dictator *L. Papirius Crassus*, who as it happened was at that time Pretor: by whom was named for General of the horsemen *L. Papirius Cursor*. This Dictator, albeit he kept the field and lay encamped certain months within the Comines, yet achieved no worthy and memorable exploit. After this year thus renowned for the victory of so many and so puissant nations, and withal, for the noble and famous death of the one Consul, and for the government of the other, albeit stern and rigorous, yet notable and renowned; these succeeded Consuls, *T. Amilius Memercurus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, who met not with the like subject and matter of great affairs: and they themselves were more mindful either of their own private business, and studious to maintain a ease and faction in the Common-wealth, than to advance the State of their Country. Howbeit, the Latines (who rebelled for anger that they lost their lands) they did commit in the plain of *Fenestæ*, drove them both out of their Camp, and forced them to leave the field. Where, whilst *Publius* (by whose governance and conduct the victory was achieved) received surrender of the Latines, the flower of whole youth was slain and killed up. *Amilius* led his Army against *Pedum*. As for the *Pedans* they had much assistance from *Tyrrhens*, *Prænestes*, and *Veluterni*, who took their parts: there came also aid from *Lavinium* and *Antium*. Where the Roman Consul, albeit he had the better hand in skirmishes, yet so that there remained behind a new piece of service about the City itself *Pedum*, and the Camp of their Confederates which was adjoynted close to the Town: all of a sudden he gave over the war unfinished, because he heard that triumph was decreed unto his brother Consul. He also himself returned to *Rome*, and called earnestly for triumph before victory. At which untimely and covetous desire of his, the Nobles being offended, denied him: that unless he either forced *Pedum* by assault, or won it by composition he should not triumph. Hereupon *Amilius* being discontented and alienated from the Senat, bare his Consulship afterwards, like to the seditious Tribunes. For so long as he was Consul he ceased not to charge and accuse the Nobles before the people; and his Colleague no whit gainst him as being himself one of the Commons. He took occasion of these accusations upon this, that the lands in the Latine and Falerin Countries, were divided in pinching and scant measure among the Commons. And after that the Senat, desirous to atone the time of the Consuls government, had decreed that a Dictator should be declared against the Latine rebels: *Amilius* (whose turn it was at that time to govern) nominated his own companion in office to be Dictator, by whom *Junius Brutus* was named General of the horse. This Dictatorship was popular: and altogether framed to the humour of the common people: both by reason of sundrous and accusatory Invektives made against the Nobles; and for that it enacted three Statutes, most favourable and pleasing to the Commons, and as cross and adverse to the Nobility: first, That the Acts devised and enacted by the Commons, should bind all the Citizens or Citizens of *Rome*: secondly, That all laws which were proposed, and to pass by the Statutes of the Centuries, before the Scrutiny began, and their voices gathered, the Nobles should show and approve: thirdly, That so far as they were come thus far already, that both the Censors might be of the Commons, now one Censor at the least should be a Commoner of necessity. Inasmuch as the Nobles thought verily that there was more lost at home this year by these Consuls and Dictator, than gained to the Empire abroad, by their victories and warlike exploits.

In the year following when *C. Furius Camillus* and *Q. Minus* were Consuls, to the end that *Amilius* the Consul of the former year, might be more notably reproached for the quitting and letting slip of a victory that should have been achieved in this year, the Senat began to murmur

*45. Denarii, amount to 88 s. 4 d. ob. 4 c.

And the whole of this passage is taken from the original text of Livy, and is not a translation.

therefore a countermine, and platforms, and rolling frames, mounted against the walls but as good hap was by an opportunity that fell out, they had no use of these munitions and fabrics. For *M. Fabius* a Roman prisoner, taking advantage of the negligence of his keepers upon a festival holiday, and making means to break his bonds, let himself down by a long cord, fastened at one end to a pinacle or battlement of the wall, and slid by the arms, among the munitions and fabrics of the Romans: who so perished and prevailed with the General that he caused him to give an assault upon the enemies, now being fast asleep, as having filled their bellies with wine and good meat. So that with as little ado were the *Antoniens* and their City surprised, as they were alone vanquished in fight. A great booty of pillage was there got: and after a garriſon placed at *Cales*, the Legions were brought back to *Rome*. The Consul by decree of the Senate triumphed: and that *Aspidius* should not be without his glory too, both *Coff*, were appointed to lead forth an Army against the *Sidicins*: but before they went, they were appointed by a decree of the Senate, *L. Emilius Mamercus* to be Dictator, to hold the election of Consuls. Who named *Q. Fulvius Philo* for his General of horsemen.

In this Election, holden by this Dictator, there were created Consuls, *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*, Who albeit there remained some part behind of the *Sidicins* yet to the intent they might gratify the Commons by some good turn, and prevent their longing before they spake themselves: proposed an Act concerning the bringing of a Colony to *Cales*: and when as the Senate had ordained that two thousand and five hundred men should be enrolled and assigned thither: they created Triumvirs for to bring them thither, and to divide the lands, namely, *C. Duellius*, *T. Quinctius*, and *M. Fabius*. After this, the new Consuls having received the army of the old, entered into the enemies confines waiting all before until they came to the very walls of their City. Now, for that the *Sidicins* had assembled a puissant army, and seemed themselves fully resolved and bent upon utter despair to put all unto the last adventure, and to fight it out to the last man, Moreover, because it was notified that all *Sammum* was risen up in arms: by authority from the Senate the Consuls appointed *P. Cornelius Rufinus* Dictator, and *M. Antonius* was nominated General of the horie. But hereupon grew again another scruple, that there was some error escaped in the creation: so they resigned up their places, and because there ensued also a plague hereupon (as if all their Auspices for Elections of Magistrates had been touched and infected with that error: and default) the managing of all affairs fell to an Interregis. Which being now ended upon by the fifth Interregis, *M. Valerius Corvinus*, then Consuls were created, *L. Corneliust* the second time and *Cn. Domitius*.

When all things else were at quiet, the rumour of the Gauls war was so ripe and hot, that it was taken for a very Tumult, Whereupon it was thought good, that a Dictator should be created. And *M. Papirius Crassus* was nominated who had *P. Valerius Publicola* for General of the horsemen. When they had mustered the soldiers more thoroughly and with greater regard than would have been for wars near hand, the espials who were sent out, brought word that all was well and quiet among the Gauls. But suspected it was that *Sammum* now the second year was ready to drop out of their allegiance and seek a change. Whereupon the Roman Army was not withdrawn out of the *Sidic* in country. Howbeit the war of *Alexander* King of *Egypt*, drew the *Sammis* into the *Lucans* country, which two nations uniting their forces, gave the King a battle, as he made rodes from *Pessus*. In which conflict *Alexander* having got the upper hand, entered into a League and amity with the Romans: although it was much doubted with what faithfulness he would observe the same, if all his affairs prospered as well. The same year was a solemn Levy or Numbering of the people of *Rome* held: and the new Citizens were matriculated and enrolled: and therefore two Tribes were annexed, *Alia* and *Capia*: the Levies that ordained them: were *Publ. Philo* and *Sp. Posthumius*. The *Acerrians* became Roman Citizens, by an act proposed by *L. Papirius* the Praetor: by virtue whereof they were enfranchised Denizens: but without the privilege of giving voices. These were the acts for this year both at home and abroad.

The year next following (were it through the unkind distemperature of the air, or by some wicked practise of man) was inauspicious when *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *T. Veturius* were Consuls. I find the surname of this Consul to vary in divers Chronicles, in some *Flaccus*, in others *Pinus*. But it matters not much whether be true, I his rather I could willingly have wished (and yet all Authors do not record it) that it had been falsely recorded. That those perils by sorcery and poison were made away, whose death hath defamed that year with the note of a pestilence. But yet is the thing is left in writing, I purpose to deliver it: lest that I should seem to derogate ought from the credence of any writer. When as the chief personages of the City died upon like diseases, and after one and the same manner of symptoms a certain chamber-maid presented her self to *Q. Fabius Maximus* (being for the time an *Edile* of State) and professed to know the cause of that public and contagious malady: if she might be assured by faithful promise from him: that by the utterance thereof, she should not come to harm nor trouble. Forthwith *Fabius* delivered this matter to the Consuls: and the Consuls made relation thereof to the Senate: by the consent of which State assurance was made accordingly unto the party aforesaid, to reveal the matter. Then she declared that by the lewd and malicious wickedness of women the City was thus afflicted: and namely, That certain Dames of *Rome*, even their own wives, boiled and tempered rank poisons, (to kill their husbands) and if they would follow it presently they might be taken to the manner. So they went straight-wies with the wench, and found some women as they were

seeing

A seething and preparing venomous drugs, yes and some poysoned confections already put up. Which were brought into the market place, and about 20. of those dames, with whom the poysons were found, were sent for by a Sergeant. Two of them *Cornelia* and *Sergia*, both noble women born, stoutly standing upon these terms, and stiffly avouching, That they were forever innocent innocents and whosoever for the body of man were by the chamber-maid aforesaid consuted, and enjoined to drink thereof, that they might disprove her, and make her a liar, and to have devised of her own fingers ends this false slander. Who took a time to commune and confer together, that the people were avoided aside to make them way. Now when as in sight of all the World, these two Dames had propounded the matter to the rest there in place, they also refused not: and by having drunk the poysoned potion, they all perished by their own mischievous practise. Then presently were their complices apprehended, who detected and discovered a great number of other Wives: of which 170. were condemned. Never afore that day was there any inquisition nor procces at *Rome*, about poysoning and sorcery. So as the thing was taken for a prodigious wonder, and imputed rather to their minds, beloveted and bewitched, then to any felonious intent of theirs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City, calling to mind and searching the old Chronicles, found, that in times past, at what time as the Commons in a mad fit withdrew themselves and departed the City: there was a spike or great nail driven and fixed by the Dictator: and that the minds of the people, which by discord had been distracted and out of their right wits, were by that ceremonial satisfaction, brought again in good tune: and therefore it was thought good, that for the salting or sticking up of such a nail, there should a Dictator be created. So *Cn. Quintilius* was nominated, who named *L. Valerius* General of horsemen, who so soon as the nail was fastened, gave over their places.

Consuls then were created, *L. Papirius Crassus* the second time, and *L. Plantius Vindex*. In the beginning of which year, there came from the country of the *Volscians* as Embassadors to *Rome*, the *Fabratens* and *Lucans*, making request that they would take them into their protection, promising that if by them they were defended from the forces of the *Sammis*, they would become loyal and obedient subjects to the people of *Rome*: Then were Embassadors sent from the Senat, to give commandment to the *Sammis*, to forbear doing any violence upon the borders of those nations. Which embassy sped well and took place: not so much for that the *Sammis* desired peace, as because they were not as yet ready prepared for war. The same year began the *Privernatus* war. The confederates whereof, were the *Fundans*, and their Leader likewise a *Fundan*, one *Virginius Vaccus*, a man of great name and reputation, not only in his own country, but also at *Rome*. His dwelling house stood sometime in mount *Palatine*, even the very same, which after the building was pulled down, and the ground forfeit and confiscated, was called *Vaccus Prata*. Against whom as he waited and spoiled far and near the *Setin*, *Norban* and *Coran* countries, *L. Papirius* went forth with a power, and rested noisier from his very camp. But *Privernus* neither had the wit to keep himself within his trench against a mightier enemy, nor yet the heart to encounter far from his fort. But having put his soldiers in battle array, before they were all well out of the gate of the camp, whilst the soldiers had more mind to flee backward, then march forward and encounter the enemy: without either advice or confident courage he fought: and with as little ado, and without any question of the matter he was vanquished: so by reason of the shortness of the way, and the ease retire into the camp to heer, he found no great trouble to save his soldiers from much slaughter. For in the very conflict, few or none in a manner were slain, and not many in the preps of the rout and tail of the flight, at what time as they rushed into their camp. And in the beginning of the night, the army thus discomfited, made haste to *Privernum*, there to defend themselves within a wall rather than a trench. *Plantius* the other Goff, having from *Privernum*, overrun and foraged the territory, and driven booties away, conducted his army into the *Fundan* country. The Senat of the *Fundans* as he entered into their confines met him, saying: "They were not come as Orators to entreat either for *Privernum*, or for those that took his part: but for the people of the *Fundans*: who that they were innocent and not culpable for this war, *Privernus* himself hath plainly proved and declared, in that he chose *Privernum* to be his place of retreat and refuge, and not the City *Fundi*, the very place of his nativity." And therefore at *Privernum* the enemies of the people of *Rome* were to be fought for and pursued, who unmindful of both their own countries, had revolved as well from the *Fundans* as the *Romans*. As for the Citizens of *Fundi*, they were at peace with *Rome*, nay, they were *Romans* in heart, and carried thankful remembrance of a benefit received: they entreated therefore and besought the Consul to forbear hostility with a guiltless people: assuring him that their Lands, their City, their own Bodies, their Wives and Children were and should be at the devotion of the people of *Rome*. The Consul after that he had commended the *Fundans*, and sent letters to *Rome* that they remained firm and fast in their allegiance, turned his way to *Privernum*. But before he dislodged (as *Cladius* writeth) the Consul executed those that were the heads of the conspiracy, and three hundred and fifty of those rebellious conspirators were sent prisoners to *Rome*. But the Senat accepted it not, and were not content with that submission, as judging the *Fundan* people, desirous to be excused and discharged, with the punishment of the needy and base sort of people. Now when as *Privernum* was besieged and invested with two Consular Armies, the one of the Consuls was called home, to hold the Election of Magistrates. That year were elected in the great race called *Circus*, the Barriers from whence the horses and their charriots are

* The rumour of the Gauls war, was ever taken for a Tumult (quasi tumultus) and supposed more dangerous than any ordinary war.

* *Fasti Ital.*

let forth, when their prizes. But before they were well past the care of the Privernats war, there arrived a terrible and fearful brute of the Gauls war, which never was regarded slightly of the Nobles of Rome. Inconveniently therefore the new Consuls, *L. Emilius Mamercus*, and *Cn. Plautius*, on that very day, namely, on the * *Calends of July*, wherein they entered their offices, were commanded to determine and agree between themselves upon their Provinces: and *Mamercus*, who had the charge of the Gauls war, levied and enrolled an army without allowing any immunity and exemption from warfare. Moreover and besides, even the poor handicrafts men and artificers, such as keep their shops, and live by sedentary occupations, a sort far unfit for martial service, are said to have been called forth, and prest to the wars: and a mighty army was assembled and met together at *Veii*, that from thence they might march to encounter the Gauls: For it was thought good that they should now go farther forward, for fear lest the enemy taking another way, might deceive them and march directly to the City of *Rome*. But a few days after, when it was known for certain that all the trouble and fear for that time was overblown, they diverted their forces from the Gauls, and bent all against *Privernum*. But the issue hereof is reported two manner of ways, some write that the City was forced by assault, and that *Privernus* came alive into their hands: others, that before the utmost extremity of assault was used, they of their own accords, carrying before them white wands in token of peace, yielded themselves unto the Consul: and that *Privernus* by his own Country men was rendered and delivered unto him. The Senat being moved, and their opinion asked concerning *Privernus* and the Privernats; sent for the Consul *Plautius* to triumph, after that he had dismantled the walls of *Privernum* and there placed a strong garrison: and they gave order in the mean time that *Privernus* should be kept fast in prison until the Consul return, thence to be whipped and put to death. They appointed also that his habitation in *Palatium* should be pulled down, and his goods consecrated to their Lord *Semo Sancus*. And look what money [of brass] was raised thereof, it served to make brazen round Plates, which were offered and set up in the Chapel of *Sancus* towards the temple of *Quirinus*. Touching the Senat of the Privernats, thus it was decreed, that every one of the Senators calling, who remained at *Privernum* after their revolting from the Romans, should in the same condition and state as the Veliterns, be confined beyond *Tyberis*, and there dwell. These Aeds being thus set down, there was no more talk of the Privernats until the triumph of *Plautius*. After the triumph, the Consul having executed *Privernus* and his complices, supposing now that he might safely propound the cause of the Privernats, to the LL. of the Senat, whiles they were newly satisfied with the execution of the guilty offenders. "Since that (quoth he) my LL. of the Senat, the principal authors of this revolt and rebellion, have both at the hands of the immortal gods, and at yours, suffered now already condign punishment: what is your further pleasure, and what shall be done with the innocent and harmless multitude? For my part verily, although I be rather to demand your opinions than deliver mine own: yet seeing the Privernats next neighbors unto the Samnites, with whom we now at this time entertain a most uncertain and slippery peace, I would have as little grudge and rancor left as may be, between us and them. As the question in it self was doubtful and ambiguous, whiles men gave advice some to proceed cruelly, others to deal gently, according to each man his nature and inclination: so, there was one of the Privernat Embassadors that made it more doubtful, and put all out of square: a man mindful of that state wherein he was born, more than of his present need and extremity. Who being demanded of one (that had spoken to the point, and delivered some sharp sentence and heavy sentence against them) What punishment he judged the Privernats deserved? Marry (quoth he) that which they deserve, who deem themselves worthy of liberty and freedom. At whose stout and arrogant answer, when the Consul saw those to be more eagerly and bitterly bent, who before impugned the cause of the Privernats: to the end that he himself by some mild and gentle demand might draw from the party more modest language: What (quoth he) if we should remit and pardon your punishment: what kind of peace might we hope to have at your hands? If (quoth he) ye offer us good peace, ye shall find it on our part loyal and perpetual: but if ye tender hard conditions of peace, ye shall have it left but a small while. But then one gave out, that the Privernat began to threaten plainly: and said moreover, that such speeches were enough to stir up any peaceable and quiet people to war, that never thought to have fought. But the better part of the Senat drew forth his answers to a better sense, and said that it was the speech of a man, and of a man free born. For, was it credible (quoth they) that any state, nay, any particular person, would longer abide (than needs he must) that condition which he himself and goeth against his stomach? There only is peace sure and like to hold, wherein men are contented and will ing to keep themselves in peace: and never let men look or hope to find faithful loyalty, where they will impose thraldom and servitude. And to this purpose the Consul himself especially moved and inclined their hearts, reiterating these words to the Senators that were first to give their opinions, and that so loud, as he might of many more be overheard. That they above all other, and none but they indeed were worthy to be made Roman Citizens: who minded and esteemed nothing in the world, but their freedom. Whereupon, both in the Senat they obtained their suit: and also by the authority of the LL. a Bill was exhibited to the people, That the Privernats might be enfranchised Romans.

The same year were three hundred sent as a Colony, to inhabit *Astur*: and had two Acres of ground a peece allowed them. The year following was memorable in no respect, either of home

A home affairs of forraign, in the time of *P. Plantius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* Coss. Only this fell out that year, that in *Fregella* (which sometime was in the territory of the Siditins, and after, of the Volscians) there was a Colony planted and unto the people there was given a drible of distribution of raw flesh amongst them, by *Atinius Flavus*, at the funeral of his mother. Some there were that thought, how under a colour of honoring his mother, he destroyed and paid unto the people a deserved hire & reward, in that when he was by the Aediles arrested & brought to his answer for adultery committed with a Dame or married Wife in the City, the people had by their voices acquit him. This drible given for a favour paid at his trial, was the occasion also of a dignity following: for in the next Election, notwithstanding he were absent, he was preferred to the Tribunship of the Commons, even before those Competitors that were present in place.

There fell sometime the City *Palapolis*, not far from thence whereas now *Naples* standeth. In those two Cities, one and the same people inhabited, defended and deriving their beginning from *Amur*, and the Cumans fetch their off-spring from *Chalcis* in *Euboea*. With that fleet where, in they sailed from their own country, they were able to do much at sea, and were mighty upon those coasts where they dwelt. And first landing in the Islands *Stenaria* and *Puteusula*, afterwards they adventured to seat themselves in the main and continent. This City relying and trusting in their own power, as well as presuming upon the faithless and disloyal society of the Samnites with the Romans, or bearing themselves bold upon the rumor that ran of a pestilence that rained in the City of *Rome*, wrought much mischief and hostility against such Romans as inhabited the Campania and Faern Countries. Whereupon, when as (in the time of *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Quintus Publilius Philo* Consuls, the second time) there were Factions fell to *Palapolis*, for to demand restitution again, and a proud answer returned back from the Greeks, a Nation more stout and valiant in tongue then in deed and execution: by the authority of the Senat, the people decreed, that there should be war made upon the *Palapolitans*. And when as the Consul had divided their provinces between themselves, it fell to *Publius* his turn to war upon those Greeks. *Cornelius* with another army was opposed against the Samnites, if they should hap to fly any way. For the report went, that they looking and expecting assuredly the revolt of the Campanians, would encamp neerer and join with them. There, *Cornelius* thought it best to keep a standing camp. The Senat was certified from both Consuls, That they had small hope of peace with the Samnites. *Publius* gave intelligence, that two thousand Nolan soldiers, and four thousand Samnites, were rather by the compulsion and importunity of the Nolans, than with the good will of the Greeks, received at *Palapolis*. At *Rome* it was for certain known, that in *Samnium* there were new mutters taken by the Magistrates direction, and that the whole country, and the people adjoining, were raised, and out in arms. Moreover, That the Privernats, Fundans, and Formians were without all dissimulation solicited and moved to rebel. Upon which causes, it was advised by the Senat, first to send Embassadors to the Samnites, before they made war: and from them they had an insolent answer, and they themselves made quarrel, and charged the Romans with wrongs offered first: and nevertheless they justified themselves for any thing by them done, and answered all objections that were laid against them full stoutly. "Namely, that the Greeks

were not aided by any public counsel or order of theirs, nor yet were the Fundans and Formians by them solicited, as who need not be ashamed of their own power, but thought themselves sufficient enough to war if they listed. Thus much moreover, they could not dissimble, but speak it out in plain terms, That the Nation and Senat of the Samnites take it in ill part, that the people of *Rome* had re-edified and repaired *Fregella*, a town by them conquered, and won from the Volscians, and by them laid ruinat: and not only so, but they had placed a Colony also in the Samnites Country, which the inhabitants called *Fregella*. Which continually and reproachful injury, unless they that were the authors thereof would do their best to abolish and cancel, they would with all their might and main repell it from them. And when as the Roman Embassador made a motion, and would have had them to put the matter for to be decided unto the common Confederates and friends of both parties: What double and indirect dealing is this (quoth the Samnites?) What juggling is here to no purpose? As for the quarrels and differences between us (O ye Romans) neither the babbling words of Embassador, nor yet any days-man or arbitrator, but the very Campaign field, wherein we must encounter in earnest, even dint of sword, and the spears point, and the doubtful chance of battle shall determine. And therefore encamp we between *Capua* and *Suessula*, in the sight of one another, and let us then try the issue, whether Samnite or Roman shall be Lord of *Italy*. The Embassadors of *Rome* made answer, that they were not to go whether the enemy called them, but whither their General and Captains led them. In this mean while *Publius* had already got a convenient piece of ground, between *Palapolis* and *Naples*, and thereby impeached the enemies of the mutual intercourse of succors from the one to the other, which they had used reciprocally, as either place had need, and was distressed. Therefore, when as the time of Election of Magistrates at *Rome* drew on apace, and expedient it was not for the Common-weal that *Publius* (now approaching neer the enemies walls, and ready to assault) should be called away from the hope which daily he had of winning the City: the Tribuns were dealt withal, to propose an Act unto the people, That when the time of *Pub. Philo* his Consulship should be expired, he might in quality and name of Proconsul, remain in government until the war with the Greeks were fully ended, and unto *L. Cornelius* were letters sent, implying thus much. That whereas it was not thought good, that

he now being entred into *Saminius*, should be called away from the chief push of the war, he should nominate a Dictator to be President of the Election of Magistrates: Who named *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and by him was appointed for General of horse *Sp. Postumius*. Yet for all this, was no assembly for the said election, holden by the Dictator. For it came in question, Whether he were rightly created or no. And the *Angurs* being hereabout consulted with, pronounced; "That the Dictator seemed not created aright. But the Tribuns discredited and made suspicious; and infamous, by their accusatory speeches, this their sentence and declaration, saying, That neither it was safe to know the fault and error in the creation, seeing that the Consul nominated the Dictator in the beginning of the still night, neither had the Consul written to any man publicly or privately thereof, nor yet was there any person could come forth and say, that he either saw or heard ought, that might not interrupt the Auspices, nor yet could the *Angurs* sitting at *Rome*, guess and divine, what error had happened to the Consul in the camp so far off. And who saw not (say they) that the *Angurs* found fault herewith, because the Dictator Elected was a Commoner? These and other such allegations were (to no purpose) by the Tribuns given out. For the matter grew to an interregnum, and the forelaid Election being still put off and adjourned for one cause or other; at length the fourteenth Interregnum, *L. Emilius* created Consuls, *C. Postumius*, and *L. Papirius*, (surnamed *Macilanus* or *Curser*, as I find in other Chronicles.

In that year it was recorded, that the City *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was founded: and that *Alexander* the King of *Epirus* was murdered by a certain *Lucan*, a banished person, to verify the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodoneus*, which had foretold his death. For when he was sent for into *Italy* by the *Tarentines*, he had warning given him, [To take heed of the *Acherusian Water*, and the City *Pandusia*, for there it was his destiny to end his days:] and therefore, with more speed he passed over into *Italy*, to be as far off as might be, from the City *Pandusia* in *Epirus*, and the river *Acheron* which issuing out of *Molossia* into the lower Meers and Lakes, discharge it self, and falleth into the *Theoprotian Gulf*. Howbeit (as commonly it is seen when men seek mozt to flee and avoid their fatal death, they run headlong and plunge themselves into it) he, having oftentimes vanquished and overthrow the legions of the *Brutians* and *Lucans*: won by force *Heraclea* Colony of the *Tarentines*, and *Consentia* in *Lucania*, and *Sipontum*, and also *Acerria* a Colony of the *Brutians*, and other Cities afterwards of the *Messapians* and *Lucans*: sent into *Epirus* three hundred Noble houses and families, whom he meant to keep as hostages: he encamped not far from *Pandusia*, a City situate near to the Confines of the *Lucans* and *Brutians*. And there he held three his somewhat distant asunder, from whence he might make excursions and rides into every part of his enemies country: and he had in ordinary about him almost 200, banished men of the *Lucans*, for his sure trusty guard: who notwithstanding (as the natures are of such for the mozt part) changed with every wind, and carried mutable minds according to the variety of fortune. Now it fell out so, that the continual rains which overflowed all the fields, had foreclosed and stopped the passages three ways between his armies, so as they could not help one another: whereby these two garrisons where the King was not in person, were surprized by the unexpected coming of the enemies: who having put them all to the sword, turned their whole forces to besiege the King. From whence, there were by the *Lucan* exiles, messengers sent to their own countreimen: whom the name of the rest capitulated, that if they might be restored again, they would deliver the King either dead or alive into their hands. Howbeit he himself with an elect number of men, made noble and hardy adventure, and brake through the midst of the enemies: and encountering the chief Commander of the *Lucans* hand to hand, killed him outright: and having rallied his men neart together, who were scattered asunder in fight, he came at length to a river, which by the fresh ruins of a broken bridge, that the violence of that water had born down, shewed passage. Which as the army passed over at an unknown and blind foord, one souldier wearied with heat and travel, cursing and detesting the unlucky and abominable name of the River, returned to say, Thou hast not thy name? *Acheron* for naught: which word when it came once to the King's ear, he presently began to think and muse of his final end; and there stayed still in a deep suspense whether he shall pass over or no. Then *Scipio*, one of the Kings servants and liegemen, asked him why he lingered and made delay, being in so great a peril and jeopardy as he was? and shewed him withal, how the *Lucans* intended to play false with him, and sought opportunity to forelay and do him a mischief. With that the King looked behind him, and espied them afar off in troop coming against him: whereupon he drew his sword, put his horse to it, took the River, and rode through the midst thereof; and when he was now so far passed that he was ready to take the land, one of those banished *Lucans* landed a dart aloof at him, and struck him quite through. Whereupon he fell down dead with the dart sticking in his body, and the stream carried it down as far as to the *Corps de guard* of the enemies. Where his breathless corps was shamefully misused and mangled. For they having cut it cross the middle, sent the one half to *Consentia*, and kept the other with themselves still, to practise a thousand villanies upon it. And as they shot and flung stones at it afar off, a certain woman being amongst this outrageous multitude (raging beyond all measure of anger and malice that mans heart can devise or believe) after she had besought them to forbear a while, with her eyes gushing out tears full unto them, That her husband and children were prisoners, and in the hands of the enemies: but she hoped with the Kings body, howsoever it were abused and martyred, to redeem them again. This

* A river of anguish and pain.

* corpse.

slayed them from farther mangling thereof: Thus all that was left of the Kings body, by the means of one only woman, was burnt at *Consentia*: and his bones sent back afterwards to the enemies unto *Metapontum*, and from thence conveyed to *Epirus*, unto *Cleopatra* his wife, and his sister *Olympias*; whereof the one was sister, the other Mother to *Alexander* the Great. Thus much concerning the woful and unhappy end of *Alexander* the King of *Epirus*. Whole *Albania* fortune albeit was such, that he came short, and was cut off before he intermedd in the Roman war, yet because he warred in *Italy*, let it suffice that briefly by the way I have touched his story.

The same year there was a Levellment at *Rome*, (which was the first after the foundation and Building of that City) for the pacifying of the same gods as heretofore. Afterwards the new Consuls by the ordinance and direction of the people, sent defiance and proclaimed war against the *Samnites*. And as they themselves made greater preparation every way than against the *Greeks*, so they had besides new aids, whereof (as then) they least thought of: The *Lucans* and the *Apulians* (nations which to that day had no dealing nor commerce at all with the *Romans*) became their friends and loyal Allies, offering men and munition toward that war. Whereupon they were by some of Covenant and league entertained and received into their amity. At the same time also the *Romans* had good success in the *Samnites* quarters: for three towns there yielded unto them, and they became Masters thereof, to wit, *Alife*, *Califis*, *Raffinum*: all the territory besides at the first coming of the Consul, was pillaged and spoiled far and near. These exploits thus prosperously achieved, the other enterprise also of besieging the *Greeks*, was well followed and at the point of an end. For over and besides, that by certain sconces and blockades between the enemies forts and forces, one part was cut from the other; they endured also within their own walls, much more misery and calamity, than the enemy menaced and threatened without: and as if they had been captives to their own garrison souldiers, whom they had called to them for their defence, they suffered infinite villanies, and indignities in the persons as well of their wives as of their children, and even the hardest extremities, that follow upon Cities torched by the enemy. And therefore when it was noised abroad, that there were new succours coming from *Tarentum* and the *Samnites*: they supposed that for *Samnites*, there were already within their walls more of them than they would marry, as for *Tarentines* they looked willingly for their help, as *Greeks* both the one & the other, hoping by their means that they might as well withstand the outrages of the *Samnites* and *Nolans*, as the *Romans* their open and professed enemies. Last of all, of many inconveniences that they were driven unto, the least and easiest was thought, to yield simply unto the *Romans*, *Cherilus* and *Nymphis* two great men and the chief personages of the City, having laid their heads and plotted one with the other, so parted the matter between themselves, that the one should flie unto the Roman General, and the other stay behind, to find some opportunity, and minister ready means to render the City according to their designation. *Cherilus* was the man who presented himself unto *Philo*, and said unto him, "To the good and happy fortune be it said and done of the *Palaeopolitans* and the people of *Rome*, I am determined to deliver and surrender the City into your hands: in which Action, whether I may be thought to have betrayed or saved my country, it resteth only in the trust and fidelity of the *Romans*. As for myself privately, I am come neither to indent, nor yet to crave ought at all: but publicly in the behalf of the City, I would rather by way of petition request, than article and capitulate, thus much, That if this enterprise intended, speed well and take effect, the people of *Rome* would think and consider, in what affection, endeavour and jeopardy, our City returneth again into their amity, rather than upon what folly and rashness, it brake their allegiance and revolted. Then, after he had been bidden welcom by the General, entertained with good and gracious words, and highly commended, he received 3000, souldiers, to keep, surprize, and to seize that quarter of the City, where the *Samnites* were lodged, and which they held: of this regiment and garrison, *L. Quintius* a Colonel had the conduct. During this time, *Nymphis* also did his parts and dealt so creditably under hand with the Pretor of the *Samnites*, that he induced and wrought him to this point, That for as much as all forces, were either about *Palaeopolis* or in *Saminius*, he would permit him with the fleet to call about to the Roman coasts, for that he intended to forage and waste, not only the maritime parts, but the territories also adjoining to the City: and the better to deceive the enemy (quoth he) I had need to go by night, and therefore the Ships presently must launch forth, and be let aloft. And to effect this more speedily, all the youth of the *Samnites* besides the necessary garrison of the City, was sent to the shoar. Where whiles *Nymphis* in the dark, and amongst the multitude that hindered one another purposely, spent time in letting compassedly, some to this and others to that, *Cherilus*, according to the compact before, was by his associates received into the City: and having filled the highest places of the town with Roman souldiers, commanded to set up a shout, whereat the *Greeks* upon a secret token given them by their Captains, kept themselves still and quier. The *Nolans* then, at the backside of the town, escaped and fled by the high way, that leadeth to *Nola*. And the *Samnites* being excluded out of the town, as they had a more readier mean to flie for the present, so they found it, after they were past danger, a more shameful disgrace. For, they were disarmed and naked men, they had left all the good they had amongst the enemies, and returned home spoiled, naked and needy and served for a laughing stock and derision, not only to other nations, but also to their own neighbors and countreimen. Albeit I am not ignorant that there is another opinion

opinion, whereby it is given out that *Palapolis* was by the Samnites betrayed: yet as I have credited and followed herein such authors, as me thinks it they should not deliver a truth; for so I am induced the rather to believe that the Neapolitans returned into amity with the Romans, because of the league extant in their name (for unto them afterwards the State and chief fear of the Greeks was translated.) Unto *Publius* was decreed a triumph, for that it appeared clearly and was believed constantly, that by his siege the enemies were tamed, and so continued to come to a composition and surrender. Two special favours hapned to this man above all others before him, namely the prerogative of his government, not granted to any man a lifetime; and triumph after his Magistracy was expired.

Upon the tail of this war, arose another with the Greeks of the other tract or coast. For the Tarentins having born the Palapolitans in hand a good while, and fed them with a vain hope of help, when they heard once that the Romans were possessed of their City, complained themselves like men forsaken, and not as those who had forsaken others, much blaming the Palapolitans, and with anger and envy raging against the Romans. Disquieted also they were, for that news came that the Lucans and Apulians (for both these nations that year began to contract alliances) were under the protection of the Romans. For now (say they) they are well near come unto us, and shortly we shall grow to this pass, that we must acknowledge the Romans for our Lords, or have them our heavy friends. And verily the trial and hazard of our estate, dependeth only upon the Samnites war; and the event thereof, which nation alone, and the same nothing mighty, remaineth now: since that the Lucans are gone and re-joined to the Romans: who yet might be reclaimed and moved to shake off the society with the Romans, if any fear were wrought and practised to some discord and dissention between them. These devices and overtures took place and prevailed with such, as were desirous of change and novelty: in so much as certain of the Lucan youth (better known, than trusted and reputed honest, amongst their countrymen and fellow Citizens, hired also for a sum of money) whipped one another with rods, came naked into the assembly of the Citizens, and with open mouth cried out aloud and said, that for presuming only to come into the Roman camp they were by the Consil, thus scourged, & escaped narrowly the losing of their heads. The thing it self piteous and unmeetly to behold, as bearing a shew rather of wrong done unto them, than of any malicious & subtil practice by them intended, stirred the people up, for e their Magistrates with their uncallant out-cries to assemble a Council. Some standing round about the Senate in council, call hard for war against the Romans: others run up and down to raise the multitude of Peasants to take arms; and in this stir and uproar, which was able to disquiet and amaze even those that were well minded, a decree passed; that the league with Samnites should be renewed, and Embassadors dispatched forthwith, to the same purpose. This was a sudden change; and as it had no colour of cause for carried final credit with it amongst the Samnites, who forced the Lucanians to give hostages and to take garrisons into their fortresses: and they, blinded with anger, and inveigled with flattery, refused nothing. But shortly after began the fray to appear and then it self manifest, after that the authors and devisers of these false surmises and flanders, were retired to Tarentum; but having put themselves out of all, and being not at liberty to dispose of their own affairs they had nothing else left them, but like fools to repent in vain.

That year hapned to the Commons of *Rome* another beginning of their liberty: in that they were no more either bound in chains, or held in thralldom by their creditors, which privilege against poor debtors was altered, by occasion of the filthy lust and notorious cruelty of one *Ulfior*. And *L. Papius* was the man unto whom *C. Publilius* for his fathers debt became bound, and consigned him; this prisoner, who a tender age and lovely favor which might and should have moved pity, inflamed the mind of this Ulfior to unkind lust and shameful contumely: for making full accounts that the prime and flower of his youth should satisfy and pay for the interest of the debt, he first began to allure and entice unto him the youth with wanton & unchaste speeches; afterwards feeling that his ears abhorred to hear such filthiness, he set to minatory words, & ever and anon put him in mind of his present condition wherein he stood; but lost of all perceiving by him, that he stood more upon his honor and freedom by birth, then respected his hard estate by fortune, he caused him to be stripped naked and whipping him to be beaten unto him. The poor stripping thus piteously rent and torn, ran forth into the open street, complained of the filthy lust & cruelty of his creditor. Whereupon a number of people, kindled as well with pity and commiseration of the stripping, and indignity of the injury, as also in regard of their own ease, and of their children; came running into the *Forum* a common place, and so from thence in a long train to the court of the Council. The Consils upon this sudden uproar were forced to call a Senate; and as the Senators entered into the Council chamber they lay all prostrate at their feet: as they passed by, one after another, & showed unto them the young mans back and sides in what it king they were. And that one day, by occasion of the outrageous enormity of one person, broke the neck of that mighty bond, whereby, that day the creditors had their debtors in danger unto them. For the Consil, had in charge, to propose unto the people, that from thence forward, no prison whatsoever, unless he had committed some heinous fact, and until he were to suffer therefore, should be either kept in fetters and givens, or stretched upon the rack, *Ita*, that for less money, the goods of the debtor and not the body should be obliged. So that wher ever in bondage became released and enlarged: and order was taken for the time to come, that none should be imprisoned by their creditors again.

The same year, whilst the Samnites war of itself alone, besides the sudden revolt of the Lucans, together

A together with the Tarentins the hatches thereof, held the Senators of *Rome* in care and perplexity enough: behold over and above all these, the Veltin people, as a succedent to their troubles, joined and banded with the Samnites. Which new occurrence, as for that year it rather maintained this discord amongst men in their ordinary way every where, than minitied cause of serious debating in public Council: to the Consils of the year following, *L. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Jun. Brutus Scaevola*, thought no one thing more important than it, and needful to be treated of in the Senate, with the Consil. And albeit the thing were but new, and a breeding, yet so greatly were the LL. hereabout troubled, that they feared needs to begin to take in hand, then to neglect it altogether, and not to see it: doubting, lest if they were let go unpunished, the neighboring nations would grow too lusty and proud: and again, if they seemed to chastise them by war the rest for fear of the like measure, might be provoked to anger, take arms, and enter into a general rebellion. And all, and every one of them, namely, the Marians, the Pelignians and Marrucians: were in terms of arms comparable and equal to the Samnites every way which nations they might be sure to have their enemies, if they medled with the Veltins, and troubled them once never to little. Howbeit, that part prevailed and took place, which for the present seemed to carry more courage and valor, than sage advice and wisdom: but the ill use and event showed, that Fortune favoured Fortune. So the people by authority and direction of the Nobles decreed war against the Veltins: the charge whereof might by lot upon *Brutus*, and *Sannius* fell to *Camillus*. To both places were the armies conducted: and by the care and industry employed in the defence of the marches and frontiers the enemies were impeached: or joining their forces together, Howbeit the Consul *Lucius Camillus*, who had the greater and weightier charge laid upon him, turned to failgries only sick, and thereby could not follow the wars: who being commanded to nominate a Dictator, for to manage and conduct his affairs, declared the noblest warrior in those days, *L. Papirius Cursor*: by whom *Q. Fabius Rutilianus* was named General of the army, a couplet of great name and highly renowned for their worthy acts, at which in this government: but yet more famous and voiced abroad, by reason of variance and discord which fell between them: whereby they grew well near to the utmost terms of contending one another in all extremity. The other Consul warred with the Veltins many and sundry ways, but evermore with like fortune and happy success. For he foraged and wasted their country: and by piling, rising, and turning their houles and corn, forced them against their wills into the field: and in one battle to enciebed and abated the forces of the Veltins (but not without bloodshed of his own men) that his enemies not only fled into their camp; but also as not trusting now to their ramparts and trenchess, they were constrained to steal away into their towns, minding for to save themselves, as well by the natural situation of the places, as the strength of their good walls. In the end, he made a flank upon those walled Cities, purposing by force to win them. And first he gained *Caserta* by scaling, either through the exceeding courage of his soldiers, or their anger, being so chafed as they were at their hurts received: for that first they escaped out of the throng and skirmish, clear & not wounded. Then he likewise took *Crotona* and gave the pillage of both Cities to his soldiers. Neither gates nor walls could stand in their way and keep them out. But into *Sannium* the journey was undertaken by the Dictator with doubtful auspices and uncertain knowledge of the will of the gods. The default and terror whereof, took not effect in the main event and issue of the war, (for it was prosperous and fortunate) but turned to the rage and anger of the chief leaders, who fell out deadly one with another. For *Papirius* the Dictator, advised by the *Pullarius*, that had the custody and charge of the sacred Pullets, went back to *Rome* to take the *Auspices*, or the preface by the bird-flight again: and straightly charged his General of horse to keep himself close within his hold, and in no wise to give the enemies battle during his absence. But *Fabius* after the Dictators departure, advertised by the epicals that the enemies were even as careless as loose and disordered, as if there had been no Roman in *Sannium*: whether it were, that being a stout and lusty young Gentleman he took some scorn and thought it an indignity, that all should seem to rest in the Dictator only: or that he was induced with the good opportunity of doing some brave exploit (I wot not) but he went forth with an army in order of battle to *Interbrinium* (that was the places name) & there fought a field with the Samnites. But such was the happiness of this battle, that if the Dictator himself had been there in person it could not have been better managed. For neither Captain failed his soldiers, nor soldiers their Captain. The horsemen also under the leading of *L. Corninius* a Colonel by his place, (who sundry times charged and recharged again and could not with force break the enemies arrays) unbroke their horses, and so ran them off on the spur; that no strength was able to abide them: such an havoc, such a lane made they all about over armour and men. The footmen following this hot charge of the horse, advanced the engines against the enemies thus put in dismay: and twenty thousand men (by report) were that day slain. In some authors I find, that twice in the Dictators absence he fought, and twice had the upper hand. But in the most ancient writers I read but of one battle. In some Chronicles the whole matter is pulled over and let out clear. The General of the horse, having gained a mighty mass of spoil, as otherwise he could not chuse, upon so great a slaughter & miscre gathered together into one heap all the enemies armor made a fire under, & burned them: were it that he had made some such vow to one of the gods: or as I list rather to believe, it was a motive of *Fabius* himself, that the Dictator should not reap the fruit of his glory, and entitle his name thereto: in pomp carry those spoils before him at his triumph.

More-

The Oration
of Q. Fabius
to his fellow
soldiers.

Moreover, the letters of this victory by him sent to the Senat, and not a word thereof to the Dictator, were some proof, that he was not willing to impart and communicate his praises with him. But certainly, the Dictator took the matter in too ill part, that when every man else was joyful for this noble victory achieved, he only shewed anger and sadness in his very countenance. Whereupon suddenly he dissolved the Senat, and departed in great haste out of the court, giving out and often iterating these words: Then hath the matter of horsemen in deeds well exerted and overthrown, both Dictators Majesty and military discipline, as defeated the Samnites legions, if he can go clear away and escape unpunished, with so manifest contempt of my express commandment. Whereupon, full of threats and indignation, he halted to the camp, and took long journey: yet could he not prevent the bruit of his coming. For, there were Ventrurers that I polled from the City before, to bring word that the Dictator was coming, full of revenge, and let upon punishment, and at every second word almost, commending the late exemplary justice of T. Manlius. Then Fabius immediately calling an audience, beought the souldiers, that with what valour and vertue they had defended the Common-wealth from most deadly and mortal enemies, with the same they would protect him from the outrageous cruelty of the Dictator, himselfe (I say) by whose conduct and fortune they had gotten so glorious a victory. "For now, coming he is (quoth he) for envy out of his right wits, and beside himselfe: for anger at another mans manhood and felicity, furious and horn-mad: and all is no more but this, that in his absence, forsooth, we have lived well: who witheth rather in his heart, if he could change the course of fortune, that the Samnites had won the victory than the Romans: and nothing is for to rise in his mouth, as, That his commandment was contemned: as who would say, he forbad not batell with the same mind, wherein he now grieveth that we have fought. For as then his will was good, even for very envy to hinder and suppress the prowels of another, and went about to take weapons away from most forward souldiers, desirous of fight, that in his absence they might not lay hand to their sword: so now, see how he fretteth and fureth in great choller at this, that without L. Papirius the souldiers were not disarmed, dismembered as it were, and maimed: and for that Q. Fabius forgot not his place, but bare himselfe as General of the Cavalry, and not as a Servant and follower of the Dictator, standing at recit, and waiting at an inch when some under Captainship would fall, that he might step into the place. What would this man (think ye) have done, how would he have fretted, if (as the fortune and I doubtful chance of war oftentimes goeth) he had been put to the sword and lost the day: who now that the enemies be vanquished, the field is well fought, the State so well served, as by the most singular Captain in the world, better it might not be, thus menaceth execution to me the General of the horse, even in the honour of my conquest? Neither is he (my matters) cruelly bent and set upon mischief against the General of the horse more then against the Colonels, the Centiniers and common Souldiers: nay, he would (be ye sure) if he had been able, have ragged and lured as bitterly, yea, and executed his ire and furious rage upon all. But because he cannot, now he dischargeth his gall upon me alone. For even as envy, like a flaming fire, fear-cheth and mounreth up to the highest, to runneth he upon the chief Captain, and aimeth at the head of this worthy exploit. If he had once extinguished him, together with the glory of M. this brave service, then like a Conqueror and Lord over a poor captive army, whatsoever he might by law execute against a General of the Cavalry, he would attempt and extend, upon the simple souldiers. Make reckoning therefore, that instanding safe to me and in defence of my cause, ye uphold the liberty of all. For in case he shall perceive once, the same agreement of the army in the maintenance of the victory, which was well seen in the batell, and that ye all have a care and regard of the life and safety of one, his stomach will come down, his heart will relent and incline to clemency, and a milder sentence. To conclude, I recommend my life, and whole estate to your vertue and faithful protection. Then from all parts of the audience they cried unto him aloud & bade him take a good heart: for so long as the Legions of the Romans were safe, there should no perion do him harm or injury. Soon after came the Dictator, and presently by found of trumpet summoned a general assembly. And the publick Crier after an Orie made called by name for Q. Fabius General of the horse. Who so soon as he was come from a lower place where he was, and approached neere the Tribunal, (then quoth the Dictator) "I demand of thee Q. Fabius, since that the rule of the Dictator is soveraign and highest above all others, whereunto the Consuls erdined with kingly puissance and government, do obey yea, & Prætors created with the same authority that Consuls are: whether thou esteem it meet and right, that a General of horse should be obedient to his commandment or not demand likewise, whether I myselfe knowing that I took my journey and went from home with doubtful and uncertain auspices, ought to have put the mainstate of the Common-wealth in hazard against the order and religious observance in that behalf: and not rather, to go again to take new Auspices, that I might adventure & attempt nothing so long as I stood in doubt of the grace & favor of the gods? And withal, this I demand, whether the General of the horsemen could be feared, exempt & discharged of that scruple of conscience, which checked and stayed the Dictator from execution of his charge? But what mean I to make these demands? seeing that if he had departed without saying one word, yet thou shouldst have famed thy opinion and applied thy mind according to the interpretation of my will and pleasure? Why sayest thou nothing? Answer me I say, Forbad I thee not expressly, so do any thing in my absence? Forbad I not thee to fight with the enemies? How

Interrogato-
ries tendered
by the Dicta-
tor to Q. Fabi-
us.

A "How dost thou in contempt of my commandment, whiles our Auspices were uncertaine, & whiles our consciences were unrevolved and with scruples troubled, against Military customs & statutes, against the discipline of our ancestors, and against the will and direction of the gods: how durst thou, I say, be so hardy as to encounter with the enemy? To these interrogatories make answer directly. Answer I charge thee, to all these points, and nothing but these, and at the peril of thy life, not a word besides. Now come Sergeant and do thine office the while. To which severall Articles, when Fabius could not readily answer point by point, one while complaining that he had him for his accuser, who was the judge of his life and death: other whiles crying out aloud, that sooner might his life be taken from him, than the glory and honor of his Backs: and as he justified and excused his own self, so he began again to challenge and accuse [the Dictator.] Then Papirius being in more heat of choler than before, commanded the General of the horsemen to be stripped out of his cloaths and uncased, and the rods and axes to be brought forth ready. With that, Fabius calling earnestly for the help of the souldiers, whiles the officers were a tearing and renting his cloaths from his back, made means to retire himself into the ranks of the Triarii, who began already to make a mutiny and uproar in the assembly. From whence there arose an outcry over all the audience. Some were heard to intreat, others to threaten. They who threatened to stand next to the Tribunal, because that being within the view and eye of the Dictator, they might be known and noted, beought his Majesty to spare and pardon the General of the horse, and not with him to condemn the whole army. They that were farthest off in the skirt of the assembly, and especially that troop and company about Fabius, rated and cried out upon such a rigorous and merciless Dictator. And a little thing more would have made them mutiny: nay, within the very compass of the Tribunal all was not clear and quiet. The Lieutenants or Colonels of whole legions, standing about his seat or chair of state intreated him to put off the matter until the morrow: to give his choler some time to cool, and allow space and respite to consider of it with advice and counsel: saying, "That if Fabius had plaid a youthful part, he had paid sufficiently for it already, and his victory had received disgrace and dishonour enough. Befeeching him not to proceed to these extremities of utmost execution, nor to let such a brand and note of ignominy and shame upon the young Gentleman himself, so rare and gallant a Knight: or on his father, a most honourable and excellent personage, nor yet upon the noble house and name of the Fabii. But when they saw how little they prevailed by their prayers, and as little by any reasons they could alledge: then, they admonished him to have a regard to the furious assembly of the souldiers: and that it was not for a man of his years and wisdom, thus to put more fire to the hot stomach of Souldiers enkindled already, nor to admit of a more matter of mutiny: and if such a thing should happen, no man would impute the blame to Q. Fabius, who fought and humbly craved pardon of punishment, but to the Dictator: if he overcame with choler, should blindly so far pass himselfe in wilful peevishness, as to provoke the outrageous multitude against himself. Finally, that he should not think, how they laboured thus for any affectionate favour they bare to Q. Fabius; but were ready to take an oath, that they thought it not safe for the State and Common-wealth, that he should proceed at such a time, to execute the rigor of Justice upon Q. Fabius. By these and such like remonstrances, when as the Lieutenants had stirred up the Dictator his blood against themselves, rather then pacified his mood against Fabius, they were commanded to go down from the Tribunal. And when as the Crier had assayed to make silence all in vain, for that by reason of the noise and tumult, neither the Dictator his voice nor any of his apparitors and heralds about him, could be heard, the night came upon them and ended the contention, as it had been a batell in field. The General of the horse was commanded to appear on the morrow. Now when as every man gave it out and avouched unto him, that Papirius would proceed more vehemently, for that contesting of the Lieutenants, and that the more he was dealt withal, the worse he was: Fabius privily stole out of the camp and fled to Rome. And by the means of his father M. Fabius, a man who had been already thrice Consul and Dictator, the Senat was called together immediately. And as he was in the midst of his grievous complaints before the Lords, touching the violence and wrong of the Dictator, at all a sudden, there was heard before the Council House door, a great noise and hurrying of the Lictors, whiles they made way and voided the prels, And no marvel: for the Dictator himselfe was come with a revenging mind. For so soon as he had heard how Fabius was departed out of the camp, he followed after with his light horsemen. Then began the bruit to be renewed afresh, and Papirius called Fabius to be attached. Whereupon the chief of the Nobility, and the whole body of the Senat began to enterpole themselves by way of mediation: but all their intreaty notwithstanding, he perished fill in his implacable anger. Then stepped forth M. Fabius the father, "For as much as (quod he) neither the authority of the Senat nor mine old age whom you seek to make childless, nor yet the valor & noble courage of the General of horse by your own self cholen and nominated, can prevail; nor any humble prayers, which are able to appease the fury of the enemy, my oftentimes yea, and to pacify the wrath and indignation of the gods: I implore the lawfull help of the Tribuns and to the whole body of the people I appeal. And since that you challenge and except against the judgement of your own army, and of the Senat, I offer and present unto you that judge, who only is of more force and puissance; I am sure, than your Dictatorship. I will it, whether you will yeeld to this appeal, whereunto the Roman King Tull. Hostilius give place. Then out of the Council house they went straight to the Common place of audience: and

M. Fabius
the Dictator.

and when the Dictator, attended with some few, was ascended up, and the General of the Cavalry accompanied with all the whole troop of the chief of the City, *Papirius* commanded that he should come down or else be fetched from the *Rafra*, unto the lower ground. The father followed after him. "Well done (quoth he) in commanding us to be brought thither: from whence we may be allowed to speak our minds, if we were no better than private persons. At the first there passed no continued speeches so much, as wrangling and altercation. But afterwards the voice and indignation of old *Fabius*, surmounted and drowned the other noise: who greatly blamed and cried out upon the pride and cruelty of *Papirius*. "What man (quoth he) I have been also a Dictator of *Rome*: my self, and yet was there never so much as a poor Commoner, no Centurion, nor Souldier hardly entreated or misused by me. But *Papirius* seeketh victory and triumph over a Roman Grand Captain and General, as over the Leaders and Commanders of his enemies. See, I see, what difference there is between the government in old time, and this new pride & cruelty of late days. *Quintus Concinnatus* Dictator for the time, proceeded no farther in punishment against *Manlius*, when he was fain to deliver him lying enclosed & besieged with in his own camp, but to leave him as a Lieutenant in stead of Consul, in the army whereof he had charge. *M. Furius Camillus*, not only for the present tempered his choler toward *L. Furius*, who in contempt of his old age and authority, had fought most untowardly and with dishonor in the end; and wrote nothing to the people or the Senat but well, of his Colleague: but also being returned, made a special reckoning of him above all the Tribuns consular, whom also of all his colleagues, when as he had the choice granted him by the Senat, he elected to be his coadjutor in the charge of his government. Neither the people verily, whose power is sovereign over all, were ever more angry against those, that through rashness and want of skill lost whole armies, than to fine them at a sum of money. For the loss and mis carriage of any batel, that a General should be brought into question and answer for his life, was never heard of to this day. And now, rods and axes, whipping and beheading, are prepared for the Commanders under the people of *Rome*, and those who are conquerors and have deserved most justly triumphs; which by no law can be offered to those that have been vanquished. What else I pray you) should my son have endured, if he had beately suffered the field to be lost and his army withal? He had been discomitted, put to flight, and driven clean out of the field, how far forth further would the Dictator his ire and violence have proceeded, than to scourge and kill? And see how fit and seemly a thing it is that the City for the victory of *Q. Fabius*, should be in joy, in processions to the gods, and thankgivings, with congratulation and feasting one another and he himself by whole means the Temples stand open, the Altars smook with incense and sacrifice, and are heaped up again with vows, oblations, and offerings, to be stripped naked, to be whipped and torn in the fight of the people of *Rome*, looking up to the Capitol and the Caffe, lifting up his eyes to the gods upon whom in two such noble batels he called and invoked, not in vain nor without good and happy success? With what heart will the army take this, which under his leading and conduct, and under his fortune, achieved victory? What lamentation will there be in the Roman camp and what rejoicing on the other side amongst the enemies? Thus farred this good old father, thus pleaded he by way of expostulation and complaint, calling upon God and man for help, and withal embraced his son in his arms, and shed many a tear. "On the one side, there made with young *Fabius*, and took his part, the majesty and countenance of the Senat, the favour and love of the people, the assistance of the Tribuns, and the remembrance of the army absent. On the other side were alleged against him by *Papirius*, the invincible government and Empire of the people of *Rome*, the discipline of warfare, the Dictator's commandment (observed and revered at all times, no less than the Oracle & will of the gods) the severe edicts of *Manlius*, whose fatherly love and affection to his dear son was (as he beheld the service and common good of the State, also it was alleged, that the same exemplary justice, *L. Brutus* the first founder of the Roman liberty, executed in his two sons; and now mild and kind fathers, indulgent and fond old men in the case of contempt of other mens commandment, give liberty to youth, and pardon as a final matter, the overthrow of military discipline. Howbeit, he for his part would persist in his purpose still, nor remit one jot of condigne punishment to him, who contrary to his commandment and notwithstanding the trouble and confusion of religion, and the doubtful *Auspicia*, had given batel, saying, That as it was not in his power to abridge any jot the majesty of that State and Empire, for being everlasting, so *L. Papirius* would diminish naught of the authority thereof, withstanding. That neither the Tribuns puissance sacred and inviolable in it self, should by their opposition & interposing of their negative voice, violate the Empire of *Rome*: nor that the people of *Rome*, should in him above all others abolish and extinguish both blame (although in vain) not in *L. Papirius*, but in the Tribuns, and in the perverse judgment of the people: when as the military discipline being once polluted and stained, neither souldier would obey the Centurions commandment, nor the Centurion the Colonels, nor Colonels the Lieutenant, nor Lieutenant the Consuls, nor yet General of horse, the Dictator: whiles no man hath regard and reverence either of men or of gods: no Edicts of Dictator, no flight of Birds observed; but that without passport, the souldiers may wander and rove, either in their own ground or the enemies land, and unmindful of their sacred military oath, may cashier and discharge themselves from soldiery, through a licentious liberty of their own, whensoever they list leaving

A "leaving their ensigns and colours not attended, nor meeting at summons, not repairing to the *Remedies*, according to proclamation: without all discretion, making no difference whether they skirmish by day or night, on even ground or uneven, with advantage or disadvantage, with direction; or without; observing no signals and watchword no array. In sum, the whole course of military service henceforth, blind, rash, and inconsiderate, after the guile of robbing, to stand and go current for tolemin and sacred warfare. With these crimes and absurd incursions, *(Oye Tribuns)* charged you must be to the worlds end: lay down you must, and gage your own lives for the audacious disobedience of *Q. Fabius*, for whom ye are now answerable. The Trib. were astonished hereat, and for themselves as now, rather careless and perplexed, than for him who had re- course unto them for refuge and succor. But the general content of the people of *Rome*, turning to prayer and intreaty, eased them of this heavy load and burden: and with one voice humbly besought the Dictator, to remit the punishment of the General of horse, for their sake. The Tribuns also, seeing that was the way, and all encending and growing to Petition, followed after, and did the like: earnestly beseeching the Dictator to forgive this human fragility, and youthful folly of *Q. Fabius*, saying, that he had suffered chastisement enough. Then the young man himself, then his father *M. Fabius*, forgetting all strife, and laying aside debate, fell down at the Dictator his feet, and besought him to appease his wrathful displeasure. Hereupon the Dictator after silence made, "Yea marry (quoth he) O Quirites, this I like well, and thus it should be: now hath military discipline got the victory, now hath the majesty of your Empire prevailed indeed, which lay both a bleeding, and were in hazard to have been abolished and overthrown for ever, after this day. *Q. Fabius* is not aquit of his offence, in that he fought against his sovereigns commandment: but being thereof convicted and cast, is forgiven, nay is given rather to the people of *Rome* and the Tribuns power, whose assistance and help is granted for their instant prayers, and not of duty. Well, Rise up *Q. Fabius* and live, a more happy man for this agreement of the City in thy defence, than for that victory, upon which erewhile thou barest thy self so bravely. Live (I say) thou that hast been so bold to commit that fact, which to thine own father here, if he had been in *L. Papirius* his place, would never have pardoned. And as for me, into my grace and favour thou mayst come again, at thine own will and pleasure: But to the people of *Rome*, to whom thou art beholden and obliged for thy life, thou shalt perform no greater duty and service than that the example of this day's work may be a teaching and warning to thee for ever, to obey, as well in war as in peace, all lawful commands of superior Magistrates. After that he had pronounced the pardon of the General of horse and discharged him of the Court, and was departed himself out of the common place of audience, the Senat joyful and highly contented, and the people much more, came all about them, and on the one side bidding joy to the General of the horse aforesaid, and on the other side giving thanks to the Dictator, followed after, and accompanied them both: and it was generally thought, that military government was no less confirmed and established by this peril and danger only of young *Q. Fabius*, then by the late piteous execution of young *Manlius*.

By chance that year so fell out, that as often as the Dictator absented himself from the Army, he often the enemies rose and raised troubles in *Sammium*. Howbeit, the fresh example of *Q. Fabius* was ever in the eye of *M. Valerius*, Lieutenant General and Governor of the camp, who feared as well the dread wrath of the Dictator, as any violent attempts of his enemies whatsoever. Inasmuch, as when purveyours for corn being entrapped by an ambush, were slain in a place of disadvantage; commonly it was thought and believed, that they might have been by the Lieutenant rescued and saved, but for fear of these rigorous and terrible edicts. For anger hereof, the Dictator lost the hearts of the souldiers, who were already malecontent, for that he was so inexorable in the case of *Q. Fabius*, and had denied them that, at their instant intreaty, which afterwards he yielded unto and pardoned, at the suit and request of the people of *Rome*. The Dictator, after that, he had left for the government of the City *L. Papirius Crassus* the General of horse, discharged *Q. Fabius*, and forbidden him to administer any thing by virtue of that office, returned into the camp. Whole coming was neither very welcome and joyful to his own countymen the souldiers, nor yet struck any terror in his enemies the Samnites. For, the next morning, were it, that they knew not that the Dictator was come, or little cared and weighed whether he were present or absent; they approached the camp in order of batel. Howbeit, that one man, *L. Papirius* the Dictator, was of such valor and importance, that if the love of the souldiers had seconded the policy and sage conduct of their Commander, the war with Samnites had that day been quite dispatched and ended, past all peradventure, so skillfully set the batel in array, so warily chose he his ground of advantage, so strengthened he the same with supplies out of the rearguard, in all warlike skill and singular policy. But the souldiers failed for their parts, and went coldly to their business, even of purpose, that the valiant and commendable parts of the Captain might be discredited and depraved; and so the victory was much hindered and impeached. Howbeit, many of the Samnites were slain; and in exchange as many of the Romans hurt. But he like a wife and expert Captain soon perceived, what was the cause that stayed the victory. He saw well enough, that he was to temper his own nature, and to allay that severity of his, within mildness and cunctation. And therefore, taking with him the Lieutenants, himself in person went about to visit the wounded souldiers, putting his head into their tents & cabins, asking each one how they discharged the Lieutenants, Colonels, Provosts, Marshals, and other officers of the camp, to tend and look unto

unto the sick soldiers, recommending their care unto them particularly by name. This being a thing in it self popular, he handled and ordered with such dexterity; that by curing their bodies, their minds also and hearts were much sooner gained and reconciled to their General. And nothing made more for the speedy recovery of their health, than their thankful acceptance of that care and diligence of his. When he had thus refreshed and repaired his army, he encountered once again the enemy with assured hope of himself and his soldiers, to obtain a final victory; and so difcomfited and put them to flight, that the Samnites after that day, durst never fight again with the Dictator. Then the victorious army marched, as any hope of booty and pillage guided and directed them: and as they overran their enemies country, they found no force nor resistance, either in open field, or covert ambush. This also encouraged them the more, and cheered their hearts, for that the Dictator had by proclamation given away the whole spoil among the soldiers: so that their privat gain whet them on against their enemies, no less then the common anger and publick quarrel. The Samnites tamed and subdued by these losses and overthrowes, fled to the Dictator for peace: with whom they capitulated, and made offer to allow unto every soldier one livery, and the full wages of one year. But being commanded to go to the Senat, they made answer, That they would accompany the Dictator, recommending and putting their cause and whole estate to his faithful protection, to his vertue and goodness only. Thus the Army was withdrawn from the Samnites, the Dictator with triumph entered the City: and when he would have resigned up the Dictatorship, the Senat ordained, That before he gave ower, he should create Consuls, So, C. Sulpitius Longus the second time, and Q. Emilius Lepidus were elected.

The Samnites not having concluded peace, (for that they varied about the conditions, and were to treat farther thereupon) yet brought with them from the City of Rome, truce for a year, which they observed not faithfully: so soon were their stomachs up again to make war after they had intelligence, that *Papirius* was out of government. Whiles C. Sulpitius, and Q. Emilius (or *Adius* as some Chronicles have) were Consuls, besides the reviving of the Samnites, there arose a new war also from the Apulians. Both ways was there a power lent. *Sulpitius* his lot was to go against the Samnites, and *Emilius* against the Apulians. Some write, that upon the Apulians themselves no war was made, but contrariwise, that the confederate States of that Nation were defended from the violence and wrongs of the Samnites. However, the low estate of the Samnites at that time, hardly able to maintain and defend themselves, maketh it more likely and credible, that the Apulians were not warred upon by them, but that the Romans made war with both Nations at once. But no memorable act or exploit was there performed: only the Apulian country, and *Sabinum* was wasted: and the enemies no where at all to be found, but at Rome there happened a scare by night, which raised every man so suddenly out of their first sleep, and so affrighted the City, that presently at one instant the Capitol and the Castle, the Walls and Gates were full of armed men. And when as from all places there was running, and crying alarm, the morrow morning at the break of day, there appeared neither author, nor cause of this fear.

The same year the Tulsulans were judicially converted before the people of Rome by procel, and that by a law that *Flavius* preferred. This *M. Flavius*, Tribune of the Commons, exhibited a bill of Emendment to the people that some punishment might be inflicted upon the Tulsulans: For that through their assistance and Counsel, the Veliterns and Privernians had taken arms against the people of Rome. The Tulsulans with their wives and children resorted to Rome, Which multitude having changed their apparel, and clad in poor array and habit, as prisoners at the bar, went about from Tribe to Tribe, falling down upon their knees to every man. Whereupon pity prevailed more to obtain pardon of punishment, then the goodness of their cause, to the purging of their guilt. So all the Tribes except *Politia*, disarmed and made void the Emendment aforesaid. But the sentence of the Tribe *Politia* was, That as many as were of age and undergrown, to wit, fourteen year old and upward, should be scourged and put to death. Item, that their wives and children, by martial law, should be sold in open port-sale. And for certain it is reported, that the Tulsulans took to deep an anger against the authors of so hard a censure and cruel doom, that they have carried it in mind even to our fathers days. For in despite thereof no Candidate, or Competitor for an office of the Tribe *Politia*, was ever wont to get the voices of the Tribe *Papiria*. The year following, whiles Q. Fabius and L. Fulsinius were Consuls, A. Cornilius Arvulus Dictator, led *M. Fabius Ambulius* General of horse, having taken a straighter levy of soldiers then ordinary, for fear of a greater war in *Samnium* (for it was reported that the whole manhood and flower of the youth were taken up and waged out of the countries adjoining) led forth a goodly and puissant army against the Samnites. But they pitched their camp so carefully in the enemies ground; as if the enemy had been far off: and the Samnite legions came on a sudden so proudly, that they set forward the trench and rampart, and encamped close to the Camp of the Romans. However the night approached so fast, that they were hindered from flying the Camp: but they gave it out plainly, they would do it the morrow after by day light. The Dictator seeing that he must fight nearer than he expected, or hoped; for fear lest the straightness and disadvantage of the ground, might prejudice and hinder the valour of his soldiers, leaving fire-thick burning in the camp, for to disappoint the sight of the enemies, in the still night with silence led forth his legions: but yet could he not for the needs of their camp escape, but be espied of them. The horsemen forthwith followed upon them in the tail,

A and pressed hard upon the army in their march, yet in such sort, that before it was day, they would not fight, nay, the very footmen were not allised out of the camp before day light. At length when it was broad day, the Horsemen adventured to charge upon the Romans, and partly by playing upon the tail of the hindmost, and partly by skirmishing in places that were hard to be passed over, they hindered their march and kept them behind. In the mean while their Infantry did overlook the Cavalry, so as now the Samnites with all their forces came upon them. The Dictator seeing he could not go farther without his great loss and disadvantage, commanded his men to fortify even in that very place where he stood: but for as much as the light Horsemen of his enemies were so crippled all about, they could not possibly go to provide stakes to make a parapet or rampier, nor begin to cast a trench. When he perceived therefore that he neither could go forward, nor stay and fortifie, he removed all his baggage out of the ranges, and set his men in batel array. The enemies do the like, and were not behind either in courage or in forces. But this sort of all hearted and encouraged them, for that they being ignorant that the occasion of the enemies retreat was the disadvantage and straightness of the place, presumed that they did it upon fear: and therefore they in terrible manner followed after them, as if the Romans had fled and been affrighted. And even that for a good while held the fight in doubtful balance, albeit the Samnites now a long time had not been used to abide so much as the first shout of the Roman army when they give the charge. But verily that day, from the third hour unto the eight, it is said that the battal stood so equal and indifferent, that neither the shout and cry was redoubled, nor heard the second time, after it was once let up at the first buckling: nor the engines were let forward, or withdrawn backward, but remained where they first were: nor yet of any part were they seen to retire or go back, but every man in his degree and place, bending forward and pressing with his shield, without breathing or looking back, till fought a-front: the same noise, one resolution to die or fight it out, and not to give over before utter weariness or dark night. Now began the strength of men to fail, now the spear point and edge of the sword, began to turn and lose their force, and now the Captains themselves were to seek for counsel and what to do: By what time all at once the Samnites Horsemen, hearing that the carriages of the Romans with one only Cornet were gone a good way off from the armed soldiers, without any other guard and fortification; for greediness of spoil let upon them. Which when a messenger in great haste and fear reported to the Dictator: Let them alone (quoth he) let them encumber themselves with the spoil, and spare not. Then came others one after another, windles with running, crying out and laying, that all was gone; and that every where the soldiers goods were rifled, ranfacked and carried clean away. Whereupon he sent for the General of Horsemen, See ye not (quoth he) O *M. Fabius*, the battel abandoned of our enemies Cavalry? They stand still and are encumbered and pestered with our carriages. Now therefore charge upon them, disband as they are, (which usually happeneth to any multitude, busy in pillage) find them you shall (no doubt) few on Horseback, and as few with weapon in hand: and whiles they are lading their Horses with spoil, kill them unarmed, and make it a bloody booty to them, and let them buy it full dearly: as for me, let me alone with the charge of the legions and footmen: have you the honour of the Horsemen service. Then the Cavalry ranged into a Squadron, as exquisitely and skillfully as possibly might be, ran forcibly upon the enemies dilarraced and clogged with carriage, beating them down, and making a miserable massacre of them in every place. For being (as they were) among packs and fardels which they cast from them suddenly, and now lay against their feet to stumble on as they fled, and in the Horses way, that were amazed and afraid, they were not able well, either to flee or to fight, and so were slain. When as the enemies Cavalry were thus defeated and welnear all come to naught, then *M. Fabius* wheeling about his wings of Horsemen, for to fetch a compass, set upon the Infantry at their backs: Whereupon arose a new fearful cry, which caused the hearts of the Samnites to tremble and quake. The Dictator withal, seeing the formost of the enemies fighting in the front, looking back ever and anon, their engines out of order, and all their battalions waving and floting to and fro: called hard upon his soldiers, and exhorted them to fight lustily: cried unto the Colonels, the Sergeants of Bands and Corporals severally by name, to re-engage and renew the battel again with him. Thus with a fresh and new shout, they advance the Standards, and set forward the engines: and the farther they march on, the more perceived they the enemies to be troubled, and in dilaray. And now by this time, the Horsemen also were within the sight of the formost in the vanguard: and *Cornelius* looking back to the bands and companies of his footmen, making sign with hand and with voice as well as he could, showed and made demonstration unto them, that they law the colours and targets of their own fellow Horsemen. Which when they once heard, and law withal: presently as if they had befriended themselves against the enemy as lustily, as if they had newly come out of their rents, fresh and in hearty heart and seen but now the signal, and heard the sound of trumpet, to a battel. Now were the Samnites no longer able to sustain the terror of the Horsemen behind, and the violence of the footmen before: but were either slain in the mids between, or scattered abroad in flight. Such as stayed and were environed about, the footmen flew: those who fled, were trodden under the Horse feet and killed: among whom the General himself left his body on the earth. This battel above all other, so quelled and daunted the hearts of the Samnites and crushed their forces, that in all their Diets and Councils they muttered and gave out, That it was no marvel that they

From nine of the clock in the morning, until two after noon.

more lumber-ome than the other. Into that plain aforetold the Romans marched down with their army another way, through and hollow rock, but when they went on forth to the other straight valley, they found it stopped and made up with the fall of trees, one croix over another, and likewise with an huge heap of mighty stones, laid full against them in the way. And they had not so soon discovered this guilful practise of their enemies, but they might deary withal, a power of them also on the top of the Hill. Then with all speed they seek to go back again the same way they came: but it they found also dammed up in like sort, and beset with armed men. Whereupon they made a stand, without any mans commandment: and as their minds were all amazed and astonished, to their bodies also were possessed as it were with a strange and extraordinary nummedness in their limbes: and whilkes they looked one upon another, each man thinking his self low to be more witty, and have better understanding than himself: for a good while they stood still, and said not a word. But afterwards, when as they saw the two Consuls pavilions setting up, and some making ready things necessary to fortification: although they saw well enough, that in this desperate case, past all hope of recovery, for all the defences they could devise, they should but lose their time and travel and prove fools in the end: yet nevertheless, because they would not seem to censure their distressed fortune, and double it with their own default and negligence, every man what he could, to his power, without the direction of any leader, fetled himself to work, and to fortify along the water side their camp, with a trench and rampier. And besides the insolent and proud scoffing and derision of their enemies, every man with pitiful confession scorned and checked his own work and travel, as vain, and to no purpose. As the Consuls then were penive and discomforted, and called none about them to counsel, (for that indeed they supposed they were past all advice and help) the Lieutenants and Colonels came unto them of their selves unilent for, and the soldiers turning to the Prætorium or Consul's Quarter, cried to their Captains for help and succour, which hardly the very immortal Gods could afford and give them. But they, rather made their moans and complaints one to another of their misfortune, than sat in sage counsel to give or take advice, until the night came upon them: whilcs each man according to his natural humour and fancy, muttered diversly. "One said, let us break through the stoppages opposed against us in the way: another, let us pass over the mountains and woods before us, what way soever we may be able to carry armour: for so we get to the enemy, whom we have almost for these thirty years vanquished and chased before us: all will be plain, even and easy unto us Romans fighting against these faithless, perjured, and disloyal Samnites. Tush, faith another, whither should we go, or which way? What? Are we about to remove mountains out of their places? So long as these tops of Hills are over our heads, how will you possibly come to the enemy? Armed or unarmed, courageous or cowardly, all is one, we trapped we are, and undone every one. Our enemy will not so much as offer us the sword, whereon we may dye like men with honor: he will sit still and end this war. Thus passed words to and fro, and thus passed the night away: unmindful were they of taking repast: never thought they of taking repose and sleep. The Samnites on the other side, in this so fortunate and happy opportunity presented unto them were as much to seek what to do, and what course to chuse and follow. Whereupon, they all in general, were to dispatch letters to *Hercennius Pontius*, the father of their General, and to know his opinion. Now this man beforetime, by reason of his great age, had given over not only Military affairs, but also all civil businesses: howbeit in that old crafty and spent body of his, he bare the fresh vigour of mind and a pregnant wit to give counsel. When he understood that the Romans army was shut up fast within the two forests, at the Caudine Gullers, and that his advice was asked by his sons messenger: he gave presently this counsel, That with all speed they should be let go from thence every one, without any harm at all done unto them. Which opinion of his being rejected [his son and the army] his mind was demanded a second time, by the same courier sent again unto him of purpose. And then he gave advice, that they should be all killed, and not one left alive. Upon which answers so far disagreeing, and thus delivered, as it were out of a doubtful Oracle: albeit his son himself imagined, of all others most, that his fathers wit was in the wane, and aged as well as his feeble waited body: yet by a general consent of all he was overcome, to lend for him in person for to declare his meaning by word of mouth. Neither thought the old man much thereof, for he was brought (by report) to the camp in a chariot: and being called to counsel, he was in the same tale still: so as he nothing changed of his former advice: but alleged only causes and reasons thereof. "Namely, that in his former resolution (which he took to be simply the best) his meaning was, by a singular benefit and good turn, to confirm peace and amity for ever, with a most mighty and puissant people: in the second his purpose was, by the utter loss of two armies, whereby the State of *Rome* would not easily recover their strength again, to deter the wars for many a year. And as for a third counsel, he had none at all. When his son and other chief Captains, by questioning inquired of him, what if a middle course between both were taken, namely, to dismiss them safe, and according to the Law of arms and conquest to impose upon them, hard Laws and Conditions? "Marry (quoth he) this is the way indeed, that neither winneth you friends, nor yet riddesth you of your foes: save them whom ye have provoked with shame and disgrace: and see what yetteth thereby. The Romans are of this nature, that they cannot be still and quiet so long as they have the worle: it will never dye in their hearts, but will be always fresh whatsoever shame this present extremity shal brand them with: and

A "and never will it give them any rest, before they have been by manifold and sundry wayes revenged of you. So his advice was not accepted, neither the one nor the other, and old *Hercennius* was carried home again from the camp. The Romans likewise in the camp, after many attempts (but all in vain) for to break forth and escape away, being now in great penury and scarcity of all things, for very necessity were driven to send Embassadors unto the enemies: who first should crave an equal and indifferent peace: and if they might not obtain it, then to bid defiance and challenge them to a battel. *Pontius* made answer, that there was no talking of battel: for that the field was won already: and because they being vanquished, and as good as taken captive, knew not how to come down and confesse their poor estate: he gave them to understand, That he would put them under the gallows, depoyled of their armour, and stript into their shirts: and as for other conditions of peace, they should be such, as were meet to pass between men conquered, and conquerors: namely, if they would depart out of the Samnites country, withdraw their colonies, and to both Samnites and Roman in equal alliance live under their own laws and customs: upon these Articles and Capitulations he was content to come to some point of accord with the Consuls. If any of these covenants disliked them, then he forbade the Embassadors to repair again to him any more, but at their peril. When relation of this answer was made in the camp, there arose suddenly such a sighing and groaning amongst them all, and so great peniveness and anguish of heart seized upon them, that it seemed they could not have taken it more heavily, and to the heart, if word had been brought that they must all have died in the place. After long silence, when as the Consuls wist not how to open their mouth, either for the accord and composition to themselves, or against it so necessary: then *L. Lentulus*, who as well in regard of his virtue, as of his dignities, was chief of all the Lieutenants, said: "I have heard my father (quoth he) O ye Consuls, oftentimes make report, that he was the only man in the Capitol, who perswaded the Senate, not to ransom and redeem with gold, the City from the hands of the Gauls: at what time as they were not inclosed either with trench or rampier by their enemies, (a Nation to say a truth, of all others most idle in such works, and fortifications) but might have broken through them, if not without great danger, yet without evident ruin, and assured destruction: Were the case so now, that as they then, being armed might have run down out of the Capitol upon their enemies under them (in which sort oftentimes the besieged have fallen out upon them that lay in siege) so we might but fight with our enemies in any place (it skillesh not) good or bad, even or uneven: I would not in giving counsel, be any jot behind my father in courage and valor. For I confesse verily that to die for our country is a brave death: and for my own part ready am I even to offer my body as a sacrifice to prevent death, yea, and it were to engage myself among the thickest of my enemies, thereby to save the people of *Rome* and the legions: Bur alas, here I see my country, here I see all the Roman Regiments and Legions that are, who unless for their own selves they will run upon their death, what have they else to face by their death? Why, will some man say, the houses and buildings of the City, the walls, and that multitude that inhabit the City. Nay rather, if this army fortune here to miscarry, they are all clear betrayed into the enemies hand and not saved. For who shall defend them? Peradventure, the weak and unarmed multitude: even as well surely as they defended it against the violence of the Gauls: Or, will they send for an army from *Vitis*, and beseech the help again of Captain *Camillus*? "Even the one as well as the other. But here in this place is our whole hope, here is all our power and puissance: in saving it, we preserve our country: in offering it to die, we abandon and betray our country. To yield and render our selves, is a foul and shameful thing: true, but such is the love of our Country, that we ought to preserve it, as well with our utter flame, if need require, as by our death. Let us undergo then, and abide this shameful indignity whatsoever, and obey that fatal necessity, which the very Gods themselves cannot overcome. Go to then, Consuls, a Gods name, redeem the City with your armor and weapons, which your forefathers ransomed with their gold. Then went the Consuls to *Pontius* for to parle, And when as he began like a conqueror to debate about the capitulations of Covenants, they denied plainly that any league could be made, without the privy will and authority of the whole people: not without the Fecials, and other solemn and usual Ceremonies. So that this Caudine accord was not (as commonly it is believed, and as *Claudius* also writeth) concluded by form of absolute covenant, but by way of stipulation and promise. For what needed either iureries in a perfect agreement and league, or hostages to be given when the matter is passed by this form of prayer, By whose default it happened that the conditions agreed were not observed, that people Jupiter would so punish, as the swine here was by the Fecials nurtured? The Coss, Lieutenants, Treasurers, and Colonels, who undertook as sureties, published and signed: and the names yet are extant of them all: where, if the matter had passed by way of an absolute league, there should have been subscribed no more but the names of two Fecials only. Moreover, by reason that the conclusion of this accord was of necessity deferred, there were required also 600 Horsemen hostages, who should lose their heads, in case the covenants of the agreement were not observed. And thereupon was the time appointed and let down of delivering the said hostages, and yielding the army without their armor. Now the coming of the Consuls renewed again in the sorrow in the camp, that hardly they could hold their hands from those, through whose rash conduct they were come to that place of disadvantage: and through whose cowardice they were to depart from thence more shamefully than they came: complaining that they had not so much as a guide to direct

direct them, nor an epial to discover the coasts: but like beasts were driven blinded into a trap or pitfall: and one looked upon another beholding the armor that within a while they were to deliver up, viewing their right hands, which anon should be unarmed, their naked bodies exposed to the mercy and devotion of the enemy. They let before their eyes, the gallows prepared by the enemy for them to pass under, the iron and reproachful taunts of the Victor, his proud and disdainful looks, and how they (disarmed) should pass in a long train and go through the armed enemies: then afterwards, the piteous spectacle of the way which they must go, and the shameful dishonor of their disgraced army: briefly, their foul and dishonourable return through the Cities of their allies unto their country and parents, whither they themselves and their ancestors oftentimes had gone in triumph. They were the only men, which without wound, without dint of weapon, without battle fought, were discomfited and vanquished: who might not so much as draw their sword, and never come to joy or encounter with their enemy; having armour, having strength of lim, having hearts given them in vain. As they brayed out with great discontentment and anguish, these words, the fatal hour of their reproach and shame was come; which by proof and sensible experience, was to make all matters more heavy and woful, than they conceived and imagined in their minds aforehand. First and foremost were they commanded all, to go forth without the trench disarmed, and in their single garments: then were the hostages presently delivered, and had to ward: after this, were the Sergeants and Officers willing to depart from the Consuls: whose rich coats of arms, when they were plucked from their shoulders, moved such pity and compassion even in them, who a while before with all cursing and banning, judged them worthy to be delivered bound hand and foot into their enemies hands, for to be mangled despiteously and cut in pieces: that every man forgetting his own estate, wherein he stood, turned away his eyes, as it were from an abominable spectacle, and could not endure to behold that disgracing and disfiguring of so great State and Majesty. The first that were put under the gallows, were the Coss, well-near half naked: and according to their degree and place, so was every one in order put to the shame: and afterward, the legions one after another. The enemies in their armor stood all the while about them, scornful, mocking, and making a game of them: many had swords and daggers set against their hearts, in menacing wise, some were hurt and stabbed to death: namely, such as with stern countenance and grim looks above the rest, for the indignity of their things, offended the conqueror. Thus were they sent with shame enough under the gallows, and (that which was more grievous than the thing) even in the sight and view of their enemies they were not so soon got out of the forfeit, but although they seemed but then as plucked out of dark hel to see the day, yet the very light itself was worse than all kind of deaths, when they beheld so illfavoured an army and unteemly. And therefore, albeit they might have reached to *Capua* before night, yet being doubtful of the faithfulness and protection of their allies, or else daunted for very shame, they call their poor and silly bodies upon the ground, about the high ways not far from *Capua*. Whereof, when news came to *Capua*, the juit and due pity which they took of their allies, overcame the inbred arrogance and pride of that people by kind. Immediately they sent unto the Coss, their ensigns and ornaments belonging to their place of authority, the Lictors and Sergeants with their rods they sent armor and Horses, apparel and victual also for the soldiers bountifully: and as they came near to *Capua*, the whole Senat and people went out to meet them, and performed all duties of kindness and hospitality, both privat and publick that could be devised, and as meet was and requisite. And yet neither the courteous usage nor the pleasant countenances and light some speeches of their allies, could draw from them any words, no, nor so much as make them to hold up their heads and eyes, and to look again upon their friends, when they yielded them all these comforts they could. So as, besides their grief and sorrow of heart, a certain baseness and shame forced them to shun all communication and conversing with men. The morrow after, when as certain young Gentlemen of the Nobility were returned, who had been sent in convoy from *Capua*, to accompany them and bring them on their way, as far as their liberties and confines: they were sent for into the Senat-house, and being demanded by the ancients and elders, what news they reported, that they seemed unto them much more heavy and cast down than before, so silent and in manner dumb, they marched along: that noble mind and courage of the Romans was now mute and mum their hearts clean done and gone together with their armor, not able to get again, no, nor to give a word to those that saluted them, nor one of them for fear able to open his mouth, as if still they bare that yoke and gallows upon their necks, under which they went. That the Samnites had indeed not only a brave victory, but also a perpetual over them, and the hand of them for ever; and had now won not *Rome*, as the Gauls aforesaid, but also (which was a more hardy and valiant exploit) had conquered the Romans courage, stoutness, and valour. As these news were reported, and audience given thereto, with such aspects, that every man lamented now the Roman name, as desperate: and concluded generally it was in the counsel of these their faithful confederates, that they were past recovery: one *Offidius Calpurnius*, the son of *Ofidius*, a man right nobly born, renowned for his valiant Acts, and besides, very grave and reverend for his age, spake by report in this manner and said, That he took the matter far otherwise than they all did: for that stubborn and resolute silence, (qd, he) thine eyes fallen to wifely on the earth, those deaf ears to admit all solace and comfort, that shame of theirs to look up and behold the light, were expels and certain tokens of them that tossed and rolled from the very root and bottom of their heart, a huge heap and mass of anger & despite, Either (qd, he) know not the nature of the Romans, or else that silence & silence will

A will shortly cost the Samnites, woful cries and doleful groans: and the remembrance of this *Caudine* accord, will be more heavy and dolorous a good deal to the Samnites than to the Romans: for, as for them, they will every man find their hearts and courages again, wherefore they shall hap to encounter: but the Samnites shall not meet every where with the *Caudine* treights for their purpose.

And now by this time was this shameful overthrow and disgrace known at *Rome*. Intelligence they had before, how they were belef and enclosed about: but afterwards arrived a messenger with news more heavy and sorrowful for that ingominous peace, than for any peril and danger otherwise. At the first noise and bruit that they were besieged, they began to mutter; but after they heard, that they had so shamefully yielded themselves, all that preparation of aid and succor was discharged and sent away: and presently without any order from publick authority, they gave themselves every one to all manner of mourning and lamentation. The shops all about the market place were shut up. A general vacation began of it self, and pleading in all courts ceased, before Proclamation made: the purple and scarlet robes were left off, the golden rings laid away, and the whole City in a manner more sorrowful and heavy, than the very army. Neither were they angry and offended with the Captains only, with the authors of the peace, with the cautious and furtives for the same: but hated also the guiltless soldiers, denying flatly, that they were worthy to be received into City or house. Which heat of stomach and wrathful indignation, the first arrival of the army, utterly allayed; which even to angry persons was pitiful and lamentable. For they returned not as men that escaped safe, alive, and unlooked for into their country,

C but like captives in habit and countenance; they entered late into the Town, and hid their heads, every man within own house: so as the morrow after, and for certain days following, none of them would come into the market place, nor put his head out at doors to look into the streets. The Consuls likewise for their part, kept in, as privat men, and would exercise no function pertaining to their charge, but only that which they were forced unto by an Act of the Senat: namely, to nominate a Dictator for to be President at the Election of Consuls. So, they elected *Q. Fabius Ambulstus* for Dictator, and *P. Valerius Paullus*, General of Horse. Who being wrong created, and without the approbation of the *Auspices*, there were chosen in their room, *M. Aemilius Papirius* for Dictator, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* General of the Horsemen, and yet by them was not the assembly holden for the Election above said. And forasmuch as the people were even weary

D again of all that years Magistrats, as unlucky and unfortunate, it grew at length to an Interregnum. So Interreges there were, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, who created Consuls, *Q. Furius Philo*, and *L. Papirius Cursor* the second time; with the whole consent, no doubt, of the City, for that in those days there were not two more noble and renowned Captains to be found.

These same day they were created, they entered their Magistracy (for so the LL. of the Council had decreed:) and after certain solemn and ordinary acts of the Senat passed, they went in hand to consult about the treaty of the *Caudine* peace. And *Publius*, whose countie it was then to have the sovereignty of rule; "Speak (quoth he) *Sp. Posthumius*, to the matter propounded, and let us hear your opinion, and what you can say. Who after he was risen and stood up,

E with the very same countenance and cheer that he went under the gallows, I am not, (quoth he) "O ye Consuls, ignorant, that I am first called forth, not for honour, but by my disgrace; and commanded to speak, not as a Senator and Councillor, but as a man culpable and accused, both for an unfortunate war administered, and a shameful peace concluded. Howbeit, seeing that ye have not propounded and touched ought, concerning either our trespass or our punishment, (setting apart all kind of excuse and defence, which would be no very hard matter to maintain, before men that are not ignorant of humane fortune, and of necessities, whereto men may be driven) I will in brief deliver my mind concerning that, which you have moved and propounded. Which sentence of mine may sufficiently witness and testify, whether I mean to spare mine own life, or save your legions, when as I became bound to that dishonest or necessary stipulation and promise, call it wherelye will. And yet, seeing it was made without the peoples privacy and grant, the State of *Rome* is not obliged thereto, and thereby nothing due to the Samnites, but only our bare bodies. Let us therefore be rendered by the hands of the *Peciales* and *Heralds*, in our shirts, and fast bound: let us deliver and rid the people of all scruple and trouble of conscience, if we have entangled them with any; that there be no law in Law of God or man, but that both justly and lawfully ye may begin the war anew. In the mean while my mind and advice is, that the Consuls levy, enrol, arme, and lead forth an army: but not to enter within the enemies marches, before all things duly belonging to the delivery of us into their hands, be fully accomplished. Now, I pray and beseech ye, O immortal Gods, that seeing it was not your good will and pleasure, that *Sp. Posthumius* and *T. Valerius* Consuls, should with fortunate conduct fight against the Samnites, yet ye would be satisfied herewith, That ye beheld us put under the gallows: that ye saw us obliged in an infamous and shameful bond of covenant: that ye now view us naked and delivered bound into the enemies hands, ready to receive upon our heads even the loss of our lives at their anger, malice, and despite: and that it would please you, that the new Consuls and Legions of the Romans, may in that sort war with the Samnites, as evermore the wars before us Consuls have been conducted, managed and performed. When he had spoken these words, all men both to wondrous at this man and pitied him too, that one while they would not believe he was the same *Sp. Posthumius*, who had moved and persuaded for

The Oration of *Sp. Posthumius* in late Consul in the Senat.

The Oration
of Sp. Posthumus
no.

foul and dishonest a treaty of peace: otherwhiles they lamented that so brave and noble a personage, should suffer any especial torment above other, at the enemies hands, for anger and despite of reverting and breach of that accord. When as now they all utter inglorious praises of the man, condescended to his opinion: the Tribuns of the Com. *L. Livius* and *Q. Metellus*, attempted for a while to oppose themselves against this proceeding: saying, "That neither the people could be acquit and absolved in conscience, by their delivery, unless every thing were again restored to the Samnites, in the same estate wherein they stood at *Caudium*: nor they themselves (in that they subscribed and became bound for the accord of peace, to save the holt of the people of *Rome*) had deserved any punishment: nor yet, last of all, ought they being sacred Magistrats and inviolable, to be yielded to the enemies, and exposed to any outrage and violence. Then (quoth *Posthumus*) in the mean while deliver us up that are but lay and profane men, whom with safe I confidence and without offence ye may. And as for these, (so sacred-saints as they now be, ye shall hereafter render them likewise, so soon as they are out of their charge. But if ye will be ruled by me, let them before they be thus yielded, here in this common Hall be whipped and scourged for the usury and interest of their punishment, which they would seem to defer and put off to long. For whereas they allege and say, That by the delivery and yielding of us, the peoples consciences cannot be cleared and absolved: who is so ignorant in the *Feciales* and *Heralds* law, that knoweth not that these men ipake this, for this end rather, that they themselves might be rendered, than for that the truth requireth so. Neither do I deny my Lords, that bare promises and stipulations are unviolable, and to be kept as well as covenants and obligations with those men, among whom both Religion to Godward, and faithfulness to men is in regard and estimation: but I deny again, that without the peoples assent and grant, any thing can be established good and effectual, to bind the people thereunto. What! if the Samnites, in the same pride and infidelity, wherein they outruded and forced upon us this stipulation, yea, and wrong it in us, would also have urged us to utter and speak the solemn form of words, which they stile to do that surrender up Cities: would ye (my Masters that are Tribuns) infer and say, that by virtue thereof the people of *Rome* is surrendered into their hands? and that this City, with the Temples, Chappels, Limits and Waters, by strength thereof, are the Samnites possession? Well, I let pass to speak of dedication, because the matter in question is touching only a stipulation. What, I pray you if we had promised and undertook, that the people of *Rome* should forsake and abandon this City? or let fire on it? or not have Magistrats, Senat, or laws any longer? or to be governed again by Kings? God forbid and deny that, say you, Well, it is not the indignity of things, that caeth the bond of stipulation. If there be any one case, wherein the people may be obliged, then in truth may they be in all as well: neither skilleth it any whit, (whereat haply some will make a stay, and think it is material) whether Consul, Dictator, or Pretor, exact into bond and become surety. And even this it was that the Samnites themselves judged so to be, and stood upon: thinking it not sufficient, that the Consuls became bound, but they put the Lieutenants, the Treasurers, and the Colonels there, to the same. And now, let no man demand of me, why I entered into stipulation, being a thing not incident to the Consul his charge and right, neither was I to undertake unto them peace, which was not in my power to effect: nor in your name to promise it, from whom I had no commission and warrant. Certainly my Lords, and Senators, there was nothing at *Caudium* done at all by mans policy and counsel. The immortal Gods beset both your Generals and the enemies too, of all their sense and understanding: for neither we, in the conduct and ordering of our service, stood warily enough upon our good guard: and they again, as they got the victory full badly, if they lost it as lawdly: whiles they hardly trusted the strength of those places, by means of which they had gained the vantage and better hand of us: and while they made such haste, upon what agreement they cared not, to disform men that are born martial, and naturally made for wars. For, if they had been in their right wits, what an hard matter was it for them in the time that they sent for old aged men from their home, to come to Council, for to have dispatched their Embassadors to *Rome*? and for to have dealt and treated with the Senat and people, about a perfect peace and final league indeed? It had been but three dayes journey for men not encumbered, but lightly appointed. All that mean while there might have been truce, until the Embassadors from *Rome*, had brought them either certain victory or assured peace. For that had been a covenant and stipulation good in law, the which we should have agreed unto, by warrant of the peoples will and approbation: But ye would never have granted and allowed it: no more should we have entered into any such stipulation. Neither was it Gods will and providence, that there should be any other issue and end of things, than this: that both they should vainly be deluded and feed themselves asit were, with the fancy of a more joyfull dream, than their minds could well conceive and apprehend: and also that the same fortune, which had entangled, snared and brought into danger our army, should relieve the same, and rid it again out of perikill, as their victory was frivolous and vain, so to a vainer and more frivolous peace, should make frustrat and worth nothing: and that such a stipulation and promise should be interposed and come between, which might oblige and bind no person, but the very makers themselves. For what dealing hath there been with you my Lords of the Senat? or with the people of *Rome*? Who can challenge you? Who can call you into question? Who can come forth and complain that he is by you deceived? Enemy, or Citizen? To enemy ye have passed no promise: Citizen to undertake for you and in your name, ye commanded.

A "commanded none. Therefore ye have nothing to do to meddle with us, to whom ye gave "nought in charge: and with the Samnites as little, with whom ye had no treaty at all. To the "Samnites, we are sufficient pledges enough, and answerable to perform that which is our own: "for that, I say, which we are able to make good and yield: even our bodies and lives: upon "these let them exercise their rage, upon these let them whet their swords and their impishful "malice. And as for the Tribuns of Commons, consult ye together, whether they may be rendered presently, or ought to be reserved and put off to any other day: let us in the mean time (O *Veturius*, and ye that are the rest) offer these wretched heads and lives of ours, like caitives to "discharge our bond, and by our punishment and execution, deliver and set free the Roman

B "army. Both the cause it self, and the Advocate also, moved the Lords of the Senat: and wrought so much not only with the rest, but also with the Tribuns themselves (of Commons) that they promised to be at the Consuls ordering and appointment. Whereupon immediately they gave up their offices, and were delivered into the *Feciales* hands with the other, to be led aly, to *Caudium*. There was not so soon an act of the Senat passed hereof, but it seemed that the very light and rays of the Sun shone upon the City again. *Posthumus* was in every man his mouth, him they praised and extolled to the heavens: comparing him with the voluntary offering of *P. Decius* the Consul, for the safety of the army, and other worthy and noble acts of others: Saying, that by his overture, by his means and travel, the City was delivered from a servil, dishonourable and un-

C "chonell peace: He (say they) hath offered himself to all the torments, anger, and vengeance of the enemies, and made full satisfaction thereby for the people of *Rome*. Nothing now but war, war! Alarm, now cryed every man: and oh, that ever they might see the day to encounter on: again with the Samnites, in their armour and with weapon in hand. So, whiles the City was thus inflamed and boiled with hateful ire and indignation, there was an army levied, well near all of Voluntaries. New legions were mustred and enrolled again out of the same soldiers, and a puissant army let forth to *Caudium*. The *Feciales* marched before, and when they were come to the gate of the City, commanded the Sureties, such as had subscribed and signed the accord aforesaid, to be deposed and stript out of their cloths, and their hands to be pinned behind him. And when the Lictor or Sergeant, for very reverence of Majesty in *Posthumus* his person, bound him

D at large and at ease, Why doest not thou (quoth he) draw and pull the cord streight, that the rending and delivery of us may be according to law and as it ought to be, and no fault to be found withal? Afterwards, when they were come into the assembly of the Samnites, and before the Tribunal judgment seat of *Pontius*; *A. Cornelius Arvina* one of the *Feciales* or *Heralds* thus spake: Forasmuch as these persons, without commandment and commission from the *Quirites* and people of *Rome*, have undertaken by stipulation, That there shall a league and peace be made with you: and in so doing have offended and trespassed against the State, therefore, to the end, that the people of *Rome* might be freed and absolved from a detestable and heinous offence, Here I deliver and yield unto you, the self same men. No sooner had he uttered these words, but *Post-*

E "humus with his knee smote the *Fecial* his high, with all the might he could: and with a loud voice said, That he being now a Samnit citizen, and the other an Embassador and an Herald of the people of *Rome*: had against the Law of Nations injured him and offered him the abuse: whereby the Romans might more justly make war. Then quoth *Pontius*, "This delivery neither will I accept of and admit, neither shall the Samnites hold it good and lawful. But why doest thou not sp. *Posthumus*, if thou believe there be any Gods, either undo and cancel all, or stand to thy bargain and covenant? For by right either are they all due unto the Samnites, whom they once had in their power: or else peace, in lieu of them. But why speak I thus, and challegeth thee, who doest yield thy self again prisoner to the conqueror as faithfully and loyally as thou canst? The people of *Rome* I challenge, who, if they repent of the promise and bargain made at the streets of *Caudium*, let them bring again the Legions into that gullet, wherein

F "they were environed, enclosed, and compassed. Let no man deceive and delude other. Let all be undone again, and every thing as it was: let them take again their armour, which by covenant they yielded up: let them return into their own camp, and have whatsoever they had the day before the Parle. Then let them please themselves with war, with valiant and magnanimous deeds: refuse they then, and spare not all covenant: reject they then all treaty of peace. Let us have the same fortune, the same opportunity and vantage of the places, which we had before the mention of peace: and to make war, and trie the issue. So shall neither the people of *Rome*, blame the Consuls stipulation, nor we find any lack and default in the faithfulness of the people of *Rome*. And will ye never have done, but always find shifts and excuses, and not stand to your covenants, when ye are overcome, and have the worke of your enemies? Ye gave

G "sometimes hostages to King *Porcina*: and when ye had done, afterwards stole them away. For a sum of gold you bought again your City of the Gauls: and as they were receiving the same gold, murdered they were by you and hewn in pieces. Peace ye have covenanted with us upon condition that we should restore again your legions unto you: that peace you cancel and make void and evermore ye let some colour of right upon your cautelous and fraudulent dealing: Well, alloweth not the people of *Rome* of the saving of their Legions, by a dishonourable and shameful peace? Say it is so. Let peace go whether it will: but give you again to the Victor your Legions captivat, is this your faithful dealing? are these your covenants, and ceremonies of *Feciales* & *Heralds*?

Thigh

words commanded the fouldiers, so greedy of murder and bloudthirsty, to go forth of the camp. Whereupon when they were highly discontented and in great indignation, for that they were flaid and interrupted in this sweetness of easing their anger, and latiating their revenge to the full; it was time to deliver this speech unto them, wherein the fouldiers were given to understand, how the Consuls neither were behind any of them in malice and hatred to their enemies, nor would be hereafter: but as they were their chief conductors to the war, so they would be their leaders and shew them the way, to unsatiable appetite of revenge and execution; had not the care and regard of those 600 Horsemen, which were kept as hostages in *Luceria*, cooled their thirst and flaid their stomachs; lest haply the enemies in despair to find pardon and mercy, should run upon them in a blind fit of fury and rage, and put them all to the sword; choosing rather to torment and kill them first, before they died themselves. The fouldiers greatly commended this counsell, and rejoiced that thus their choler was allaid, and their fury bridled, confessing, That they were indeed to abide all whatsoever, rather than the life of so many of the forwardest and principal young Gentlemen of *Rome*, should be betrayed, or in danger. This audience being dimissed, they drew together to a Council, whether with all their forces they should assail and press hard upon *Luceria*, or with one of the armies and chief Leaders, give the attempt to sound the *Apulians*, a close and secret kind of people thereabout, who ever to that day had stood in doubtful terms with them.

Publius the Consul, who had taken this journey to over-run all *Apulia*, in that one voyage and expedition, either by force subdued and brought under his obedience certain States, or upon conditions entered league and society with them. *Papirius* also, who staid at the siege of *Luceria*, within a short time sped according to his expectation. For having forelaid and beset all the ways, by which victual was conveyed thither out of *Sannium*, the Samnites who lay in garison at *Luceria*, pinched and tamed with famine, sent Embassadors to the Roman Consul, making offer to release and deliver up into his hands those Horsemen, (the only cause of the present war) in case he would raise and levy the siege. To whom *Papirius* made this answer, that they should have gone first to *Pontius*, the son of *Herennius*, by whose counsel they had put the Romans under the yoke (and the gallows) to learn and know of him, what in his opinion they were to abide, who were vanquished and overcome. Howbeit, forasmuch as they had rather, and chose rather to be consumed indifferently, and to receive equal conditions of their enemies, than of their own selves, he willed the Embassadors to give them to understand in *Luceria*, that they should leave their armor, their bag and baggage, their beasts of carriage, and impotent multitude not fit for the war, within in the walls. And as for the fighting fouldiers, he would put them to paies under the gallows in their single shifts, for to revenge the shame first offered them, and not to inflict any new ignominy upon them. Nothing was denied and refused: seven thousand men of war were put under the gallows, a rich and huge pillage raised within *Luceria*, all their own ensignes and armor regained, which they had lost at *Caudium*: and that which surmounted all other joys, they recovered again those Gentlemen of arms, whom, lying for pledges and security of the peace aforesaid, the Samnites had sent to *Luceria* to be kept in safe custody. There is not lightly to be found a victory more noble, and of greater consequence to the people of *Rome* than this, in regard of the sudden change of fortune, in case (as some records bear witness) *Pontius* also himself the son of *Herennius*, and General of the Samnites, to make satisfaction and quitance for the Consuls disgrace and shame, was put under the yoke, as well as all the rest. But I less marvel that it is not clear, but left uncertain, that the enemies General was rendered, and went under the gallows: this rather I wonder at, that doubted it is, whether *Lucius Cornelius* Dictator, with *L. Papirius* Consul, General of the Horsemen, managed these acts first at *Caudium*, and then afterwards at *Luceria*: and being the only revenger of that disgrace of the Romans, triumphed most worthily (I dare be bold to say) of any man before that time, next to *Furius Camillus*: or whether the chief honour hereof pertain by right to *Papirius* as Consul. Upon this error followeth another in the neck of it, whether *Papirius*, furnished *Curios*, for his good service at *Luceria*, in the next Election, continued in Magistracy, and were made the third time Consul with *Q. Amylius* *Caristinus*; the second time: or whether it were *L. Papirius* *Megillanus*, and the error grew upon the surname. But it is agreed upon by all writers, that from this time forward all the reliques of the wars, were performed and finished by Consuls. *Amylius* in one prosperous battle made a final conquest of the *Ferentans*, and upon composition had the City delivered up unto him, whither they had retired their forces for succor after their defeat in the field, and hostages were imposed upon them. With like good success fought the other Consul with the *Saturnians*, who being Roman citizens, had revolted to the Samnites, after the loss at *Caudium*, and had received into their City a garison of theirs. For when as the Roman army approached under the walls of *Saturnium*, and that the citizens within (after Embassadors sent to treat by way of humble petition for peace) had received this hard and heavy answer from the Consul, That unless they would kill the garison of the Samnites, or deliver them into his hands, they should come no more again to him: the Coldders and inhabitants were more frightened and terrified with that speech, than at all the forcible attempts of their army. Whereupon the Embassadors followed their suit hard and continued still, demanding very often of the Consul how he could believe, that they being but few, feeble, and unarmed, should be able to force a garison so strong and well appointed, against their wills? being willed to ask counsel of them, by whose means they had received the said garison into the Town, they departed

A parted their wives: and having hardly obtained leave & licence at his hands, to consult with their Senate, and to bring answer, they return home again. Their Senate was divided into two factions, which disagreed and hed them in impence, that they could not soon resolve. The one, consisting of the chief personages and head men, who had illuited them to revolt from the people of *Rome*, the other of true hearted and loyal Citizens. Howbeit, both sides strove in the end and endeavored to labour the Consul for reconciliation of peace. The one part thought it sufficient (because the Samnites garison having not provision enough at hand to hold out the siege, was to depart the night following) to give notice to the Consul, what hour of the night through what gate the enemies would go forth and which way they would take: the other, namely, against whose will they were revolted to the Samnites the very same night, opened another gate besides to the Consul, and privily let their enemies armed into the City. So by a twofold comploit of treason, they were surprised unawares and all their throats cut, not only the garison of the Samnites (by reason that the woods all about the high way were laid for them and bet) but also at one instant there was a shout and alarm raised by the enemies within the City, which was full of them: and thus in the space of one hour both the Samnites were slain, the *Saturnians* taken; and all they had in the world seited into the hands of the Consul: who after diligent inquisition by torture, Who were the principal authors of this revolt? whomsoever he found guilty, those he scourged and beheaded: and letting there a strong garison he took from the *Saturnians* all their armour, from thence *Papirius* *Curios* departed to *Rome* for to triumph (as they write, that day, by his leading *Luceria* was recovered, and the Samnites put under the yoke.) And without question, a man he was worthy of all commendations of a warrior, surpassing not only in fortitude and courage of spirit, but also in force and natural strength of body and namely, for his good footman'ship: whereupon he got his surname * *Curios*. For in running (they say) he had not his peer, but went away with prick and pace before all other in those daies: and were it by reason of his bodily vigour and strong constitution, or his much exercise, a stout and mighty eater he was, he drank as liberally to his meat, and could carry it as well. Never had foot or horse under any Captain more rough and harder service, for that himself was of so rough mettall and steel to the very back (as they say) that he could abide any pains and travail whatsoever. His horsemen upon a time were so bold, as to request him in lieu of their good service in some exploit, to ease them a little of their ordinary D toll and labour: very merry will I (quoth he) and that ye shall not complain that ye have no easement at all, I will ease you of this pains. That when ye alight from your horses, ye shall not need any more to stroke their shoulders, back and buttocks. He was a man besides for severity straight, and of right great command, as well over his allies and confederates as his own Citizens. The *Prætor* of *Prenefte*, for very fear chanced once to be somewhat behind, and slack in bringing forward the reterward, into the vanguard and front of the battle: as he walked before his pavilion he commanded him to be called unto him: when he was come, he willed the sergeant to bring forth his axe immediately: at which word when the *Preneftin* stood amazed and well near dead, *Dit-spur* his Lictor (quoth he) took me up and grub this root that hindreth them that walk this way: and when he saw him altonied and his heart in his heels for fear of death, he set a good round fine upon his head, and so let him go. Doubtless in all that age (than which there was never any more fertile and fruitful for vertue and valour) there was no one man, upon whom the state of *Rome* relied and relied more: Inasmuch as men had declined, and in their minds appointed him to have matched and made head with *Alexander* the great, if after the conquest of *Asia*, he should have bent his power hither, and warred in *Europe*.

Albeit it may well appear that I have nothing less fought, ever since I began this work, than a digression to digress and decline more than was needful, from the order and course of mine history, and by extravagant garnishing and mingling my writings with variety of matters, both to seek for the readers pleasant starts and diversities to repose themselves, and for my self some ease and recreation of my spirits: yet the mention of so mighty a King and renowned Captain, maketh me to think upon, and to utter abroad the secret conceits and discourses, which often I have cast and tossed in my mind: and which induce me now to search and examine willingly, what event would have hapned and befallen to the Romans, in case they had waged war with *Alexander*. First and foremost, the things that seem to bear sway and prevail in war, be these (to wit) number of fouldiers, valour, and courage withall, wit, sufficiency and dexterity of their chief leaders, and lastly, fortune, which as in all other humane and worldly affairs beareth a great stroke, for in war most of all. Which points, if a man consider either severally by themselves, or jointly altogether, do proveth that the Roman Empire and government had stood as well against him as other princes and nations invincible. And first to begin with comparing of the Captains themselves: I do not deny, but that *Alexander* was a noble and singular warrior: and this maketh more for his fame and renown than that he was a sole commander of himself that he was a young man and died in the growth of his prosperous affairs before he had felt and tasted of adverse fortune. For to pals other overthrow glorious Princes and brave captains, (the great mirrors and examples of humane changes and varieties of this world) what was it that exposed *Cyrus*, whom the Greeks commend and magnifie above all other, as also of late time, *Pompey* the great, to disfavor & the turning wheel of fortune, but only this that they lived long? Let me but rehearse and reckon up the Roman captains: and those not all, nor in every age, wherein they flourished: but even them only, with whom being either Censurs or Dictators, *Alexander* should have warred, if had he come: namely, *M. V. Iulius* *Corvinus*,

* An excellent runner.

Corvinus, C. Martius Rutilius, C. Sulpicius, T. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Publilius Philo, L. Papirius Cursor, & C. Fabius Maximus: the two Decii, L. Volturnus, M. Curius. Besides other brave men and valiant personages that followed after in case he had fought the Carthaginians were fitted (for if he had lived he meant to have warred there) and then passed over into Italy, when he had been well steeped in years. In every one of these there were the same good parts, the like towardness of nature, as much forwardness of courage and spirit, as in Alexander, yea, and as good Military discipline, which even from the foundation of the City, passing from hand to hand, grew at length to the form and perfection of an Art, framed & compiled of continual rules and precepts, and confirmed by experiments. For so, after one course the Kings conducted their wars: even to next unto them the banishers of the Kings, (to wit, the Junii and Valerii) so, consequently the Fabii, the Quinctii, and Corneli: (to did *Furius Camillus*, whom those two Romans in their youth (*Manlius Torquatus* and *Valerius Corvinus*) with whom Alexander should have encountered, saw an aged man in the latter end of his days. And whereas Alexander ventured his own proper person in battle, and performed all Military duties with other soldiers, (which was not the least part of his praise & glory) would *Manlius Torquatus* have given him one inch of ground, think ye, if he had met with him in skirmish equally matched? or *Valerius Corvinus* either, both of them brave & stout soldiers before they were leaders and captains? Or would the *Decii* have given him place, who with devoted bodies to death, came among the thickest of their enemies into present danger? Would *Papirius Cursor* have given him way, a man of that incomparable strength of body, & invincible courage of heart? And (not to name every one particularly) would that Senat & Council have been overwrought with the stratagems & policies of that one young man? which, whosoever he was that said, it consisted and was composed altogether of Kings, was the only man that conceived & comprehended the true image and Idea of the Roman Senat. Many here was all the doubt (forsooth) left that he knew how to chuse out a convenient plot of ground, to pitch a Camp in, more wisely & cunningly than any one of those before named, to make provision for victual, to foresee & beware of ambushes, to pick out & take a meet time for to fight a battle, to set his battalions in array, and to strengthen the same with sufficient succours & supplies from the rearguard. Surely, he would have said himself, that he had not now to deal with *Darius*, which Monarch carrying with time a train of dainty women and tender Eunuchs, weakened and made effeminate with wearing purple and gold, with all his rich furniture, for show and ostentation of his wealthy and superfluous fortune, Alexander without any bloudshed, with doing nought else but knowing well how to content such toys and vanities conquered as a prey and booty rather than an enemy and warrior. He would have thought verily that the situation and nature of Italy far differed from that of India, through which he marched at his ease with his drunken Army, leaving and banqueting all the way; but specially, when he should have beheld the woody forests and unpassable Straights of *Apollonia*, the high hills and mountains of *Lucania*, and the fresh marks and tokens of the toils that happened in his own name and house, namely, where not long before his Uncle Alexander late King of *Epirus* miserably perished. Our talk all this while is of Alexander, not drowned yet with the overflow of prosperity; wherein no man had ever less rule of himself than he. Whom if we consider, as he was arrayed in the habit and attire of his new fortune, and (if I may so say) of a new nature, whereinto after his conquests and victories he was transfigured; surely he would have come into Italy more like a *Darius* than an Alexander, and brought a bastard army with him, nothing at all resembling but quite forgetting their native country of *Macedonia*, degenerated already, and growing out of kind, into the manners and fashions of the Persians. It grieveth me, and I am ashamed, in so great a Monarch as he was, to report the proud changing and variety every while of his misapprehensions, his excessive vain-glory and desire of being courted and crouched unto (as he was) in flattering manner by men lying upon the earth groveling and prostrate at his feet. Such abject baseness should have been hardly endured of Macedonians conquered and subdued; much less than being conquerors as they were. Abashed I am to recount the foul and horrible torments & executions, the murders of his well deserving friends, even in the midst of his cups and dainty viands: last of all his vanity, his over-weening, and forging to himself a divine race and pedigree from the gods. But what if his drunkenness and unmeasurable love of wine, were every day more than other? what if his fell anger and exceeding heat of choler increased daily? (for I report nothing, but that which all writers agree upon) reckon we not these infirmities for great blemishes and wondrous hindrances to the virtues and perfections of a warrior & general commander? But here is all the danger and fear (which some are wont to give out & alledge even the valiant persons of all other Greeks, who favour & magnify the glory of the very Partians in comparison of the Roman name) that the people of Rome had never been able to abide the very majesty and name of Alexander the great. (And I think verily that even themselves that talk so much of him never heard the truth, so much as by the brute and fame) and that against whom in *Arbeia*, O a City mightily decayed by war with the Macedonians, and even then, when as they might see before their face the ruins of *Thebes* in manner smoking full in their eyes, the Orators durst freely make publicke invectives (which appeareth by the very records of their Orations now extant) against him: I say, not one of so many States and noble personages of Rome durst have opened his mouth and given one word again frankly and boldly. How much faster the grandeur and greatness of this man may be conceived and imagined in the mind, all that shall be but one only man, rising, growing, and come to his height with the felicity of little more than ten years.

Which

A Which happiness of his, they that extol in this respect, that the people of Rome, although in no war they were subdued, yet in many battels had the foile and lost the day: whereas Alexander never fought field but he won the victory; little understand they, that compare the exploits of one person and him a young man, with the deeds and acts of a State, which had now warred eight hundred years. And can we marvel, if when on the one part there may be reckoned more ages than years on the other, that in so long a time, fortune should vary more, than in the space of thirteen years? But why compare you not man with man, Captain with Captain, and lay their fortunes together? How many Roman Captains and Generals, in this case am I able to name, who never lost field? Ye may turn every leaf and page of the yearly annals of Magistrates, of day-books and journals of those Consuls and Dictators, whose valour and felicity the people of Rome had never came to repent of and be discontented for, so much as one day. And that which maketh them more wonderful, and to be admired above Alexander or any other King in the world, some of them bare the Dictatorship but ten or twenty days; and none the Consulship longer than a year. Their legates and ministers now and then were letted and impeached by the Tribunes of the Commons. The due and best time for war otherwhiles overslipped them, and yet they went forth. Before their term expired, they were often called home for to be presidents of the Magistrates Election. In the very midst and busiest time of their affairs, the year very often turned about. The inconsiderate rashness one while, and the peevish crookedness another while of a College and companion in government was hindrance and harm both. They succeeded sundry times after the loss and overthrow of their predecessors, and received the army either of raw untrained soldiers, or such as were in ill discipline trained up; whereas Kings and Monarchs contrariwise, not only freed and exempt from all such obstacles and inconveniences, but also Lords and Masters, and of absolute command over their enterprises, over times and seasons fit for execution, give direction to others, draw all after them to their advice and counsel, and are themselves directed and obeyed by none. Say now, that Alexander were invincible, and dealt with these Captains as invincible as himself, he should likewise have hazarded as great pawns and favours of fortune as any of them; nay rather, he should have adventured and incurred more jeopardy; in that the Macedonians had but Alexander alone, a man not only subject but also exposing himself to many perilous chances: but many Romans there had been equal to Alexander, either for glory or greatness of their worthy deeds: who every one should have lived and died according to the fatal course of his own several destiny, without the hazard of the whole and main chance. It remaineth now that forces be compared with forces, and armies to armies, either in number, or in quality of soldiers, or multitude of Allies, from whom they had their aids. There were esteemed by computation in the Taxing years, and Surveys taken by the Censors of that age, two hundred and fifty thousand polls Citizens of Rome. And therefore in all the revolts and rebellions of their allies the Latines, they were able to levy and enroll ten legions complete of Roman Citizens well bear and none else. And for many years oftentimes there were four and five armies employed at once, which maintained wars in *Tuscan*, in *Hetruria*, in *Umbria*, take also the Gauls with you their enemies likewise *Lucania* in *Sannio*. Besides all these, Alexander should have found all *Latium*.

E With the Sabines, Volscians, and Aequians; all *Campania*, part of *Umbria* and *Hetruria* with the Picentes, the Marsians, Pelignians, Vestins, and Apulians, and all the coast adjoining thereto of the Greeks, along the necher Tyrrhen sea, from the Thuriens to *Naples* and *Comes*, and from thence, the Samnites, as far as to *Antium* and *Hestia*. All these he should have met with, either mighty and puissant allies and friends to the Romans, or if they were enemies, vanquished and subdued by their arms. He should have passed the seas himself, having of old Macedonian bands, not above thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and those, most of them Thessalians: for this was all his power. And in ca he had joynted thereto the Persians, Indians, and other such nations; he should have drawn along after him, more let and encumbrance, that help and succour by them. Take this, over and besides, The Romans had fresh supplies always ready and near at hand, at home in the City: whereas Alexander his army (as afterwards it happened to *Annibal* warring in a strange country) would have waxed old and decayed. They had for their armour and weapons, a shield or buckler, and a spear in manner of a pike. The Romans had a target of larger capacity to cover the whole body, and a javelin, being a weapon much better and more forcible than the pike, either to strike and push withall near hand, or to be lanced a far off. The soldiers, I confess, both of the one side and the other, stood their ground surely, kept their place and array still within their severall ranks. The Macedonian huge Phalanx moved not, was steadfast and alwaies aiter one fort: but the Romans battallion more distinct, and consisting of many parts easie both to divide and display, or to joyn and reunite upon any occasion. To speak now of painful work and travell, what soldier is comparable to the Roman? Who better able to endure all sorts of labour? Alexander by the loss but of one battell had been clean done, and his war at an end forever. But the Romans, whose hearts, neither the shameful disgrace at *Cun-dinna*, nor the wofull defeat at *Cannae*, could amare and danc; what power would have discouraged? What battell in the world would have broken their backs? Certainly, Alexander although he had prosperity and good success in his first beginnings and enterprises, would oftentimes have missed his Persians and Indians, and desire with all his heart to have had dealing with them again, and other cowardly and dastard Nations of Asia: nay, he would have said, that he had warred before but with women, as Alexander, King of *Epirus* (by report) gave out,

A 2

when

Roman

when he was wounded to death, conferring the ease occurrents of war which this young Prince's nephew met withal in *Afra*, with the difficulties of his own, that he found herein in *Italy*. And verily, when I call to mind and remember the conflicts and fights at sea, in the first Punic war, for the space of twenty four years, with the Carthaginians, I suppose the whole age of *Alexander* would hardly have brought about and finished that one war, and against one of those two States. And peradventure, when both Carthaginians and Romans had been combined, either according to the ancient leagues, or for equal fear of a common enemy, and those two Cities most puissant both for men and munition, had taken arms at once against him, he would have been overwhelmed with the Punic and Roman war together. Moreover, the Romans have made good proof of the Macedonians as enemies; if not when they had *Alexander* to be their Captain, nor while the Empire of Macedonia was at the best, and stood upright unfoiled: yet tried them they have, and made head against them under the conduct of *Antiochus*, *Philip*, and *Perseus*: and it never cost them the loss and overthrow of their own part, nor so much as any appearance of danger at all. I would not be thought to speak a proud word, but be it said without arrogance, and setting all our civil wars aside: never were we distressed, either by horde or foot, never in open field and battel ranged, never on even and plain ground, never in unequal places of disadvantage, were we endangered. The souldier in heavy and complex harness, I confess, may fear the Cavalry in the plains: may fear shot of arrows, comber some forests and woods, straight gullies, and unpaffable wilds, without waies forward or backward: but let there be a thousand armies greater and stronger than the Macedonians or *Alexanders*, so long as we hold together, and continue still in this love of peace and care of civil concord, wherein we live at this present, we are able and ever shall be, to discomfit and put them all to flight.

After this were *M. Follius Flaccus*, and *L. Plautius Venox* Consuls. The same year there came from sundry Nations of the Samnits Embassadors, to treat for the renewing of the league, and moved the Senat, most humbly kneeling prostrate upon the ground: but being put off and referred to the people, their prayers availed not to such effect: for as concluding a league, they had a stay nay. And after they had for certain daies together importuned them one by one apart, with cap and congee: at length after much suit, they obtained truce for two years. And out of *Apulia* the Theanians and Canusins wearied with rodes and spoil made in their Territories, after they had put in hostages to *Lucius Plautius* the Consul, yielded themselves to his protection. The same year first began Provols to be created at *Capua*, to govern under certain laws given unto them by *L. Furius* the Pretor: after that themselves had made suit for the one and the other, as a remedy for their state, greatly decalcated through civil discord. And at *Rome* were two more Tribes added to the rest, *Ufretina*, and *Falerina*. When *Apulia* began once to shrink and go backward, the Theanians being also *Apulians*, presented themselves unto the new Consuls, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Emilius Barbula*, and sued to enter into a league with the Romans. And since they were the men that led the way first, and by their example and perswasion induced all *Apulia* to be in peace with the Romans, and had confidently undertaken, as sureties and pledges to bring it to pass they obtained their request. Yet was not the league indifferent and formal, with equal conditions, but so, as they should be in subjection to the people of *Rome*. After that *Apulia* was conquered (for *Junius* had won also *Tarentum*, a strong town and rich) they marched forward against the Lucans. Then upon the sudden coming of *Emilius* the other Consul, *Nesulum* was by force taken. And after that it was noised abroad amongst the allies of the people of *Rome*, that the state and weal publike of *Capua* were established by Roman discipline and government, the Antians also, who made moan and complained, that they lived without positive law and Magistrates, obtained of the Senate certain Advocats and Commissioners, to ordain Statutes likewise for that Colony. So, that not only the Roman arms, but also their law and jurisdiction extended far and near, and was of great request. *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Emilius Barbula* Consuls, in the end of the year, delivered their Legions not to the Consuls by them created, *S. Nautius*, and *M. Popilius*, but consigned them to *L. Emilius* the Dictator. Who with his General of horde, *L. Fulvius*, began to lay siege to *Saricula*, whereby he gave the Samnits occasion to rebell. Which brought upon the Romans a double fear two waies. For of the one side the Samnits having assembled a mighty army, to deliver their allies from the siege, pitched their Camp not far from the Romans' leagger: on the other side, the Satricans let open their gates suddenly, and with a great tumult brake into the wards and corps de guard of their enemies. And so both parts, relying rather upon hope of succour and help elsewhere, than trusting upon their own strength, within a while began to charge the Romans in full battell, with banner displayed, and distressed them. And although the Dictator was assailed both waies, yet was he sure and safe on either side, because he had got a plot of ground, not easie to be compassed, and made head both against the one and the other, advancing his ensignes accordingly. Howbeit, he charged more hotly upon them that sallied forth, and without much ado beat them again within the walls. Then turned he the whole battell upon the Samnits. Where there was hard hold, and more to do. The victory, though long first, was neither doubtful nor variable. The Samnits being chased and driven into their Camp, having in the night put out all their fires, dislodged and departed privily away: and being pift all hope of defending *Saricula*, they besieged *Plifia*, a town confederate to the Romans; to requite their enemy with the like disadvantage. The resolution of the year being gone about, the war continued under the conduct of

Q. Fabius

A *Q. Fabius* Dictator: and the new Consuls, like as the former remained still at *Rome*. And *Fabius* came before *Saricula* to receive the Army of *Emilius*, bringing with him a new supply to make up the broken bands: for the Samnits made no stay at *Plifia*, but having levied and sent forth fresh souldiers from home, presuming upon their great numbers, encamped in the very place where they lay afore: where by braving the Romans, and challenging them with many skirmishes, they would have forced them to raise the siege. But the Dictator so much more earnestly bent his forces against the wals of the enemies, thinking it the best piece of service to assail the Town, as being of such importance to the rest of the war, which depended thereon: and was more careful therefore of the Samnits, and only opposed against them certain guards both day and night, along the trench and rampire, to keep them from making any assault upon the Camp. But the Samnits on the other side, so much the more fiercely skirmished on horseback about the fortifications, and never gave them rest. In so much, as when the enemy now was at the point to enter the gates of the Camp, the General of the Horde, *Q. Emilius Cereatus*, without advice and direction of the Dictator, riding forth in a great noise with all his Cornets of Horde, repelled the enemy. But even in that light manner of skirmish, and no let battel of any long continuance, Fortune lo paid her part, and shewed what she could do, that on either side there befall notable loss, with the glorious death of both the Captains. For the General of the Samnits first taking it to heart, to see *Emilius* so fiercely led and give the charge, and himself to be distressed and driven out of his place, with much intreating and exhorting his horsemen, renewed the fight. Against whom, as he advanced himself bravely to be seen amongst his men and fought most valiantly, the Roman General of the horde, which (pear in rest, so galloped his horde, that with one push he unhorsed him and left him for dead: and yet for all this was not the whole troop besides (as commonly it is seen) at the fall of their Captain so much amazed, as provoked rather to fight. For they that were about him charged *Emilius* hard as he rashly rode without heed, and engaged himself too far within the thickest of the squadrons of his enemies, and lanced their javelins at him: but they gave the special honour to the brother of the Samnits Captain to be revenged for his death. He, full of anger and sorrow, plucked *Emilius* from his horde, and slew him in the place, even in the midst of his victory: and for that he fell among the troops of his enemies, he had like to have left his dead corps among the Samnits. But presently the Romans alighted on foot, and the Samnits were forced to do the same: and thus being arranged suddenly in great haste into battallions, there began a cruell fight on foot about the bodies of the Captains. Wherein the Romans went clear away with the better, and having recovered the corps of *Emilius*, in great joy, intermingled with sorrows, they returned winners into their Camp. The Samnits thus having lost their Captain, and grieved their strength what they could do in fight on horseback, left *Saricula*, which they supposed could not possibly be defended, and to returned again to the siege of *Plifia*. After few daies, *Saricula* was surrendered by composition to the Romans, and the Samnits by assault won *Plifia*. Then changed they the seat town of the war. For out of *Sannium* and *Apulia*, the Legions were removed to *Sora*. This *Sora* was revolted to the Samnits, and had slain all the inhabitants therein, that were Romans. E Against which place, when the Romans were come first by great journeyes to revenge the loss of their Countrymen, and to recover the Colony, their epials and Scouts whom they had sent out dispersed along the high waies, brought word, that the Legions of the Samnits followed, yea, and one after another gave advertisement, that they were not far off. Hereupon they went forth to meet with the enemy, and near to a place called *Lanula*, there was fought a desperate and dangerous battel: for no slaughter it was, nor flight of either part, but the very sight that parted them, and they knew not whether they had the better or the worse. In some Chronicles I find, that the Romans lost the day, and that they died in this battell. *Q. Emilius* General of the horde, *C. Fabius* chosen in the room of *Emilius*, came with a new and fresh army from *Rome*, and having dispatched messengers before to the Dictator to know his advice, where he should stay and rest, and what time, and withon on horse should set upon the enemy: after he was well informed, and instructed in all points what to do, he put himself close in ambush. The Dictator himself, who had for certain daies after the last skirmish, kept his souldiers within trench, more like one besieged, than besieging, all on a sudden, put forth the signal and token of battel: and thinking nothing more difficult, to animate and kindle the coverages of hard men, than to know of no other help or hope, nor to trust upon any man but in themselves, he concealed from his souldiers the coming of the General of Horde and his fresh forces, and so there had been no other way but one, even to break forth and fall with token. "We being (quoth he) my souldiers, pent here and taken tardy in these straights have no other issue but that which by victory we shall make open. Our hold, wherein we lie is fortified here enough, but G the time for scarcity of all things no more, is long, and hurtfull to us: for all parts hereabout are revolted from whence we should have convoy of victuals: and were it that the people were disposed to help us, yet the advences & passages are hard, and the place of one abode incommo- dious. Therefore will not I deceive and abuse you any longer, by leaving here your tents (to which ye may after ye have misfed, the entire victory) because your selves, as ye did the other day: for our fortifications and holds, ought to be defended by force of arms: and not our arms by forced forts. Let them have their Camp well fortified, to shut them out and to retire thither again at their pleasure, who have a purpose to make a long war of it. But let

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The Oration
of Q. Fabius
Relating to his
Souldiers.

"us cut off all regard of other matters, but only of a present and final victory. Advance then! your ensigns directly against the enemy: and so soon as our Army is once without the trench and rampiers, let them let the tents a fire, that have the charge so to do you shall make up your losses again, my soldiers, with the spoil of all the nations heretofore, that have revolted. At this speech of the Dictator, which shewed no other semblance but of extreme necessity, the soldiers took heart and were hot for to march straight to the enemy. And the very sight of their tents burning behind them (albeit those only which stood next were set on fire, for so the Dictator had given commandment) was no small provocation and prick unto them. And therefore they gave a charge like mad men, and at the first push and brunt they brake the array of the enemies: and withal, in good time, the General of the horse, when he saw a far off the tents on fire (for that was the signal agreed between them) came hastily upon the back of the enemies and assailed them. So the Samnites being environed round about, made every man what shift he could to get forth and escape, and so fled. But the main multitude that were shuffled together all on a round heap, for fear, being an hinderance one to another in the press, was slain in the midst and cut in pieces, the enemies camp won, and ransacked: with the pillage whereof the soldiers were laden and the Dictator brought them back unto their own Camp: who were not so joyous for the victory, as for that they found (besides a little part thereof disfigured by fire) all the rest safe and found, beyond their expectation.

From thence they returned to *Sora*, where the new Consuls *M. Petillius* and *Cassius Sulpitius* took the Army at the hands of *Fabius* the Dictator: who discharged many of the old soldiers, and brought certain new cohorts for supply in their stead. But when by reason of the difficult and unaccessible sight of the Town, they knew not well which way, and by what means to make assault, and feeling that the winning of it would either ask long time, or be exposed to manifold and present dangers: a certain runaway-Traitor of *Sora* who was closely stolen out of the Town, got to the Roman Sentinels, and required forthwith to be brought to the Consuls: who being presented before them, promised to betray the Town: and being questioned withal, how and by what means he would perform that which he undertook, seemed unto them to allege some reasons to good purpose, and prevailed so far with them, that he caused the Roman Camp, which lay in a manner close under the walls, to be removed six miles off the Town, saying, that thereby, the wards by day, and the watch by night would be neglected, and less careful and diligent to keep the City. Himself the night following, after he had willed certain cohorts of horsemen to lie in ambush within the woods near the Town, took with him select and chosen soldiers: and through steep places, and such as were not well passable, conducted them into the Castle, having brought thither more shot and darts to throw than to serve for small number of men: besides, there was good store of stones at hand, which lay there, either scattered by chance (as commonly in such craggy and rocky ground) or else heaped together by the townsmen of purpose, for the better defence of the place. Where, after he had bestowed the Romans, and shewed them a narrow and steep path-way out of the town into the Castle. From getting up here (quoth he) there needs no more but three men only well armed to keep back the greatest multitude that is: ye are in number ten, and more than that, Romans: and of Romans the most hardy and valiant: the place will stand you. I know, the darkness of the night will be for your purpose, the night, yfay, which by reason of uncertainties, maketh all things seem much more than they are to men affrighted and amazed already. I will for my part set all in a hurry bury, look you in the mean time that you duly keep the fortrels. This said, he runs down with as great a noise and shouting as he could; crying, Alarm, help, help Citizens, the Castle is taken by the enemy, come away to defence. These words he rebounded ever as he rapped at the gates of the principal Citizens and Noblemen: these words he redoubled aloud to all that he met, and to as many as ran forth affrighted into the streets. This fearful alarm received from one man: was set abroad by many more all over the City. The Magistrates quaking for fear, sent certain to the Castle in secret to discover the truth: and advertised by them that the Castle was surprized indeed by armed men, and full of armor for they made the number, and every thing else, more than it was) were plain put out of all hope to recover their Fortrels. So every where they fell to running away: the gates were broken open by them that were not well awake, and those most part unarmed. At one of the gates, those companies of the Romans afore said, who lay in ambush, and were raised with the noise and clamour, brake in, and killed all that in this night ran headlong in their way. This was *Sora* won against the Consuls should come in the morning betimes by break of day: and look whose fortune it was to escape out of the massacre made in the night, and to flee away those they took to mercy upon submission: whereof two hundred twenty five, even those who by the general voice of all were pointed at, and reputed above the rest the principal actors in that horrid massacre afore said of the Roman Colonies, inhabitants, and the authors of thereof: they had away with them to *Rome*, bound hand and foot. The other multitude they left at *Sora* a half dead and planted there a garrison. All they that were brought to *Rome* were in the market-place scourged with rods, and beheaded with the exceeding joy and contentment of all the Commons, whom it concerned most, that the multitude which should be sent into sundry Colonies might in every place live in safety and security of their lives.

The Consuls being departed from *Sora*, marched forward to make war upon the Lands and Territories

A Territories of the Aufonians: for the coming of the Samnites after the battle of *Lautula*, they were all out, full of insurrections and commotions, and many conspiracies there were in all places about *Campania*: neither was *Capua* itself without blame and faultless. Nay, this matter passed as far as to *Rome*, where information was made against some of the Nobles, and warning given to enquire into them. But the whole nation of the Aufonians, by reason that the Cities were betrayed, like as *Sora*, was reduced under obedience to the people of *Rome*, *Aufonia*, *Minturne*, and *Veii* were the Cities, out of which twelve of the chief young Gentlemen having conspired and sworn together to betray their own Cities, presented themselves unto the Consuls, giving them to understand, "That their countrymen wished long ago for the coming of the Samnites, and so soon as they heard of the battle near *Lautula*, made account that the Romans were utterly vanquished, and helped the Samnites both with men and munition. But now, say they, that the Samnites were chased from thence, they lived unresolute in doubtful terms of peace, and shut not their gates in dread upon the Romans, for fear of bringing war upon themselves, yet obdurdly bent to shut them, if their Army approached toward them. In this wavering and doubtful floating of their minds, they might at unawares be suddenly surprized. By this perswasion of theirs they encamped nearer, and at one and the self same time were soldiers lent about those three towns before named, some in armor closely to lie in ambush in convenient places near the walls: others in hide gowns with swords under them, who a little before day, so soon as the gates were set open, should enter into those Cities. By whom the matter was so handled, that at one instant they began to kill the warders at the gates, and gave a signal to those armed soldiers who lay in ambush, for to rise at once and come to succour. Thus were the gates seized and possessed, and three towns in one hour by the same stratagem surprized. But because this exploit was performed in the absence of the Captains, there was no stay in execution and slaughter, but beyond all measure, and without all mercy, no sex nor age was spared: and so the whole nation of the Aufonians, before they were detected for certain of revolt, was destroyed and extinguished, as if they had warmed mortally and been at deadly feud.

The same year *Luceria* came into the hands of the Samnites, by reason that the City had betrayed and delivered the Roman garrison to them: but the traitors went not long unpunished for it. The Roman Army chanced to be not far from thence, and at the first assault, the City standing as it did on a plain, was won. The *Lucerians* and Samnites both were put to the sword every one: and so far forth proceeded their furious rage, that when the Senate sat in council at *Rome*, about sending men to inhabit *Luceria*, many were of mind, that the City itself should be raised to the ground and destroyed: for besides the cursed and execrable hatred they bare against them being twice conquered and revolted: the distance also of the place so remote, caused them to mislike greatly, and abhor the confining, as it were, of their Citizens, so far from home, to live amongst such a kind of people so cruel and dangerous. However, their opinion took place and prevailed: who gave advice, that Colonies and inhabitants should thither be sent, and to the number of 3500 were there planted.

The same year when as the Romans found all unjoyal unto them, and nothing but falsehood on all sides; at *Capua* also certain secret conspiracies of the Nobles and best of the City were detected and revealed. Touching which, the Senate advice was asked, and the matter not neglected by them, but Commissions were appointed: and thought good it was that a Dictator should be nominated for to sit upon the same commissions and inquisitions. And *C. Manius* was created, who named *M. Feltius* General of the Horse, Great was the terror of that Magistrate, and thereupon either for fear or guiltiness of conscience, the two *Calpurnii*, *Quintus* and *Novius*, who were the chief of that complot, before information was given against them by name to the Dictator died: & questionless by their own hands (horred their daies and so avoided the trial of justice and punishment accordingly. After that, when the Inquisition wanted subject matter once about the *Capuans*, the Inquisitors (by interpretation of words in the Commission) proceeded to *Rome*, saying, that the Senate had good warrant to make enquiry and straight search, not by name and precisely, who at *Capua* only: but generally, who in any place whatsoever had used conveniences, and conspired against the Common-wealth: and all secret meetings, say they, and packings together, for to get Dignities and Offices, were directly against the State and Common-wealth: so that the Commission extended larger both for person and real action. Yea, and the Dictator himself nothing gain said, but that the verue of his Commission was directed without limitation. Hereupon were certain Gentlemen of the Nobility brought into question: and notwithstanding they were called upon the Tribunes for to assist them, with interposing their negative, yet there was not one of them would favour and relieve them, the preiudgment was taken against them, and they indicted. Then the Nobility, I mean not them alone who were in trouble, but generally the whole Gentry of the City, at once, pleaded, that they were not the natural and true Noblemen indeed, who were to be touched and charged with this crime: who if it were not for sinister and indirect courses, had ease and open places unto all honourable places and promotions: but certain new upstarts and Gentlemen of the fifth head: saying, That it was the very case of the Dictator himself, and his General of Horse, who were rather parties guilty, and offenders themselves, than sufficient inquirors, and competent Judges: and that should they well know and understand, when they were once out of their place and office. This made *Manius* to bestir himself, who mindful of his good name and reputation, than respective of his high place and absolute

A conspiracy of the Aufonians.

Sora surprized by treason.

The Oration
of *Manius* the
Dictator.

absolute government, went up into the common place of audience before all the people, and spake to this effect: "My Matters and friends all Citizens of *Rome*, well assured I am, that private are to the whole carriage and course of my former life; and besides that, even this very honour and dignity which you have bestowed upon me, is able to rectify and approve mine innocence. For, to sit upon these iniquities, there was not to be chosen now for Dictator (as oftentimes heretofore, according to the dangerous occasions and necessity of the time) a man reputed the best and most noblest warrior of all others; but such a one, as throughout his whole life hath most of all militated and condemned ambitious conventicles. Howbeit, forasmuch as certain persons of noble lineage, (for what cause, it is more meet for you to deem and judge than for me being a Magistrate, to speak without book, as they say, and upon no sure ground) first have endeavoured with all their might and main to overthrow the process of the inquisition itself; and afterwards, seeing they were not able themselves to bring that about (notwithstanding they were *Patritii*) have fled to the holds of their very adversaries, even the protection of the Tribunes and their negative, rather than to justify themselves and stand to the trial of their cause; and at last having there also a repulse (which means slier than to approve their innocence) have fallen upon us, and bashed not (private men as they are) to accuse and touch the person of him that is Dictator: to the end therefore, that both God and man and all the world may know, that as they have assiduously to compass that which they are not able to bring to pass, namely, to avoid the rendering an account of their life and demeanor; so, I am ready (to set forward their accusations) to offer myself unto mine adversaries; and giving them means to call me to mine answer, here I resign up my Dictatorship. And I beseech you, O Consuls, if so be this charge be laid on you by the Senat, to proceed in examination against me first, and this Gentleman the General of Horse *M. Feltius*: that it may appear, how we, through our own innocency alone, and not by the countenance and privilege of our dignity and high calling, are protected and safe from these slanders and intended crimes. Herewith he gave over his place of Dictator: and after him incontinently, *M. Feltius* yielded up his roomlikewise of General over the Horse. These persons were the first, who being charged and put to their trial judicially before the Consuls, (for to them by order from the Senat, was the commission directed) notwithstanding all the depositions and testimonies of the *Patritii*, were in every point found unguilty, and acquitted. *P. Philo* also, albeit he had at many times attained to the supreme dignities of state, after he had achieved so many worthy deeds, as well in peace as war, yet a man maliced or envied rather of the Nobility, was put to plead for himself, and finally absolved. But this inquiry into such men of name and quality, lasted no longer in force, (as it is usually seen) than while it was fresh, and in the first heat thereof. From them it began to fall to persons of less reckoning and baser account, until such time, as by the same conventicles and factions against which it was devised, it fell to the ground, and was trodden underfoot.

The bruit of these things, and more than that, the hope of the Campains revolt, whereto certain had conspired and sworn (as ye have heard) recalled the Samnites back again to *Caudium*, who were turned and bent wholly into *Apulia*: that from thence, being so near at hand unto *Capua*, they might (it haply any insurrection and trouble presented the overturn and opportunity) seize upon it and take it perforce from the Romans. Thither came the Consuls with a strong and mighty army: and at the first they staid and lingered about the passes and straits, having on the one side and the other an ill way of passage unto the enemies. Afterwards the Samnites fetching a short compass about, came down with their army through the open places into the plains, I mean, the champaign country and fields about *Capua*. And that was the first time that the enemies had a fight one of the others Camp. Whereupon by light skirmishes, on horseback oftner than on foot, they tried masteries on either side: neither were the Romans one jot discontented with the issue and event thereof, nor repented of the delay whereby they drew the war a length. Contrariwise, the Samnites perceived their forces to wear daily by small losses, and their courage to cool and decay evidently by that lingering war. Whereupon, they came abroad into the field and divided their Cavalry into wings: with a special charge, to have a more careful eye backward toward their camp (for fear of any impression and assault that way than to the main battle: which would be guarded safe enough by the Infantry. The Consul marshalled themselves in this manner *Sulpicius* led the right point of the battle and *Peitius* the left: the right side (where as the Samnites also were arranged in thinner ranks and files, of purpose to compass and environ the enemies, or not to be compassed and enclosed themselves) shewed itself more abroad and open. They on the left hand, besides that they stood thicker and more close, were by occasion of a sudden policy of *Peitius* the Consul further strengthened. For those cohorts and bands which were reserved apart in the rearward, for help at any need, and kept fresh against all occurrences and hazards of long fight, he advanced presently to the forefront in the van guard and with all his forces at once charged the enemy at the first encounter & forced him to retreat. When the footmen of the Samnites were thereby troubled and disheartened, the horsemen followed close and entered into the skirmish. But as they rode cross and overthwart between the two hosts, the Roman horsemen picked and galloped their horses to flank them: and disordered and troubled the enemies, cornets, squadrons and troops of foot and horse pell-mell together, until he had caused the whole battle of that side to turn their backs. In this left point not *Peitius* alone, but *Sulpicius* also joyned with him, and was present in person to exhort and encourage the soldiers: for he had transported and distracted

A distracted himself from his own men, who as yet were not come to join battle at the city & shout that arose from the left side: and seeing on that part undoubted victory, he went towards his own charge, accompanied with 1200 men: Where he found a change of fortune, namely, the Romans to have retreated and lost ground, and the enemy as victor, advancing forward his ensigns upon them fore-dimaid and daunted. Howbeit, the Consul his coming made a present alteration: for both at the sight of their Captain were the soldiers hearts refreshed and comforted; and for to aid them, there came a greater supply indeed than in shew of number, of all and lusty men. So when they heard first, and saw soon after, the victory got of the other part, they renewed the fight. After this on all sides the Romans had the better hand, and the Samnites giving over fight, B were either slain or taken prisoners: saving only those, who fled to *Malercentum* a town now named *Beneventum*. It is left in record that there were upon 3000 Samnites, either left killed in the place, or brought away captive.

The Consuls having obtained this notable victory, forthwith from thence lead their Legions (taking leave unto *Bovinum*) and there wintered before the Town, until such time as *C. Peitius* (chosen Dictator together with *M. Feltius* his General of the Horse, by the new Consuls *L. P. P. P. P.* for the fifth time, and *C. Jun. Bubulcus* the second time) received the Army at their hands. Who hearing, that the Castle of *Frégella* was by the Samnites taken, left *Bovinum*, and went forward to *Frégella*, which he recovered again without drawing his sword: for that the enemies had quit the place, and were fled by night: and when he had placed a strong garrison there, he returned from thence into *Campania*, of special purpose to regain *Nola* by force of arms. Thither were retired within the walls, a little before the Dictator his coming, both all the whole multitude of the Samnites, and the ritual priests about *Nola*. The Dictator having viewed the situation of the Town, to the end he might have the more open access to the walls, set all the houses on fire that were in the suburbs along the counter-slope (and there they stood thick and were well inhabited). And not long after, whether it were by *Peitius* Dictator (I know not) or *C. Junius* Consul (for it is reported as well of the one as the other) *Nola* was forced and won. They that would draw unto the Consul the honour of winning *Nola*, add moreover and say, That he won also *Atina* and *Calatia*: and that *Peitius* upon a petition that began, was made Dictator, for the setting or fastning of a spike or great nail. Two Colonies that year were conducted to *Surfusa* and *Pontia*, *Surfusa* belonged to the *Aurunci*. The Volscians inhabited the Island *Pontia*, situated over against their own shore within a kenning. And a decree passed from the Senat, that to *Cassianum* also, a third Colony there should be sent inhabitants. *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*, the Consuls that next succeeded, ordained three *Triumvirs*, for that purpose, and sent four thousand to people those places.

The war with the Samnites was in a manner now dispatched and brought to an end: but before that the Nobles and Senators of *Rome* had let the care thereof a brute was blown of the *Tuiscans* war. And there was in those daies another nation (being the Gauls tumults aside) whose forces and hostility they more feared; for that their country was so near a neighbour and so populous withal. Therefore, whiles one of the Consuls was occupied in dispatching the reliques of the war in *Samnium*, *P. Decius* who staid at *Rome* grievously felt, by authority of the Senat, named Dictator *C. Junius Bubulcus*. He according as the important affairs required, caused all the younger sort to take the military oath, and prest them for soldiers. Armor, and whatsoever requisite besides, with great diligence he prepared. And albeit he were thus furnished and well appointed yet was he nothing bold and forward to begin war, willing (no doubt) to be quiet and stand upon his guard, unless the *Tuiscans* themselves themselves first in arms. The same purpose had the *Tuiscans* also, both in preparing for war, and in making stay to begin war. So, of neither side they departed out of their own limits.

In that year there was a famous Censorship of *App.* *Claudius*, and *C. Plautius*. But the name of *Appius* became more memorable of the twain, and of happier renown unto posterity, for that he paved with stone the cauley or "Pore-way" (bearing his name) and conveyed a channel of water into the City of *Rome*, which works he finished alone, for that his Colleague for shame of an infamous and odious choice of certain Senators which he made, gave over the office. But *Appius* having the stout stomach, engrained in his name and house from the beginning, bare the Censorship alone. By the motion and means of the same *Appius*, the *Patritii*, to whose family properly belonged the Priestly service, at the altar of *Hercules* called *Maxima*, had taught certain publick servantes (for that the function might be committed over to them as delegats) the solemn rites and ceremonies of that sacred ministry. Hereupon is reported a wonder to be spoken, and that which might strike a scruple of conscience, and make men afraid ever after, to alter any thing in religion from the former state and first institution. For whereas at the same time there were twelve houses of the *Patritii*, and in them about thirty that were above fourteen years of age; within one year it is said, that they died all, with their whole issue and off-spring. Moreover, that not only the name of the *Patritii* became thus extinct, but that *Appius* also the Censor, within certain years (such was the ire of the gods mindfull of revenge) fell blind. Therefore the Consuls that followed in the next year, *C. Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Emilius Barbula* the second time, in the very entrance of their office framed a complaint unto the people: That by the leud and corrupt Election of some new Senators, that honourable state and order was deformed, and namely, how some were over-slipp, who were of more worth than those that were taken in: And saying plainly, That

* Surnamed
Cecus, that is,
Blind or Blind,
* *Appia* was,
* Out of the
river *Arno*, and
was called,
Aqua Claudia

That they would not observe and have in any regard such a choice, which without respect of good and bad was made for favour and affection to some, and at the pleasure of the Censors: and immediately they cited the Senat by name in that order and form, as had been used before the Censors, *App. Claudius* and *C. Plautius*.

And in that year were two places of charge and command, first given by the people, both pertaining to warfare: the one, that sixteen Colonels for four Legions, should from that time forward by the people be created, which before were in a manner the gifts and favours conferred by the Dictators and Consuls: and few or none of the people had any hand or voice therein. This Act and Ordinance was propounded by *L. Postumius* and *C. Marcius*, Tribunes of the Commons. The other was, That the same people should have the appointment and ordaining of two Duumvirs at sea for the fitting, repairing, and trimming of the Navy. The maker of this Act was *M. Delcius*, another Tribune of the Commons.

I wouldler pass nothing that happened this year, as of small weight and importance, and not worth the speaking, but that it seemed a matter pertinent to religion. The minstrels that played upon the flute and hautbois, for that they were prohibited and debared by the late Censors, to have their good cheer any more in the Temple of *Jupiter*, according to an old custom and tradition, took snuff there, and in a peeling chafe all in one company went their waies to *Tybur*: so as there was not one of them in the City left to sing and pipe before the pomp of sacrifices, and on their festival daies. The Senat made some conscience hereof, and were troubled in their mind, Whereupon they dispatched certain messengers to *Tybur*, to travel with the townsmen, and endeavour all they could, that these good fellows might be restored and sent home again to the Romans. The Tyburtins undertook the matter, and promised right courteously to do their best: and first they sent for these minstrels into their Town-Hall, and perswaded with them to return again to Rome: But when they could not be brought to that, for any thing they could do, then they wrought another policy and feat with them, that forced and fited well the humour of such kind of people and of their coat. Upon a festival holiday, under a colour of making merry with minstrelle and musick about them, some invited one and some another, to give them a fit of mirth accordingly. But they plied them with wine (which all the sort of this profession love but too well) that they drank untill they winked, and winked so long, till they fell fast asleep. And being found asleep, the Tyburtins brought them gently to their beds in certain waggon, and thus bestowed, conveyed them to Rome. Neither perceived they ought, senseless drunken forsy they, before that their wagons were left in the market place of Rome. Nay, before they had slept out and concocted their wine that steamed up into their heads, and clouded there, the day-light came upon them and then they awoke. The people came running together from all parts to them, and after they had ciphered at their hands or charged them to stay, and make no more such frolicke, it was granted unto them, that three daies every year, being disguised and dressed in a mask for the purpose, they might range and walk about the City, with singing, and founding their instruments, after this licentious manner and jollity, which now adies is yearly used, and their privilege of eating in the temple was restored to them again, namely, to such as sung and played in time of their divine service and sacrifices: and all was well. This ridiculous pageant hapned amidst the care and preparation of two great and dangerous wars.

The Consuls parted their Provinces between them: To *Junius* fell by lot the Samnits to *Emilius* the new war in *Hesperia*. In *Samnium*, *Cluvia*, a fortress and hold of the Romans being impregnable by an assault, was a long time besieged: and forced by extrem famine, was delivered up to the Samnits. After they were on a Massers of the fort, they took the garri'on soldiers, and notwithstanding they yielded themselves, yet they whipped and tormented flesh most beauly, and in the end, without all mercy killed them. *Junius* exceeding wroth at this cruelty, thinking nothing more needful to be done, first than the winning again of *Cluvia* laid all other matters aside, and the same day that he assailed the walls, took it by force, and slew all he could find above fourteen years of age. In this train of victory the Army was brought again to *Boiuntium*. This was the chief place of the Pentrians in *Samnium*, the wealthiest City, the best provided, and most furnished of all other with men and munition. The soldiers very eager and sharp set for the rich pillage won the Town. But for that they were nothing so angry and hot of revenge as before, they dealt not so cruelly with the enemies: but they got together and carried away more spoil and faggot from thence than they ever had well near out of all *Samnium*: and as liberally it was bestowed every whit upon the soldiers. And forasmuch as no pitched battell in plain field, no Camp so well fortified, no Cities and Forts, howsoever fenced, were able to withstand the puissant Romans in force of open arms: all the Princes in *Samnium* studied and applied their wits to find means of sleight and subtil policy: it haply, as they wasted and forraged the Territories after a loose and licentious manner, the Army disbanded once, might be entrapped and enclosed with in some ambush. It fell out so, that certain fugitive peasants of the Country, and Captives, some by chance, and other of purpose, coming in their way, made relation of tidings to the Consuls: well agreeing all in one tale, and the same founding of a truth indeed; namely, that a great sort of sheep and other cattle were driven together into a by-forest out of the way: and so induced them to lead thither the Legions lightly armed, and to fit their hands with a fat booty. Now the Samnits had privately forelaid all the high waies with a mighty army, and after that they saw the Romans to have entered & engaged themselves within the chafe or forest, all of a sudden

A sudden they rose up and with a great cry and shout ran upon them to charge them when they least thought of any such thing. At the first this so strange and unexpected occurrence made them afraid, while they took them to their weapons, and laid their fardels and baggage together on a heap in the midst. But after that every man was cald of his load, and had put on his armor, they rallied on all sides to their enemies: and without the command or direction of any man, they of themselves put the battell in array, each one knowing his rank and place according to the accustomed order of the ancient Military discipline. The Consul perceiving that he was brought to a most doubtful and dangerous battell, alight from his horse: and protested before *Jupiter* and *Mars*, and the other gods whom he called all to witness: "That he came not into that place to get glory to himself by any enterprize, but only a booty for his soldiers: and that no fault else could be imputed unto him but an overmuch desire and affection of his to enrich his soldiers by the spoil of the enemy. From which blame and shame both, nothing could free and acquit him self, but the manhood and prowess of his soldiers: exhorting them with one accord but to slay themselves and endeavour all together to let upon their enemy, defeated and a vanquished in battell driven out of Camp and field, bereaved of his Towns and strong holds, and to know to attempt his last and utmost hope of privy and theifish trains of forlaging, trusting upon the advantage of the ground and not pure force of arms. But what place is there now unassailable or unpregnable to the valiant Romans? Here withall he named the Cattle of *Fregella* and *Sora*, and what place of disadvantage and hard access he ever they had won by force. With these words the soldiers encouraged and enflamed, forgetting all diffculties and dangers, marched apace and advanced forward up to the army of the enemies that now approached them, and were over their heads. Where the Romans found some difficulty: all the while they climbed up the cliff or ridge of the hill against them. But after that the foremost engine were mounted up and had gained the plain in the top, and perceived they were embattelled upon an even and equal ground, presently the terror turned upon those that lay in wait for them, & being disbanded, scattered, and driven to fling away their weapons, they fled and trudged as fast as they could to recover again those flanking and lurking holes, wherein before they had hid themselves. But even those difficult places which they had sought of purpose for their enemy, and their own deceit and guile, encumbered themselves. For very few of them could find the way out, and escape by flight, inasmuch as to the number of 20000 were slain. And then the Romans after this victory ran up and down at their pleasure to that booty of sheep and cattle, which was first presented unto them by the enemy, as a bait to catch them with.

Whiles these things thus went in *Samnium*, all the people of *Hesperia* by this time, but only the *Aretins*, were up in arms, and entered into a right great war; beginning first with the siege and assault of *Surinam*: which City being allied to the Romans, was (as a man would say) the very Barriers of all *Hesperia*. Thither came the other Consul *Emilius* with an army to relieve and deliver their allies, and to raise the siege. Against the Romans coming, the *Surins* currently brought victuals to the Camp, lying before the City. The *Tuficans* spent the first day in consulting whether they should make a short war of it, by hot assaults, or temporise and protract the time by a lingering siege. The morrow after, when as the Captains liked rather of expedition and hasty courses than of more lase and late proceedings at the sun rising they set out a flag of defiance and the signal of battell, and armed they go forth of their Camp into the open field to fight. Whil' after it was told the Consul, presently he commanded a watch-word to be given, that the soldiers should take their breakfast: and after they had refreshed and strengthened their bodies with food, go straight to arm themselves: which was obeyed accordingly. The Consul seeing them well appointed in readines, commanded the engines to advance forward out of the rampier, and not far from the enemy marshalled his battels. For a good while they stood on both sides, wittily looking, and waiting that the shout and charge should begin from the adverse part. But it was past noon before there was one dart flung or javelin launched either from the one side or the other. But then, because they should not go away without doing somewhat, the *Tuficans* began to let up a cry the trumpets found the charge, and the standards came forward. Neither were the Romans any jot behind to begin battell: Thus they ran to it, and encountered with exceeding animosity and fury; the enemies more in number, the Romans better in hardiness and virtue, the fight was doubtful and dangerous, and cost the life of many a man on both sides and namely, those that were most forward and valiant: neither began they to shrink on any part, before that the second battalion of the Romans, fresh and lusty, advanced to the forefront of the vanguard into the place of their wearied fellows. The *Tuficans* for that their vanguard was not supplied and reinforced by any new succours both before and all about their engines were beaten down and slain every man. Never in any one battell had there been less running away, or more bloodshed, if the night had not protected the *Tuficans*: so resolute were they all to die in the place: inasmuch as the winners gave over play before the loisers. After the sun fell, the retreat was founded: and by night both parts returned into the Camp. After this, no exploit was performed before *Surinam* that year, worth remembrance: both for that, the forward of the enemies army, was wholly in that one battell defeated and destroyed; and they had none left but the Subsidiary soldiers of the rearward, and those hardly able and sufficient to guard and defend the Camp: and also, the Romans were so hurt and sore wounded, that there were more of them died after the battell of their hurts than were slain in the very skirmish outright. *Q. Fabius*, Consul for the year following, succeeded

* A Legion consisted now of 6000 footmen; howsoever at other times, of 3000, 5000, 6000, and 8000, and the Colonels fewer or more in a legion, according to the quantity thereof. There be lodged besides to every legion ordinarily 300 horse. With whom the Tribunes or Colonels are forelaid had nothing to do, being Captains of 2000 foot a pece.

Joining the Consul to his soldiers.

ed and entred upon this war at *Sutrium*. And for his colleague he had *C. Marius Rusticus*; and like as *Fabius* brought a new supply from *Rome* to furnish out the broken bands; so there came fresh forces also unto the *Tuscan*, levied at home.

For many years there had been no jars and debates between the Magistrates of the Nobility and the Tribunes of the Commons: but now there began a variance and contention out of that family and house, which even then was fatal, (as it were) and born to do mischief to the Tribunes and Commons both. *Appius Claudius* the Censor, after eighteen months expired (which by the law *Emilia* was the full term of bearing that Magistracy) notwithstanding that *C. Plautius* his Colleague had given up his office; but by no means possible before he went to go out and give over the place. Then rose up one *P. Sempronius*, a Tribune of the Commons, who took in hand this matter as touching the demission of the Censorship within the time prefixed by the law: an action doubtless, not more popular than just and right, nor less acceptable to the better sort, than pleasing to the very Commons and base people. He having frequently rehearsed and reiterated the law *Emilia*, extolled with praises up to the sky, the author and maker thereof, *Marcus Emilius* a Dictator: who had reduced the Censorship, an office at that time of five years continuance (a puissance and authority, which by the length thereof favoured of Lordship) within the compass of a year and six months. "Come on, quoth he, *Appius Claudius*, answer and say, "what you would have done in case you had been Censor, when *C. Furius*, and *M. Genucius* were "Censors?" *Appius* answered and said, that this demand and question of the Tribune did not greatly touch or concern his cause. For put the case, that the law *Emilia* had obliged those Censors, during whose Magistracy the Act was made, (for that after those Censors created, the people had granted that law, and look what they last allowed and ordained the same was good, lawful, and ratified) yet neither he nor any of them, who after that law enacted were created Censors, could be bound by virtue of that law. Whiles *Appius* thus cavilled, and no man there present looted him up, or gave applause and assent unto him: "Behold *Quintus*, quoth *Sempronius*, "again, the progeny and race of that *Appius*, who being created Decemvir for one year, elected himself the second year: and in the third, being chosen neither by himself, nor by any other in "quality of a private person, held the sovereign dignity and government, with all the regal marks; and ensigns thereof: and thus continuing still in rule and dominion, would never give over, before that his usurped governments of his ill-gotten, badly born, and naughtily kept and reined, were his final fall and utter overthrow. This is the same family and house, (my Masters and friends, Citizens of *Rome*) by whose violence, by whose wrongs and oppression, ye were driven like poor banished persons to forgo your own dear native country, and to seize and hold the Mount *Sacra*: the very same, against which ye procured and purchased to your selves the support and help of Tribunes: the same, for which with two armies ye were fain to possess your selves of the *Aventine* hill: the same that always withstood the Statutes devised against *Utiq*; the same that ever impugned the laws for division of wast lands among the people: the same brake for the time, and interrupted the marriages between the Nobles and Commons: the same kept out the Commons so long from bearing any dignities of the Chair, and of State: finally, this name is much more spitefully and mortally bent against your freedom, than that of the *Tarquins*. And is it to indeed, *O App. Claudius*? Would you have us believe, that being now an hundred years since *Marcus Emilius* was Dictator, there have been so many Censors most noble and valiant personages, that none of them all ever rid the twelve Tables? and none of them knew that to be law which the people last granted and allowed? Yes I wis, they all wist that well enough: and thereupon yielded they, and obeyed rather the law *Emilia* than the old and ancient Statute, (whereby the first Censors were created in the Common wealth) even because the people approved it last: and by reason that there are two ordinances repugnant and contrary one to the other, there the new always repealeth and abrogateth the old. And is this your laying, *O Appius*? That the people are not bound to the law *Emilia* or rather that they are tied unto it, but your good self alone is free and exempt therefrom? Was the law *Emilia* able to bridle and curb those violent Censors *C. Furius*, & *M. Genucius*, who shewed ed sufficiently what harm and mischief this Magistracy could do in a Common-wealth, when for anger & despite that their term was abridged and cut short, they disfranchised, and deprived of the right of voice and suffrage yea, and brought within the range of Tributaries, *M. Emilius* the worthiest and most excellent personage of his time, both at home in peace, and abroad in war? This law took hold of all the Censors, one after another in order, for the space of an hundred years after; and bindeth now *C. Plautius* your Colleague, created with the same Aulipes, and in equal authority with you. Tell me (I pray you) did not the people elect and make him with as good right and authority as any Censor might be? Are you the only and special man amongst all others to have this prerogative, this privilege and singular preeminence by your self? Suppose a man should create the King Sacrificer, should he, having once got the name and title of a King, give out and avouch, that he was King indeed, of as great a prerogative as any King of *Rome*? Who, think you, will be content with a Dictatorship of six months, or with an Interregne for five daies and no more? Whom may a man boldly and confidently create Dictator either to fasten a pike or great nail? Or for the state's plaies and games, or horse-running, and such like? How foolish, think ye my Masters, how base-minded and simple were they in this "man his conceits, who within twenty daies, after notable exploits done and achieved, gave over their

The Orator of P. Sempronius as a Tribune of the Commons, against App. Claudius [Cicero.]

A "their Dictatorship? or they that being created with some error and default, went out of their "place? But what need I to rehearse examples of old date? Of late, even within these ten years, "C. Manius Dictator, for enforcing a commission more severely than stood with the fairness of some great & wealthy persons, was charged by them with the guiltiness of the same crime, whereupon he late and made inquisition; who, to the end, that being a private person, he might answer the accusation of his adversaries, and justify himself, resigned up his Dictatorship. But I would not, that you in any hand were so modelt: no, no, degenerate not a jot from that most imperious stock and proud race: go not you forth of your office, howsoever you do, a day no, nor an hour sooner than you needs must: but see then withall, that you exceed not the ordinary time limited "and let down. At leastwise, it might content you to draw out your Censorship a day longer, or "to stretch it farther by a month. A month? what tell you me of a month? I will exercise my Censorship (quoth he) three years and six months, more than may be by the law *Emilia*: yea, and by myself alone will I exercise it. Yea, my fir, this is somewhat like indeed, and spoken like a King. What will, you will you substitute unto you a Colleague in the room of the other? will you to? Whom "lawfull it is not to subrogate and chosen, no, not in the dead his place? For you think it not enough, belike, that you (religious holy Censor that you be) have translated and transmitted, that most ancient solemnity, and only instituted by that good *[Hercules]* in whose honour it is celebrated, from the function of most noble Sacrificers and Chaplains, of that divine and sacred service, unto the ministry of base servants, and abject slaves: and that a kindred and lineage of greater antiquity, than the very first foundation of this City, so sanctified by entertainment "and lodging of the immortal gods, by your means, and by occasion of your Censorship, within one year is rooted out and perished every mothers son: unless also by the same means, you hazard the whole Common-wealth, and bring all into the same enormity and guilt of wickedness, which even to preface and conjuncture, my heart doth tremble and quake again. In that *[Lustrum]* (or five years space) was the City of *Rome* taken by the Gauls, wherein *L. P. Appius Censor*, because he might not go out of his Censorship, took a Colleague unto him, *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, in the place of *C. Julius* the Censor late deceased. And yet see how much more sober and moderate was his ambitious humour in that behalf, than this of yours, *O Appius*. For *L. P. Appius* neither alone, nor yet beyond the just set time by law administered his Censorship: "D yet found he never any one person after him, that would imitate and follow his example. All Censors from that time forward, upon the death of their fellow Censor gave up the office. But as for you, notwithstanding that the date of your Censorship be fully out, and your companions in government departed out of the place; neither law nor flame, is able to rule and restrain. You suppose that virtue consisteth in pride, in audacious boldness, in contempt both of God and man. For mine own part truly, *O App. Claudius*, for the reverence and majesty of this honourable place, which you have born, I would not willingly enter into any such hard contests, as to touch your person by violence of hand: no, nor so much as to offend your name with any foul or unkind language. But as these words that have already passed, your own peevish and perverse forwardness, your opinionative contumacy, and insolent pride, having written and forced me to: so unless you will obey the law *Emilia*, by your leave, I will be so bold as command you to ward and prison. And since our forefathers and ancestors have so provided and ordained, that in the Election of Censors, if either of the twain come forth of sufficient voices required, that to choose him the other cannot be admitted and declared Censor: and so they must proceed again to a new election, and the former Scrutinies are of no effect: shall I suffer you to "exercise the Censorship alone, who may not lawfully be created alone? These and such like remonstrances after he had alleged, he commanded the Censor to be attached and committed. In these proceedings of his, six of his fellow Tribunes adhered unto him, and three only assisted *Appius*: who called instantly upon them for their protection and lawful succour: and so with exceeding ill will, and highest discontentment of all states and degrees, he went clear away, and bare the Censorship alone.

These matters thus passed at *Rome*, and *Sutrium* was besieged (till by the *Tuscan*: and as the Conf. *Fabius* was leading about at the foot of the hills, certain forces to succour his allies, & to allail the fortifications of the enemies what way he could, they with an army in battle array met with him. Whose great multitude when he might discover upon the plains underneath, because he would help out the small number of his men by some advantage of the ground, he wheeled a little about, up toward the hill tops (which were rough and craggy places spread all over with stones) and from thence he turned his banners full upon the face of the enemies. The *Tuscan* forgetting all things, and thinking upon nothing but their multitude, whereof only they presumed; gave battell too hastily and in such greediness, that casting away their shots and darts from them, to the end they might the sooner come to hand-strokes, they drew their swords, as they marched against the enemy. The Romans on the contrary side, laid load with shot, and applied them one while with darts, another while with stones which the place plentifully afforded them. Which, as they thumped and clattered, and flunk upon their shields and morions, although they hurt them not much, yet troubled them not a little: neither could the enemies easily come within them to fight near and close, nor any darts or javelins had they to sling and lance afar off, and thereby to annoy their enemy. And whiles they stood still exposed as Butts, to receive all

that came, and had nothing now to cover and protect them sufficiently; while some of them al-
to gave ground and retreated, and the whole battle was wavering and unsteady, the Roman *Hastati*
and *Principes*, came forward with a new shout, and charged them afresh. This violent assault
could not the Tuscans bear, but turning their ensigns, fled again in disarray toward their camp.
But when as the Roman horsemen who were rid over through the plains and had gotten before,
met them afront in the rout, they left their way unto the Camp, & turned toward the mountains:
from whence with their whole company in a manner disarmed and fore wounded, they recovered
the forest *Ciminia*. The Romans having slain many thousands of the Tuscans, gained thirty
eight ensigns of the field, and won also their tents with rich pillage; began to consult about pur-
suing the enemy. The wood *Ciminia* was at that time more unpassable and to be feared, than were
of late daies the German forests: for never to that day had it been travelled and frequented
much as by merchants. And scarcely any one but the Captain himself durst venture to enter into it:
for, all the rest had not forgot as yet the unhappy luck they had at *Candium*. Then the Consul his
brother, one that was there, (*M. Fabius*, as some say, as others, *Cas*), and as other some *C.*
Claudian, his brother only by the mothers side) promised that he would go as afcort inpal, to
deskry the wood and within a while bring certain news. He had in his tender years been brought
up at *Cere*, among the ancient friends of his house and family, where afterwards he was taught the
Tuscan learning and knowledge, and thereby was perfect in their tongue and language. And find
some authors of credit that writ, how in those daies the Romans young children went to school
to learn to parl Tuscan, as now they do to speak Greek. But it standeth more like a truth, that
there was some special matter in this man, who with so bold semblance and diffimulation, durst
intrede and insinuate himself amongst the enemies. It is said, that one only servant accompanied
him, one who had been brought up and nurled together with him, and thereupon not ignorant
of the same language. And all the way as they went they did nothing else, but superficially and
after a general sort, learn the nature and site of the quarters which they were to enter into, and
the names withall, of the chief rulers and principal personages of that country and nation: to
the end that in their speech and talk, they might not alter and trip, and be taken tardy in any ap-
parent thing, which might bewray and discover them. They went clad in pastoral weeds like herd-
men, armed like country Kernes or Peasants each of them with a falkion and two javelins. But
neither the familiar use and commerce of the tongue, nor the fashion of apparel which they
were, or weapons that they carried saved them so much as this one thing, That no man would
ever believe, that any forreiner and stranger durst enter upon those thick *Ciminian* forests. Well
forward they went (by report) as far as to the *Camerins* in *Umbria*. There the Roman ventured
to bewray who they were: and when he was brought in to their Senat, he treated with them in
the Consuls name, about a league and amity. Whereupon, alter he had been courteously enter-
tained and friendly intreated he had his dispatch, and was willed to relate unto the Romans, That
there should be ready for their army, sufficient victuals for one whole month, if they would come
into those parts: Allo, that the youth of the *Camerins* in *Umbria* should be at their command,
preft in arms at all times. These tidings being reported to the Consul, after that he had sent before
his carriages at the first watch of the night and commanded the legions to go after, himself staid
still with the horsemen: and the morrow morning by day-light he began to skirmish with the
corps de *guerd* of his enemies, which were quartered without the forest, and when he had long
enough kept them play and amused them at his pleasure, he retired into his Camp; from whence
he went forth at another gate, and before night overtook the main army. The morrow after, at
the point of day-break he was got up to the crest of the hill *Ciminia*: from whence, after he had
beheld and viewed the goodly prospect of the rich grounds and fields of *Heituria*, he sendeth out
his soldiers abroad to forrage and fetch in prizes, and by that time they had got, and were driv-
ing a fat booty, certain tumultuary bands of the rustical Peasants of *Heituria*, gathered together
in great hast and of a sudden, by the States of that country met with the Romans; but so out of
order were they that being come to rescue a prey, they had like to have been a prey themselves. A
number of them were slain or put to flight, and the Romans, having wasted and made spoil all o-
ver the country, enriched with store of all things, returned victorious into their Camp. Thither
were arrived (as it fell out) five messengers or puffers with the Tribune of the Commons to
warn and command *Fabius* in the name of the Senat, not to pass through the forest *Ciminia*.
But these messengers being glad that they came too late for to hinder and interrupt their enter-
prises, returned home again to *Rome* with news of the victory.

By this expedition and journey made by the Col, the war rather encreased and spread farther,
than was dispatched brought to an end. For all that tract lying along the bottom & foot of the
mountain *Ciminia*, felt the smart of this rode and provoked to anger & desire of revenge, not only
the State of *Heituria*, but also the borders and marches of *Umbria*. Whereupon there came to
Sutrinum, a greater power than ever before: for not only they removed their Camp forward out of
the woods, but also for the eager desire of fight withal speed, they came abroad into the plain field.
Afterwards, they stood first embattled in a plot, by them sily chosen, leaving over against them a
space of ground for the enemies to set themselves in order of battel: but perceiving the enemies
to fall off & loath to fight, they approached the very trench and rampiers: but finding there, that
the guards were retired within their hold all at once they began to cry with one voice to their cap-
tains, for to give order, that the rest of their allowance of victuals for that day should be brought
them

them thither out of the camp; for they would stay in their armor and harnefs, as they were, and
either in the night, or else in the morning betimes by day-light, give the assault upon their enemies
camp. The Roman army was no more quiet then they, yet at their Generals commandment kept
in Now it was welcomer the tenth hour of the day. When as the Consul willed his soldiers to
take their reftection, and warned them to be ready in arms at what hour soever by day or by night
he should give them the signal of battell. And in the mean time maketh a short speech unto them,
praising highly, and letting out of the Samnits wars, debating the Tuscans, saying, that there was
no comparison between either enemy to enemy, or number for number: over and besides, he said
that he had another feat and secret device in store for them, which they should know when time
served; in the mean while they must keep silence of necessity, and hold their peace. By these dark
speeches and hidden mysteties, he made semblance, as though he had some privy intelligence,
that one part of the enemies would betray the rest when time came: this did he, to the end; that
the heart of his soldiers (which haply were dismayed and discouraged at their great multitudes)
might be comforted and refreshed: and for that the enemies lay abroad in field without any hold
and fort, it was more likely and probable, which he pretended. The soldiers having taken their
repast, they laid their bodies to repose and sleep, and somewhat before the reliefe of the fourth
watch, they were raised without noise, and armed themselves. The soldiers belies and lackies, and
such as followed the camp, had mattocks and spades divided amongst them, to call down the ram-
pire, and to fill up the ditches with the bank, whilst that within the compasse and circuit of the
camp, they were marshalled in battell array. The chosen cohorts or bands were placed at the
gates and passages forth. Then at the sound of trumpet, a little before day (which in summer nights
is the time of the deepest and soundest sleep) the whole army, when the rampire was laid along
and levelled, issued forth at once, and charged the enemies on all sides, lying there and there scattered
on the ground. Some before they were stirring, others half asleep and half awake in their couch-
es: but the greater part, making halt in that sudden fright to take arms, were slain and cut in
pieces. Few bad time to put themselves in armour, and they having no ensigns, no colours to fol-
low, and no captains to direct them, were by the Romans soon discomfited, put to flight, and pur-
sued in chase. Some made halt to the camp, other to the woods, sundry waies one from another. But
the woods were the safest place of refuge. For their camp pitched in a plain, was the same day ta-
ken and won. All the gold and silver there found, was by express commandment brought unto the
Consul his pavilion; the rest of the pillage, was the soldiers share. Slain and taken prisoners that
day, there were of the enemies to the number of 60000. This so noble a battell (some writers say) was
fought on the other side of the wood *Ciminia*, before *Perusia*: who also report, that the City of
Rome was in great fear, lest that the army being inclosed within so dangerous a wood, should have
been surprised and defeated by the Tuscans and Umbrians, who were risen up in arms together
from all parts. But wherover it was fought, the Romans had the day. Whereupon there came
Embassadors from *Perusia*, * *Coriena*, and * *Arctium*, where were in manner the chief and princi-
pal Cities at that time of all Tuscan, treating and suing to the Romans for peace, and a league:
but they obtained truce only for thirty years.

During these affairs in *Heituria*, the other Consul, *C. Martius Rutilius*, wan from the Samnits
the town * *Alifia*. Many other villages and castles were either utterly demolished and destroyed
by way of extreme hostility, or yielded safe and whole unto their subjection. At the same time the
Roman navy also, under the Conduct of *P. Cornelius*, whom the Senat ordained Admiral of the
sea-coast, set sail for *Campania*, and being arrived at * *Pompeii*, the mariners and sea-servitors went
a land to wait and forage the territories about * *Nucerina*: and after they had made spoil, and pil-
laged by inches the parts lying nearest unto the sea, from whence they might safely again return to
their ships; they adventured farther for the sweet sake of gain and booty (as usually it falleth out) and
so gave the alarm to the enemies for to rise. As they straggled all over the fields, no man made
head against them at what time, as they might have been soon slain every one: but as they were
returning with a disordered march, and stood not upon their guards, a troop of the peasants of
the country overtook them, not far from the Ships, and calsed them of their spoil and pillage,
and flew some of them: the rest of the multitude, as many as escaped the sword, were calsed to
their feet.

The journey of *Q. Fabius* beyond the forest *Ciminia*, as it caused great fear in *Rome*, so it gave
occasion of as joyful news in *Samnium*. For the rumor ran, that the Romans army was shut up
and besieged. And hereupon they called to remembrance, and alledged the like example of a loose
and shameful disgrace at *Claudian*; reporting and giving forth, that these Romans being a nation
greedy always of increasing farther, and winning more ground, were through the same rashness
now run heading into the blind forests impassable, and invironed not so much with the power
and force of enemies, as the dangerous difficulties of those passages. In such sort as amid this joy
of others, they envied also that fortune had turned the glorious honour of the conquest over the
Romans, from the Samnits, to the Tuscans. And therefore being well appointed with men
and armour, they ran out from all parts, to tread down and confound *C. Martius* the Consul
trever: minding from thence, in case *Martius* would not abide a battell, to go into *Heituria*
through the *Marsi* and *Sabins*. But the Consul met with them by the way; where was fought a
shippe and cruell battell with doubtful event, and much effusion of blood on both sides. And as
uncertain as it was, whether part lost more blood, yet the rumor went, that the Romans had the

* Four a clock
after-noon.

* Between two
and three of
clock in the
morning.

* A Cohort is
a regiment or
band of 500
footmen com-
monly. Once
in Levy we
read of 2000
dingentia
cohorts, of 400
and no more.

* Cities
of the
country.
* Arctium.

Alifia

* Magnavilla
Nucerina.

worfe, by reason of the losse of certain knights and gentlemen of *Rome*, and Colonels, and one Lieutenant; and that which made most, for that the Consul himself was hurt. Hereupon the brute (as commonly is seen) got more feathers fill as it flew, and made every thing greater: so as the L.L. of the Senat in *Rome*, were in great fear and perplexity, and agreed to create a Dictator. Neither was there any doubt at all, but that *Papirius Cursor* should be the man, who in those daies was reputed the only warrior above all others. But neither could they be assured of sending a messenger into *Samnium* (considering all the country was up in arms) nor that the Consul was for certain alive. And as for the other Consul *Fabius*, upon an old secret and privat grudge, he mailed *Papirius*: which quarrell, left it might hinder the service of the Commonwealth, the Senat thought good to send unto him certain Embassadors (as it were) even such as had been Consuls; who of their own authority, as well as by virtue of publick commission from the State, should admonish and counsel him to remit and forget all old displeasures and rancours, for his countries sake. When these personages were come to *Fabius* the Col., and had delivered unto him the decree of the Senat, and used withall such speech and reasons of their own, as futed well to the errand they had in charge: the Col. calling his eyes down toward the ground, departed from the Embassadors without giving ever a word, and left them doubtfull what he would do. But the night following, in the dead time (as the manner is) he nominated *L. Papirius* for Dictator. And when these messengers or Embassadors gave him great thanks for maultering and ruling his affections to exceeding well, he held his resolution still of silence, and without any answer given, or mention made of himself, dismissed them; that it might appear, how upon an high mind and haughty stomach, he bridled and kept in that grief of heart and spitefull anger of his, *Papirius* named *C. Junius Brutus*, commander of the horse. And whiles he proposed an act concerning the regiment and command of his army, before the people assembled by the *Curia* or wards, there hapned a matter of ominous prelage, which caused that businesse to be put off untill the next day: for that the ward *Fancia*, which by lot had the prerogative now to give the first voices, was noted already for infamous and unhappy, in regard that two calamities which happened in both years, wherein the same *Curia* likewise began the suffrages first; namely, the taking of the City of *Rome*, and the Caudine peace, *Macer Licinius* making that ward ominous and unlucky, for a third losse and calamity received at *Verena*. But the next morrow, the Dictator, after he had taken new Aspics, went through with the act, and obtained his commission, and set forward with the legions lately mulctured and enrolled upon the fearful alarm given, that the Roman army was pished, the wood *Cyminia*, untill he arrived at *Longula*: where, after he had received of the Consul *Martius*, the old bands of soldiers, he brought his forces into the field to give battell. The enemies for their part seemed not to refuse fight: howbeit, as they stood armed and arranged, and neither the one side nor the other would begin to charge, the night came upon them, and forced them to retire. Then they abode encamped near together in rest and quiet for certain daies, neither distrustling their own puissance, nor yet disdainning and despising their enemies. In this mean time there was doings and war in *Etruria*: for both there was a battell fought with the army of the Umbrians: howbeit, the enemies were rather discomfited and put to flight than slain, for that they were not able to hold out and maintain fight long with such courage and animosity as they began: and also near the lake and Meer *Vadimon*, the Tuicans had levied a new army, according to a sacred law, whereby one man had chosen another (who as sworn brethren were to live and die together) where they fought a field, not only with greater number, but also with more courage than ever at any time before: and with such heat of anger and malice one against the other they encountered, that of neither side they thought of discharging shot and slancing darts, but began at the very first with their swords to go to handstrokes: and the conflict being right fiercely begun, increased still, and waxed hotter in the very skirmishes, and continued for a good while so doubtful, that the Romans thought they dealt not with Tuicans so often by them defeated and vanquished, but with some new nation more warlike than they. No shew of flight on neither side; downgo the foremost, and lay dead before their Standards: and left that the ensignes should be left naked and bare, and without the defendants, the second range and ward of the battailon came in place to supply the first: and so still new succours and fresh were set even as far as from the rearward behind, destined for the last help and utmost refuge. And to that extremity of travel and perill they proceeded, that the Roman horsemen abandoning their horses alighted on foot, and were faine to go to the footmen in the forefront of the vanguard, over armor, and over dead bodies, lying all spread upon the ground: which new troop and battailon risen and sprung (as it were) a fresh, to reinforce and strengthen their distressed fellows, disordered the squadrons and ensignes of the Tuicans. The other legionary soldiers, wearied (as they were) followed hard and seconded their violence and forceable charge, and at length brake through the ranks of their enemies. Then the Tuicans as (like as they stood afore, began to have the worfe, and certain bands gave way and retreated: and when they encountered back, they fell plainly to take their heels and run away. This was the first day, that overthrow and laid along the puissance of the Tuicans, who abounded so long in wealth and fortunate prosperity. Their whole force and strength which they had, was in this battell slain, and at the same time their camp won and ransacked.

With like hazard and glorious successe of the end, was the war managed with the Samnites soon after: who besides all other preparations and ordinary furniture of war, gave order that

A their army should glitter and shine agreeable with a new kind of garnishing their harness and armors. For having divided their forces into two armies, the one he laid their shields with gold, the other with silver. The form and fashion whereof was this, that upper part where with the brekt and shoulders are covered, was broader, and the head of it of even height: but the nether end growing downward to the bottom was more pointed wedge-wise, for to weld it more nimbly. Their breast and stomack was fenced with punges, the left leg armed with a good greave, their morions with high crests made a shew of tall stature. The shoulders afore said with gilded shields wore coats of sundry colours; the other with silvered, white linnen: and these had the leading of the right wing, or point of the battell; but they of the left. The Romans had notice and knowledge already what preparation there was of brave and goodly armor: and their Captains had taught them more, that a souldier ought to be dreadful and terrible, not dight and decked in his damasked gold and silver, but trusting in the sharp edge of iron and steel, and a good heart and courage withall: and as for that other furniture, it was rather a good booty than a mor of proof; fair and refulgent, before men come to the sharp, but foul and uneimely amongst bloody wounds. The true ornament and beauty of a souldier, is valour and hardinelle; as for all those braveries, they went commonly with victory: and to conclude, that a rich enemy would serve well for a good prize to the conqueror, were he never so poor and needy. With these speeches after that *Cursor* had animated his souldiers, he leadeth them into the field: himself the put in the right wing; the left he committeth to the conduct of the Generall of horse, so soon as they charged one another and buckled together, a great conflict and hardy had they with the enemy, and no lesse emulation there was between the Dictator and him; driving much whether of them twin should becom the victory. But as hap was, first *Junius* disordered the enemy, and from the left point which he commanded, he charged right lustily the right wing of the enemies: laying ever and anon, that he offered and sacrificed unto the Devill and infernall spirits, those souldiers of theirs, consecrated already unto them after the manner of the Samnites, and decked accordingly in white livery, and bright silvered armour, suting in colour therunto: and withall advanced forward his standards, brake their aries, and made the battell to shrink evidently and give ground. Which when the Dictator perceived, How now, quoth he, shall the victory begin at the left wing, and shall the right, wherein the Dictator fighteth in person, come behind and follow the battell of another, and not carry away with it the greatest part of the victory? Herewith he letteth on his souldiers, yet gave the horsemen no place in manhood to the footmen, or the service of the Lieutenants was intreaty to the Captains themselves and chief commanders: *M. Valerius* on the right point, *P. Decius* on the left, both Consular men, put themselves forward, and rode out to the horsemen ranged in the wings, exhorted them to take part with them in honor, and charged a-crosse upon the sides and flanks of the enemies. Whiles this new terror upon the former, had on every side entered the battell of the enemies; and the Roman legions, to terrifie them the more, had redoubled a fresh shout, & charged them with great fury, then began the Samnites to flee again. Now were the fields overpread with the bodies of slain men, and strewd thick with armor, ere while so brave and glorious: and at the first, the Samnites in great affright recovered their tents; but being there, were not able so much as to keep them, for they were won and rifled before night, and fire upon them. The Dictator by a decree of the Senat triumphed: and the laid armor which was taken from the enemy, made the goodliest pageant of all other, in the pomp of triumph: which carried so lately a shew and magnificent, that the gilded shields were divided amongst the warders of the company of Bankers and Goldsmiths, to the beautifying of their Hall and Market place. And hereof began first the custome of the *Ædiles*, to adorn and let out the common place of the City in their solemn processions, when the sacred images of the gods and holy reliques were carried about for pomp in silver chariots. And the Romans verily for their part put this goodly trim armor of their enemies to this use, namely, to honor their gods withall. But the Campians upon a pride and inveterate hatred that they bare against the Samnites, used to arm their sword players and fencers at the sharp (which was a solemn fight and pastime they had at their great feasts) F with this same attire, and termed them in mockery, by the name of Samnites.

The same year *Fabius* the Consul fought with the rest of the Tuicans at *Perusia* (which City *Perugia* also had broken the covenant of truce) where neither doubtfully nor hardly he obtained victory. And the very town it self he had forced & won (for in the same train of his conquest he approached the walls) but that their Embassadors came forth and yielded the City. When he had placed a good garrison at *Perusia* and tent before him to *Rome* unto the Senat, the Embassadors of *Etruria*, who treated for peace; he being but Consul, made his triumphant entry into the City for a more magnificent victory, then the Dictator. And that for a good part of the honor of subduing the Samnites, was ascribed to the Lieutenants *P. Decius*, and *M. Valerius*, therefore at the next Election, the people with general assent declared the one Consul, and the other Pretour. *Fabius* for vanquishing *Etruria* so bravely and valiantly, continued Consul still, and had for his Colleague *P. Decius Valerius* was created Pretor the fourth time. The Consuls parted between them the provinces, *Etruria* fell to *Decius*, *Samnium* to *Fabius*. Who taking his voiage to *Nucerina*, laid siege to the City of the Allians, and won it by assault; and notwithstanding they made suit for peace, he rejected and despised them; for that when it was offered, they would not accept it. With the Samnites he fought a battell; but without any great conflict, the enemies were

vanquished. Neither had the remembrance of that field been left in record, but that the Marston first took arms and warred with the Romans. After the Marston were revolted, the Pelignians did the fembable, and sped alio. *Decius* alio the other Consul had good success in his wars. He drove the Tarquinians for fear, to find the army corn, and to sue for a truce of forty years. Certain castles and holds of the Volscinians, he forcibly won: some of them heutterly raised, for that they should not be any receptacle or harbour for the enemies. And with warring round about every where, he became so terrible, that the whole Tuscan nation made sue to the Consul for peace and confederacy. It they could not obtain: but truce for a year was granted. In regard whereof, for that year they satisfied the whole pay for the army, and a double livery for every soldier was exacted and taken of them. This was the pension and fine that their truce cost them.

But now when all was quiet among the Tuscans, the sudden revolting of the Umbrians, a nation free, and saved hitherto from the calamities of war, but only, that the Roman army passing through their territories troubled all anew: for they having raised the strength and flower of their youth and solicited alio a great part of the Tuscans to rebel, levied so great a power that making no account of *Decius*, whom they left behind them in *Heimria*, they gave out proud words of themselves, and spake basely of the Romans, vaunting and boasting that they would march right forth to assault *Rome*. Which designe of theirs, so soon as it was reported to *Decius* the Cos, he made speed, and by long journeys departed out of *Heimria* toward the City, and in the County of the Papinians, encamped himself; lifting ever after the enemies, what they meant to do. Neither at *Rome* was the Umbrians war neglected and set light by: for their very threats and menaces scared them, as who already had seen by experience, by the foil they had at the Gauls hands, how unsure a City they inhabited and not unpreparable. Thereupon messengers were dispatched to the Col, *Fabius*, that he had any breathing time, and rest from the Samnits war, he should with al speed lead his army into *Umbria*. The Col, obeyed, and by great journeys went forward to *Meruvia*, where at that time the forces of the Umbrians lay. This sudden and unexpected coming of the Col, whom they thought very occupied in *Samnium* far enough off from *Umbria*, so terrified the Umbrians, that some gave advice to retire back to their walled towns, others to relinquish the war altogether. One Canton or tract of their country (which they themselves call *Materia*) not only kept the rest in arms, but also set them on to fight immediately, so as they charged upon *Fabius*, as he was trenching and fortifying. Whom when the Col, saw rushing upon his rampiers in such heaps, he called his men from their work, and as the ground & time would give leave, he marshalled them in order of battel: and after he had encouraged his soldiers with a true report & discourse of many glorious and honourable journeys achieved as well in *Thufcia* as also in *Samnium*, he willed them to dispatch this small residue of the Tuscan war, that hung by and remained behind, and to be revenged of that accursed and impious speech, whereby they threatened to assail the City of *Rome*. These words of his were heard by the soldiers with such alacrity and cheerefulness of heart, that before their Generall had made an end of his speech, they set up a shout of themselves and interrupted him: and thus before commandment and signal given by sound of trumpets and cornets, they ran amain upon the enemies, and charged them as if they had not been men, and thole also armed. For (a wonderful thing to be spoken) at the very first they began to pluck the banners and streamers out of the beastes hands, after that, the ensign-bearers themselves were led to the Consuls, and the soldiers armed as they were, transported out of one battalio into another, and where there was any scuffling, they fought not so much with sword, as buckler: and what with their bosses and iron pikes, and what with jussling, shouldering, and striking the enemies about the wime-pits, they were overthrowen and felled. In which skirmish, more men were taken then slain: and no other cry was heard throughout the field, but down with weapon, down with weapon. So that in the very conflict, the principal authors of the war rendered themselves: and the morrow after, and other daies following, the rest of the people of *Umbria* likewise yielded. The Ottraculans by lippulation only and pledges given, were received in amity. And *Fabius* having thus got the victory in that war, which fell to another mans lot and charge, led back his army again into his own province. And in regard of his prosperous and happy exploits, like as the people the year past continued his Consulship alio the Senat against the year following, when *Ap. Claudius*, and *L. Volturnius* were Col. Prorogues his martial rule still, maugre the heart of *Appius*, who was greatly against it. In some Chronicles I find, that *Appius*, whiles he was Consul, sued to be Consul, and that his Election was crossed and staid by *L. Furius*, a Tribune of Com. until he had resigned up the Consorship. Being created Cos, and the war with the Salentins (declared new enemies) allotted unto his Colleague, he remained at *Rome*: that by civil policy, and managing home-affairs, he might augment his own state and authority, since that the honour of war-service rested in the hands and conduct of another. *Volturnius* had no cause to repent of his charge and province: for many fortunate battels he fought, and some towns of the enemies by force he won. He was a bountiful giver of the spoil away unto his soldiers: and this bounty in it self alone acceptable, he helped much with great courttesie and gentleness, by which vertues and artificial means, he made the soldiers both venturous in perils and hardy in travel.

Q. Fabius on the other part, in quality of pro-Consul, gave battel to the Samnites near the City *Alife*, where the day was nothing doubtful. The enemies were difcomfited and beaten into their camp: neither had they been able to have kept the field, but that there was but a little

A le day left behind: and yet before night, they were beset round about in their hold; yes, and watched with good guards all night long, that none should make escape. The morrow morning ere it was well day light, they began to yield themselves, and to capitulate; that as many Samnites as there were among them, should be sent forth in their single garments, and they all went under the gallows. As for their confederats and allies, there was no such proviso nor composition made; but they all, to the number of seven thousand, were sold as slaves, and wore a garland. As many as adowned themselves to be Hernicks, were kept apart by themselves to be forth coming. All thole *Fabius* sent to *Rome* to the Senat, and until such time as enquiry was made, whether in a publick muster they were pressed soldiers or voluntarily served under the Samnits against the Romans, they were committed to be kept in ward among sundry nations of the Latins: during which time, the new Consuls, *Publius Cornelius Arvins*, and *Quintus Marcius Tremulus* (for thole were now created) had in charge to propose that matter anew unto the Senat. The Hernicks took that ill. Whereupon the Anagnins held a Diet or General Council in the round Cirque which they call *Maritimus*, of all the Cities of that Nation, except the Alatinians, Perentiniats, and the Verulans. Where the whole State of Hernicks proclaimed war against the people of *Rome*. In *Samnium* alio, for that *Fabius* was departed thence, there arose new troubles and rebellions, *Calatia* and *Sora* were forced, and the Roman garrisons therein laid, were put to the sword, and upon the bodies of as many as they took alive, they exercised much torture and cruelty: Whereupon *Publius Cornelius* the Consul was thither sent. And to *Marcius* were the new enemies appointed (for by this time decreed it was; That war should be made upon the Anagnins and the other Hernicks.) At the first the enemies had so felled all the convenient passes and waies between both the Consuls camps, that there could not readily passe a packeg or carrier between, in so much, as for certain daies both Consuls abode doubtfull how the world went, and uncertain one of the others state. The fear whereof, spread to *Rome*, so that the younger sort [from seventeen years of age to eleven and forty] were to lerve: and against all sudden occasions, and occurrents whatsoever, two fold and complicit armies were levied and enrolled. But the Hernick war was nothing correspondent either to the present menaces, or to the ancient glory and reputation of that nation: for having done no worthy adventure, and within few daies lost their camp thrice, they covenanted forth to have thirty daies truce: during which time, they might send Embassadors to the Senat of *Rome*: and in consideration hereof, they D promised to lay down two months pay, and to find corn for the army, and allow every soldier one cost. But from the Senat they were put off and referred to *Marcius*: unto whom by order from the Senat, a large commission was granted, to dispose of the Hernicks as he thought good: and so he took the whole nation as yielded to his devotion. The other Consul in *Samnium* being in forces more puissant then the enemy, was not without standing encumbered much with the difficulty of the ground. All the passages had the enemy stopped, and possessed himself of the forests and woods which were thorow faires, that no way victuals might be conveyed unto him. Neither could the Consul, for all that daily he displayed banner in field, train them forth to fight: so as it was well seen, that neither the Samnits could abide present battell, nor the Romans long delay of war. But the arrival of *Marcius* who upon the subduing of the Hernicks made halt to aid his E Colleague, caused the enemy to defer no longer the trial of the field. For, they, who thought themselves not good enough to match so much as the one army, knew full well that if they suffered two Consuls armies to join together, there had been no hope left. They therefore set upon *Marcius* as he marched without order of battel. Hereupon in al halt their truffles and fardels were brought together and laid in the middle; and as the time would permit, he set his soldiers in array. At the first encounter, the shout was hard into the camp of the other Consul. Afterwards the dust deflected afar off, gave an alarm, and made a trouble and tumult there. Then the Consul presently commanded to arm: and hastily bringing his soldiers forth into the field, entered upon the battell of the enemies in the flank, whiles they were busied in another skirmish. He cried aloud to his men, that it were exceeding great shame, to suffer the other army to carry away double victory, and not themselves win the honour of that war, which was their proper charge. F Thus, wherefore he charged, he brake in and made entrance, and having pierced and made a great lane through the midle of the enemies battel, he passed on towards their camp; which finding void of defendants, he took and set afire. Which when the soldiers of *Marcius* saw burning before their faces, and the enemy likewise, as they looked behind: then began the Samnits on all hands to die: but killed they were every where down right: all places full of murder and slaughter: so in no part could they find means to escape and save themselves. Now when there were thirty thousand of the enemies slain, the Consuls founded the retreat, and gathered both their armies together, with great congratulation one to the other: by which time, behold, there were defied a far off, certain new bands of enemies, enrolled for a supply: and they gave occasion G of a new and fresh slaughter. Against whom without commandment of Consul, or any signal received from their leaders, the Romans advanced lustily, crying aloud, that these Samnites were to be welcomed with an ill battell, and this their first training should cost them dear. The Consul left the legions alone in this their furious heat, as who knew well enough, that these new comers seeing the old beaten soldiers, so alighted already and flying away, would soon have enough of it, and not once adventure fight. And they were not deceived in their opinion: for the whole forces of the Samnits as well old and new, fled apace unto the next mountans: and thither the Romans

Romans also make as great speed. But no safe place could those vanquished enemies find for even from the very hill tops which they held, they were beaten down, so that with one voice they all craved peace. Then after the Consuls had imposed upon them corn for three months, and a years pay, and for every souldier a livery besides, they were permitted to send Embassadors to the Senat, and to treat and capitulat thereof. During which time, *Cornelius* was left in *Sannium*, and *Martius* returned into the City, with triumph over the *Hernicks*. Moreover a decree passed, that his statue riding on horseback should remain in the common place of assemblies, which was erected accordingly even before the Temple of *Castor*. To three States of the *Hernicks*, to wit, the *Alatunians*, the *Verulans* and *Ferentinians*, their own laws, and ancient liberties were restored again, because they made choice thereof, rather than to be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*: and permitted they were to marry amongst the Romans, which liberty they only of the *Hernicks* for a good while enjoyed. The *Anagnins*, and those that had born arms against the Romans were incorporated free denizens of *Rome*, but without the privilege of giving voices and suffrages: debared they were of holding any Councils and making marriage; with them, yea, and denied at all to, elect any magistracy, but only the function and ministry of divine service and sacrifices.

The same year the Chappell of dame *Salus* was by *C. Junius Bubulcus* now *Censor*, let out at a priores to be built, which he in his Consulship had vowed, in the *Sannits* war. By his direction and appointment, together with his colleague *M. Valerius Maximus*, were the great high ways and cauleys made, of all sides of the City, through the fields, at the common charge and expence. The same year also, was the league renewed now the third time with the *Carthaginians*: and their Embassadors who came for that purpose, were courteously entertained, and rewarded liberally with rich gifts. In that year there was a Dictator *P. Cornel. Scipio*, with *P. Decius* General of the horse: and these were Presidents at the Election of Consuls, for to that purpose they were created, because neither of the two Consuls could be spared from the wars. Consuls were created *L. Posthumius*, and *T. Minucius*. But *Piso* sayth, that these Consuls immediately succeeded *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*: leaving out those two years, wherein he hath written that *Claudius* with *Polemius*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were Consuls. Whether he forgot himself in digesting his Annals and yearly records, or of set purpose overlit two couple of Consuls, thinking that they were not in truth Consuls, I wot not.

The same year the *Sannits* made rodes into the territories of *Stella*, within the liberties and appartenances of the Campains, and therefore both Consuls were sent into *Sannium*: who when they were parted into divers ways, for *Posthumius* took his journey to *Tifernum*, and *Minucius* to *Bevianum*: first there was battell fought at *Tifernum*, under the leading of *Posthumius*. Some make no doubt, but write, that the *Sannits* were discomfited, and put to the worfe, and thirty thousand of them taken prisoners: or say, that the conflict was equal, and that they departed on even hand: also that *Posthumius* making semblance of fear, journeyed by night, & closely retired unto the hills adjoining, & the enemies followed after them, two miles, and from thence encamped, and fortified also themselves in strong places of advantage. The Consul, because he would be thought to have fought and chose a safe place, and plentifully stored with all necessaries (as it was no lesse indeed) where he might keep a standing camp: after he had fortified the same, and furnished it with all kind of provision, leaving behind him a strong garrison for defence: at the relief of the third watch, leadeth the neerekt way, his legions not encumbered with carriage, to his colleague, who also himself lay in camp over against another army. There, by the perswasion & advice of *Posthumius*, *Minucius* gave battell: and when as the conflict continued doubtfull until it was far on the day, then *Posthumius* with his fresh legions, on a sudden charged the battallions of the enemies, now already overtoyed: but partly for weariness, and partly for wounds, they being disabled for to flee away, were out of all measure slain every one, and xxi. banners were taken: and so from thence they went forward to the camp of *Posthumius*. Where these two victorious armies finding the enemy discouraged and amazed at the tidings of this overthrow, set upon them, discomfited, and put them to flight: and wan from them xvi. ensignes: where the General of the *Sannits* *Statius Cilius*, with many a man besides, was taken prisoner, and both their camps won. *Bevianum* also, which the morrow after began to be assaulted, was shortly after forced: and finally with great glory of no noble acts achieved, both Consuls triumphed. Some write that the Consul *Minucius*, being grievously hurt, was brought back into the camp, and there dyed: and that *M. Fulvius* was substituted Consul in his room: and that it was he, who being sent unto the army of *Minucius*, wan *Bevianum*. The same year *Sora*, *Arpinum*, and *Corfinia* were recovered from the *Sannits*: and the great image of *Hercules* was in the Capitol set up and dedicated.

When as *P. Sulpicius Aferrius*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus* were Coll. the *Sannits* desiring either to see an end of war, or else to delay it, sent Embassadors to *Rome* pretending peace. To whom as they pleaded and intreated most humbly, this answer was given: That if the *Sannits* had not so often treated for peace, when they intended and prepared war they might after certain entertainments, and conferences passed between, obtain their witt: but since that evermore until that time, their words were but wind: now they would trust to their deeds, and nothing else. *P. Sempronius* the Consul, shall shortly be in *Sannium* with an army: who would not be abused, but soon see, whether their minds be inclined to war or peace: and as he found and saw every thing, so would he bring word and make relation: and therefore their Embassadors were to attend upon

Upon the Consul when he departed out of *Sannium*. The same year after that the Romans army had passed peaceably to and fro, and visited all *Sannium*, having victuals by the country courteously allowed, the ancient league was granted again to the *Sannits*. From thence turned the Romans their forces against the *Equians*, their old enemies: but for many years making semblance of quietness, where as indeed their peace was little to be trusted: for that the *Hernick* nation was safe and on foot, they with them, had used oftentimes under hand to send aid unto the *Sannits*; and also after the subduing of the *Hernicks*, the whole nation in a manner without dissembling, and averring all they did by publick councill and authority, had fallen away unto the enemy: and so that the Romans had made league with the *Sannits*, and their heralds came to make claim for their goods took from them by way of hostility, they said, it was but a tempting of them, to see, whether upon fear of war they would suffer themselves to become Romans. Which, say they, how greatly it were to be with'd, the *Hernicks* was able to teach them: for they, as many of them as had liberty to do what they would, chose rather to live under their own laws, then to be enfranchised citizens of *Rome*: but others, who had not the same scope to choose to their liking, they were constrained to accept of the Burgeoisie of their City, by way of punishment. Upon these speeches and arguments commonly toiled in their assemblies and Councils, the people of *Rome* decreed war against the *Equians*: to which both the Consuls went, and encamped four miles from their enemies camp. The *Equians* (who in their own behalf, and for any quarrell of theirs, had many years sat still and made no war) like as if their army had been levied of a sudden and in haste, without certain Captains appointed, and without any General to command, were afraid. Some thought good to go forth into the field, others to defend themselves, and keep within their camp: most of them were moved to think aforehand upon the waiving of their country afterwards, and consequently the destruction of their cities left but with slender garrisons. Therefore after that, amongst many opinions, this only had audience, namely, to abandon the care of publick weal and every man to regard his own privat state, and at the first watch to depart divers waies one from the other, and quit the camp, and convey away all their bag and baggage, and to defend their Cities within the wals: they all with one accord accepted thereof, and embraced it. Now when the enemies were thus scattered abroad about the country, the Romans by day-light, with banner displayed went forth into the field: and when they saw no man come abroad to meet them, they marched in watlike order space towards the enemies camp. But when they could perceive there neither warders before the gates, nor any man upon the trench & rampiers, nor so much as the usual noise of a leaguer, being moved with this unaccustomed silence, for fear of forelying and treachery, they stood still: but being got over the rampier, and finding the tents void and empty, they set forward to pursue the enemy by his trace. But when they found their foot-tracks, leading to all parts of the Country alike: as being flipt here and there, sundry and divers waies: at the first they wandered out of the way, and misled of them; but afterwards knowing by their epials the purpose and intent of their enemies, they went round about and besieged every City, and in three-score daies wan forty towns all by assault: most part whereof were razed even with the ground, and consumed into ashes, and the nation of the *Equians* utterly in a manner destroyed. Over the *Equians* there was triumph: Whose calamity and delolation was so fearfull an example, to the *Marrucins*, *Maris*, *Pelignis*, and *Ferentins*, that they sent Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace and amity: and to all those nations at their request, a league was granted. The same year, *C. Flavius* a Notary or Register by profession, whose father *Cneus* was no better than a slave made free, a man, thus descended of base and low parentage, howbeit otherwise crafty and eloquent withall, arose to be an *Edile* Curule. I find in some records, that when he gave attendance in his calling to the *Ediles*, and saw that his own Tribe were willing to give him their voices and elect him *Edile*, but his name not accepted of among other competitors, for that he got his living by his pen, he cast aside his books and papers, and swore an oath, that he would no longer be a Notary and use penmanship. But *Macer Licinius* avoucheth, that a good while before, that he gave over his writing, namely, after he had been Tribune, and born two Triumphs, the one for the night misrules, the other for the placing and transporting of a Colony. But they all agree upon this, that he became very stout, and in great contumacy opposed himself and made head against the Nobles that contemned his base birth. The civil law which before time was laid up in great secret by the *Priests*, and *Prelats* in their Arches, he published abroad: and set up a table in the great common place, in manner of a Calendar, wherein all men might know worke-daies from holy-daies: when it was lawful to plead, and when not. Also in delpite, and to the great heart-burning of the *Patriis*, he dedicated the temple of the goddess *Concord* upon the Court of *Vulcan*: and by the general consent of the people, *Cornelius Barbanus* the high *Priest* was compelled to endite and pronounce the certain form of words thereto belonging: notwithstanding he confessed and denied, that by the cultomes of their forefathers any could dedicate a Temple, unless he were either Consul or General of an army. And therefore by the authority of the Senat, a law was preferred to the people, That no man might dedicate a Temple or Altar, without permission and consent of the Consul, or the more part of the *Tribuns* of Commons. I will report in this place a thing, of itself not worthy of remembrance, but only for a proof and example of the liberty of the Commons against the pride and insolencie of the Nobles. This *Flavius*, coming upon a time to visit his Collegae lying sick, by a complot afore hand of certain young gentle

gentleman of the Patricians that sat by his bed side, had no reverence done unto him, nor any one so much as rose up at entrance into the chamber: whereupon, he commanded his ivory chair of State to be brought unto him, and set him self upon it; and so he out faced his adversaries, that were so vexed to the heart with envy of his dignity. This *Flavius* was nominated & chosen *Edile*, by the base faction of the commons, banding together in the place of assemblies: who first took by heart the Censorship of *Appius Claudius* the first that ever detained and polluted the Senat, by bringing in the Sons of Libertins: and when he saw that no man accounted that Election of Senators good and lawful, and perceived withall, that in the Court he had not that backing of Citizens which he sought for: he intermingled in every Tribe certain of the most base persons of the Commons: and so he corrupted both the common place and *Alms* field alio. In so much as the Election of *Flavius* was reputed to unworthy an indignity, that moil of the gentlemen of *Rome* laid away their gold rings and rich trapping of their horses which were the ornaments and ensigns of their calling. And from the time forward the City was divided into two parts. One side was maintained and upheld by the true hearted people, such as favoured and loved good things: the other by the faction of ruffe-raffe and scum of the City: untill the time that *Quintus Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Censors. *Fabius* to bring the City unto an uniform accord, and to withstand this inconvenience, that the Elections of Magistrates should not be carried away by the strong hand of the vilest and most abject persons, made a separation of all that base rabble, and cast them into four Tribes and called them * *Fratria*. Which action of his (men say) was accepted with so great contentment and thankfulness, that upon the good temperature of degrees, he purchased the surname of *Maximus*, which in so many victories he had not acquired and obtained. By him alio (by report) it was ordained and instituted, that on the Ides of *July*, the horsemen rode, as it were, in a solemn muster, and shewing their great horses to the Centor.

* Tribes of the City such as were born to no lands in the country: all the rest were named *Rafric*. *CR.*

The Tenth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the Tenth Book.

Two Colonies were planted in *Sora* and *Alba*. The marfians of *Carfeola*, were reduced under obedience. The fellowship of the *Angurs* was augmented to the number of nine, whereas before they were wont to be but four. The law or edict as touching the appealing to the people, was now the third time proposed by *Valerius* the Consul. Two Tribes more were added to the right *Anienis* and *Terentina*. War was denounced against the *Samnites*, and fortunately fought with them. What time as there was a battell given to the *Tuscani*, *Umbrians*, *Samnites* and *Gauls*, under the conduct of *P. Decius*, and *Quintus Fabius*, and the Roman army was in great extremity of danger, *P. Decius* following the example of his father, devoted and exposed himselfe to die voluntarily, for to save the host: and by his death obtained the victory of that journey, to his countenmen and fellow Citizens, *Papirius Cursor* put to flight an army of the *Samnites*, who were bound by a solemn oath not to depart out of the battell without victory, to the end, that with more magnanimity and resolution, they should enter into the field. The Censur was held, and the number taken of the Citizens, with the solemn purging and Lustration of the City. And offered there were 262322 souls.

The Tenth Book of T. Livius.

When *L. Gentilius* and *Ser. Cornelius* were Consuls, there was rest in a manner from all wars abroad; in such sort, as they had leisure to place certaine Colonies at *Sora* and *Alba*: And for *Alba* there were enrolled 5000 inhabitants, to assist the *Aequians*. As for *Sora*, it had sometimes belonged to the *Volscians* territory: but the *Samnites* usurped the possession of it, and thither four thousand were sent to inhabit. The same year, the *Arpinates* and *Trebulans* were enfranchised denizens at *Rome*. The *Frustians* were fined with the horse of one third part of their lands: for they were evidently detected to have solicited the *Hernicks* to rebellion: and after that the Consuls Commission from the Senat, had made due inquisition, the principal heads of that conspiracy, were scourged and beheaded, yet because there should not pass a year clean without war, a journey was made (such a one as it was) into *Umbria*; upon news, that there came to issue forth day by day, certain men in arms out of a cave, and to make rodes into the country about. Into this cave or peak, the Romans entred with their ensignes displayed: where by reason that it was a blind corner, they received many a wound, and specially by throwing of stones

stones: untill such time as they found the other mouth of the cave (for it was a thorough-fare.) So they piled a deal of wood together at both ends, and set it on fire: with the smoke and vapour whereof, there were about 2000 armed men driven out of their hole, who rushing at last into the flame, desirous to escape, were smothered and burnt to ashes.

When as *M. Lucius Dentor*, and *C. Aemilius*, were Consuls, the *Aequians* began to war again: for they hardly could abide and endure, that a Colony should be planted upon their borders, as they frontier-fortresses to bridle them, and assailed by all kind of force to win the same: but they were little repelled by the Inhabitants only within the town. Howbeit, such a fear they made at *Rome*, because it was not thought credible, that the *Aequians* alone of themselves, so distressed as they were, would be so hardy as to take arms, that in regard of that trouble, a Dictator was named, to wit, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, with *T. Titinius* General of the horse. Who at the first conflict subdued the *Aequians*, and upon the eighth day of his government returned into the City in triumph: and now the Dictator, dedicated the Temple of *Salus*, which he had vowed being Consul, and had put out workmen for to be builded, while he was Centor.

The same year a fleet of Greeks, under the conduct of *Cleonymus* a *Lacedaemonian*, arrived upon the coast of *Italy*, and won *Thuriae*, a City of the *Salentines*. Against this enemy was the Consul *Aemilius* sent, who in one battell discomfited him, and drove him aboard. Thus *Thuriae* was rendred again to the former Inhabitants, and the *Salentine* Country obtained peace and quietness. I find in some Records, that it was *Jun. Bubulcus* the Dictator who was sent to the *Salentines*: and that *Cleonymus* before he was to encounter with the Romans, departed out of *Italy*. From thence he fetched a compass, and doubled the point of *Brundisium*, and sailed with a fore-wind through the midle of *Venice* gulph: for that on the left hand the *Havenis* and harbourless coasts of *Italy*, and on the right, the *Illyrians*, *Liburnians*, and *Illyrians*, fierce nations, and for the most part, reputed infamous, for roving and robbing by the sea-side, put him in exceeding fear. So he arrived at length upon the river of *Venice*, lying far within the shore, and there he landed a few to discover the Coasts: but hearing that the strand that lay out against them was not broad and spacious, and when they were past over it, there were behind them the plaines (as it were) overflowed with the sea-tides, and that not far off might be seen the champion fields near hand, and his beyond; and discovering by this means the mouth of a very deep river, into which he saw, that the ships might be brought about as into a sure harbour (now that rivers name was *Meduacus*) thither he commanded, that the Armada should put in, and to make fall up against the stream. The heaviest vessels, the chanel of the river would not bear: but the soldiers were transported in lighter barks and small pinaces, and so fell at length with the levell and the plain Country, frequented with much people, by reason that three sea-towns of the *Patavins*, inhabited that Territory. Being once landed, and having left a slender guard for their ships, they take Towns by assault, burnt houses, plunder and drive away prizes both of men and cattell: and when they had once tasted of the sweetness of booty and pillage, they went far from their ships. The alarm hereof was given at *Patavium* (now the *Patavins* were always in arms, because of the Gauls their borderers.) Whereupon they divided their fighting youth into two regiments: the one was led into those quarters whereas the report went, that the Greeks foraged here and there abroad: to the other, because they would not meet with the robbers and rovers, was conducted another way to the harbour, where the ships rid (about fourteen miles from the Town). And after they had slain the warders, they charged upon the small barks. Whereupon the mariners were afraid, and were forced to retire their vessels to the other bank-side. Likewise upon the main they sped as well in fight against the stragling rovers: for when as the Greeks fled back to recover the harbour, the *Venetians* encountered them afront, and made head against them. So the enemies were environed in the midle, and most of them slain: some that were taken prisoners, bewrayed what their fleet was, and that King *Cleonymus* was three miles off. There, when they had bestowed the prisoners sure enough in ward within the next village; some man with soldiers for their river-vessels, made fifty and framed with flat bottoms, for to pass over the meers and shallow walshes; others embark armed men in the small gallions taken from the enemies; and made way apace to give an assault upon the main fleet, and beset those ships which rid at anchor, and I durst not weigh and remove, fearing not the enemy, so much as the unknown coasts. Thence, I say, they environed, and charged upon them: and when they made halfe to gain the deep and open sea, without any resistance at all, they were pursued and chased unto the mouth of the river. Thus when they had taken the enemies ships, and fired others, namely, such as for fear and halfe were driven upon the shelves, and run a ground, then they returned with victory. *Cleonymus* hardly saved the fifth part of his fleet. And thus having had no good luck in attempting to land in any of the Adriatick sea, he departed. The stems of the ships, with their beak-heads, and brazen pikes, together with the spoils of the *Lacedaemonians*, were set up in the old Temple of *Juno*, and there be many at this day alive, which have seen them. The memoriall of this sea-fight, is celebrated yearly (upon the very same day that it was fought) at *Patavium*, with a solemn skirmish and combat of ships represented upon the river, within the midle of the City.

The same year was a League made at *Rome* with the *Vellins*, who came to sue for peace and amity. But from that time, there arose many and divers fearful occurrences. For news came, that

that *Hetruria* rebelled, which troubles took their beginning by occasion of the civil dissention and discord of the *Aretins*: who began to expell by force of arms the house and family of the *Lucinii* (mighty and puissant above the rest) for very envy and repine of their wealth and riches. Over and besides, the *Marfians* stood out, and by arms maintained their title to that part of their territory, into which there had been a Colony of *Carcoleans* brought, to the number of four thousand men, enrolled there to inhabit. Against which stir and tumults, *Marcus Valerius Maximus* was created Dictator, who made choice of *M. Emilius Paulus* to be the Commander of the Horse. Which I rather believe to be true, than that *Q. Fabius*, a man of those years and that worth, after so many honourable dignities, should be under *Valerius*. But I would not deny, that the error might grow by reason of the surname of *Maximus*. The Dictator having taken the field with his Army, in one battell discomfited the *Marfians*: and after he had driven them into their walled and fenced Towns, *Milontians*, *Plesina*, and *Preftina*: within few daies, he won them all over their heads: and having fined the *Marfians* with the loss of some part of their Territory, he received them into their ancient League again. Then all the forces were employed against the *Tuscans*: and whiles the Dictator was departed to *Rome* to take his Auspices anew, the General of Horse, being gone out a foraging, was by a secret ambush entrapped. And having lost certain ensignes, he was forced into the Camp, after a foul slaughter and shameful flight of his men. Which fearfull cowardice is not like to have been in *Fabius*, not only, because if ever he deserved his surname of *Maximus* by any commendable parts; it was especially for his prowess in war: but also, for that in remembrance of *Papirius* his cruelty toward him, he never could have been brought to fight, without the commandment or permission of the Dictator. This discomfiture and loss being reported at *Rome*, caused a greater terror than there was cause. For no less than if the Army had been utterly defeated, there was published and proclaimed a stay and cessation of all law-matters, wardens bestowed at the gates, order taken for standing watches in every street, and armour and darts carried up to the walls. And after that all the younger sort were sworn and prest to serve the Dictator was sent again to the Army. Where, he found all more quiet than he looked for, through the careful diligence of the General of Horse. The Camp was removed to a place of more strength and safety, the bands and companies which had lost their ensignes, left on the bare earth without the rampiers, destitute of tents and covert: and the army eager and desirous of fight, to do away and raise out the former ignominy and shame. Presently therefore, he raised his Camp, and removed forward into the country of *Rasella*. Thither followed the enemies all hard at heels: Who albeit, upon their late good speed, they were in right great hope and assistance, to be strong enough even in open fight and plain field; yet they assailed the enemy also by the same sleights and trains which they had already fortunately tried. There returned to be in the country thereabout, not far from the Romans Camp, certain houses half pulled down and ruinate, belonging to a village which was burned when the country was over-run: where, after they had bestowed closely certain men in arms, they drove their beasts and cattel in the very fight of the Roman *corps de guard*, commanded by *C. Fulvius*, a Lieutenant: at which bait, when as there stirred no man from the Roman wards, one of the Heardmen advanced even unto the very trench and fortifications of the Romans, and called aloud to the rest (that seemed for fear to drive but slowly from the ruins of the village aforesaid) asking why they staid behind, seeing they might safely march, and pass forward still (as it were) through the middle of the Roman Camp? These words certain Carists interpreted to the Lieutenant *Fulvius*. Whereat, every band or company of soldiers took great indignation, but durst not stir a foot without a warrant. Then he commanded those that were skillfull in the tongue to mark whether their language sounded nearer to the speech of peasants or to Citizens: Who brought word, that both their voice, and also the habit and fresh hue of their bodies, was more elegant and civil than for country shepherds. Go your waies then (quoth he) unto them and bid them beware and discover their ambush, which in vain they seem to hide: for that the Romans were cunning in all things, and advertised of their designs, and could no more now be overtaken with wiles, than overcome by arms. When these words were once heard and carried to those that lay in wait, presently they start up out of their lurking holes, and brought forth their ensignes all abroad into the open field. The lieutenant supposing they were a greater troop than might be dealt withal and matched by his *corps de guard*, with all speed sent for aid to the Dictator: and in the mean while himself received and bare off the brunt and forcible charge of his enemies. This message was no sooner brought, but the Dictator commanded the standards to be advanced, and the soldiers to arm and follow: but every thing was done sooner almost than it could be commanded: forthwith they caught up the ensignes, and took weapon in hand: and scarcely could they be held in, but that they would run again. For not only the spitefull anger of the late received loss pricked them on, but also the frowns of their fellows, which they might hear more loud, and to be redoubled thicker according as the skirmish grew hotter and hotter. The greater haste therefore they made, whiles one putteth forward another, and is rich to the port-ensignes to go faster and mend their pace. But the more haste the Dictator seeth them to make, the more earnest was he to keep them back in their march, and to hold them in: willing them to go fair and softly. Contrariwise the *Tuscans*, who rose up at the beginning of the battell, were there ready with their whole forces to give the charge. Whereupon there came messenger after messenger to the Dictator, bringing word that all the

A legions of the *Tuscans* were entred into the fight, and that his men already were not able to resist any longer. Nay himself also, from the higher ground, might see in what danger the *corps de guard* was. But presuming and resting upon this conceit, that the Lieutenant was able yet to maintain fight, considering that he was not far off himself to help and save him out of peril: he was delirious that the enemies might be wearied and tired almost as was possible, and that his own forces fresh and in heart, should set upon them overtoiled. And albeit they went softly forward, yet by this time had the Horsemen but a very small ground to take their run with full career. Forsooth marched the ensignes of his legions, that the enemy should not fear any covert and privy stratagem, but leave good spaces and distances between the files of their footmen, through which the Horse might have room and liberty enough to gallop with ease. Then all the battalion of the Infantry set up a cry and shout when they charged, and withal, the Cavalry, with reins at large entred within the ranks of the enemies, who being not marshalled and set in order against such a blustering storm of Horsemen, were with a sudden fear astonished. Whereupon, the troop of *Fulvius* who crewhile was in manner environed and compassed about, and had help and rescue almost too late, now all in general breathed themselves at ease, and were put to nothing. For these that came fresh and lusty undertook the whole weight of the conflict: which was neither long nor doubtful. The enemies were put to flight, and in dilaray made halt to recover their camp. And when as the Romans advanced against them with banner displayed, they quit their place and retreated, gathering themselves round into heaps in the farthest part of the camp: and as they could have fled out, they stuck fast in the narrow gaps and passages of the gates: a great part of them leapt upon the bank, to climb the rampier, if haply either from the higher ground they might defend themselves, or get over any where and escape. By chance in one place where the bank was not well rammed, the rampier was surcharged with the weight of so many standing upon it, and so tumbled down into the trench. Whereupon, they set up a cry all together, That the Gods had made them way to escape, and by that means indeed they saved themselves, but more of them unarmed than armed. In this battell, were the forces of the *Tuscans* once again utterly abated: in so much as, after they had capitulated and promised a years pay, and corn for two months, the Dictator permitted them to send Embassadors to *Rome* for a treaty of peace. Peace was denied, but truce for two years granted: and the Dictator with triumph returned into the City. I find in some writers: that *Hetruria* was by the Dictator quiered, without any notable battell, only by composing the variance and debate of the *Aretins*, and reconciling the family of the *Lucinii* with the Commons.

M. Valerius upon his Dictatorship became Consul. Some have believed that he was created without his own suit, yea, and while he was absent, and that the said Election was held by the Interregent. But howsoever it was, out of all question, he bare the Consulship with *Apuleius Paulus*. Whiles *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius* were Consuls, all was well quieted abroad: for the *Tuscans* of one side, partly upon their ill success in war and partly by reason of their truce, were forced to be still and in repose. The Samnites also on the other side, being well tamed with the overthrows so many years together, repented not yet and were not weary of their new league. At *Rome* likewise the Commons were quiet, and found themselves much eased, and discharged of a great number of base and poor people, which were withdrawn and sent away into Colonies. But because their rest should not be every where entire and perfect, there arose a quarrel between the chief and principal men of the City, as well the Nobles as Commons, and that by the suggestion and instigation of *Q. and Cn. Ogulnius*, Tribunes of the Com. Who having sought occasion and matter every way to accuse and blame the Nobility unto the Commons, when they saw all means assayed in vain, at length entred into an action, whereby they kindled and set on fire not only the meanest, but even the chief heads of the Commons, such as had been Consuls, and triumphed: who wanted no promotions and honors, but only Sacerdotal dignities and Prelacies, which as yet were not indifferently common to both States. They propoied therefore a Law, That whereas at that time there were but 4. *Augurs*, and as many Prelates or Bishops, and forasmuch as they thought it good, that the number of Priests should be increased, there might be choisen to the rest, 4. Bishops, and 5. *Augurs*, all out of the body of the Commons. But how this Colledge or Fellowship of *Augurs*, was reduced to the number of four, but by the death of two, I can not find: since this is certain, that among the *Augurs* the number must be odd: namely that the three ancient tribes, *Rhamneses*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*, should have each one their *Augur*: or if they needed more, they should with equal number increase those Priests: like as they were augmented and multiplied, when as fire being put to four, made up the number of nine: that is to say, for every tribe three. Howbeit, because they were choisen out of the Commons who should supply, and make up the number: the Nobles took it as grievously to the heart, as when they saw the Consulship parted equally in Common: but they made semblance as though this indignity pertained to the Gods more than to them: who would themselves see, that their holy service and sacred mysteries should not be polluted. And as for them, this only they could do, namely, pray and wish, that no calamity thereby should light upon the common-weal. But less earnest were they in opposing themselves and making resistance: for that they were used already in all such broils and contentions to have the worst and they saw besides, that their adversaries shot not at that (which in time past they could scarce hope for) namely, the greatest honours and dignities: but that they had already obtained all, for which they had stived so long in so doubtful terms of hope, to wit, manifold Consuls, and

P. Decius Mus
as in the Ap.
Claudius.

Censorships, and Triumphs. Howbeit, the contention and dispute in debating and arguing to and fro the law propoſed, was maintained (as men ſay) between *Ap. Claudius* eſpecially, and *P. Decius Mus*: and after they had contended and diſcourſed in their *Orations pro & contra*, the ſame reasons in manner, touching the rights and liberties pretended by the Nobles and Commons, which ſometimes had been alleged, both for, and againſt the law *Licinia*, at what times as it was ſet on foot for the Commons to be Conſuls: *Decius* (as it is ſaid) repreſented in open audience, the very reſemblance and ſhew of his father, in ſuch manner, as many of them who were then preſent at the aſſembly, had ſeen him: to wit, girded and apparelled in Gabiner robe, ſtanding over his javelin, in which geſture, habit, and ſaiſhon, he offered himſelf to voluntary death, for to ſave the people and legions of the Romans: "Seemed (quoſe he) *P. Decius*, that I then was Coſ., as pure and religious in the fight of the immortal Gods, as if *T. Manlius* his colleague had been likewiſe devoted and offered? and might not the ſame *P. Decius* have rightly been choſen, to execute the publick divine ſervice and ſacrifices of the people of Rome? or is this all the fear and doubt, that the Gods would give leiſe ear to his prayers, than to *Ap. Claudius*? or doth *Ap. Claudius* with more devotion ſerve God privately, and worſhip the Gods more religiously, than himſelf? Who was there ever that repented or miſliked of the vows, which lo many Conſuls and Dictators of the Com., either at their fiſt ſetting forth to their armies, or in time of war and battel, pronounced for the Common-wealth? Reckon and count the chief Captains, year by year, ſince the fiſt time that the Commons began to have the leading and conduct of the wars: number all the triumphs ever ſince: it will appear that the Commons are "no whit abaſhed, and have no cauſe to complain of their own nobility. And this I know for certain, that if any new ſudden war ſhould ariſe, the Senat and people of Rome would reſolve "no more hope and confidence in the ancient *Patritii*, than in the Com. for to bethe Captains and Commanders. This being ſo, quoſe he, what God or man can think it an indignity, to adorn thoſe perſons alſo with the titles and ornaments of Biſhops and Angurs, whom ye have honoured with chair of Ivory, with the long robe bordered with purple, with the coat of arms embroidered and branched with the palm tree, with the gown or mantle of purple wrought with divers colours, with the chaplets and coronets of triumph, and with the victorious branch and garland of laurel; whole houſes ye have beautified above the reſt, with ſetting up the ſpoils of enemies? Or who can think much, if he be ſeen with a ſacring cup, or holy-water pot, and with a croſſier ſtaff, and his head veiled, either to kill a ſacrifice, or to take Augury by flight of birds from the caſtle hill: who hath been adorned and decked with the enſigns and ornaments of the "great God *Jupiter*, and hath ridden in a gilded chariot through the City into the Capitol? Or in whole Title, inſcription and ſtile over his image, men ſhall with content read Conſulſhip, Censorſhip and Triumph: will not the ſame abide to ſee and read, that ye have added therunto either Augurſhip, or Pontifical dignity? I verily for my part hope (without the diſpleaſure, and with reverence of the Gods be it ſpoken) that we by the beneficence of the people of Rome are ſuch, as for our quality and worthineſs, may and will yield no leiſe credit and honor to our "Priest-hoods than we ſhall receive thereby: and who deſire, in regard of the honor and ſervice of God, more than for our own ſakes and proper intereſt, to have the means, That whom we ſerve and reverence in private, thoſe we may alſo worſhip and honor publickly. But why have I hitherto pleaded the cauſe, as if the *Patritii* were entirely alone intitled and inveſted in the prerogative of Sacerdotal Dignities; and as though we were not already poſſeſſed of one right honorable and principal Priest-hood? We ſee that the Decemvirs for celebration of ſacrifices, and for interpretation of *Sibylla* her Prophecies, and other the fatal declines of this people, the Prelats alſo and Miniſters of *Apollis* his ſacrifice, and other Holy Ceremonies, are of the Commons. Neither was there any injury done unto the *Patritii* at that time, when for to gratify the Commons, the number of the Duumvirs was increaſed: thoſe I mean, who ſhould overſee (as ſuperintendents) the offering of ſacrifices. And now at this preſent they have no greater cauſe to complain, if the Tribuns, a ſtout and brave man, hath added five places more of Angurs, and ſo in of Biſhops, unto which commoners may be nominated: not to diſpoſſeſs you of your rooms, or to diſplace you, *O Appius*; but that men of the commons might aſſiſt you in the function and miniſtry of divine ſervice and Church matters: like as they do their part and perform good ſervice in human and civil affairs. And be not abaſhed, *O Appius*, to have him for your colleague in the Priest-hood, whom you might beſeem to have in Conſular or Censorſhip, your companion and fellow: unto whom being Dictator you might be Collonel of Horſe; as well as he to you in your Dictatorſhip. Thoſe ancient Nobles in old time (our progenitors) admitted into their number and order a Sabine ſtranger, the very head and top of your nobility, one *Ap. Claudius*, or *Ap. Claudius* (choſe you whether.) You muſt not think much then, to accept us into the number of Priests. We bring with us many honorable titles, even all the ſame that make you ſo proud, and "to hear your head aloft. *L. Sextus* was the fiſt Commoner, created Conſul; and *C. Licinius Stolo* the fiſt Collonel of Horſe. *C. Rutilius* was the fiſt Dictator and Censor, and *Q. Publilius Philo* the fiſt Prator. We have heard this long evermore founding in our ears, That to you alone pertained the taking of Anſipica: that you only are of noble deſcent and gentility: that ye are none "but ye, by right and duty ought to manage the affairs, and the foreign government, both at home and abroad: and yet always hitherto the commons in their places and charges, have done "and ſped as well as the *Patritii*, and henceforth ever ſhall (I doubt not.) What? heard ye never

it ſpoken, that the *Patritii* were at fiſt made and created, and not defended from Heaven: but ſuch as were able to name their father and grandſire: that is to ſay, even free men juſt, and "no more? What? I my ſelf can nominate already mine own father to have been a Conſul, and ſhortly ſhall my ſon be able to alledge his grandſire. There is nothing elſe, *O Q. Publilius*, in the matter whereupon we ſtand, but that we may obtain al which hath been denied us. For the Nobles deſire only to maintain a ſide and to contend, and care not greatly what iſſue their contentions come unto. As for me, I do adviſe, and this would I have, That (to the good profit, and happy eſtate of you all, and the well publick) this law may paſs under your affirmative "voce [*Urro. Aſſis.*] Then preſently the people commended the Tribes to be called to a ſ. ruti- B. ny: and ſoon it appeared, that the law without all doubt be accepted: but that day was loſt, by the oppoſition and negative of ſome Tribuns. Howbeit, the morrow after they were a- fraid to croſs it: and then with ex. ceding content of all hands it paſſed clear. So there were created Prelats or Biſhops; fiſt, *P. Decius Mus* himſelf (that lo pleaded for the law) with *P. Sempronius Sophus*, *C. Martius Rutilius*, and *M. Lucius Dentus*. Likewiſe, five Angurs of the Commons, to wit, *C. Cenninius*, *P. Aelius Pater*, *M. Minutius Eſſus*, *C. Martius*, and *T. Publilius*. So there were eight Prelats in number, and nine Angurs.

The ſame year, *M. Valerius* the Conſul, procured the law of appealing to the people, more ſurely to be eſtabliſhed and confirmed. This was now the third time after the depoiſition of the Kings, that this one Act was revived; and alwayes by the ſame houſe or family of the *Valerii*. The cauſe of renewing the ſame lo often, was no other I ſuppoſe, than this: for that the mightineſs of ſome few great men of the *Patritii*, was more powerful than the liberty and freedom of the Commons. Only the Law *Portia*, ſeemeth to have been enacted for to ſave the back and ſides of Citizens from whipping, becauſe that it awarded and ſet a grievous puniſhment upon him, that either had beaten or killed a Citizen of Rome. The Law *Valeria*, which forbade, to ſcourge or behead any man whoſoever, that made his appeal had this annexed alſo, that if any one had trespaſſed and proceeded farther, it ſhould be decreed, *Leandly and unſightly done*. Such was the modeſty and reverence of men in thoſe dayes, that this one addition [in my conceit verily] was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient bond to ſtrengthen the Law. But now adayes, would a man ſcarcely threaten his ſervant or ſlave in that manner.

D. The ſame Conſul made war, without any worthy or memorable exploit, againſt the *Aequians* that rebelled: who (ſetting aſide their ſtout and proud ſtomacks) had nothing left of their ancient fortune and eſtate. The other Coſs. *Appuleius*, beſieged the Town *Nequinum* in *Umbria*. The place was difficult and hard to get up, and on the one ſide ſteep down right (whereas now *Handech Narnia*) ſo that it was impregnable either by aſſault, or countermarches and ſconces whatſoever. Whereupon, the new Conſuls, *M. Fulvius Petrus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, entred upon this enterpriſe, left undone and un finiſhed by the former. Now when all the Centuries nominated with one voyce *Q. Fabius* for the Conſulſhip of that year, even without his own ſuit and ſeeking; *Macer Licinius* and *Tiberio* do write, that he himſelf laboured to have that charge put off, and relieved unto a year of more war: alledging, that for the preſent he would ſerve the Common-wealth in better ſtead, by bearing ſome civil office in the City: and ſo neither diſſembling what he rather deſired, nor yet ſeeking for it, he was made *Ædile* of the Chair, with *L. P. papirius Cuſus*. But, to ſet this down for a certain truth I dare not; becauſe that *Piſo*, a more ancient Writer of Chronicles, ſaith, that the *Ædiles* Cnule of that year, were *C. Domitius*, *Cn. F. Calpurnius*, *Sp. Carvilius*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. That ſurname, I ſuppoſe verily, gave occaſion of the error in the *Ædiles*. Whereupon enſued a tale (ſortring to that error) mixed and compounded of the Elections of *Ædiles* and Conſuls together. The ſame year was held a ſolemn ſurvey and purging of the City by ſacrifice, called *Luſtrum*, by *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *P. Sulpitius Aferrius*, and two Tribes more were added to the reſt, *Anienſis*, and *Tarentina*. And thus much concerning the affairs at Rome.

F. But now to return to *Nequinum*: after much time ſpent in long and lingering ſiege before the Town two of the inhabitants, whoſe houſes joyned cloſe to the wall undermined the ground, and by a ſecret way came as far as the *corpi de guard* of the Romans. From whence they were brought before the Conſul, and promiſed him to let in and receive what garriſon and troop of armed men he would, within the City. This offer was thought neither to be neglected and reſuſed, nor yet raſhly to be credited. So with the one of theſe twain (for the other was kept behind as an hoſtage) two other ſpies were ſent by the ſame mine to diſcover the train. By whole relation, when it appeared ſufficiently, that all was ſafe and without danger: by the leading and guiding of the traitor aforeſaid, 300 armed men by night entred the City, & ſeized that gate which was next unto them: at which being broken open, the Conſul and the Roman army without reſiſtance, made entry and ſurpriſed the City. In this fort *Nequinum* was reduced to the obedience of the people of Rome. A Colony was thither ſent to Frontier againſt the *Umbrians*, called of the * Rivers name [which runneth under it] * *Narnia*. And the army with a rich prize was brought again to Rome.

The ſame year the Tuſcans, contrary to the tenure of the truce, made preparation for war. But while they were buſily occupied otherwiſe, it fortune, that a puſſant army of Gauls invaded their marches, and for a while altered their deſignments. Afterwards, by the means of money, whereof they were full and bare themſelves mighty, they fought to make the Gauls, or enemies to become their friends, and ſollicited them to band together, and ſo jointly to main-

* The ſame that *Narnia*.

* *Narnia*, now *Neri*.

tain war with the Romans. Their society and friendship the barbarous people refused not; only, they stood upon the sum what they should have for their hire. Which being agreed upon and received, and all things else in a readiness for to go into the field; when the Tullians willed them to follow after, they flatly denied, that they had received any consideration for to make war upon the Romans: but whatsoever they had taken, it was because they should not wait the Tullian Land, and by way of hostility and force of arms, do any violence upon the inhabitants: howbeit, if the Tullians were so minded to employ them, they would be willing to serve; but for no other reward and recompence, than to be admitted into part of their territory; that at the length they might have some certain place of abode, to settle themselves in. Many Diets and consultations hereabout were held by the States of Tullian, but nothing resolved and concluded: not so much for that they feared to part with some of their Lands, as because they were in great dread every one and abhorred, to have dwelling by them such neighbours, descended from so savage a race and cruel Nation. Thus were the Gauls let go and dismissed, having away with them a huge mass of money, which they got without any travel or peril of theirs.

The bruit of the Gauls tumult and insurrection, together with the Tullians war, caused no little fear at Rome. Whereupon, more halt was made to conclude a league with the * *Picenes* people. *T. Manlius* the Consul had the charge of the Tullian war allotted unto him. Who scarcely was entered into the confines of the enemies, but as he was training and exercising amongst the Horcemen he ran his horse with full career, and suddenly as he turned about, was cast off, and presently lay for dead: and so the Consul, three days after his fall, ended his life. Which the Tullians taking hold of, as a good ominous token and preface, got heart and were very jolly; saying, that the Gods had in favour of them, begun this war. This was heavy news at Rome, both for the loss of so brave a personage, and for the time, wherein so unhappily it fell out: so as, the assembly held (by the advice of the chief Peers) for to substitute a Consul in his place that was deceased, frightened the Senators from choosing a Dictator. All their sentences, and all the centuries gave with *M. Valerius* to be Consul: who was the man, whom the Senat was about to have picked for Dictator. Then forthwith, they ordained him to go into Tullany to the army. Whose coming unprefixed and kept under the Tullians: so as not a man durst once go out of their trenches and hold. Even their very fear was as good as a siege unto them: for that the new Consul neither by wasting the fields, nor firing their houses in such sort, as every where, not only the small villages, but also the good and well-peopled Towns were seen to smoke and burn again, could draw them forth to fight.

This war continued longer than men thought: but behold, there arose a bruit of another; (which, considering the mutual losses of both sides, was for good causes greatly to be feared) upon intelligence given from the *Picenes* their new allies, namely, that the Samnites were about to take arms and rebel, and had solicited them also to do the same. The *Picenes* were highly thanked for this, and a great part of the Senators care was diverted now from Tullany to the Samnites. The death besides of corn and victuals troubled the City: and driven they had been to extremest famine, if *Fabius Maximus* (as they have written, who are of opinion that he was *Ædile* that year) by provident purveying and diligent conveying of corn, had not been as careful and industrious, in the dispensing of victual now at home, as many times before in war affairs. The same year there was an Interregnum, but upon what occasion, it is not known. The Interregents were *App. Claudius*, and after him *P. Sulpicius*, who held an Election of Consuls, and created *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Fulvius*.

In the beginning of this year, there came Orators from the Lucans to these new Consuls, for to make complaint, That the Samnites, who by no conditions and means could induce them for to band and take arms with them, were entered into their confines, and made wast of the country, and by very force provoked them to war, saying, That the Lucans had long ago over-shot and passed themselves that way: but now they were so fully resolute, that they could find in their hearts, sooner to abide and endure all kind of calamity whatsoever, than ever after to offend and displease the Roman name. They brought the Senat therefore, to receive the Lucans into their protection, and al o to keep and defend them from the violence and injury of the Samnites. And for themselves, albeit entering into war already with the Samnites, they were of necessity obliged to befall and true unto the Romans: yet for better security they were ready to put in sufficient hostages. The Senat was not long consulting hereabout: but all with one consent were of opinion, to make league with the Lucans, and to summon the Samnites to make amends and restitution. The Lucans, besides a courteous and gracious answer, were accepted into the league. Then were there *Fæcial* Heralds dispatched to the Samnites, to give them warning for to depart the territory of the Roman allies, and to withdraw their forces out of the confines of the Lucans. But the Samnites sent out certain messengers to meet them upon the way, and to denounce unto them, that if they presented themselves in any Council within *Sannium*, they should not depart again with safeguard of their persons. When these news were heard at Rome, both the Senat advised, and the people allowed, to make war upon the Samnites. The Consuls parted their Provinces and charges between themselves. To *Scipio* fell *Hetruria*, and the Samnites to *Fulvius*: and so they take their journey divers ways, each one to the war allotted unto him. *Scipio* looked for no other, but a lingering war at the enemies hands, and like to the defensive service of the former year: but behold, they with an army well appointed and

A arranged, encountered him and gave him battle near to * *Volaterra*; where they fought the better part of the day, with much bloodshed on both sides: and whiles they were doubtful which way the victory went; the night came between. But the morning after bewrayed both who were winners, and who were losers. For the Tullians in the still and dead time of the night dislodged. The Roman Consul coming forth into the field, and seeing by the enemies departure, the victory confessed: went forward to the camp: which he found empty of men but full of rich pillage, (for they had fearfully and in great haste abandoned their tents) and was matter thereof. From thence he retired his forces into the territory of the *Faliscans*: and after he had left at *Faleris* all his bag and baggage with a meetly garrison there: lightly appointed, he marched forward, and with a B running camp, wasted the marches and territories of his enemies. He put all to fire and sword: I drove away booties from all parts: and left not the ground only, wast and desart, but set fire also upon Cities and borough Towns. Only he forbore to assault the great and strong Cities, into which fear had driven the Tullians for refuge. *Cn. Fulvius* the Consul on the other part fought a noble battle in *Sabinum* near * *Bovianum*, and the victory was no whit doubtful. After which he assailed *Boianum*, and not long after *Aspidena*: and both Cities he won by force. The same year there was a Colony brought to * *Caraclo* within the territory of the *Æquiculi*. And *Fulvius* the Consul triumphed over the Samnites. * *Volterra*, * *Boiano*, * *Arceolo*,

When as now the time of the Consuls Election drew near; there was a rumour raised, that the Tullians and Samnites were lying and enrolling of great and mighty forces: that, openly in all their C assemblies and Diets, the Princes of the Tullians were checked and reproved, for that they had not waged the Gauls to war: whatsoever it had cost them: that the Magistrates of the Samnites were blamed, for exposing that army as it were a prey unto the Romans, which had been provided against their enemies the Tullians. For now seeing that the enemies both with their own power, and also with the help of their allies, were come to war: they should not be able to match them, having their forces thus redoubled. Now albeit there were other famous and renowned persons flood to be Consuls, yet this new fear and affright turned all men to be come favourites of *Q. Fabius Maximus*: who at the first made no suit, and afterwards, seeing the inclination of their affections, refused also to be Consul. Demanding what they meant to trouble and molest him, so aged a man as he was, and one, who as he had gone through all labours and travels of this D world: so he had passed also the rewards, and recompences of his travels: alledging, that neither strength of body, nor vigor of spirit could always continue the same, and last for ever: and besides, he feared fortune her self, lest haply he might be thought of any of the Gods too propitious and favorable unto him, and more permanent than the ordinary train and course of this world would permit. Therefore, like as himself had grown up after the glory of his elders, and succeeded them, so he saw and beheld with joy of heart, others also rising up after him, and to succeed him in the like glory: and as there wanted not at Rome high promotions and advancements for hardy and valiant men, so there failed not brave men of worth for to receive those honors and dignities. But by this refusal of his to molest so just and reasonable he whetted and kindled more and more their earnest affections and favours towards him, which he thinking to E dull and quench, with the reverent regard and awe of the laws, commanded a statute to be read, wherein it was not lawful for one and the same man within ten years to be created Consul twice. But scarcely for the noise that the people made, could this law be heard read: and the Tribuns of the Com. said, that this should be no let: for they would prefer a bill unto the people, that he might be discharged and dispensed withal from the Statutes in that behalf. Howbeit he stood stiffly still in his refusal: demanding of them to what purpose and end were the laws made, if by the very makes thereof, they might be thus deluded and made of no force? For so (qd. he) laws ruled not, but were over-ruled. But nevertheless, the people went to a scrutiny and began to give their voices: and as every Century was called into the rails they named and chose *Fabius* Consul, without sticking at the matter. Then at last, overcome with this general accord and consent of the F whole City: God say Amen (quoth he) *O Quirites*, to that you do and are about. But for al- much as you will have your will and dispose of me at your pleasure, do me this favour yet, that I may have the choosing of my Co-league. I beseech you make Consul with me *P. Decimus*, a man approved unto me already, with whom, I have forced well in the fellowship of another office: a man I say, answerable otherwise to the greatness of his name, and worthy of his fathers virtue, from whom he is descended. This favour which he requested, seemed unto them just and reasonable. So all the Centuries behind, created *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decimus* for Consuls.

The same year the *Ædiles* served process upon very many Citizens: for holding and possessing of more Lands, than by Law was limited: and none in a manner was able to acquit himself hereof. Which was a great bridle and restraint to their unmeasurable avarice. As the G new Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *P. Decimus* the third time, conferred and laid their heads together about their charges, that the one should take in hand the Samnites, and the other the Tullians: and consulted what forces might serve and be sufficient for this or that Province and exploit: and to whether way either of them were the more meet and sufficient Leader: certain Embassadors, from *Sarrum*, *Nepti*, and *Faleris*, advertised them. That the States of Tullian, were now consulting in their Diets, about a Treaty of peace: which was an occasion, that they turned all their preparations and forces into *Sannium*. The Consuls being gone forth, to the end they might have the readier provision of grain and

Viſuals, and the enemy be more to ſeek, which way they would aſſail them, led their Legions into *Saminius*; *Fabius*, through the territory of *Sora* and *Decius* by the way of the Sidicini, when they were come into the confines of their enemies, both of them ſpread themſelves all abroad, and ſell to forrage and ſpoil the country: yet ſo, as they ſaw their camp ſituated rather than they waited. Whereupon, they were well aware of their enemies, as they lay in ambush well appointed, within a cloſe and ſecret valley near *Tifernum*: ſo what way as they thought to take the vantage of the higher ground, and to let upon the Romans ſo ſoon as they were on entered in. *Fabius* having removed his carriages into a ſure place, and ſet there a competent guard for defence, fore-told his ſoldiers that there was a battle towards: and in a four-square battalion marched directly to the ſorſaid Embacado, where the enemies lurked and lay in wait. The Samnites then, deſpairing and loſt out of all hope to do any great exploit by ſudden tumult, conſidering their troops were diſcovered: and ſeeing they muſt once at the length come to the trial in open field, were themſelves alſo more willing to put all upon a ſet battle. Thereupon they defended into the plain and even ground, and committed themſelves to the fortune of fight, with more courage of heart than hope of victory. But were it, that they had aſſembled together the whole flour and manhood out of all the Nations of the Samnites, or that the hazard of the main chance made them more hardy and take the better heart: ſurely even in plain field, they held the Romans play and put them to great fear. *Fabius* ſeeing the enemies no way to retreat and give ground, commanded *M. Flavius* and *M. Valerius*, two Colonels, with whom he had ſet forward and advanced into the forefront, to go to the Horſemen, and to exhort them; if ever they remembered and called to mind, that the Common-wealth had been helped by the valour of the Gentlemen on horſeback, they ſhould that day endeavour to make invincible and eternal the glory of that degree and order of Cavalry. For ſeeing that the enemies ſtood unmoved againſt the Infantry, there was no other hope but in the force of Horſemen: and here withal he called upon thoſe two young Gentlemen, and plyed both the one and the other with like courteſy, one while praizing them, another while loading them with fair and large promiſes. But when as the aſſay of that force likewiſe, prevailed not, thinking where ſtrength would take no place, there craft was to be tried and practiſed, he cauſed *Scipio* his Lieutenant, to withdraw out of the conflict, the javeliniers of the firſt legion, and as cloſely as he could to ſeek about with them, toward the next hills: and then, to march up the hill ſome way from the fight of the enemies; and after he had gained the top, all of a ſudden to ſhew himſelf behind, and charge upon the enemies backs, whilſt their faces were turned another way. Now the Horſemen, by the direction of thoſe two Colonels, being ridden of a ſudden before the ſtandards, troubled their own fellows almoſt as much as the enemies. For againſt theſe troops and cornets of Horſe that they violently put forward, the Samnites battle ſtood unmoved, and on no part could either be forced to retreat, or to break their array. The Horſemen when they ſaw this attempt to take no effect, retired themſelves behind the enſigns, and departed out of the battle. Hereupon took the enemies more heart unto them; neither had the vanguard of the Romans been able to abide ſo long a conflict, and the violence of the enemies ſtill encreaſing, upon their own confidence, but that the ſecond ranges in the middle ward, by the Conſul's commandment, came forward into the front of the vanguard. Where they with their freſh ſtrength ſlayed the Samnites, being now ready to enter forcibly upon them, and to gain the ground: and withal, at the time appointed, the enſigns ſhewed themſelves from the hills, and came down unawares to the enemies; and ſetting up a ſhout, not only daunted the hearts of the Samnites, but alſo encouraged the Romans. For both *Fabius* cried aloud, that his Colleague *Decius* approached, and every ſoldier for his part, what he might, with joyful and cheerful hearts, iterated, that the other Conſul was come, and the legions were at hand. Which error and miſtaking, as it turned to the good of the Romans, ſo it cauſed the Samnites to ſlie, and to be ſurprized with a fright, fearing and doubting nothing ſo much, as that being now overtoiled and wearied, they ſhould be overcharged alſo with freſh and luſty forces. And for that in their running every way, they were ſcattered aſunder there was leſs ſlaughter than for the preparation of ſo great a victory. For 3400 N only were ſlain, and of priſoners were taken, weſneer three hundred and thirty: and three and twenty banners and enſigns won and carried away. The Apulians had joyed with the Samnites before the battle, but that *P. Decius* the Conſul encamped againſt them at *M. Valentium*, and having drawn them forth to fight, diſcomfited them. Where alſo there were more that ſled, than died upon the ſword: for not above 2000 Apulians were ſlain. And *Decius* making no reckoning of that enemy, conducted his legions into *Saminius*. Where, two Conſular hoſts, having overrun the country in divers parts within five months ſpace laid all waſt and deſolate. Five and forty places there were in *Saminius*, where *Decius* had encamped: and eighty fix, wherein the other Conſul had pitched. In which, they left behind them not only the marks of flaks, rampires, and ditches, but alſo many other more notable ſigns and tokens of the country waſted all about, and utterly ſpoiled by them. *Fabius* beſides, won the City *Cimbrina*. Where there were taken priſoners two thouſand and four hundred armed ſoldiers, and ſlain there were in fight upon 430.

From thence he went to *Rome* againſt the Election of new Conſuls, and made all the haſt he could to diſpatch that buſineſs. And when as all the Centuries firſt called forth to give their ſuffrages, named *Q. Fabius* for the Conſul; then *Appius Claudius* a Conſular man, and one of the Competitors, a grim ſir, and ambitious by nature, laboured no more for his own honour and advancement,

advancement, than to recover again unto the *Patritii*, both the rooms of the Conſulſhip, and employed as well his own devoir, as alſo all the means and aſſiſtance of the *Patritii* and Nobility, to have himſelf choſen Conſul with *Q. Fabius*. As for *Fabius*, at the firſt, ſpoke and alledged in his own behalf, the ſame reaſons in manner which he had uſed the former year, and reſuſed to be Conſul. The whole body of the Nobility flood about his ſeat, praizing intantly, and entreating him to pluck the Conſulſhip out of the mire and baſe degree of theſe Commons, and to reſtore the ancient Maſtety both to the Magiſtracy it ſelf, and alſo to the *Patritii* and their houſes and families. *Fabius* after ſilence made, framed a middle and moderate kind of ſpeech, whereby he appeaſed and allayed their hot aſſe, promiſing and aſſuring them, that he would willingly accept the names of two of the Nobility, if he might ſee, that they would create any other Conſul but himſelf: for at this preſent Election, he would in no wife admit himſelf, to be eligible and nominated Conſul, and give ſo bad a precedent to prejudice all couſe of law, for the time to come. So *L. Volturnus*, one of the body of the Commons, was created Conſul with *App. Claudius*, whoſe ſilence in the former Conſulſhip had been matched Colleagues together. The Nobility uſed to object unto *Fabius*, and reproached him, that he avoided *App. Claudius* to be his companion in government, who for eloquence and other civil parts was no doubt a ſingular and excellent man. When the Election was ended, the old Conſuls were commanded to war in *Saminius*, having their Government continued: and their commiſſion renewed for fix months. And ſo in the year following likewiſe, when *L. Volturnus* and *Appius Claudius* were Conſuls, *P. Decius*, who being Conſul, had been left behind his Colleague in *Saminius*, cealed not now in quality and name of Proconſul, to wait the country; until at length, when the Samnits would in no place abide battle, they were by him chafed out of their own borders and limits. And thus driven out of the field, and excluded out of their own country, they went into *Hetruria*. Where, ſuppoſing that with ſo huge a multitude of armed men, they ſhould do that more effectually with increaſed prayers, mingled with threats among, which by ſo many Embaſſies they had ſo oft attempted in vain: they called for a Diet and general Council of the States and Princes of *Hetruria*. Which being aſſembled, they declared and ſhewed, for how many years ſpace they had maintained war with the Romans in the right of their freedom: that they had aſſayed all means, if haply they might have been able by their own puſſance alone to ſuſtain and ſupport the weight of ſo huge and important a war: that they had beſides made proof of the aids of other neighbouring nations, but to little effect: that they had fought for peace of the people of *Rome*, when they were not able to wage war any longer: and becauſe peace was more grievous unto them, with that ſubjection, than war with their liberty, they had rebelled and made war again: and now their only hope they had, remained in the Tuſcans: knowing well enough, that for men, munition, and money, they were the mightieſt nation of all *Italy*: as having to their neighbours the Gauls, a people born and bred up in armor and war: by natural diſpoſition fierce and cruel, but eſpecially in any quarrel againſt the people of *Rome*: of whom they do (and not untruſtly report) that they were by them vanquiſhed and conſtrained to ransome themſelves for gold. Now, if the Tuſcans were of that heart and courage, as *Poſſum* ſometimes, and other their noble progenitors were: there were no doubt, but that they might diſſeize the Romans, and diſpoſſeſs them of all the ground on this ſide *Tyberis*, and make them fight for the defence and preſervation of their lives, and not for the intolerable ſeignory and dominion of *Italy*. They ſaid moreover, that there was now come unto them an army of Samnites, well appointed and ſuſtained with armour, and ſtored with pay and money, who would ſell them forthwith, even to the aſſault of the City of *Rome*, if they would lead them.

Whiles they were thus braving, and gloriously boaiſting themſelves, and preparing of war in Tuſcanie, the Romans war at their own dores, lay fore upon them, and ſtung them at the heart. For *P. Decius* having learned by the epicals, that the Samnites army was gone forth, and had taken their voyage, aſſembled a Council and ſaid, What mean we thus to range over the fields, wandering from village to village? And not rather aſſail the walled Towns and ſtrong Cities? There is no army now, that defendeth *Saminius*: gone they are out of their confines, and wrought their own exile and baniſhment. When they all had allowed of this motion, he led forth his power to aſſault the ſtrong City *Murgantia*. And ſo hotly were the ſoldiers ſet, both for the love they bore to their Captain, and alſo for hope of winning a richer plack thereby, than by driving booties out of the country, that in one day by mere force of arms they won the Town. Where two thouſand and one hundred Samnites, fighting men, either fell upon the edge of the ſword, or were taken priſoners, with a great and rich booty beſides. But for fear that it ſhould ſurcharge and encumber the army with heavy carriages, *Decius* cauſed his ſoldiers to be called together unto an audience, and thus to him he ſaid, "And willeſt thou contented indeed with this victory only, and this prey? Or willeſt thou build your hope ſtill, unſwearable to your promiſes and valour? All the Cities of the Samnites, all the ſubſtance and riches that lieth and remaineth in their Cities are yours for aſmuch as ye have in ſo many batels vanquiſhed their legions and at laſt driven them out of their own country. Sell theſe prizes, and with hope of gain draw after you chapmen and merchants to follow the army. I will from time to time ſell you to your wares and commodities for to ſell. Let us go from hence ſtreight to the City *Romula*, where your toil ſhall not be to great, but the ſpoil far greater. So when they had made ſale of their plack, and willingly of themſelves called upon and exhorted their Captain to that expedition,

to *Romula* they go. Where likewise, without mure and platform, without warlike engines of battery, so soon as they advanced their engines, and approached the walls, they could by no violence be driven from thence, but set up ladders in all bait, at the next place that every man could find, and so scaled up the walls. Thus the Town was won and ransacked. To the number of 2300 were slain, and 6000 taken prisoners. The souldiers having got an exceeding booty, were forced to sell it, and make all away, as before: and from thence without any rest at all given unto them were they led to *Ferentinum*, yet they marched thither with exceeding courage and cheerfulness. Howbeit there they found more difficult and perilous service: for the walls were with all forcible means defended, and the place it self was both by mans hand, and natural situation, furly fenced: but yet the souldiers now being fleshed, and enured to *As*, overcame all difficulties. Three thousand men about the walls were slain: and the sackage fell to the souldiers share. The greatest part of the honor in assaulting and winning of these Cities, is ascribed in some Chronicles to *Fabius Maximus*. For they write, that *Margantia* was won by *Ferentinum* and *Romula*, by the conduct of *Fabius*. But some attribute the glory hereof unto the new Consuls. And there are, that give the glory not to both, but to the one of them to wit, *P. Volturnius*, unto whom be fell the Province of *Samnium*.

Whiles these affairs thus went in *Samnium* (by whose leading and managing it skills nor) in the mean time a mighty war was preparing in *Hetruria*: and that, of many nations banded together: the principal author whereof was *Gellius Egnatius* a Samnite. The Tuscans, in manner all, had taken arms and levied their forces, and the neerer society, called also the people of *Umbria*, joyning to take their part: besides, Gauls also were waged for money to aid: all which multitude assembled together, and met in the Samnits camp. The news of which sudden and unexpected tumult, being brought to *Rome*: for so much as *P. Volturnius* the Col, with the second and third legions, and with 5000 confederats was gone already into *Samnium*: it was thought good and determined, that *App. Claudius* with all speed possible, should go into *Hetruria*: and alter him, two Roman legions followed, to wit, the first and fourth, with twelve thousand allies: who, so camped not far from the enemy. But more good was done there, in respect that they came thither betimes, (to the end that the fear of the Roman name might keep in awe certain nations in *Hetruria*, which already intended war) than for any exploit performed either skillfully or luckily, under the conduct of the Consul. Many skirmishes there passed in places of disadvantage, and times inconvenient: in so much, as the enemy took more heart, and conceived greater hope every day more than other: and now it grew well near to this point, that neither souldier could well reckon of the sufficiency of Captain nor Captain trust upon the loyalty of the souldier. In three several Annals I find, that *Appius* dispatched his letters to his fellow Consul, and sent him out of *Samnium*: howbeit, I am loth to set this down being so uncertain as it is: seeing that the very Consuls themselves of *Rome*, who now the second time were coupled together in one government, contended, and openly jarred about this point: whiles *Appius* denied flatly that he sent any scribe at all, and *Volturnius* again avowed, that he was sent for by *Appius* his letters. *Volturnius* by this time had won three Castles in *Samnium*, wherein were slain three thousand enemies, and almost half so many taken prisoners: and composed besides the seditions and quarrels of the Lucans, which arose from the Commons and needy persons: and that, with the exceeding good contentment of the chief and principal personages of the country, by the means and mediation of *Q. Fabius* the Proconsul, who was thither sent with the old army. This done, he left *Decius* to wait and pill the country of the enemies, and himself with his forces marched toward his Colleague into *Hetruria*. Who at his first coming, was received generally with all the joy that might be. For mine own part, I suppose verily, that as *Appius* had good cause to cary angry stomach with him, in case his conscience bare him witness, that he wrote not unto him: for as he had need of his Colleague aid, he shewed an illiberal, unkind, and unthankful nature of his own, in that he would to himself, and not be known thereof. For being come forth to meet him, before they had well greeted and saluted one another. How now, quoth he, *O L. Volturnius*, is all well? How goes the World in *Samnium*? What hath moved you to abandon and leave your own charge and province, and to depart? *Volturnius* made answer, that in *Samnium* all things went well and chieft prosperously, and that himself was now come, as sent for by his letters: which if they were counterfeit, and that there were no need of him in *Hetruria*, he would presently turn his engines, and be gone. Mary, quoth he, and good leave have you: you may be gone when you will, and no man holdeth you: it is ill becoming it, that you who peradventure are not able to wield and manage your own affairs of war, should glory thus, and make your boast that you are come hither to help others. Hereat *Volturnius* should reply again and say, It is well, and God send us good luck: I had rather lose my labour, than ought should have happened, whereby our Consuls army were not sufficient to deal with *Hetruria*. Now as the Consuls were parting asunder one from the other, the Lieutenants and Colonels of *Appius* his army, came and stood round about them both: some requested their own General, that the aid of his Colleague which ought to have been accepted by them if it had been required: now that it was offered so willingly, and of his own accord, should not be refused and rejected. But the more part encountered *Volturnius*, as he was ready to go his way, and earnestly besought him not for any forward contention, and debate with his companion, to betray the common-weal. For if any overthrow or misadventure should happen, the blame would be imputed rather to the for-

aker than the forsaken: and now things were come to this pass, that the honor or dishonor of the war in *Hetruria*, proved it well or ill, should fall upon *L. Volturnius*: for that no man would enquire of the words and language that *Appius* gave him, but of the fortune and success of the army: and albeit *Appius* had given him his farewell and passport, the weal publick and the army held him still by the sleeve, and for proof hereof, let him but make trial of the souldiers hearts and affections. Thus with remonitances, persuasions, and hearty prayers to the one Consul and the other, they drew them both, in manner against their wilso: partly in publick audience before the whole army. Where they grew to longer speeches and discourses, but to the same purpose and effect, as before in the hearing and presence of a few. Now when *Volturnius* (as having the better cause) seemed to reply, and that with good grace & words enough, against that singular eloquence of his Colleague: and that *Appius* in trumping and taunting manner gave out and said, That they were beholden to him, and might con him thank, that of a dumb and tongue-tied Consul they had one now, that was so ready and eloquent: and who in his former Consulship, and specially in the first months, could not open his mouth, and speak a word, was now of a sudden become an Orator, and able to make plausible and popular Orations: then replied *Volturnius* and said, "Would God, with all my heart, you rather had learned of me to fight valiantly, then I of you to speak finely: and in conclusion, he said, he would tender him an offer, which should determine and put out of all doubt, whether of them twain, were, not the better Lawyer and Orator (for at this present the Common-weal stood not in need of flourish) but the better warrior and Captain General. Whereas therefore, there are ii. Provinces, *Hetruria* and *Samnium*, it shall be in your choice (qd. he) to take one of them, whether you will, and I myself will with my own army, make war in the other. Then began the souldiers to cry aloud unto them, that they would jointly enter both upon the Tuscan war, which content and accord of theirs, when *Volturnius* had perceived, "Forasmuch (qd. he) as I have once mistaken and misinterpreted the will of my Colleague, I will not in any case stand in doubt and be ignorant of your minds too: Let me know therefore by a shout of yours, whether you would have me tarry or depart? Whereat they set up such a note, that it gave an alarm to the enemies, and raised them out of their camp, and presently they caught their weapons up, and came forth into the field, *Volturnius* likewise caused the trumpets to sound, and the standards and ensigns to be brought abroad. Then *Appius* (as it is reported) seeing plainly, that whether he fought or fate still, the victory would be ascribed to his Colleague, stood in a maiming and suspence for a while: but afterwards fearing, lest that his own legions also would follow *Volturnius*, gave likewise unto his men the signal of batel, which they so instantly called for. But neither they, nor the enemies were well arranged and in good order: for both the leader of the Samnits (*Gellius Egnatius*) was gone a foraging abroad, with some few cohorts and bands with him: whereupon the souldiers rather of their own head, than by conduct and direction of Captains, began to charge: and also the Roman armies were not both lead forth together, nor yet had time enough to be marshalled accordingly: for *Volturnius* first gave the charge, before that *Appius* could come to encounter the enemies: whereupon, the forecouns were not equally marched together: and as if some fortune had exchanged the enemies, that they were wont to fight withal: the Tuscans presented themselves to *Volturnius*, and the Samnits who stayed a while (for that their General was absent) affronted *Appius*. It is reported that *Appius* in the very heat of the skirmish, was seen in the front of the foremost ensigns, to lift up his hands to Heaven, and pray in this wise, "O Lady *Bellona*, if thou give us victory, and the honor of this day then, be sure, I vow here unto thee at this hour, a fair Temple. When he had thus prayed, as if the goddess had put life unto him, and animated his courage, both himself matched the valour of his Colleague, and his army answered the virtue of their Commander. For he performed the devoir and part (indeed) of a brave General. The souldiers likewise, for fear that the other army should begin the victory, endeavored and streined all that ever they could: Whereby, they disarrayed, discomfited, and put to flight the enemies, who could not easily abide any extraordinary force and violence, more than they were wont to meet withal. And so with pressing hard upon them still that retreated, and chasing them hotly that were scattered in flight, they beat them into their camp. There, by the coming in of *Gellius* and the Sabellian bands, the batel for the time was freshly renewed. But when they also, within a while were discomfited, then was the camp assaulted by the conquerors. Thus whiles *Volturnius* for his part entered with banner displayed unto the very gate and *Appius* ever and anon, reiterated the name of *Bellona* the victress, and all, to set on fire and inflame the courage of his souldiers: there was neither trench nor rampier that could hold them back. So the camp was won and sacked, and a huge pillage therein found, which was given all to the souldiers. Seven thousand and three hundred enemies were slain, 2120 taken prisoners.

During the time that both Consuls, and the whole pisanie of the Romans, were thus more bent and employed in the war within Tuscany: there were new forces raised in *Samnium*, to wait the marches of the Roman Dominion: who taking their way through the Veltins, into *Campania* and the country of *Faleris*, drave huge prizes and booties away. And as *Volturnius* by great journeys returned into *Samnium* (for by this time *Fabius* and *Decius* were come to an end of their prorogued government) the bruit that was blown abroad of the Samnits army and their foraging of the territory of *Capua*, turned him out of his way, to the defence of his allies and confederats. So soon as he was entered into the country *Calenum*, both he himself saw the fresh marks and tokens of great damage and desolation: and also the Calenians advertised him, that

* Natarum, or
Vulturum,
* About mid-
night.

the enemies carried with them already too excessive a prey and booty, that they were scarce able for it to march in good order, and that their Captains began openly to speak and say, that the best course they could take, was presently to retire *Sammium*, thence to leave their prizes and booties, and so to return afresh to their homes and make new expeditions; and not to commit an army, so laden and lurcharged, to the fortune and hazard of a battle. Which words, albeit they sounded much to a truth, yet he thought it meet to look better into the matter, and to build upon a sure ground, and therefore he sent certain light Horsemen, to intercept some foragers as they straggled and were scattered one from another in the fields. By whom he learned, after much questioning with them, that the enemies encamped by the river *Vulturum*, and from thence at the third watch, would set forward on their journey directly into *Sammium*. After he had sufficient intelligences and advertisements concerning these things, he dislodged and put himself upon his way, and encamped so far from the enemies, as his approach by being too near could not be known, and yet he might be able to surprise them as they should issue in disorder out of their camp. So, good while before day, he marched towards the enemy: and sent such as were well seen in the Oscan tongue, to listen and learn what they did. Who being intermingled with the enemies (which was an easy matter in that night garb and confusion) they found that the enemies were set forward, not sufficiently accompanied with armed men for defence; and that the whole pillage with the guard and convoy thereof, was now going forth, and marched carefully like a sort of vile and base lozels, every man thinking of his own particulars and running on his own head, without consent of others, and with little or no direction and government. This was thought the meetest time to set upon them: and now it drew near day. Whereupon he commanded the trumpets to sound the charge, and set upon the march of the enemies. The Samnites, incumbered as they were, and pestered with their booty, and few of them here and there in armour, began, some of them to double their pace, and to march faster away, and drive before them the booty: some stood still, and wist not whether they were better, to go on forward, or retire again into the camp. But while they thus trifled and stayed, they were environed and surprized by the Romans: and by this time they had gotten over their rampier: much killing there was, and confusion in the camp. The Samnites, as they marched, besides that they were troubled with the assault of their enemies, were also disquieted with the sudden escape and revolt of their prisoners: who being some of them loose, loosed also those that were bound: while others of them, caught up their weapons which were fastened to the packs, and being confusedly intermingled in the march, made greater and more fearful garb and havoc, than the very battle of the enemies. And more than that, they performed one memorable and notable Act above the rest. For as *Statius Erpinus* the General, went about the ranks and files encouraging the soldiers to fight, they set upon him, scattered the Horsemen asunder, that accompanied him, environed him about, and took him as he sat on Horseback, and haled him to the Roman Consul. Upon which tumult and stir, the foremost ensigns of the Samnites were called back, and the battle which in manner was done, now began afresh: yet could not they any long time resist and hold out. Slain there were about six thousand; two thousand and five hundred taken prisoners. Amongst whom were 4 Colonels and 30 Ensigns: and (that, wherein the victors took contentment) of captives, 7000 and 400 hundred were again recovered: with an exceeding great booty which they had got from their allies: whereunto, by proclamation were called, all that could lay any claim, or pretend a right, to seize upon their own goods, and to receive the same by a day appointed. And look what parcels could not be owned or challenged by the true owner, was given away to the soldiers: who were compelled to make sale thereof, to the end, that they should not set their heart upon any thing but war.

This sackage of the territory of *Capua*, had raised great trouble and stir in *Rome*. And at the very same time also, it chanced, that there came news out of *Heimria*, how that upon the withdrawing of *Volturnus* his forces out of those parts, all that country was up afresh in arms; that *Gellius Egnatius* the Samnite Captain, and the Umbrians likewise, were moved to revolt; and the Gauls also solicited with great sums of money. At this bruit the Senat being affraid, commanded an abstinence or vacation of term, and that all sorts of men should be mustered: and not only the free born natural citizens, and the flower of the youth were prest and sworn, but certain companies also of the elder sort, yea, and bands of Libertins newly enfranchised, were enrolled by the hundreds. Likewise they laid Council about devising means for defence of the City: and *P. Sempronius* the Pretor, had the whole government of the State. But the Senat was partly eased and discharged of this care, by the letters of *L. Volturnus* the Col., which gave intelligence that the foragers of Campain were defeated, slain, and put to flight. Thereupon were decreed in favour of the Consul, for this exploit by him achieved, solemn processions, and the abstinence of term again was remitted, which had continued for eighteen dayes space: and the procession afore said, was right joyfully performed. Then began they to devise about garriſons for defence of the country, thus wasted and overrun by the Samnites. And agreed it was, that two Colonies should be sent about the Vestin and Falern coasts, one to the mouth of the river *Liris*, which Colony was called *Minturne*, the other in the Vestin forest and streights, adjoining to the Falern country: where *Synope*, a Greek Town sometime stood, and afterwards was called by the Romans there inhabiting, *Sinuessæ*. The Tribuns of the Com. had in charge to ordain by an Act of the common people, that *P. Sempronius* the Pretor should choose certain Trium-

* Tralotto.

* Sinuessæ, vel
R. de Monte
Diagnæ.

virs, about the sending and translating of inhabitants into those Colonies. But much ado they had to find those that willingly yielded to be enrolled Colonies, supposing indeed, that they were fittest, not to inhabit Land and ground for their best behoof, but to lie in garriſon, and to stand upon their guard in those frontiers, which were continually molested by warlike enemies. From the care of these affairs, the Senat was withdrawn, by occasion of the Tulcan war, whereof the rumour daily encreased: and letters also came thick from *Appius*, who warned them not to neglect the rising of that country: which letters imported, that four nations had united their forces, and banded themselves together; to wit, *Tuscanes*, *Sammium*, *Umbria*, and the Gauls: that they were already encamped in two places, for that one was not able to receive to great a multitude. Upon these occasions, as also for that the time drew near of Election of Consuls, *Lucius Volturnus* the Consul was called home to *Rome*. Who before that he called the Centuries for to give their voyces, having assembled the people to an audience, discoursed before them at large, concerning the greatness of the Tulcan war. "How that afore time, when he himself and his brother Consul warred there together, it was of so great importance, that neither one leader, nor yet one army was sufficient: and by report, the Umbrians, and a mighty power of Gauls were afterward combined unto them. So that they should remember, that they were to choose that day two Consuls, against four Nations. As for himself, but that he was certainly persuaded and assured, that the people of *Rome* would with a general content declare him Consul, who at that time, without all controversy was counted the principal Captain and best leader of all others, he would forthwith nominate a Dictator. No man doubted, but the *Q. Fabius* was the man, who by the silent assent of all, was meant and desired to this charge: and him together with *Volturnus*, both the prerogative tribe, and all those that were called first, every one, nominated to be Consul. *Fabius* made a speech by way of excuse, in substance, like as he had done before, two years before that: but afterwards seeing he was overcome with the general agreement of the people, he framed it so in the end, that he required *P. Decius* to be his colleague: "Alleging, that he would be in stead of a good prop and stay to him in his old age: how he had found by experience in one Consulship and two Consulships, born jointly together with him, that there was no injury and decrease of the Common-wealth, to the concord and agreement of those that are companions in government. And to any other new Colleague besides him, hardly could an old mans mind fort and frame. Also that he would and could more easily impart his mind and purpose to one, whose humor, condition, and behavior, he had been already acquainted with. The Consul, himself confirmed his Oration, and accorded thereunto; as well, in regard of the commendable parts and deserts of *P. Decius*, as also of the good that proceeded and ensued upon the managing of war-affairs, by the concord and unity of the Consuls; and of the hurt which hapned and followed upon their disagreement and dissension: "And therewith he shewed how near they were of late to utter peril and destruction, through quarrels between him and his brother *Appius*: admonishing *Decius* and *Fabius* both to live so, as with one mind and heart they affected and intended the same things. He added moreover and said, they were men of a bold both, born for war and to be soldiers: for martial feats renowned already: but for to maintain contentions of words and quarrels of the tongue, altogether rude and unskillful, and such nature, (said he) were fittest to make Consuls. As for nimble heads and fine wits, deeply seen in points and quicks of law, full of their eloquent terms, such as *Ap. Claudius* was: those were meet to be made Lord Presidents of the City and chief Justices in the common place, for to sit in judgment of causes, and see the execution of laws. Thus in handling of these matters was that day spent. The morrow after, according to the Consuls appointment, was the Election held, both of new Consuls, and also of Pretors. *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* were created Consuls, and *App. Claudius* Pretor, all absent. And *L. Volturnus* by Act of the Senat, and grant of the Commons, had his government prorogued, and continued in his charge one year longer.

The same year were many strange fights and prodigious monsters seen: for the turning away of the dangers fore signified and menaced thereby, the Senat decreed supplications and Lectanies for two dayes together. Wine and incense for the sacrifices, was allowed at the publick charges of the City, and in procession went both men and women in great number, with much reverence, to visit the Holy shrines, and there to do their devotions. These solemn supplications were more renowned and memorable, by reason of a contention that arose among the dames of the City, in the Chappel of Lady *Panditia Paritia*, which standeth in the beaſt-market, by the round Church of *Hercules*. The Noblemens wives would not admit into that Chappel *Virginia* the daughter of *Aulus*, who, notwithstanding she was nobly descended from the race of the *Paritii*, yet had espoused *Volturnus* the Consul, a Commoner and was married (forsooth) out of the family and rank of the *Paritii*. Whereupon, there began some short and curted shrewd words to be dealt between: and so (as women commonly are soon angry and set on fire) there grew to heart-burning and hot contention. Whiles *Virginia* alledged and said, that she being a Gentiewoman and *Paritia* born, and a chaste and honest Dame, was entered in the Chappel of *Paritia* Chastity: over and besides, she had not been noted for Bigamy; but was the wife of one only husband, unto whom she was given and brought a pure maid: and as for her husband, and his dignities which he had born, his noble acts that he had achieved, she had no cause to complain, or be ashamed, nay, rather, she gloried therein right greatly. After this, she accumulated these magnificent and glorious words, with a generous and brave deed. For in the

long

long street where she dwelt, she set by and cut off a part of her dwelling house, as much as would serve for an Oratory or petty Chapel, and there erected an Altar. And when she had assembled the wives of the Commons together, and had complained of the injurious dealing of the Patrim damas; "This Altar (quoth she) do I dedicate unto *Pudicitia Plebeia*: and all you here I exhort, "that with what emulation, the men our husbands, in this City contend about feats of valour "and arms, who may do best: so likewise the Matrons and wives strive and excel in continence "and chastity; and that ye will labour and endeavour, that this altar may have the name to be "frequented, and resorted unto, with more reverence and devotion, yea, and if (it be possible) of "more chaste women, than that other of the Nobility. And so it fell out indeed, that from that time, this altar also had the same rites (in a manner) and ceremonies as the other, which was more ancient: in such sort, as no wife, but of approved honesty and chastity, and wedded unto one husband during her life, might be allowed there to sacrifice and offer oblations. But this religious order and institution, in lapse and process of time was prophaned afterwards and divulged, and the altar frequented by them that were stained and infamous, and not only by matrons of name and quality, but also by women of all sorts and degrees, until at last through disuse it grew to be utterly forgotten, and came to nothing.

The same year the *Ediles Curiæ*, *Cn.* and *Q. Ogulnius* accused certain Usurers, who were convicted, and their goods forfeit and confiscated. And of that which came into the common chest, they caused to be made a brazen portal in the Capitol, and silver vessels forth furnish out three tables in *Jupiter* his Chapel: also the image of *Jupiter* himself in the Lantern or frontispiece of the Capitol, sitting in his chariot drawn with four steeds. Moreover, at the *Fig-Tre* *Romulus*, they erected and set up the images of the founding babes, the first founders of the City, pendant to the teats of a three-wolf. They paved also with square stone, the cauley and high way from the gate *Capena*, unto the Temple of *Mars*. The *Ediles* likewise Commons, *L. Atilius* *Paullus*, and *C. Fulvius* *Curvus*, of the forfeited money which they levied of the graziers or farmers of the City pastures, who were condemned and fined, exhibited certain pageants and plays, and set up golden bolles in the Temple of *Ceres*.

After this, *Q. Fabius* the fifth time Consul, and *P. Decius* the fourth, entered their government, who now had been companions together in three Consulats; and in one Censorship, men renowned, not more for the honor of their noble exploits in war, which was right great, than for their loving agreement and concord. Which unity of theirs was not perpetual to the end; by occasion I suppose, of the contention of the States that came between, rather than of any difference betwixt themselves. For the *Patritii* laboured, that *Fabius* should have the Province of *Tuscan* extraordinarily: and the Commons were as earnest with *Decius* to put the matter to a Lottery. Certain it is, that a great contention there was in the Senat. But afterwards, seeing that *Fabius* was able there to do more and make a greater side than his Colleague, the matter was brought again before the people. In which assembly, few words passed between the parties themselves, being martial men both, standing more upon deeds than words. *Fabius* gave out and said: "That it was an indignity, that another should gather fruit under the Tree that he had planted. "Also, that himself was the man, who had opened the way through the wood *Ciminia*, and had given entrance and passage for the Roman war, through desert and wild forests. What meant they then to trouble him, a man of those years, with this place of charge, in case, they minded "to give the conduct of this war to any other General but himself? No doubt, but by little and little he upbraided them covertly and cast in their teeth, for chusing unto him an adversary, and not a companion in government: yea, and charged *Decius*, that he repented and envied the "good concord, wherein they had lived together, during the time of three Magistracies already. Finally, he aimed and reached at no farther matter than this, but if so be, they thought him "worthy of the Province, thither to send him. For as he had been at the appointment and pleasure of the Senate, so would he be at the ordering and direction of the people. On the other side, *P. Decius* complained of the injury offered by the Senat: for that the Nobles had endeavored to their power, and done their best, that no Commons might have access to honourable places and dignities: and after that protests and valour had got the upperhand, and prevailed "so, as even in those kind of men virtue wanted not her due reward and honour: there were means sought, that not only the voices of the people were deluded and made vain: but also the very awards and arbitraments of fortune, were transferred to the wills and pleasures of some few. All Consuls before him had their provinces by lot: and now the Senat by their absolute authority, without casting lots, gave unto *Fabius* the charge of his province. If it be (saith he) "to honour the man: verily, he hath so well deserved both of my self and of the Commons wealth, that I favour highly and tender the glory of *Q. Fabius*: provided alwayes, that it get "not a shining lustre, by a foil of my disgrace and dishonour. And who will ever doubt, when there is one difficult and dangerous war, and the same precisely and absolutely charged upon "one Consul, without ordinary and lawful calling: but that the other Consul standeth for a "Cipher, and is reputed either needles, or good for nothing? As for *Fabius*, like as he gloried in his service and noble Acts achieved in *Tuscan*; even so would *Publius Decius* also fall in "do the semblable: and peradventure, he should be able to put out and quench that fire once for all, which *Fabius* left behind him, so covered and raked up, as that oftentimes it suddenly brake "our again, and yielded forth new flames and blazes. In conclusion, he could be content to yield

Debate between *Decius* and *Fabius* for their Provinces.

"yield the titles of honour and all rewards of venue unto his Colleague, in the reverent regard "of his old age, and majesty of his person: but for any hazard or jeopardy that might be presented unto them, henceforth at this time gave place, nor ever would (with his good will) to "him or any man else whatsoever: and it he got no other good by this contention, yet would he "obtain thus much at the least, that the people should hold their own, and dispose of that absolute authority at their discretion, which was in their power: rather then permit the Nobles to gratify "any one therewith at their pleasure. And herewith he prayed *Jup. Op. Max.* and all the immortal gods, that even as they vouchsafed to bestow upon him and his Colleague equal valour "and happiness in the conduct of their way, so they would afford them one and the same right "and authority and rule. For, surely it was in nature meet and reason, for example good and profitable, and for the credit and fame of the people of *Rome* much material, that (such should be the Consuls, as by either of their guidance and conduct, without exceptions, the war with the "Tuscans might be administered as it ought to be. *Fabius* then, having besought the people might elie, but that before the Tribes were called in to give their suffrages, they would hear the letters of *App. Claudius* *Pretor* read, which were brought out of *Tuscan*, departed out of the assembly. So the Province of *Tuscan*, without casting lots, was awarded unto *Fabius*, with no less consent of the people, then of the Senat. Hereupon, all the younger sort (in manner) ran unto the Consul, and offered their service of themselves, and gave their names to be enrolled, so desirous were they to serve under that Captain. Which multitude being thus stocked about him round: Four thousand footmen (quoth he) and six hundred horse, and no more, am I minded to take up and levy. As many therefore, as to day and to morrow, will present themselves and give their names, will I accept of, and take with me: more care have I to bring you all home rich and wealthy, then to have numbers of souldiers to fight my batrels. This went he forth with a competent Army well appointed, and so much more confident, and in hope of good success, by how much less he stood upon the great number: and directed his journey to the Town *Abarna*, where *Appius* the *Pretor* encamped, and from whence the enemy was not far distant. A few miles on this side, the fewellers or wood-purveys, accompanied with a good guard of souldiers for their convoy, met him: who seeing the Sergeants going before, and understanding that it was *Fabius* the Consul, with joy and cheerful hearts, thanked God and the procuring that it was *Fabius* the Consul, when they came all about the Consul to salute and welcome him, *Fabius* demanded whither they went? who answered, To purvey wood and leuel. Say ye so? (quoth he) and have ye not your camp empaled and fortified? Yes, cried they all, and that with a double rampart and ditch, but yet are we in exceeding fear. Then (quoth he) ye have wood and timber enough. Go ye back again, and down with the trench and palisade. Who returned into the camp, and as they were plucking up the rampart, they gave the alarm both to the souldiers that carried behind in the camp, and to *Appius* himself, and made them afraid. Then every man said to one or other as they came, that it was by the express commandment of *Q. Fabius* the Consul that they did so. The morrow after they removed the camp; and *Appius* the *Pretor* was dismissed and sent away to *Rome*. After which time, the *Romans* abode no where in standing camp: for he laid, it was not good and commodious for an army to make abode in any one place; but that it was better and more wholesome both for the agility and health of their bodies, to have a running camp, to be ever marching, and changing the air and the soil. But their journeys were no other, then the winter would permit, which was not yet past.

In the beginning of the Spring, *Fabius* having left the second legion at *Clusium*, which in old time was called *Camars*, and appointed *L. Scipio* *Pro-pretor*, to be governor of the camp, he returned himself to *Rome* for to consult about the war: were it of his own accord and motion, because it appeared evidently in view of eye much greater then it was reputed before; or that he was sent for by order from the Senat for there be writers that affirm both the one and the other. Some would have it thought, that he was called back again by *Appius Claudius* *Pretor*, who both at the Council Table in the Senat House, and also before the body of the people (like as he had continually done by letters) enforced the fear and terror of the *Tuscan* war, saying, that one General and one Army, were not sufficient to make head against four Nations: that it would be dangerous and doubtful, whether they jointly in one body gave battel unto one, or maintained war apart in divers quarters: that one man was not able to perform and manage all at once. As for himself, he had left behind him two Roman Legions and no more, and with *Fabius* there were come not full five thousand in all, of horse and foot together. His opinion therefore was, that with all speed, *P. Decius* the Consul, should go to his Colleague unto *Tuscan*, and *L. Volturnus* have the charge of *Samnium* in the meantime. But in case the Consul had rather go into his own Province, then he advised, that *Volturnus* took his way directly with a full and complete Consular army unto *Tuscan*, to the Consul. When this discourse of the *Pretor* had moved a great part of the House, then *P. Decius* spake (by report) to this effect: That all should be left entire and free to the disposition of *Q. Fabius*, until such time as either himself in person (if it might stand with the weal-publick) were come to *Rome*, or sent one of his Lieutenants by whom the Senat might be informed, and truly understand the poeple and importance of the war in *Tuscan*; what forces were requisite, and how many Leaders and Captains were expedient and needful: *Fabius*, so soon as he was returned to *Rome*, both in the Senat House, and also in the audience

of the people, held a middle course in all his speech : that he might seem neither to *encrease*, nor yet to diminish the rumor of the war : and in assuming to himself another Captain, he pretended, that he condescended thereunto, in regard of other mens fear, more then for his own safety, or for any danger that the State was like to incur. Howbeit, if they would allow him a conductor and companion in war, how might he forget *P. Decius* the Consul of whom he had good proof and experience in many Magistracies, which they had born and admittred together. O! all men in the world he loved none better, and would make choice of no one else : and having *P. Decius* with him, he would never think his forces too few about him, nor his enemies too many before him. But if perad venture the mind and hear of his Collegue stood otherwise, his request was, that they would give him *L. Volturnus* to be his assistant. The determination of all was referred over to *Fabius*, both by the people and Senat, and also by the Consul himself. And when as *Decius* shewed and testified, that he was ready to take a journey either into *Samium* or *Tuscan* there followed such a joy and gratulation of all men, as if they had conceived in their spirit a victory afore-hand, and even now, had decreed for the Consuls, not a doubtful war, but a glorious triumph. I find in some writers, that *Fabius* and *Decius*, presently upon the entrance into their Magistracy, went into *Tuscan*, without any mention of casting lots for their charges and provinces, or of the contention between the two Collegues, which I have set down. There be some again, who having laid abroad their debates, stayed neither, but over and besides have added a surcease of matter, roaching the invectives of *Appian* before the people, against *Fabius* in his absence ; as also the obstinate stubbornness of him being Pretor, against the Consul, to his very face : moreover, another contention and variance between the two Consuls : whiles *Decius* endeavored to bring about, and was instant that each one should keep him to his own Province allotted unto him, and hold it. But all writers agree in the course of the history, from the time that both Consuls went out to war, and so forward.

But before that the Consuls arrived in *Tuscanum*, certain Gauls called Senones, came with a great power before (*Luſum*), ready to give assault unto the Roman Legion and the camp. But *Scipio*, who was left Governor thereof, thinking it necessary to help out the small number of his men, by advantage of the ground, led his army up to the hill between the town and the camp. But (as it fell out in such sudden cases) he had not discovered aforehand the ways and passes all about; but inconsiderately went forward, and engaged himself up to the top and pitch of the hill, which the enemy was master of already, by another side. Thus was the legion assailed on the back and beat down, and thus was it enclosed and environed round, by a multitude of enemies, and put to the sword. Some writers there be who report, that the whole legion perished there. So that not one escaped alive to carry tidings. Also, that the Consuls who now were not far from *Clusum*, had no news brought them of this overthrow, before the horriem of the Gauls were in fight, who carrying the heads of them that were slain, some hanging before at their horsepoitrels, others sticking aloft upon their lances, braved and triumphed, singing and chanting songs of joy, after their manner. Some write that they were the Umbri and not the Gauls, and that the defeat and massacre was not so great: also that when the foragers for the camp under the leading of *L. Manlius Torquatus* a Lieutenant, were compassed about by the enemy: then *Scipio* the Pro-pretor came forth of the camp to succour and rescue them, and that the Umbrians who first had the better, afterwards when the battle was renewed, suffered the foil and were overcome, and that as well their prisoners as their booty was taken from them. But more probable it is, that this overthrow was given by the Gauls, then the Umbrians; for that as divers times afore, so that year especially the City was frighted with the tumults and risings of the Gauls. Upon this defeat, over and besides, that both the Consuls were gone to war with four legions, and a great power of Cavalry of natural Romans, and a thousand horsemen of *Cerusa*, chosen out of purpose for that war, and sent unto them, with a greater power also of Allies, and of Latins then of Romans: there were two other armies not far from the City of *Rome*, opposed to frontier and made head against *Tuscanum*: the one in the Faliscian territory, the other in the Vatican, *Cn. Fulvius* and *L. Posthumius Megellus*, both Pro-pretors, were commanded to keep a standing camp in those parts. But the Consuls by this time, having passed over the mountain *Apenninus*, were come to the enemies within the country of the Sentinates. And there about four miles off, they lay then down and encamped. Then the enemies, after much consultation, resolved in the end upon this point: not to be intermingled all in one camp, nor come into the field and hazard all their forces at once in one battle: But that the Gauls should take the Samnites unto them, and the Umbrians join with the Tuscans. The day of the battle was appointed. The Gauls and Samnites had the charge to maintain the fight: and in the time of battle the Tuscans and Umbrians were commanded to assault the camp of the Romans. But these their designs and purposes were altered by reason of three Clusian fugitive traitors, who by night stole away privily unto the Consul *Fabius*, and disclosed the intents and enterprise of the enemies: who were sent away with rich rewards, to the end that every hour, upon new plots and devices that should be determined by the enemies, they would give them an inkling and certain intelligence. The Consuls write unto *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, that the one should advance and come forward with his army, out of the Faliscian country: and the other out of the Vatican directly unto *Clusum*: and that with all their forces, they should overrun and destroy the enemies country. The rumor of these roads & invasions, caused the Tuscans to remove out of the

Sentinel territory, to the defence of their own frontiers. Hereupon the Conibls made speed to strike a battel in their absence. And for two dayes space they skirmished continually with the enemy, and challenged him to the field; but for those two days, no worthy deed of importance was achieved. A few on both sides were slain, and hereby were their courages rather provoked, and their stomachs whet to a full red battell than any real or hazard made of the main chance. Upon the third day into plain field they come with all their power. When both armies flood ranged in battel array, there fortuned a Hind to be chaled out of the mountains, and to run away before a Wolf, even through the midit of the plains between both armies: then, parted both these wild beasts asunder, the Hind took her way to the Gauls, and the Wolf his course to the Romans. The Wolf had way given him through all the ranks and files; but the Hind was killed among the Gauls.

Then a Roman souldier, one of the forefront, who was to fight before the Enigms: There will the flight (quoth he) there will the slaughter be, where you see the beast sacred and dedicated to Diana cleare away! but here on this part, the martial Wolf, consecrated to Mars, having with victory gone clear dead by fate and unwounded hath put us in mind of our martial Nation and of our founder, the son of Mars. The Gauls put themselves in the right wing, the Samnites in the left. A gainst the Samnits, Fabius marshalled the first and third Legions, in the right point: and Decius, against the Gauls, Fabius marshalled the first and third Legions, in the right point: and Decius, the fifth and sixth in the left, affront the Gauls. For the second and fourth served in Samnium under L. Volturcius Pro-consul. At the first shock and encounter, the battell was so indifferently fought, and with so equal force, that if the Tuscans and Umbrians had either shewed themselves in the field, or assailed the camp, the loss and overthrow must needs have light in either place, whereas they had bent their forces. Howbeit, although hitherto the conflict of battell went equal and indifferent, and that as yet fortune had not determined, which way the world en-line and give the victory; yet they sought not alike, in the right and left wings. For the Romans under the conduct of Fabius, rather warded the enemy warily, and stood upon their guard, then offered to charge lustily: so as they maintained fight, and drew it at length untiltill was very late in the evening, because the Captain was enforced and periwaded of the Samnits and Gauls both, that being as they were in the first skirmish, very hot and furious, it was sufficient to keep off at length and at last end. As for the Samnits, their courages would abate and fail, by any long conflict: and the bodies of the Gauls, who of all other can least away with travel, & heat especially would turn all at sweat, & melt away: who at the beginning, fight more fiercely then men; but in the end more faintly then women. Against that time therefore, when the enemy used to fail & give over, Fabius had kept his soldiers in breath, & reserved their strength fresh & lusty. But Decius being very eager & hot by reason of his youth and courage of heart, laid on lustily at the first, and spent upon the enemies all the force & vigor he had: and for that the Infantry seemed to fight but coldly, he led the Cavalry awork: and himself personally in the thickest throng and troop of most valiant and hardy Knights, exhorted and bellowed the foremost gallants of those lusty youths, to join with him & to charge upon the enemy saying that they should carry away a double honour if by the means of the men of arms, the victory began at the left wing. Twice they forced the Gauls horsemen to turn side and back: but when as they were engaged farther within, and were now fighting hard pell mell among the squadrons of the horse, some of them armed upon chariot & wagons, with great noise of their steeds, and rumbling of the wheels, ran full upon them & mightily frighted the horses of the Romans which had not been acquainted with such uncouth & strange noises. So the horsemen who had the upper hand before, & were at point of victory, were now with a foul fear discomfited and cattered, as if the hideous furies of hell, & the devil himself had been amongst them. Whereupon they fled suddenly & not looking before them were overthrowen both men & horse. By this occasion the ensigns of footmen were distressed & disordered, and many of those that were ranged in the front before the ensigns, were by force of horse & wagons driven cross'trough the battalions, rodden under foot, and their guts squashed out. Herewithall the battail ions of the Gauls footmen, seeing their enemies thus scared followed on apace, & gave them no time of breathing. Decius cried out aloud to his men, Whether lie ye? Or what hope have ye to save your selves by flight? Decius opposed himself against them that retreated and fled: Decius rallied those that were disbanded and cattered: but seeing that by no force or means he could flay them, thus amazed & affrighted as they were: he called upon his father P. Decius by name and said: Why do I stay any longer the fatal death that is destined to my house & name? It is given to our race & family, to be the first inlien of propitiatory sacrifices for to assuage & save the publick weal from dangers menaced & threatened unto it. Even now therefore, will I offer the legions of the enemies to be sacrificed "with my self to Dame Tellus and other infernal gods. When he had spoken these words, he commanded M. Curius the high Priest (whom as he marched into the field, he straightly had charged not to depart from him) for to pronounce and say that form of words, whereby he should devote, offer, and betake himself to death, together with the legions of the enemies, for to save the army of the Quirits and people of Rome. Which when he had done by the same form of prayer and in the same habit wherein his father P. Decius at the river Volturnus, in the war against the Latins, caused himself to be offered to death: and besides these solemn prayers, added moreover these words: That he drive before him Fight, Flight, Murder, Massacre, Bloodshed, Ire and Wrath of gods in Heaven, & fiends in Hell: and that he would with deadly maledictions and execrable curses imite the enemies weapons, and armors of his enemies; and that one and the same place, should give

both himself, and also the Gauls and Samnites together with him, plague, perdition, and destruction. After these cursed, horrible, and execrable speeches against his own perion and his enemies: look where he saw the thickest ranks of the Gauls, thither he spurred his horse, and rode in amongst them: where amidst the pikes, javelins, and swords, he was presently slain. Then could it hardly be seen, that the battle was any longer fought by power and help of man. The Romans so soon as they had lost their Captain, (which at all other times is wont to finite a terror into them) flayed their flight, and were willing and contented to renew the battle afresh. The Gauls, and especially that troop which rood about the Coſ, his body, fared as though they had been out of their wits, flang their darts from them (I know nothow) to no purpose, and in vain: ſome of them flood still, as it were benumbed, forgetting both to run away, and to fight ſtill. But on the other ſide the high Prieſt *Lepidus*, with whom *Decius* had left the ſergeants, and whom before his death he nominated and ordained to be Propretor, cried out, as loud as he could, that the Romans had the victory, and by the death of the Coſ, were acquit and excuſed from all other fatal danger: but as for the Gauls and the Samnites, they were deſtined and forfeited (as it were) to mother *Tellus* and the infernal ſpirits. And now *Decius* (quoſe he) haled after him, and called to follow him, the army that with him was devoted, cursed, and offered: now all the enemies are full of injuries and fearful fright. Then, as these affairs began the skirmish again, behold there came unto them, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Marius* with a supply of incoors from the rearward: who by commandment of *Q. Fabius the Consul*, were sent to aid and relieve his Colleague. Where they heard of the worthy end of *P. Decius*, a noble example to encourage them to adventure all hazards in the service of their country and Common-wealth. Therefore, when as the Gauls flood close and thick together, opposing their targets before them, ranged and joined one over another featherwise, so, as to deal with them affront, and to cope together at hand strokes, was thought a difficult and dangerous matter: then, by the commandment of those two Lieutenants, the darts and lances which lay strewn upon the ground, between the two armies, were gathered up, and flung against the pavoiſe or tortoise-ſenſe of the enemies targets aboveſaid. And by reason that these javelins and spears light and fluck fast, some in their targets, and some in their very bodies it hapned that their knot was broken, and the battalion (as huge and close as it was) disbanded, in such sort, as many of them, notwithstanding their bodies were untouched and unhurt, fell down asstoned one upon another. Lo how fortune altered the caſe, and changed all in the left wing of the Romans. But in the right, *Fabius* (as is beforeſaid) at the first, lingered and drew on the day: but afterwards, when as he perceived, that neither the enemies shouts, nor their manner of giving charge, nor yet the darts and javelins which they lanked, had the same vigor and force, as before: he commended the Captains of the horsemen to wheel about with their Cornets, and to flank the Samnites, that upon a ſignal given, they might charge them overthrow with all the violence they could, whilst his own Legionary footmen by little and little advanced forward, and brake the ranks and diſordered the enemy. When he ſaw once, no reſiſtance made, and that without all doubt, they were wearied and out of breath: then he gathered together all his ſubſidiary companies of the rereguard, which he had reſerved until that time and buſineſs, fresh and in heart: and at once, both let forward the Legions, and gave the horsemen also a ſignal to ſet upon the enemies. But the Samnites could not endure this violent charge, but ran as fast as ever they could to recover the camp ſafe by the battalion of the Gauls, leaving their fellows behind them in fight to pay the reckoning. The Gauls having likewise made a target-ſenſe, flood thick and close together under it. Then *Fabius* adverted of the death of his brother Consul, commanded a wing or Cornet, to the number almost of 500, horsemen of *Capua* to withdraw themselves out of the conflict, to caſt about and to play upon the backs of the Gauls: after whom, he cauſed the *Principes* of the third Legion to follow: and whereſoever they eſpied the ranks of the enemies by force of horsemen diſordered and broken, there, to ſecond them, and preſs on ſtill, and kill them whilst they were in diſarray, and afraid. Himſelf owed a Temple to *Jupiter Victor*, together with the ſpoils of his enemies. Which done, he advanced ſtraight forward to the camp of the Samnites. Thither all the multitude of them were driven in great fright and diſarray. And for that the gates were not able to receive ſo great a multitude, crowding together, they that were kept out, and could not get in, by reaſon of the throng of their fellows, began again to fight under the rampart. Where *Gellius Egnatius*, the General of the Samnites was ſtruck down and ſlain: after this, the Samnites beaten within their rampart, were killed every one, and their camp after ſmall reſiſtance won. The Gauls behind their back were environed and cut in pieces. That day were ſlain of enemies five and twenty thousand, and 8000 taken priſoners. Howbeit, this victory coſt the Romans blood: for of *P. Decius* his army, there died 7000, and of *Fabius*, 1200. *Fabius* then having ſent out to ſeek out the body of his Colleague, gathered up all the ſpoils of the enemies into an heap, and burned them, to the honor of *Jupiter Victor*. But that day could not the Conſul his body be ſeen. by reaſon it was covered and hidden under heaps of the Gauls that lay there dead. The morrow after it was found and brought again with many a tear of all his ſouldiers. Then *Fabius* ſetting all other matters for the time aſide, ſolemnized the burial and funeral obſequies of his fellow Conſul, with due commendation and condigne praifes, and with all honor that could be deviſed.

In Tuſcany alſo about the ſame time, *Cn. Fulvius* Propretor, had ſome ſucceſs to his hearts deſire: for beſides great damage done to the enemy, by invaſions & rodes into the country, he fought alſo

also a notable battel: wherein of *Perufins* and *Clufins* were ſlain above 3000, and twenty enſigns won. The Samnites, as they fled through the territory of the *Pelignians*, were by them intercepted and enſlaved: and of five thousand, they were left but one thousand. Great is the fame of that day, and of the battel that was fought in the *Sentine* territory, if a man hold him on 'y to the truth, and make no more of it than it was. But ſome have overreached a little, and written, that the enemies were 40330, foot, and 40000, horſe ſtrong: alſo, that they had a thouſand chariots or waggon, reckoning and comprizing the *Umbrians* and *Tuſcans* withal: who alſo (as they ſay) were at the battel. And to create alſo the power and forces of the Romans, they report, that *L. Volturnius* Propretor, was a Commander, together with the Conſuls, and that his army was joined with the Legions of the Conſuls. But find in moſt Chronicles, that this victory was achieved by the two Conſuls only. *Volturnius* in the meantime warred in *Samnium*, and having forced and driven the army of the Samnites, to take the hill *Tiferum*, nothing alſo for the diſadvantage of the place, diſcomfited them, and put them to flight. *Q. Fabius*, having left the army of *Decius* behind him in Tuſcany, reduced his own legions into the City, and triumphed over the Gauls, Tuſcans, and Samnites. His ſouldiers followed him in his triumph, who in their rude military rhymes and ſongs, celebrated no leſs the brave and noble death of *P. Decius*, than the worthy victory of *Quintus Fabius*. And they revived the memorial of his father late deceased, comparing him in equal degree, for the illuſt and event, as well publick as privat, with the praifes of his ſon. Of the booty and pillage gained from the enemies, the ſouldiers had given unto them * 82 Aſſes apiece, with a livery cloak, and coats a good reward for a ſouldiers ſervice in thoſe days.

For all these notable victories achieved, yet neither the Samnites nor the Tuſcans were at quiet. For, both the *Perufins* began to rebel, ſo ſoon as the Conſul had away his army: and alſo the Samnites came down to forrage and ſpoil into the territory of *Vulturnum* and *Formicum*, and another way into *Eſternium*, which lie along the river *Vulturnus*. Against them was *Appius Claudius* the Pretor, ſent with *Decius* his army. And *Fabius* in Tuſcany, which began new war, four thousand and five hundred *Perufins*, took priſoners 1740, who were ransomed for * 30. Aſſes a piece. The reit of the ſpoil was all beſtowed upon the ſouldiers. The Legions of the Samnites being purſued hard at heels, partly by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, and partly by *L. Volturnius* Proconſul, met all together in the territory of *Stellum*. Where both the Samnite Legions abode, and alſo *Appius* and *Volturnius* joined and encamped together. There was a ſharp and cruel battel fought on both ſides. The Romans were incited with anger and choler againſt thoſe that had ſo often rebelled: the other, upon a deſperate mind were reſolute to hazard the utmoſt. So there were ſlain of the Samnites, 16300; 2700, taken priſoners; and of the Romans there died two thousand ſeven hundred.

This year ſo fortunate in war, was by reaſon of peſtilence much afflicted: and for certain prodigious tokens, full of care and perplexed. For it was reported, that in divers places it rained earth: and that in the army of *Appius Claudius* there were many ſtricken & blaſted with lightning. In regard hereof, the books of *Sibylla* were pruned and taught into. The ſame year *Q. Fabius Gurgens*, the Conſul his ſon, fined and puniſhed by the people, certain wives who had been convicted and condemned before the people, of Adultery: of which money ſo raiſed by their fines, he cauſed to be built the Temple of *Venus*, which ſtandeth near the Cirque or Race.

There remain yet behind certain wars of the Samnites, whereof we have now continued our hiſtory in theſe four books, for the ſpace of fix and ſixty years, ever ſince that *M. Valerius*, and *An. Cornelius* were Conſuls, who were the firſt that warred in *Samnium*. To let paſs therefore, and not to trouble the readers, with a prolix narration of the alternative overthrowes given and received between both nations ſo many years one after another, for all which calamities and loſſes their hearts and courages could not be daunted or conquered: the very laſt year, the Samnites, in the *Sentine* country, in the *Pelign* territory, at *Tiferum*, and in the territory of *Stellum*, were defeated both by themſelves, with their own legions, and alſo mingled with others; and that, by four armies, and four Roman Captains: loſt the bravest and moſt noble General of all their nation: ſaw their confederates and allies in war, the Tuſcans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the ſame predicament as themſelves, nor able to ſtand and maintain their eſtate any longer, either by their own power, or with help of foreign forces; yet for all this, would they not obtain from war, ſo little weary they were of defending their liberty, although it were unfortunately choſen rather, to be vanquiſhed, than not to attempt the winning of victory. Who is he, that would not think it ſtrife, and tedious, either to write or read this long ſuit and train of wars, which in fighting were never wearied?

After *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, ſucceeded Conſuls *L. Poſthumius Megillas* and *M. Atilius Regulus*. To them both, was committed charge of *Samnium*, for that the bruit went, that the enemies had prepared three full armies, the one to go again into Tuſcany, the ſecond to invade and over-run afreſh the territory of *Capua*, and the third to defend their own frontiers. *Poſthumius* by reaſon of ſickneſs remained at Rome, but *Atilius* went preſently with an army forth, to the end that he might ſurprize the enemies on a ſudden in *Samnium*, before they had taken the field: for ſo the Senat had given direction: and he found the enemy in the way to meet him, as if it had been ſo of purpoſe before by them determined, ready there to keep him from entrance and ſo far off were they from waſting the lands of the Samnites, that they could not once enter into their

both himself, and also the Gauls and Samnites together with him, plague, perdition, and destruction. After these cursed, horrible, and execrable speeches against his own perion and his enemies: look where he saw the thickest ranks of the Gauls, thither he spurred his horie, and rode in amongst them: where amidst the pikes, javelins, and swords, he was presently slain. Then could it hardly be seen, that the battel was any longer fought by power and help of man. The Romans so soon as they had lost their Captain, (which at all other times is wont to incite a terror into them) flayed their flight, and were willing and contented to renew the battel afresh. The Gauls, and especially that troop which stood about the Col, his body, fared as though they had been out of their wits, flung their darts from them (I know not how) to no purpose, and in vain: some of them stood still, as it were benumbed, forgetting both to run away, and to fight still. But on the other side the high Priest *Lipius*, with whom *Decius* had left the sergeants, and whom before his death he nominated and ordained to be Propetor, cried out, as loud as he could, that the Romans had the victory, and by the death of the Col, were acquitted and excused from all other fatal danger: but as for the Gauls and the Samnites, they were destined and forfeited (as it were) to mother *Tellus* and the infernal spirits. And now *Decius* (quoth he) hailed after him and called to follow him, the army that with him was dewowed, cursed, and offered: now all the enemies are full of sorries and fearful fright. Then, as these aloft began the skirmish again, behold there came unto them, *Corneius Scipio*, and *C. Marcius* with a supply of succours from the rearward: who by commandment of *Q. Fabius the Consul*, were sent to aid and rescue his Colleague. Where they heard of the worthy end of *P. Decius*, a noble example to encourage them to adventure all hazards in the service of their country and Common-wealth. Therefore, when as the Gauls stood close and thick together, opposing their targets before them, ranged and joined one over another featherwise, so, as to deal with them asfront, and to cope together at hand strokes, was thought a difficult and dangerous matter: then, by the commandment of those two Lieutenants, the darts and lances which lay strewn upon the ground, between the two armies, were gathered up, and flung against the pavilions or tortoise-fence of the enemies targets aboveaid. And by reason that their javelins and spears light and stuck fast, some in their targets, and some in their very bodies, it hapned that their knot was broken, and the battalion (as huge and close as it was) disbanded in such sort, as many of them, notwithstanding their bodies were untouched and unhurt, fell down astoned one upon another. Lo how fortune altered the case, and changed all in the left wing of the Romans. But in the right, *Fabius* (as is beforeaid) at the first, lingered and drew on the day: but afterwards, when as he perceived, that neither the enemies shouts, nor their manner of giving charge, nor yet the darts and javelins which they lanked, had the same vigor and force, as before he commanded the Captains of the horsemen to wheel about with their Cornets, and to flank the Samnites, that upon a signal given, they might charge them overthwart with all the violence they could, whilst his own Legionary footmen by little and little advanced forward, and brake the ranks and disordered the enemy. When he saw once, no resistance made, and that without doubt, they were wearied and out of breath: then he gathered together all his subsidiary companies of the rereguard, which he had reserved until that time and business, fresh and in heart: and at once, both let forward the Legions, and gave the horsemen also a signal to set upon the enemies. But the Samnites could not endure this violent charge, but ran as fast as ever they could to recover the camp left by the battalion of the Gauls, leaving their fellows behind them in fight to pay the reckoning. The Gauls having likewise made a target-fence, stood thick and close together under it. Then *Fabius* advertised of the death of his brother Consul, commanded a wing or Cornet, to the number almost of 500, horsemen of *Capua*, to withdraw themselves out of the conflict, to cast about and to play upon the backs of the Gauls: after whom, he caused the *Principes* of the third Legion to follow: and wheresoever they espied the ranks of the enemies by force of horsemen disordered and broken; there, to second them, and press on still, and kill them whilst they were in disarray, and afraid. Himself vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Victor*, together with the spoils of his enemies. Which done, he advanced straight forward to the camp of the Samnites. Thither all the multitude of them were driven in great fright and disarray. And for that the gates were not able to receive so great a multitude, crowding together, they that were kept out, and could not get in, by reason of the throng of their fellows, began again to fight under the rampart. Where *Gaius Egnatius*, the General of the Samnites was stricken down and slain: after this, the Samnites beaten within their rampart, were killed every one, and their camp after small resistance won. The Gauls behind their back were environed and cut in pieces. That day were slain of enemies five and twenty thousand, and 8000 taken prisoners. Howbeit, this victory cost the Romans blood: for of *P. Decius* his army, there died 7000, and of *Fabius*, 1200. *Fabius* then having sent out to seek out the body of his Colleague, gathered up all the spoils of the enemies into an heap, and burned them, to the honor of *Jupiter Victor*. But that day could not the Consul his body be seen, by reason it was covered and hidden under heaps of the Gauls that lay there dead. The morrow after it was found and brought again with many a tear of all his souldiers. Then *Fabius* setting all other matters for the time aside, solemnized the burial and funeral obsequies of his fellow Consul, with due commendation and condigne praises, and with all honor that could be devised.

In Tuscany also about the same time, *Cn. Fulvius* Propetor, had fortunate success to his hearts desire: for besides great damage done to the enemy, by invasions & rides into the country, he fought also

also a notable battel: wherein of *Perusins* and *Clusins* were slain above 3000, and twenty ensigns won. The Samnites, as they fled through the territory of the *Pelignians*, were by them intercepted and enclosed: and of five thousand, they were left but one thousand. Great is the fame of that day, and of the battel that was fought in the *Sentinate* territory, if a man hold him on to the truth, and make no more of it than it was. But some have overreached a little, and written, that the enemies were 40330, foot, and 40000, horie strong: also, that they had a thousand chariots or waggons, reckoning and comprising the *Umbrians* and *Tuicans* withal: who also (as they say) were at the battel. And to encircle also the power and forces of the Romans, they report, that *L. Volturnius* Propetor, was a Commander, together with the Consuls, and that his army was joined with the Legions of the Consuls. But I find in most Chronicles, that this victory was achieved by the two Consuls only. *Volturnius* in the mean time warred in *Samnium*, and having forced and driven the army of the Samnites, to take the hill *Tiferum*, nothing afraid for the disadvantage of the place, discomfited them, and put them to flight. *Q. Fabius*, having led the army of *Decius* behind him in Tuscany, reduced his own legions into the City, and triumphed over the Gauls, Tuicans, and Samnites. His souldiers followed him in his triumph, who in their rude military times and songs, celebrated no less the brave and noble death of *P. Decius*, than the worthy victory of *Quintus Fabius*. And they revived the memorial of his father late deceased, comparing him in equal degree, for the ill and event, as well publick as privat, with the praises of his lion. Of the booty and pillage gained from the enemies, the souldiers had given unto them 82 Asles apiece, with a livery cloak, and coat of good reward for a souldiers service in those days.

For all these notable victories achieved; yet neither the Samnites nor the Tuicans were at quiet. For, both the *Perusins* began to rebel, so soon as the Consul had away his army: and also the Samnites came down to forrage and spoil into the territory of *Perusins* and *Formianum*, and another way into *Ejternum*, which lie along the river *Volturnus*. Against them was *Appius Claudius* the Pretor, sent with *Decius* his army. And *Fabius* in Tuscany, which began new war, slew four thousand and five hundred *Perusins*, took prisoners 1740, who were ransomed for 300 Asles a piece. The rest of the spoil was all bestowed upon the souldiers. The Legions of the Samnites being pursued hard at heels, partly by *Appius Claudius* Pretor, and partly by *L. Volturnius* Proconul, met all together in the territory of *Stella*. Where both the Samnit Legions abode, and also *Appius* and *Volturnius* joined and encamped together. There was a sharp and cruel battel fought on both sides. The Romans were incited with anger and choler against those that had so often rebelled: the other, upon a desperate mind were resolute to hazard the utmost. So there were slain of the Samnites, 16300; 2700, taken prisoners, and of the Romans there died two thousand seven hundred.

This year so fortunate in war, was by reason of pestilence much afflicted: and for certain prodigious tokens, full of care and perplexed. For it was reported, that in divers places it rained earth: and that in the army of *Appius Claudius* there were many lightning & blasted with lightning. In regard hereof, the books of *Sibylla* were pruned and sought into. The same year *Q. Fabius* *Gurgus*, the Consul his son, fined and punished by the people, certain wives who had been convicted and condemned before the people, of Adultery: of which money so raised by their fines, he caused to be built the Temple of *Venus*, which standeth near the Cirque or Race.

There remain yet behind certain wars of the Samnites, whereof we have now continued our history in these four books, for the space of six and forty years, ever since that *M. Valerius*, and *An. Cornelius* were Consuls, who were the first that warred in *Samnium*. To let pass therefore, and not to trouble the readers, with a prolix narration of the alternative overthrowes given and received between both nations for many years one after another, for all which calamities and losses in their hearts and courages could not be daunted or conquered: the very last year, the Samnites, in the *Sentinate* country, in the Peligns territory, at *Tiferum*, and in the territory of *Stella*, were defeated both by themselves, with their own legions, and also mingled with others; and that, by four armies, and four Roman Captains: lost the bravest and most noble General of all their nations: saw their confederates and allies in war, the Tuicans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the same predicament as themselves, notable to stand and maintain their estate any longer, either by their own power, or with help of foreign forces; yet for all this, would they not obtain from war, so little weary were they of defending their liberty, although it was unfortunately choosing rather, to be vanquished, than not to attempt the winning of victory. Who is he, that would not think it irksome, and tedious, either to write or read this long list and train of wars, which they in fighting were never wearied?

After *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, succeeded Consuls *L. Posthumius Megillus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*. To them both, was committed charge of *Samnium*, for that the bruit went, that the enemies had prepared three full armies, the one to go again into Tuscany, the second to invade and over-run afresh the territory of *Capua*, and the third to defend their own frontiers. *Posthumius* by reason of sickness remained at Rome, but *Atilius* went presently with an army forth, to the end that he might surprize the enemies on a sudden in *Samnium*, before they had taken the field: for so the Senat had given direction: and he found the enemy in the way to meet him, as if it had been of purpose before by them determined, ready there to keep him from entrance and so far off were they from waiting the lands of the Samnites, that they could not once enter into their

their confines: nay, the Samnites debarred them from departure thence, into the peaceable parts, and territories of their allies. Now when as they were encamped affront one against another: that, which the Romans being so often conquerors, would hardly have adventured, (see how under despair driveth men to rash projects and extremities) the Samnites attempted: even to give assault upon the Romans camp. And albeit this to venturous enterprise sped not well in the final effect, yet was it not altogether in vain attempted. There chanced to be a foggy mist, which continued a good part of the day, to thicken and palpable, as men could not see before them: I say not, so far as without the trench, but not so much as those that came close to speak one to another. The Samnites hereupon taking the advantage fit for an ambushment, before it was full day light, and the same much overcast and dim with the mist, came as far as the *Corps de guard* of the Romans, who in the gates and entrance of the camp guarded but negligently: being thus taken on a sudden, they had neither courage nor strength enough to resist. At the back-side of the camp, they assaulted the great gate *Decumanam*, seized the *Questors* pavilion, and that quarter about it where the *Questor* or himself (*L. Opimius Pansa*) was slain, and thereupon the alarm was given. The *Co*, being with this tumult raised, commanded two bands or cohorts of allies, to wit the one of *Lucanians*, and the other of *Suessians*, which haply were next hand, to defend and guard the *Pretors* pavilion, and that quarter. In the mean while he marched with the legionary bands along the high broad street in the camp, called *Principalle*, and before they had buckled and fitted their armor about them, they were ranged in battle array; and had knowledge of the enemy, by the ear and oncries, rather then by the sight of the eye: neither could they give an estimate what number they were. At the first, as doubtful of the event, and mistrusting their fortune, they retreated, and received their enemies in, and let them come even into the midst of the camp: but then the Consul cried out, and asked, Whether they meant to be turned out of their own ramparts and holds first, and after have a new piece of work to assail and win them again? So, they set up a shout, and put all their might together, and first made resistance only and kept their ground: but afterwards they set forward, and pressed upon them: and having once beat them back, they drove them afore them: with the same fear, that they themselves began, they, and chased them out of the gate and the trench: but to proceed further, for to pursue the chase, they durst not, for fear of some ambushment, by reason of the misty and troubled weather, concerning themselves with the saving of their camp and no more: and so they retired within their ramparts having slain to the number welnear, of three hundred enemies. Of Romans, as well they that were in the first *Corps de guard* and Sentinels, who kept the watch, as of those that were surprised about the *Questors* lodging, were killed 250. This bold adventure of the Samnites proceeding so well, made them take bolder heart: so as they would not permit the Romans to encamp farther into the Country, nor so much, as to go a foraging into their territory: whereupon they were compelled to retire again, and to purvey forage in the quiet and peaceable quarters of their friends about *Sora*.

The bruit of all these occurrences more troublesome and fearful then truth was, being come to Rome, caused *L. Posthumius* the *Co*, before he was well recovered of his sickness, to take the field: but ere he departed the City, he proclaimed the *Rendezvous* at *Sora*, for his soldiers there to meet. Himself now dedicated unto the goddess *Vittoria*, the Temple, which in the time of his Consul's Edification he took order to be built, with the money raised of certain fines taken of persons condemned. Then took he his journey to the army, and so went forward from *Sora* directly into *Samnium*, to the camp of his brother Consul. But the Samnites distrustful themselves, as not able to withstand two armies, were dislodged, and departed back: and the Consuls also parted one from another, sundry ways, to waste the country, and assault the towns. *Posthumius* at this first coming, assayed by meer force to assail the town *Milunia*, and seeing he could do small good that way, at length by rolling trenches and platforms, he approached close to the walls, and waned it: albeit the town were thus forced, yet there continued a sharp and long fight in all respects and parts thereof, from the fourth hour of the day until the eighth, with doubtful and variable events for a good while: but in the end the Romans became masters of the town. Of Samnites were slain 3200 and 4100, were taken prisoners: besides the gaining of other booty and pillage. From thence, he led forth the legions to *Ferentinum*, but the inhabitants with their bag and baggage, and all that ever they could drive or carry, had quit the town in the still night season, and departed in great silence at a contrary postern gate, which opened from the camp of the enemy. The Consul so soon as he was come, at the first approached the walls, as well appointed and provided of all things, as if he should have found as much to do, as at *Milunia*: but afterwards, perceiving all silent and desolate throughout the City, seeing neither munition within the towers and upon the walls: he held back his soldiers, desirous and greedy to enter upon the bare walls, so abandoned and disarmed of defence: and doubting to fall headlong ere he were aware, into the trains of some hidden and privy ambush, he commanded two Coets of the Cavalry of Latine confederates, to ride about the walls about the counter-carp, and well to view and consider all places. The horsemen finding one or two gates near together standing wide open, and in the very same ways that led from thence, the fresh tracks and footing of the enemies, as they fled by night, rode softly nearer and nearer to the gates: and there they might see straight afore them safe entrance, and the City lying open even from one end to the other: whereupon they brought word back to the Consul, that the City was abandoned, and the enemies

* From ten of the clock in the morning, until two in the afternoon,

A enemies gone: which was very evident and apparent, as well by the very solitude thereof, as the new and fresh marks and traces of their dislodging and departure: as also by the stuff and goods that lay here and there scattered all abroad, whiles they halted fearfully in the dark, to take their flight. The Consul upon this report, with his host drew to that side of the town, which the horsemen were at: and pitching down his ensigns not far from the gate, commanded five other horsemen to enter into the City: giving order, that when they had gone forward a pretty way, three of them should stay behind in the same place, if they saw all safe and out of danger: and the other two, bring him word what they had seen and found. Who being returned, made relation that they were gone so far as they might see about them every way into all parts, & could perceive nothing but silence and vast desolation all about, both far and near: then forthwith, the Consul entered the City, with certain cohorts lightly appointed, and charged the rest in the mean while to fortify the camp. The soldiers being once entered, felt to break open the doors: where they found a few silly old folk, and some feeble and diseased persons, with such moveables as were hard to be conveyed and transported: those they rifled, and ranlack: and by certain captives they understood, that divers other towns thereabout, were all with one accord fled and gone: and as for their own countrymen, they departed at the first watch of the night, and they thought no other verily but that in the rest of the Cities, they should find the like emptiness and solitude. And as the prisoners said, so it proved indeed: and the Consul possessed himself of those forlorn and abandoned towns.

C The other Consul *M. Attilius*, had so calie war for his part: who as he was marching with his Legions toward *Luceria*, which he heard was besieged by the Samnites: the enemy encountered and met him in the very entry of the frontiers, and gave him battle: and the anger and indignation on both parts, but the end and issue more heavy and dolorous on the Romans side: both because they were not wiled to be vanquished; and also for that in the very loose and retreat, rather then in combat and skirmish, they found that many more were hurt and slain of their part. Which fearful sight and terror, as it began in the camp, if it had surprized them in the conflict, it would have been an heavy day with them, & no doubt they had received a notable overthrow. And even then, being as it was, they had a careful night, and full of anguish, thinking verily that the Samnites would presently assault their camp, or at leastwise that in the morning betimes they must of necessity fight with the conquerors. But the enemies, as their loss was less, so their heart and courage was never the more: For so soon as the day brake, desirous were they to be gone without any battle. Howbeit there was but one way, & that lay close and near to their enemies: which they were not so soon entered into, but they made shew a far off, as if they marched straight to the assault of the camp. The Consul commanded his men to arm, and to follow after him without the ramparts. To his Lieutenants, Colonels and Captains of the Allies, he gave several charges to do as he thought needful and requisite. They all promised to execute any direction whatsoever; but they said withal, that their soldiers hearts were done, that they had watched and sit up all night, amongst the grievous wounds and uncomfortable groans of them that lay a dying: and no doubt if the enemy had come before day against the camp, so dunned were they, that they would have abandoned their colours: and even now for very shame and nothing else, they forbore indeed to run away, but otherwise their hearts were gone, and they clean spent. The Consul hearing this, thought good to go about himself in person, unto every one of his soldiers, and to speak unto them: and even as he met with any of them, and saw them so backward, and going about so coldly to take arms and weapon in hand: he checked and rebuked them crying aloud, and asking why they far still? why they loitered and made such delay? saying, that the enemies would come to them within the very camp, and cut their throats, unless they made more haste to follow forth: yea, and forced they should be to fight before their tent doors: if they would not give battle without the trench and ramparts. They that are armed (saith he) and will fight manfully, shall obtain undoubted victory: but the unarmed and naked man that attendeth the enemies coming, must either die for it, or endure captivity. As he rated and rebuked them in their tears, they answered flatly against that they had enough of yesterdays work, and were utterly done: and had neither strength nor blood left them in their bodies: and now the enemies (say they) seem more in number then they were the day before. Amid these speeches the army approached and being now but a little way off they might take a full view of them more certainly, and see every thing. Whereupon they said confidently, that they saw the Samnites to bring with them their flasks and pales to call a palliasedo, no doubt, round about their whole camp. At this, the Consul cried out upon them for very shame to suffer so foul a reproach and disgrace of a most dastardly enemy. And shal we be (quoth he) beset and encamped within our own camp, there to die for hunger and famine with shame, rather then by edge of sword (if there be no other remedy) with honor like men? G The gods speed us well (quoth he) and their will be done: and to every man as he thinks best: assist *M. Attilius* the Consul, he is resolved even himself alone (if no man else will follow) to meet the enemy in the face, and rather be beaten down and die amongst the Samnites ensigns, than see the Roman camp besieged with trench cast, and rampart rifled about it. The Lieutenants Colonels, and all the bands and Coroners of the Cavalry: yea, and the principal Centurions of the foremost companies liked well of this, and accepted the Consul his words. Then the soldiers for stark shame, full faintly take weapon in hand and as slowly. God woe go forth of camp. And thus in long ranks and files: not close united together but broken here and there, with heat

vy cheer, and as men half vanquished already, they marched after a sort toward the enemy, who was neither in hope nor in heart better resolved and settled then they. For so soon as the Samnites discovered the Roman Standards, suddenly from the vanguard to the rearward, there was a muttering and bruit from one to another, that the Romans were come forth (the only thing they always feared) to encompass and stop their passage, so as now there was no way for them to fly and escape from them, and save themselves, but must either die in the place, or slay their enemies and make a land even over their bodies. All their packs and fardels, they cast together upon an heap in the midst: and being armed as they were, every man ranged and marshalled themselves in their own arrays. Now was there a very little space between the two armies, and they stood looking one upon another, waiting when their enemies would begin to give the first charge, and set up the first shout. But neither of both had any stomack to fight. And surely on both sides, they had gone sundry ways untouched, and without any blows given or taken, but that they feared both, lest if they had dismarched of one part first, the other would have come upon them. Thus of themselves they began a faint fight, as unwilling and loath thereto, with an uncertain and unequal shout: neither stirred any man one foot. Then the Roman Consul, to begin the skirmish, sent out some few Cornets of horsemen from a side, without the battalions: whereof the most part fell from their horses, and others were disarrayed and put out of order: whereupon both Samnites ran out to kill those that were fallen, and Romans also to rescue their fellows. Then the skirmish began a little to wax hot: but the Samnites advanced forward in greater number far, and bestirred themselves (as it seemed) more lustily: and withal, the Roman horsemen being disordered and in confusion, with their horres affrighted trod under their feet the footmen that came to rescue. Who beginning once to flee, caused the whole Roman army also to turn their backs. And now the Samnites played upon the backs of the Romans, as they fled: whereat the Consul rode before a gallop to the camp gate, where he bestowed a good *corps de guard* of horsemen, opposite in the way: and made proclamation, that whosoever came toward the camp, were he Samnite or were he Roman, should be taken and used as an enemy. With these and such like threats, he put himself against the soldiers, that marched so fast in heaps to the camp. Whither away strah, (quoth he to every soldier that he met) even here shalt thou find men in arms to fight withal: here shalt thou meet with thine enemy, as well as in the field behind: no entering here into the camp without victory, so long as thy Consul liveth: chuse therefore whether thou hadst rather fight with thy own countrymen or thine enemies. Whiles the Consul entertained them with this welcome, the horsemen also with spear in rest, and bent full against them, came all about, charging the footmen upon their peril to turn again to battel. Thus for the only Consul his virtue and prowess served in good stead, but fortune also went on their side: not the Samnites followed not the chase so hard, but that the Romans had both time and ground enough to turn about their ensignes, and to direct their battalions from their camp against the enemy. Then one encouraged another to go to battel again. The Centurions snatched the banners out of the bearers hands, and advanced them forward: declaring to their soldiers, how few the enemies were in number, and how disorderly and out of all array they came against them. In this while the Consul lift up his hands to heaven, and with a clear and audible voice, vowed a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, if so be the Roman army stayed their flight, and by renuing the conflict should kill and vanquish the Samnites Legions. Hereupon encouraged they on all hands, the Captain and soldier, both horsemen and footmen, to reinforce the battel. And even the very gods from heaven seemed to have a special regard of the Romans at that time, so quickly the dice turned, and the enemies were repulsed from the ramparts, and withina small while forced again to the very place where the battel began. Where by reason of their fardels and packs which they had heaped together in the midst, and now lay in their very way, they were stopped in their very passage, and for fear lest their goods should be rifled and spoiled, they cast a ring round about their bag and baggage. Then the Roman Infantry afront, and the Cavalry behind, compassed them, and charged upon them right fiercely: where in the midst between, they were either slain or taken. The prisoners were in number 7300, who were all put naked under the yoke, and sold: the number of them that were slain was about 4800. The Romans for all this had no great list to boast and brag of their victory, for the Consul taking view and account of his loss these two days, found by computation, that he missed 7300.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Apulia*, the Samnites with another power, stayed to surprize and get again *Interamna*, a Colony of the Romans: situate upon the Latine high-way: but when they could not be masters of the town, they overran and plundered the territory: and having got a good booty of men, women, and cattle, one with another: whiles they were driving the same before them, together with certain Colonies whom they had taken prisoners, they light upon Consul as he returned with victory from *Luceria*, where they not only lost their spoil, but were themselves slain as they marched disorderly in long files. The Consul made proclamation, That every man should repair to *Interamna*, for to own and challenge his own goods, and to receive the same again: and there leaving his army, went to *Rome*, against the Election of new Magistrates. When he laboured instantly for a triumph, he was denied that honor: both for that he had lost so many thousands, and also because he had put his captives under the gallows, and sold them without farther imposition.

The other Col. *Posthumius*, wanting subject matter of war to work upon among the Samnites, passed

A passed with his army into *Tuscan*: and after he had first pillied and spoiled the *Volturnians* territories, he gave them battel not far from their walls, who issued forth to defend their frontiers: where there were 2200, *Tuscan* slain: the rest, by reason that the City was so near, escaped and saved themselves. Then led his army into the territory of *Rosellum*, where he not only laid the fields waste, but won the town also: took prisoners above two thousand, and slew under two thousand before their walls. Howbeit, in that year, the peace obtained in *Horatia*, was more honorable and renowned then the war had been. For three of the strongest and most puissant States, even the very Capital Cities of *Tuscany*, to wit, *Volsinii*, *Perusia*, and *Arretium*, desired Accord. And having conditioned with the Consul, and promised, to find his soldiers clothing and corn, so they might have leave to send Orators to *Rome* to treat for peace. Obtained at length a truce of forty years. And for that present, each City was fined to pay 500000 Askes. For these acts done, the Consul having requested triumph of the Senat, for manner and fashion, rather then upon any hope to speed: and perceiving some of them to deny him that, as pretending, that it was so late ere he departed the City: and other some, for that without order and direction of the Senat, he passed out of *Sammium* into *Tuscany*; and that partly his adversaries, & partly the friends of his Collegue, who might take some comfort and contentment, that he also had the repulse with him, were against his triumph: My Masters (quoth he) you that are Senators of *Rome*, I will not be so far minded of your honor and majesty, as that I will forget my self to be a Consul: and by vertue of the same authority of commission, wherewith I have conducted and managed these wars: for so much as, I have happily brought them to end, and subdued *Sammium* and *Tuscany*, achieved victory, and obtained peace: triumph I will, and ask you no leave. And with that he departed out of the Senat. After this, there arose a debate and disension among the Tribunes of the Commons. Some of them said, they would enterpole their negative, that he should not in this manner triumph, and give to it a precedent. Others gave out, that they would assist him in his triumph, maugre the heads of all their Collegues. After much ado, the matter was referred unto the people, and the Consul being thither called, alledged, that *L. Horatius*, and *Mar. Valerius* Consuls, also *Claudius Marcellus* of late days, even the father of him, who then was Censor, triumphed without the authority and approbation of Senat, only by the ordinance of the people. Over and besides, he added and said, that himself also would have moved the people therein, but that he knew that the Tribunes of the Commons, who were become vassals and slaves to the Nobles, would have nipped and crossed the bill. As for himself, he protested, that he did and would account of the will and favour of the people, agreeing together, as well as of all their Acts and Decrees whatsoever. So the morrow after, by the assistance of three Trib. banded against the opposition and negative voices of seven yeas, and against the general resolution of the Senat, he triumphed: and all the people with great joy solemnized and celebrated the honor of that day. But the records do vary much about the acts and affairs of this year also. *Claudius* writeth, That *Posthumius* having won certain towns in *Sammium*, was after in *Apulia* discomfited and put to flight: and that himself in person being hurt, was with some few besides, driven to take *Luceria* for refuge: and that it was *Attilius*, that fought in *Tuscany*, and triumphed. *Fabius* contrarily reporteth, That both Consuls were won in *Sammium*, and at *Luceria*: and that one of the armies was transported into *Tuscany*: but which of the Consuls had the conduct thereof, he hath not set down withal: also, that before *Luceria*, there were on both parts many slain: and how in that battel, there was a Temple vowed to *Jupiter Stator*, like as *Romulus* had done before in times past: howbeit, before this time, there was no Temple erected, but only a *Favum*, [i. a place pronounced, destined, and consecrated before to build a Temple on.] But in this year at last, the City being now twice bound and obliged to perform one and the same vow, made a conscience of it, and moved the Senat to decree and take order, that the house and temple aforesaid should be edified accordingly.

After this year, there succeeded a brave and noble Consul, *L. Papyrius Cursor*, as well in regard of his fathers glory, as his own reputation. Also a mighty great war, and such a victory as never any General wan the like at the Samnites hands before that day, but *L. Papyrius* again the Consuls father. And as it fell out, they made the like preparation for war, with the same endeavor and furniture of most costly and brave armor, as before time. Moreover, they used the help and favor of the gods besides, by a strange kind of induction and institution of the soldiers, binding them to take their oath, after an old ceremonial custom, as it they were to take orders in some holy mysteries; yea, and levied musters throughout all *Sammium*, after a new form of a law and edict: That whosoever of the younger sort and serviceable men, fit to bear arms, shewed not themselves, and gave attendance at the Generals appointment and proclamation, and whosoever departed without his leave and licence, his head should be forfeit unto *Jupiter* as accursed and damned. Which one, the *Renderer*, was appointed at *Aquilona*, for all the forces to assemble. Where there gathered together, to the number of forty thousand fighting men, even the whole flower and manhood of *Sammium*. There, about the midst of the camp, was a plot of ground set out, well fenced and enclosed all about with hurdles and boards, and the same covered all over with linnen cloths: the place was two hundred foot square, every way. Then there was a solemn sacrifice celebrated, and divine service said, according to an order read out of an old book made of linnen, and the same by a certain Priest, one *Ovius Pacinus*, a very aged man: who avouched, that he set these sacred and holy ceremonies from the old ancient Religion of the Samnites, according to the manner and custom, which in times past their ancestors had used, at what time as they

* 1561. 1. 10. 11. 11.

comploted

complotted secretly and conspired, to surprise *Capua* out of the Tuscans hands, When the sacrifice was done, the General of the army by his Purfivant at arms, commanded to crie and call forth by name, the noblest persons, either for parentage, or ads achieved: who were brought into the place aforesaid, one by one. Amongst other preparations of this sacred solemnity [which] were able to strike a religious fear and devotion in a mans mind) there were certain altars erected in the midst of this place closely covered in all parts, and sacrifices lying slain all about, and the Centurions standing round with their swords ready drawn. Then the souldier was cauled to approach near the altars (like a sacrifice himself, rather then one that should have his part of the sacrifice) and urged by vertue of an oath, to promise, that he would never utter abroad and reveal, whatsoever he there should see or hear. Afterward he was put to iwear, after an horrible and dreadful form of words, framed and tending expressly to the cursing of his own person, his house and all his race and lineage, in case, he went not into any batel, whereoever the Generals should lead him, and if either himself fled out of the field, or saw any one to run away, and slew him not outright in the place. At the first verily, some there were that refused to take such an oath, and presently were massacred by the Altars side. And lying there along together with the beasts, which had their throats cut for sacrifices, they served for a warning, to teach all the rest how they made refusal. When the chief of the Samnits had taken this abominable and cursed oath, ten of them were elected and nominated by the sovereign Captain, who every one had in charge to chuse himself a fellow, and they likewise successively to take other to them, man by man, until they had made up the number of 16000. And these were called *Lanceata Legio* [i.e. the linen Legion] taking the name of the covering of that incloure, wherein the Nobility of the Samnits were i sworn. These had given unto them brave and glorious armor, with helmets crested and plumed, because they should seem taller then the rest. Another army there was, consisting of twenty thopland and better, who neither in goodly and tall personage, nor in martial prowels and reputations, nor yet in furniture and setting out, were inferior to the linen Legion aforesaid, Lo, what a number there was of fighting men, even the whole strength and manhood of all *Samnium*, assembled and encamped in *Aquilona*.

The Roman Consuls took their journey from the City of *Rome*, and *C. Cæcilius* first; unto whom were appointed the old Legions, which *M. Attilius* the Consul of the former year, had left in the territory of *Interamna*. And with them he marched into *Samnium*. And, mean while that the enemies were over much busied and amused about their superstitious ceremonies, and held their secret and mystical counsels, he won by force from the Samnits, the town *Asperrimum*. Where almost 2800 men were slain, and 4270 taken prisoners. But *Papirius*, having by direction from the Senat enrolled a new army, for the town *Duronia*; took fewer prisoners than his Colleague, but in lieu thereof, put many more to the sword. A rich booty there was got, both in the one place and the other. Afterwards the Consuls overran the whole country of *Samnium*, but they spoiled and wasted especially the lands about *Atinum*. *Cæcilius* marched as far as *Cominium*, and *Papirius* to *Aquilona*, where the whole power of the Samnits lay encamped. There, for a good while they neither sat still, and were at large, the idle in the camp, nor yet was there any hot service in the field. They spent the time in provoking them to fight, that gladly would have suten still; or in lying off and giving ground, to those that assailed them: and thus, I say, with threatening, rather then offering batel, they passed the day. For whiles they began even and anon, and gave over as quickly, there was no issue seen of any skirmishes, & the decision even of small matters and occurrents were prolonged and put off from day to day. The other camp of the Romans lay twenty miles off; and albeit the other Consul was absent, yet his hand and counsel was in every enterprise and exploit. For as there lay a greater weight and charge at *Aquilona*, then at *Cominium*: so *Cæcilius* was of more carefull eye that way, then to the place which himself besieged, *L. Papirius* being now at all points provided to fight, dispatched a messenger to his Colleague, to signify unto him: that he minded the next day, if he were not checked by the Auspices to give the enemy batel; and withal, that it was expedient and needful that he likewise should with all his forces assault *Cominium*: that the Samnits within, might have neither means nor leisure to send any succour to *Aquilona*. This post had that one day allowed him to do his message, and attend his dispatch; and by night he made return, and brought word unto the Consul from his Colleague, that he liked well of his purpose and advice. *Papirius* then immediately dismissed and sent away the courier aforesaid, and assembled his souldiers to an audience, where he discoursed at large concerning war in general. Much he spake also as touching the present preparation and magnificent furniture of the enemies, more brave and goodly for shew and ostentation then effectual and of importance in the end: "For they are not the plumed crests (quoth he) that give the deadly wounds, but the Romans spear and lance it is, that is able to pierce their gilded and damasked shields: yea, and that other glittering army with milk white and diaper coats must be died red in blood, when they come to strokes, and to try it out by dint of sword. The golden and silvered armies of the Samnits, were sometimes by my father put to the sword, and killed to the last man: and they served rather for rich spoils to honour the victorious enemy, then for armor of proof, to defend and save themselves. This is a fatal gift, and destined to our name and family, for to be chosen Generals, and to be opposed against the greatest puissance and attempts of the Samnits, and to bring away with them, those spoils which might be ornaments to beautifie the publick places of the City. And the immortal gods

"no doubt are present to defend and assist us in our quarrel, against those that so oft have fought for peace and alliance, and as often broke the same themselves. And if a man may conjecture and guess of the will and providence of the Gods, they never were to any army more adverse and full of indignity, then to that, which being stained and polluted with the blood of beasts and men, massacred and mingled together in an horrible and execrable kind of sacrifices and devotions, vowed to a double anger of the gods, having in dread and horror of one side, the vengeance of the same gods, witnesses off their breach of covenants with the Romans; and on the other side the detretable and abominable curses, comprised in an oath, taken against all covenant and promise; hath i sworn by constraint and perforce: hateth and detesteth the oath whereby they are perjured, and at one time, is in fear of the gods, of their own selves, and their enemies. Thus having shewed unto his souldiers (who were already of themselves badly and maliciously enough bent against the enemies) that he had certain intelligence of all these things, by the constant report and verified by certain fugitives that were fled from them unto him; they all being now full of assured hope of Gods help and mans, with one uniform cry called for batel: and nothing grieved them more then this, That it was put off until the morrow; hating in their hearts the reit of that day behind, and that one night, for being so long. About mid-night, *Papirius* having received letters back from his Colleague, gat him up cloley when all were fast asleep, and sent the chick-matter to take token, & observe the presage of the pullets. There was not one throughout the whole camp of what quality or degree soe'er but had a desire to fight. The highest as well as the lowest were earnest and eager: the Captains might behold and see the souldiers affection and courage that way, and the souldier likewise the Captains; in so much that the same ardent desire of batel which was in all the rest, reached also even to those that had the charge of the Auspices. For when as the chickens would not peck, the chick-matter advertised to lye and falsifie the token, and made report to the Consul, that it was a *Tripudium* *fulgurimum*. Whereat the Consul first glad and joyous, pronounced that the token was lucky, and that they were to fight under the favour and conduct of the gods: and hereupon he put forth the signal or bloody banner or batel. As he was now marching forth into the field with his army, beheld a fugitive out of the enemies camp, brought word, that twenty cohorts or companies of Samnits, and those were about 400 in a cohort, were gone to *Cominium*. And because his Colleague *Cæcilius* should not be ignorant hereof, he presently dispatched a courier in post unto him, and himself commanded the Ensigns and Standards to be advanced and set forward with speed, ordaining the bands in the reward for succours, and disposing them in divers places, with Captains over the same, accordingly. He appointed *L. Volturnus* to lead the right wing, and *L. Scipio* the left, and the horsemen he committed to the conduct of two other Lieutenants, *C. Cedennus*, and *Trebonius*. As for *Sp. Nautius*, he charged him in all haste to take off the pack-fiddles from the Mules, and to mount the cohorts of the light armed footmen that serve in the wings, upon their backs, and with them to fetch a compass, and to seize upon any hill there in sight, and in the heat of the conflict, to shew himself from thence, and to raise as great a cloud of dust as possibly he could. While the General was occupied hereabout, there arose some warbling amongst the chicken-masters touching the Auspice or presage of that day: in so much as they were over-heard of the Roman horsemen; who supposing it a matter of good consequence and to be regarded, advertised *Sp. Papirius* (the Consuls Nephew, or Brothers Son) that there was some doubt and question about the Auspice. The youth born in those days when there were no Atheists, nor Lecturers read of despising God and Religion; enquired farther into the matter, because he would not certify any thing whereof he was not sure: and when he had found out the truth, gave knowledge thereof to the Consul: who said thus unto him, "God blest thee my son, and be not thou dismayed therat, but fight hardly more valiantly, and do thy best endeavour. As for him that has the charge and oversight of the Birds and Auspice, if he have made a wrong report, and given up a contrary presage, or false sign, all the mischief and peril light upon his own head for his lewd life. As for me I was told of a *Tripudium*, and that the birds fell heartily to their meat: and I hold it for a lucky Auspice and token of good success unto the people of *Rome* and the army, and for no other. This said, he commanded the Centurions to set those pullets on, in the forefront of the batel. The Samnits also for their part set forward their Ensigns, and their battalions follow after gallantly let out in gorgeous armor and brave apparel, in such fort, as the very sight of the enemies represented a magnificent and stately shew to the beholders. But see what happened: before the first shout given, before the first volley of shot and encounter, the principal Pulletier chanced to be stricken with a javelin, lanced at adventure and at random, and fell down dead even before the Ensigns. Which being reported unto the Consul, "Behold the handy work of God (quoth he) the gods are present in this batel, the guilely person hath his due reward. And as the Consul was speaking these words, lo, before him a Raven let out a wide clear throat, and cried with a loud nois that which was more evident, the God, rejoiced, and avowed, that the gods appeared never in mens affairs more evidently. And herewith he commanded the trumpets to sound, and to set up a lusty shout: then followed a cruel and terrible fight on both sides, but with hearts and courages far unlike. The Romans were ravished and carried on end to the batel, with anger, hope, and heat of conflict greedy of bathing their swords, and embreuing their hands in the enemies bloodshed. But the Samnits many of them by force of necessity, and constraint of a blind and superstitious religion, even against their wills, were forced to make resistance, and defend themselves rather then to fight

* The chickens fell first to their meat so eagerly, that with their badly feeding, some could tell from their bills to the ground, and rebounded against this was *Tripudium fulgurimum*, and in their learning was reputed the best Auspicious in that kind, and procured most happy success.

and offend the enemy. Neither had they sustained and held out the first shout, charge and shock of the Romans (as having now for certain years past been used ever more to go away defeated and vanquished) but that a mightier fear imprinted and settled in their heart roots, held them perform from running away: for they ever had continually repented in their eye, the whole furniture of that secret sacrifice: of those armed sacrificers and Priests with naked swords that hideous butchery of men and of brute beasts, lying slain one with another in their blood intermingled together: of the Altars besprikled and stained with the lawful shedding of the one, and the detestable effusion of the other: of the dreadful and horrible execrations and to conclude, of that frantic, furious, and detestable form of words, composed and devised to the detestation and malediction of their line and race. Being fast bound, I say, with these bonds for fleeing away, they stood to it, and turned not back, fearing their own countrymen more than the enemies. The Romans from both points, and from the middle and main battalion charged boldly, beat them down, killed and cut them in pieces, thus amazed and astonished as they were with dread of gods and awe of man. Small resistance made they, as who only feared to flee and run away: so as by this time, there was execution and havoc made of them almost to the very standards. At which very instant, there appeared overhead from the one side a dust, as if a mighty army had failed it to their march: namely, *Sp. Nautius* (or as some say, *Ollavins Mata*) who had the leading of certain Cohorts called *Aleria*, mounted upon Mules, which upon purpose made a dust greater, then for that number they were. For those varlets and new horsemen, as they sat on their Mules and Sumpter-beasts, drew after them trailing on the ground, boughs of trees full of branches and leaves: and first, there appeared in the fore-front (as it were, through a duskiness and dim light) their armour and guidons: but the dust behind them, rising higher and thicker, made shew of a troop of horsemen flanked an army of footmen: wherever went not only the Samnites but Romans also were deceived. And the Consul himself, to avoid the enemy and bear them down it was so: cried aloud amongst the foremost Ensigns, so as his voice reached unto his enemies, that *Cominium* was won, and his Brother Consul was come with victory: and therefore, they should endeavour and enforce themselves to get the day, before that another army should win the honour out of their hands. Thus cried he out on horseback galloping among the ranks to and fro. Then he commanded the Colonels and Centurions, to make a way for the men of arms. Himself afore, had willed *Trebonius* and *Cedinius*, that when they espied him to bear his spear upright and to shake it, then they should with all the might they had, put forth the Cavalry and charge the enemies. Every thing was done at a beck, according as they were directed and instructed before-hand. The wayes were made wide between the files. The horsemen flung out, and with spear in rest charge upon the middle battalion of the enemies, and brake their arrayes wheresoever they charged. *Volumnius* and *Scipio* seconded them with the Infantry: and while they were disarrayed overthrew them, and bare them to the ground. Down went their linen Cohorts now, when God and man fought against them, and were discomfited: and as well those that took the oath, and the other that were unworn, fled aimless and without respect of one thing or other, feared none but their enemies. All the footmen that escaped the battle, were beaten into their camp at *Aquilonia*. The Gentlemen and the men of arms fled toward *Bovianum*. The Cavalry of the Romans pursued the horsemen, and the Infantry chased the footmen. The wings took divers ways, the right toward the camp of the Samnites, the left unto the Town. *Volumnius* was somewhat before, and got the Camp. *Scipio* found more resistance in the City: not for that vanquished men, as they were, had more courage and resolution, but because that walls are stronger to endure an assault, and better to keep out armed men, then a plain trench and rampart. For, from the Courtine, with stones they beat and repulsed the enemy. *Scipio* foreseeing well enough that they should be longer about the assault of a strong and fenced town unless he dispatched the matter quickly and went through with it, in their first affright and confusion, before they took heart again: demanded of his souldiers, If they could take it well, and abide to see the camp won by the other point of the battle, and themselves (being likewise Conquerors) to be repelled from the City Gates? When they all cried No: and said they would never endure that disgrace: himself with his target over his head, approached the gate, the others following after under a target-shield, rush into the City, thrust down the Samnites about the Gate, and got to the Walls: but to engage themselves farther into the City, they durst not, being so few as they were. The Consul himself at the first knew nothing of all this, but was occupied about the retreat, and rallying of his men: for now the sun was well near down; and the night coming on apace, caused every thing even to the very victors to seem dangerous and suspicious. But when he was advanced farther, he saw on the right hand the camp taken: and on the left, he heard a confused cry and tumult in the City, compounded of the noise of fighting men, and frighted persons: and even at that instant, it fortuned, that they skirmished at the gate. Then he rode on, neerer and neerer, and saw his own men upon the Walls, howbeit nothing yet fully performed: but through the rash adventure and fool-hardiness of some few, an overture only made, and some advantage got of performing a great piece of service and worthy exploit. Whereupon he commanded the forces that were retired to be called, and with banner displayed to enter the City. So soon as they were in, they took the next quarter to the Gate, and for that the night approached, there they rested, and went no farther. But even in that very night, the enemies abandoned the Town, These

A There were slain that day before *Aquilonia* 30340 Samnites, and 3870 taken prisoners: and of field ensigns they were away with 90. Moreover, this is reported and recorded of *Papirius*, that there had not been lightly seen a General in any battle more lightome, cheerful, and merry: and were it of his own natural disposition, or upon assured confidence of victory. Upon which courage and resolution, he could not be revoked from battle, albeit there was some question and dispute about the Aulpsie: and even in the hottest time, and dangerous point of the conflict, at what time as the manner is to vow temples to the immortal gods: he vowed unto *Jupiter Victor*, If so be that he defeated the Legions of the enemies, to present him with a cup of a sweet and pleasurable mead, before he drank any strong and heady wine of the grape: which vow the gods accepted and liked of, and turned the ill prelude of the Aulpsies to good.

The other Consul had as good speed at *Cominium*: For at the break of day he approached with all his forces to the wals of the town, and inveiled it round about: and let strong guards at the gates, for fear they should issue or fall forth. And even as he was about to give the signal of assault, there came a messenger post from his fellow Consul, who in great affright brought word of the coming of twenty cohorts to the succour of them within the City: which both kept him short from giving the assault, and caused him to call back again part of his forces, which were arranged and ready under the counterfeits to assail the defendants. Then he gave charge to *Decius Brutus Scaeva*, one of the Lieutenants, to take the first legion and twenty cohorts of the wings, and other horsemen, to make head against the rescue of the enemies afore said: and wheresoever he met them, there to impeach them, yea, and if occasion served, to give them battle: and in no case to suffer that power to come to *Cominium*. Himself commanded that ladders should be reared on every side of the town, and under a fence of targets approached the gates. So that in an instant, the gates were burst open, and the wals scaled on every part. The Samnites, as their hearts served them well enough to keep the enemies from entrance, before they saw any armed men upon the wals: so, after they perceived, that they were assailed not aloof with stones and darts, but fast by and with hand-strokes: and how that they, who hardly and with great difficulty from the plain gat up the wals, having now gained and surmounted the place (which they most feared before) could fight at ease from aloft with their enemy, who was not able to match them in the even ground: quit their towers and wals, and gathered all together in the market place, and there for a while tried the utmost hazard of battle. But afterwards throwing down their weapons, 15400 of them yielded themselves to the Consul his mercy. There were slain 4380. Thus went the game at *Cominium*, and thus at *Aquilonia*.

In the mid way between the two Cities, where a third battle was looked for, the enemies were not to be found. And when they were seven miles off from *Cominium*, they had a countermand from their own country-men, and were called away, and so came not to the rescue, neither in the one battle nor the other. In the shutting in of the evening, when it began to be dark, being within the sight of the Camp of one hand, and *Aquilonia* on the other: they might hear a like noise and cry from both parts, which caused them to pause. But afterwards, when they were over-against the Camp which was fired by the Romans; the flame spreading far abroad declared the defeat of the Samnites more evidently, and staid them there for going farther. In which very place they laid down here and there in their armour (as they were) and passed a restless and unquiet long night, expecting (and yet fearing) the light of the day. At the dawning whereof, and so soon as it began to peep, while they were uncertain and doubtful what way to take, they happened to be discovered by the cavalry of the enemies: and suddenly in a fearful amazement and affright, they took them to their heels and fled in great disorder. Those horsemen having pursued the Samnites, who in the night season escaped out of the town, chanced to spy this forlaid multitude, and perceived they were neither entrenched, nor defended with a good corps de guard. This company was desired also even from the wals of *Aquilonia*: whereupon by this time the legionary footmen likewise made after them; but they could not overtake them in the chase, so fast they fled: howbeit the horsemen cut off some, and slew two hundred and fourscore in the tail of the rereguard. In this affright they left much armour behind them, and eighteen ensigns, and so the rest of the army fled themselves, and as well as they might in fearful confusion, recovered *Bovianum*. The joy of these two Romans armies was wonderfully increased, to see one another have so good and fortunate success in their enterprises. Both the Consuls, by each others advice and consent, gave their towns thus won unto the souldiers to be sacked and rifled: and after the goods were out, to set fire on the empty houses: in such wise, that in one and the same day both *Aquilonia* and *Cominium* were burnt to ashes: and the Consuls, with mutual congratulation and joy, as well between their Legions as themselves, sealing one another joyned both their Camps in one. Afterwards in the fight of both Armies, *Carvilius* highly commended and praised his souldiers, every one as he deserved, and rewarded them with gifts accordingly. *Papirius* also for his part, who had performed many and sundry skirmishes as well in the field and battle, as about the winning of the Camp and forcing the City, bestowed by way of honour upon *Sp. Nautius* and *Sp. Papirius* his brother-in-law, as also upon four Centurions and the band of the *Libertarii* Javelineers, bracelets and coronets of gold: and namely, *Nautius* for that he bare himself so worthily in that journey and expedition, wherein with his counterfeits troop of horsemen upon Mules, he so terrified the enemy, as if he had conducted a main army of men of arms: and young *Papirius* for his good service with his cavalry as well in the battle and conflict,

first, as also in that night, wherein he forced the Samnites to flee secretly, and quit the City *Aquilonia*: the Centurions and soldiers, in this regard, that they were the first who seized the gates and walls of that town: as for all the horsemen, in consideration of their manifold travels, and brave exploits shewed in sundry places, he gave them bracelets and little horns of silver. This done, so far as it was time now to withdraw their army from out of *Samnium*, either both twin, or one of them alone; they sat in Council and consultation thereupon: and thought it was the better course (to the end that the Samnites might be brought lower, and their flame more sensibly decayed) to go forward still, and charge them with greater force and resolution, and to pursue the rest that was behind: that *Samnium* might be delivered up to the Consuls their successors, utterly tamed and subdued: since that the enemies now had no army abroad in field, like either to give or abide another battle; and there remained but one manner of making war, even to besiege and assault their Cities and strong Towns: by the winning and subversion whereof, they might with the pillage enrich, and make their own soldiers for ever, and withal impoverish their enemies; and make a hand of them quite being now at the last cast forced to fight for Church and Home. Hereupon the Consuls dispatched their letters to the Senat and people of *Rome*; containing the effect at large of all their exploits; and then divided themselves, and took two several waies: *Papirius* marched with his legions to the siege of *Seppinum*; and *Carvilius* with his to besiege *Volturna*.

The Consuls' letters were read and heard with exceeding joy, as well in the court of the Council of the City, as in the Common Hall of assemblies; and this publique contentment and rejoicing was solemnized with general processions, for the space of four daies, and with marvellous zeal, affection, and devotion of private persons in particular. And to say a truth, this victory was to the state of *Rome* not only great and honourable, but also of great consequence, in regard that it fell out in so good and commodious a time. For even then, news came, that *Tuscanus* was revolted and rebelled, and men began to cast in their minds, and discourse how they should do (in case ought should hap but well in *Samnium*) to withstand the forces and invasions of the *Tuscans*: who taking heart, and presuming upon the Samnites, and their cursed and execrable oath, by virtue whereof they were obliged to fight to the utmost extremity, embraced the occasion and opportunity of taking arms again, while both the Consuls and the whole forces of *Rome* were diverted and withdrawn into *Samnium* and there employed. The Embassadors of the *Tuscans* and confederates, were by *M. Annius* the Prætor brought into the Senat, and had audience given them: where they complained, that their Territories were over-run, burnt, and spoiled, by the *Tuscans* their next neighbours; and all because they were unwilling to revolt from the people of *Rome*: humbly beseeching the LL. of the Senate, to defend and protect them against the violence, wrong, and outrage of common enemies. Answer was returned unto the Embassadors: That the Senate would have regard, that their allies should have no cause to repent of their faithful allegiance, and constant loyalty; and that ere many daies went over their heads, the *Tuscans* should taste of the same cup that the Samnites had begun unto them. Howbeit, they would have been slack and cold enough in dealing with the *Tuscans*, had not fresh news come, that the *Ætulus* also, who had for many years continued in amity and friendship with the people of *Rome*, were combined with the *Tuscans*, and entered into arms, as well as they. The near neighborhood of this nation, gave edge to the Senators, and what them on, to take care and ordain, that their *Ætulus* Herolds should be addressed thither to demand restitution and amends for harms done: which being denied, and no goods restored; by the advice and authority of the Senat, together with the grant of the people, war was proclaimed against the *Tuscans*: and the Consuls were commanded to cast lots, whether of them should pass out of *Samnium* with his forces, unto *Tuscanus*.

By this time now *Carvilius* had won *Volturna*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herulanum*, towns appertaining to the Samnites. *Volturna* was forced within few daies: *Palumbinum*, the same day that he came before the walls: but at *Herulanum*, he fought two several battles, with doubtful and uncertain issue, yea, and with more loss of his own part than of the enemies. But afterwards, he pitched his camp before the town, beleaguering the enemies, and kept them within their walls, gave the assault, and won it in the end. In these three towns there were either taken prisoners or slain in all, to the number of ten thousand: but so, as through fear the greater part by far, suffered themselves to be captives, rather than to dye on the edge of the sword.

The Consuls cast lots for their Provinces: and it fell unto *Carvilius* to go into *Tuscanus*, as the soldiers wished and desired, who could no longer away with the rigour of cold weather in *Samnium*. As for *Papirius*, he found a greater power of enemies, and more resistance, before *Seppinum*. Many a time he was fought withal in battell arranged: oft skirmished with in his march: yea, and oftentimes under the very walls, the enemies sallied out against him from the Town, in such sort, as he could not tell what to make of it: for neither was it to be called properly a siege alone, nor yet altogether a battell fight: considering that the enemies were no more protected and covered themselves, by the strength of their walls: than the walls were defended by force of arms, and men of war: howbeit in the end, what with fighting and what with skirmishing, he beloged them within the City, so as they durst come abroad no more, but kept themselves close and were besieged indeed: and after long siege, as well with forcible assaults, as by trenches, battails, and rampiers, he was master of the town: and therefore after he was possessed of it, upon anger and choler

A choler that they had so long stood out and put him to so much trouble, that there was more blood-shed; and seven thousand died by the sword, whereas under three thousand were taken prisoners. The spoil and pillage, which was exceeding great, considering that the Samnites had laid up all their gods in some few Cities, was given to the soldiers. And now lay the snow thick all over upon the ground: neither could men endure abroad in the field without house and harbor: and thereupon the Consul retired his Army out of *Samnium*. Against his coming to *Rome*, it was doctored by the general voice of all men, that he should triumph: and so he triumphed while he was in his Magistracy, with great magnificence, and sumptuous pomp, as those daies would afford. For as well his footmen as horsemen marched and passed by in a shew, adorned with their gilt and prizes of honour. Many a civick, wallare and mirale garland, was seen worn that day. Much looking and wondering there was at the spoils also of the Samnites armour and apparel: for with their goodly beauty and glorious hue, were they comparable to the e that his father had won before him, which were commonly seen, and well known in the publick places of the City, adorned and beautified therewith. Moreover, there were led before him in this triumph and pompous entrance of his into the City, certain captives and prisoners of noble blood cut ended, men of great worth, sometime, and name, as well for their own deeds, as their fathers acts. Great store of Brasse Bullion in Ingots, and not coined, was carried in shew, amounting to the weight of 20005 33 pound: which mass of brasse or copper was stiled of the ranisme of prisoners. But the silver which was got in the sacage of the towns came to 1330 pound weight and above. All the brasse and silver was laid up in the common Treasury of the City, and nothing at all of the whole booty given to the soldiers: and the discontentment and heart-burning that grew thereon by it, was so much the greater in the common people, by reason they were charged besides with an exaction and contribution for soldiers pay; whereas if the Consul had not upon a vain-glorious humour brought into the City-Chamber, such sums which he had gained from the enemy there might a good portion thereof have been bellowed freely on amongst the soldiers, & of the surplusage their due wages paid and dispatched. Moreover, while he was Consul, he dedicated the Temple of *Quirinus*, which his father, being Dictator, had vowed: for, that himself vowed it in the very time of the battell. I find not in any ancient writer; and certainly in so short a space, he could not possibly have built and finished it. He trimmed it besides, and garnished it with the spoils of the enemies, whereof there was such store and abundance, that not only the forelaid Temple and the market-place were therewith set out and bravely decked, but they were distributed abroad to their allies also and Colonies, near inhabitants, for the decoration and beautifying of their Churches and publick places. After the triumph ended, he brought his Army to winter in the Territory of the *Vestins*, because those quarters were distressed and annoyed by the Samnites.

In this mean while, *Carvilius* the Consul, having at his first coming given the assault unto *Tuscanus*, a City in *Tuscanus* granted licence to 470 of the richest Citizens, to depart from thence and by composition, to pay a great sum of money unto him. The rest of the multitude fell into his hands, after he had won the town by mere force. This done, he forced five Cattles, to take in places of great strength: where were slain of enemies 2400, and not all out 200 taken prisoners. He granted to the *Ætuli* (who sued for peace) truce for one year, and yet to make present payment of 100000 Asles, and to discharge the soldiers wages for that year. After these exploits achieved, he departed to his triumph: which as it was less honourable and glorious than that of other of his companion in government, in regard of the service performed against the Samnites: so, if we consider withally, the *Tuscan* war, it was equal and comparable unto it every way. Of brasse money he brought into the common Chest 300050 pound: of the surplusage of the pillage and other spoils, he caused the Chappel of *Fortuna* to be built, near unto the Temple of the same goddess, dedicated by King *Servilius Tullius*. To the soldiers that served on foot, he gave of his booty 1000 Asles a piece, and twice as much to every Centurion and horseman. With reward they accepted more thankfully at his hands, by reason of the misgarding and misery of his Collegue before him. And so gracious was this Consul, that he protected and saved *L. P. Junius*, one of his Lieutenants, against the people: who being arrested and called to his answer by *M. Cælius*, a Tribune of the Commons, fled for his last help, to his Lieutenantship (as they say) and avoided thereby the danger of their judgement: for that during his absence in that charge his accusation might well be set on foot and followed, but brought to a final end and definitive sentence, it could not be.

After this year expired, the new Tribunes of the Commons entered their office: and for that there was supposed some error in their creation, the fifth day after were other chosen in their stead. The same year there was a *Lustrum* or solemn survey of the City held by *P. Cornelius Arvina* and *C. Marius Rutilius* Censors. In which were numbered and assessed 262322 pols of Roman Citizens. There were in order the six and twentieth Censors from the beginning: and this was reckoned the nineteenth *Lustrum* after the first institution. In this year, and never before, the spectators of the Roman Games and Plaies, in regard of their happy success in wars, stood adorned with wreaths and garlands of flowers upon their heads: and then came up the fashion at that time, who won the prizes, and were victors in those solemn Games.

The same year the *Ædiles Curule*, who exhibited the said plaimes and exercises of activity,

* For saving of a Citizens, life in battell, made of grass.

* For mounting first over the rampier of the enemies Camp, fashioned like the pates in a rampier.

* For scaling over the walls first of any enemies City: and formed to the manner of the cuttin or battlements of a wall.

* Two millions five hundred thirty three Asles in value, and of English 12125 06 li.

* 12 li 4 s. 1 d. within a battell.

* 3950 pound sterling after five battellings.

* 312 li to the

* 137 li 1 s. 1 d. 7 s. 0 d. 1 d.

* 6 li 5 s. 4 d. 1 d.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the sixteenth Book.

* The inhabitants of Messina.

* Extrajure. L. 29. 1000.

The first rising of the Carthaginians, with the beginning of their City, are in this book related: Against whom together with Hiero King of the Syracusians, the Senat of Rome ordained to send aid unto the Mamertines: and after much arguing and debate about this point, whilst some persuaded, & others again dissuaded: the gentlemen of Rome, who served on horseback, when first crossed: I, I, I, and have themselves bravely in many battels and to good purpose against Hiero: who at length craved peace, and had it granted. The Censors held a Lustrum and numbered the people: and enrolled 372224 Citizens of Rome, into the subsidy book. D. Junius Brutus was the first that ever represented himself of sword-fencers at the sharp to the utterance, in the honour of his father late deceased. One Colony was planted at Alernia. This book comprehendeth besides, the good success of the affairs against the Carthaginians and the Volsinians.

The Breviary of L. Florus for the seventeenth Book.

Cneus Cornelius the Consul, being surprised and environed with a fleet of Carthaginians, and under colour of a parl, trained forth and called unto them: was villainously taken prisoner and kept still with them. Cn. Duilius the Consul fought with happy success against this their foresaid fleet: and was the first Roman Captain that rode in triumph, for a naval victory at sea. In regard whereof this honour for ever after was done unto him, that when he supped forth in any place of the City: he was carried home to his own house: the Waits should sound, the hautboies all the way, and a man go before him with a burning torch. L. Cornelius the Consul won a field in Sardinia against the Ilanders, together with the Corsicans and Hanno the General of the Carthaginians. Attilius Calatinus the Consul, having unadvisedly engaged his army within a place of great disadvantage, whereas the Carthaginians lay round about in ambush, retired and escaped by the valour and industrious means of M. Calpurnius a Colonel: who with a regiment of 300 foot venturously sallied out, and turned all the forces of the enemies upon himself. One Annibal a Carthaginian Commander, upon the defeat of the Armado, whereby he was Admiral, was by his own soldiers trussed up and crucified. Attilius Regulus the Consul, having in battel at sea vanquished the Carthaginians, sailed over into Affrick.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the eighteenth Book.

Attilius Regulus the Consul flew in Affrick a serpent of a mighty and wonderful bigness, but with the exceeding loss of his soldiers. And after many encounters and battels with the Carthaginians, when the Senat by reason of his so happy conduct and management of the wars, sent no other to succeed him, he dispatched his letters unto them and complained thereof: and among other pregnant reasons: he alleged for to have a successor to come unto him, this was one: That the little inheritance and living which he had suffered waste, by the default or lewdness of his bailiffs of husbandry. Meanwhile, as if fortune had been disposed and sought means to shew a notable example in the person of this one man Regulus, as well of adversity as prosperity, he was overthrowen in plain field, and taken prisoner by Xanthippus, a renowned Captain of the Lacedemonians, whom the Carthaginians had waged, and sent for to aid them. After this the sundry shipwracks of the Roman Navy, eclipsed, obscured, and disfigured all the other exploits that the Roman Captains had formerly achieved before, as well by land as sea. T. Coruncanius was the first High Priest or Arch-Prelate, created out of the body of the Common. M. Sempronius Sophus and M. Valerius Maximus the Censors, when they made a review of the Senat, called thirteen, and took their embroidered purple cloaks from them. They held a survey also of the whole City, and entered into their subsidy book 317217 Roman Citizens. Regulus being sent from the Carthaginians to the Senat of Rome, to treat a peaceable accord, or if he could not obtain so much to deal about the exchange of prisoners one for another, bound himself by an oath to return again to Carthage, if he sped not for the exchange as for paid. And being come to Rome, himself dissuaded both the one and the other: howbeit to accomplish and perform his promise by oath given, he made return accordingly, and by the Carthaginians was desirously put to cruel torture, and so died.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the nineteenth Book.

Clauius Cecilius Metellus, in consideration of his fortunate conduct of the wars against the Carthaginians, rode in a most stately and magnificent triumph: wherein were shewed and led captive thirteen chief Captains of the enemies, and 120 Elephants. Claudius Pulcher the Consul, who made the adorning prelates of the Aulices, would needs hazard a battel, commanded the sacred Pulcher robe dosed and draped over the head in the water, to see if they would drink, since they refused to eat their meat: and received an overthrow at sea, in a conflict with the Carthaginians. For which he was called home by the Senat, and commanded to nominate a Dictator: whereupon he declared C. Glauca, a base companion, and a person of the meanest degree and quality: who being constrained to resign his Magistracy, yet notwithstanding afterwards beheld the games and plaies in his mantle of estate. Attilius Calatinus was the first Roman Dictator, that led an army out of Italy. An exchange was made of Roman captives for Carthaginians. Two Colonies were transported, namely, to Fregelle, and to Brundisium, in the

A the territory of the Salernitans. Another Lustrum was taken by the Censors: wherein were reckoned of Roman Citizens 251222. Claudia, the sister of that P. Claudius, who in contempt and despite of the Aulices, fought a battel to great loss, forthwith upon a time, when she came from the Greek Nations to be crowned in the thrush and press of people: whereupon she cried out with a loud voice, Would God my brother were alive again, and had the charge of another Armado: for which words she had a good fine set on her head, and paid it. Two Prators were now created, the first that ever were at Rome: Cecilius Metellus the High Priest kept pay for within the City A. Pothumius the Consul, because he was besides the Flaminian unto Mars: and would not suffer him to be Non-resident, and absent himself from his charge. After sundry battels and conflicts that many Roman Captains had against the Carthaginians, Calpurnius the Consul obtained the honour of the final victory, when he had defeated their Fleet: and so made an end of the first Panick war. The Carthaginians therefore sued for peace, and had it granted. At what time as the Temple of Vesta was on a light fire: Cecilius the High Priest recovered and saved out of the flame the holy reliques, Two Tribes were added to the rest, Volina and Quirina. The Falisci rebelled, & within six daies were subdued, and brought under subjection.

The Breviary of L. Florus to the twentieth Book.

A Colony was planted at Spolertum. An army was led against the Ligurians (i.e. Genovaisers) which was the first time that they were warred upon. The Sardinians and the Corsicans, who revolted and took arms were subdued. Tuccia a Vestal virgin and a Potary was condemned and executed for her incest or whoredoms. War was proclaimed against the Illyrians, for that they killed one of the Embassadors which were sent unto them, and being defeated, confessed themselves subject to the Romans. The number of the Prators was increased from two to four. The Gauls inhabiting beyond the Alps (toward France) who came down and entered into Italy, were overthrowen and put to the sword. In which war the Romans had by report of the Latins and other confederats and allies, to the number of 300000 fighting men that served under them. The Roman forces passed then first over the river Padus (i.e. Po), where the French Infubrians (i.e. Lombards) after certain discomfures were slain by cruel reason, and rendered themselves. Mar. Claudius Marcellus the Consul, having slain Viridomarus the General of the Lumbards with his own hand, went away with the honour of the third rich and royal spoils got from the enemy. D. The Illyrians were subdued: so were the Illyrians also, after they had revolted and put themselves in arms: and were so tamed, that they came under obedience. The Censors held a Lustrum, and took account of the number of the Roman Citizens, and found in all 270000. The Libitins (or slaves of the rich) were reduced into four tribes by themselves, to wit, Equulina, Palatina, Suburana, and Collina: whereas before time they had been dispersed indifferently, and mingled among the rest. C. Flaminius the Censor paved the high way called Flaminia, and built the great Cirque or Theater named Flaminius Circus. And two Colonies were established within those Territories that were conquered from the Gauls to wit, Placentia, and Cremona.

The one and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and twentieth Book.

IN this book are rehearsed the acts which passed in Italy, as touching the second Panick war, and how Annibal, the Chief Commander of the Carthaginians, contrary to the accord of alliance, passed over the river Iberus: by whom Saguntum, a City belonging to the allies of the people of Rome, was in the eighth month of the Siege forced by assault. For to complain of those injuries and injuries Embassadors were sent to the Carthaginians. And for that they would not make satisfaction and amends therefore, war was proclaimed against them. Annibal having passed over the mountains Pyrene, and discomfited the Volsinians, who made head against him, and would have encompassed his passage, mounted the Alps, and after he had passed through them with great difficulty and pains, and repulsed also the French mountaineers in sundry skirmishes and battels, he descended into Italy: and near the River Ticinus, discomfited and disarrayed the Romans in a battel of Cavalry. In which conflict, when P. Cornelius Scipio was wounded, his son (the same who afterwards was surnamed Africanus) rescued him, and saved his life. G. Annibal after he had defeated the Roman army a second time, near the river Trebia, passed over the Appennine: where his soldiers were mightily afflicted and distressed, by reason of foul weather and violence of storm and tempest. Cn. Cornelius Scipio sped well in his war against the Carthaginians within Spain, and took prisoner Mago, the General Commander of the enemies.

The one and twentieth book of T. Livius.

The same may I well say, in the Preface and entrance of this one part of my work, which most writers of histories have promised and made profession of, in the beginning of the whole, to wit, That I will write the most famous and memorable war that ever was, even that, which the Carthaginians under the conduct of *Annibal* fought with the people and State of *Rome*. For neither any other Cities or Nations are known to have warred together more worthily and puissant than they; nor at any time ever were they themselves so great, so strong in forces, and so mighty in means, as now they were. Moreover, they came not newly now, to wage war, without knowledge of the powers and martial skill, one of another; for trial they had made thereof sufficient already, in the first punick war. Besides, so variable was the fortune of the field, so doubtfully were their battels fought, that neither loss and danger were they, who in the end won the better, and achieved the victory. And to conclude, if a man observe the whole course and proceeding of these their wars, their malice and hatred was greater in a manner than their forces: whiles the Romans took foul scorn and disdain that they, whose hap before was to be vanquished, should unprovoked begin war afresh with the Conquerors; and the Carthaginians were as male-content, and thoroughly offended, as taking themselves (notwithstanding they were overcome) to be abused too much at their hands by their proud, insolent, and covetous rule over them. Over, and besides all this, the report goeth, that *Annibal* being but nine years old, or thereabout, came fawning and flattering as wanton children do to his father *Amilcar*, that he would take him with him into *Spain*; at what time, as after the African war ended, his father was offering sacrifice, ready to pass over thither with an army: where he was brought to the altar side, and induced to lay his hand thereupon, and to touch the sacrifice, and so to swear, that so soon as he were able, he would be a professed and mortal enemy to the people of *Rome*. Vexed (no doubt) at the heart, was *Amilcar* himself, a man of high spirit and great courage, for the loss of the Islands *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: for not only *Sicily* was overhastily yielded (as he thought) as despairing too soon of the fate thereof, and doubting how it should be defended; but also *Sardinia* was by the cunning and fraudulent practice of the Romans (surprized out of the Carthaginians hands, while they were troubled with the commotion and rebellion of *Affrick*; and a Tribute besides imposed upon them. He being disquieted, I say, and troubled with these griefs and discontents, so based himself for five years space in the *Affrick* war, which ensued immediately upon the peace concluded with the Romans; and likewise after in *Spain*, for nine years together, enlarging ever still the dominion of *Carthage*: that all the world might see, he intended and designed a greater war than that he had in hand; and if God had spared him longer life, it should have been well seen that the Carthaginians under the leading of *Amilcar*, would have made that war upon *Italy*, which afterwards they waged by the conduct of *Annibal*. But the death of *Amilcar* happening in so good season [for the Romans] and the childhood and tenderness of *Annibal* together, were the cause that this war was put off and deferred. In the mean time, between the father and the son, *Asdrubal* bare all the rule of the peace almost of eight years. This *Asdrubal* had been *Amilcar*'s his minion, grown highly into his grace and favour, at the first (as men say) for the very prime and flower of his youth, but afterwards in regard of the singular cowardness of a brave and haughty mind, which soon appeared in him, and for his forwardness to action, he was preferred to be his son in law, and married his daughter. Now, forasmuch as he was *Amilcar*'s his son in law, he was advanced to the sovereign conduct of the war, with no good liking at all and consent of the Nobility and Peers, but by the means and favour only of the *Barchin* faction, which bare a great stroke, and might do all in all, among the souldiers and the common people. Who managed all his affairs, more by policy and sage council, than by force and violence: and using the authority and name of the Princes and great Lords of those countries, and by entertaining friendship with the chief Rulers, won daily the hearts of new nations (and, by that means enlarged the power and glory of the Carthaginians in *Spain*, rather than by any war and force of arms. But for all this peace with foreign States, he was never the more sure of his own life at home. For a certain barbarous fellow, for avenge that his Master and Lord was put to death, flew him in open place: and being laid hold on by them that were attendant about *Asdrubal*'s his person, he kept the same countenance as if he had escaped and gone clear away: yea, and when he was by cruel torments all mangled and maimed, he looked so cheerfully and pleasantly on the matter, as if he had seemed to muse on the joy of heart (surpassed the pains and anguish of his body. With this *Asdrubal*, for the first time, the singular wit and wonderful dexterity, in soliciting and annexing unto his dominion the Nations already the people of *Rome* had renewed the League, upon these two capitulations and conditions: first, that the river *Theris* should limit and determine the feignories of them both: *Agona*, that the Saguntines, ceased in the midst between the territories of both Nations, should remain free, and enjoy their ancient liberties.

No doubt at all there was now, but when a new Commander should succeed in the room of *Asdrubal*, the favour of the people would go clear with the prerogative voice and choice of the souldiers: who presently brought young *Annibal* into the General's his pavilion, and with exceeding

Asdrubal killed.

The wonderfull constancy and resolution of a Slave.

ding great acclamation and accord of all, saluted him by the name of Captain General, for this you must understand, that *Asdrubal* by his letters had been sent for him, being very young, and hardly fourteen years of age; yea, and the matter was debated first in the Council-House at *Carthage*: where they of the *Barchin* side laboured and followed the matter earnestly, that *Annibal* should be trained in warfare, and grow up to succeed his father in equal prowess & greatness. But *Hanno* the chiefest man of the contrary faction: "It is but meet and reason (quoth he) that *Asdrubal* doth demand: and yet for mine own part I think it not good, that his request (should be granted. When they moved and marvelled much at this so doubtful speech of his, and wilt not what construction to make of it. "Why then, quoth *Hanno*, to be plain, That flourish and beauty of youth, which *Asdrubal* himself yielded and parted withal, sometimes unto *Annibal*'s father, for to live or abuse at his pleasure: the same he thinketh by good right he may challenge and have again, from the son, to make quittance. But it becometh not us for to acquaint our young youths with the Camp that under the colour, and instead of their military instruction and teaching, they abandon and give their bodies to serve the lust and appetite of the Generals. What is this the thing we fear, That the son of *Amilcar* should tarry too long ere he see the excessive grandeur and sovereignty of his father, and the less that he saw as it were of his royalty? Or doubt we, that we shall not soon enough leave in all dutiful allegiance his natural son, unto whose son in law, all our Armies have been served (as it were) in lawful right of inheritance? Nay, I am of opinion, and this is my judgment, That this youth be kept in awe at home, under obedience of laws, under civil Magistrates, and learn a while to live in equal condition with the rest of the Citizens and subjects: for fear lest at one time or other, this little spark do burn outright, and raise a mighty flame. A few, and those were, in a manner, all of the best fort and soundest judgment, accorded with *Hanno*. But, as commonly it is seen, the greater number over-weighed the better.

Thus *Annibal* was sent into *Spain*, and immediately at his first coming, drew all the whole army after him: so highly he was regarded and beloved. The old souldiers believed verily that *Amilcar* was alive again, and come amongst them: they thought they beheld and saw the same vigour and spirit in his countenance & visage, the same quickness and liveliness: in his eyes the same proportion, feature and lineaments of his face. And afterwards, within short time, he had wrought and wound himself into their favour, that the late remembrance of his father was the least matter of all others, that won him grace and love among them. Never was there one and the self-same nature, framed and fitted better, for two things that are in quality most contrary: namely, to rule, and to obey. Whereby, a man could hardly discern and judge, whether he was more dear unto the General for the one, or to the Army for the other. For neither *Asdrubal* would make choice of any one before him, when there was some valiant service or brave exploit to be executed: nor the souldiers put more confidence in any other Leader, nor go more boldly and resolutely to any enterprise, than under him. Most forward he was and hardy to all hazards and dangerous adventures: right provident and wary again, at the very point of peril and jeopardy. No travail was able to weary and tire his body: no pains-taking could daunt and break his heart. He could away with heat and cold alike. For his diet and feeding, he measured both his meat and drink by his natural appetite, and not by pleasure and delightful taste. For sleeping, for waking, day and night was all one with him. When he had once performed his service, and finished his exploit: if there were any spare time after, therein would he take his rest and repose: and that should not be upon a soft bed neither, nor procured with great curiosity by still silence, and making no noise about him. Full often many a man hath seen him lying on the hard and bare ground, under a good foot driers jacket and homely cassock cast over him, even among the sentinels and corps de guard. For his apparel, it was not more costly nor braver than his fellows and companions: many in his armour and hories he loved ever to be goodly be- seen above all other. Amongst footmen and horsemen both, he would always be a great way foremost. And to conclude in giving a charge upon the enemy, and to begin to battell, he was by his good will ever the first: and when the fight was done, the last man seen to retire out of the field. Of these so noble qualities and many virtues, he had not so many, but there were as great vices and imperfections in him again to counterpoise the same. Cruelly most savage and inhumane, falsehood and treachery more than Punick: no truth, no honesty, no fear of God, no regard of oath, no conscience, nor religion.

Disposed thus as he was, and inclined by nature to virtues, and vices, he served full three years under General *Asdrubal*. During which time, he omitted and forgot no one thing that was meet either to be executed or enterprised by a man that was himself another day to be a Captain and Chief Commander in the wars. From the very first day that he was chosen and declared Lord General: as if at the same instant, *Italy* had been the Province assigned unto him, as if, I say, he had received Commission to war with the Romans, he thought good to make no delays. For fear lest haply whiles he lingered and slacked the time, some mischance might prevent his designs and cut him short, like as it had overtaken his father first, and *Asdrubal* afterwards: but presently determined to make war upon the Saguntines, by assailing whom, the Romans no doubt were touched, and would take arms and enter into the quarrel. But first he led his army into the marches of the *Oledades* (a nation beyond *Iberus*, rather siding and taking part with the Carthaginians, than under their jurisdiction) that he might not seem to have shot at the Saguntines and intended

* *Amilcar* the father of *Annibal* was the son of *Barchin*, from whence arose the *Barchin* faction so often named in this story.

The speech of *Hanno* in the Senate of *Carthage*.

The natural disposition of *Annibal*.

His virtues.

His vices. * Ordinary in Carthaginians.

* A people within the kingdom of *Toledo* in *Spain* near the City of *Osca*.

b Claufus fup-
pofeth it to be
Carthage :
fome take it
for Conit : o-
thers for Tarif-
fayr rather
Algera. The
French Tran-
fate call it
in Albia.
c Carthage.
d Old Caffida
or Caffite.
e Salama in
Caffite.
f People in
Andalufia.
g Inhabitants
of the kingdom
of Tolima.
h Taio.

intended ought againft them directly: but that by order and contrivance of his affairs, after he had subdued the countries bordering upon them, he had been drawn (as it were) for vicinity and neighbourhood like to that war and to join them also with the rest unto the Empire. And first he won by force, and took *Carteia*, a rich City, the seat town and chief place of all that nation. Whereupon, other meaner and smaller Cities also, for fear came under his obedience, and yielded to pay tribute. His Army then after these victories, and enriched with spoil and pillage, was brought back to new *Carthage*, there for to winter. Where he made sure unto him the hearts and affectionate love as well of his own countrymen as of the allies, partly, by bestowing the pillage liberally among them, and partly, by making true payment of soldiers wages for the time past. And then in the very prime of the spring, he went forward to war upon the *Vaccet*. He fought by assault *Hermancia* and *Arbucula*, two Towns of the *Carret*, *Arbucula* by the manhood and multitude of the Townsmen held out a long time. But certain fugitives that were fled from *Hermancia*, having rallied themselves and joined with other exiled persons of the *Oledades*, a nation the summer before subdued, raised also the *Carpetans* to take arms: and set upon *Annibal*, in his return from the *Vaccet*; and not far from the river *Tagus*, troubled and disordered his march, heavily charged with spoil and booty. *Annibal* forbore to fight, and encamped himself upon the bank of the river: and so soon as the enemies were in their first sleep, and all still and hushed, passed over with his Army at the foord: and after he had pitched his Camp far off from thither side, as that his enemies might have room enough to march away besides him, he determined to let upon them as they should pass over the river: To his horsemen he gave commandment to charge upon the Regiment of footmen, so soon as they perceived them to have taken the water: and upon the bank he arranged forty Elephants afront them. There were of the *Carpetans*, counting the aids and succours of the *Oledades* and *Vaccet*, 10,000 strong: an Army invincible, if they had fought on even and indifferent ground. Who being both by nature fierce and courageous, and for multitude confident: presumptuous besides upon their imagination that the enemy was retired for fear; supposed that the only stay of their victory was, because the river ran between: and setting up a shout and out-cry, without direction of any Leader, in all disorder they ran into the river here and there, every man what way was next him. Now from the other side of the bank, a great troop of horsemen were entered into the river, encountered them in the midst of the channel and fought with great advantage. For whereas the footmen unadvisedly and not able to keep fast footing, and hardly trusting the foord, might easily be cast aside and overturned, even by naked horsemen if they did but put forth and prick forward their horses it killed not how the horsemen on the other side having their bodies at liberty and able to wield their weapon, with their horses under them standing sure even in the midst of the stream and whirlpools, might with ease either fight close hand to hand, or assail the enemies aloof. Many of them besides perished in the water-flood by the whirling waves of the river were driven upon the enemies, and by the Elephants trodden under foot, and crushed to death. The hindmost, who might with more safety recover their own bank, after they were rallied together into one from divers places, as fear had scattered them; before they could upon so great a fright, take heart and accompany to themselves, *Annibal* who with a four-square battalion had entered the river, forced to retire from the bank: and when he had walled the country, within few daies brought the *Carpetans* also under his obedience.

And now all beyond *Iberus* was subject to the Carthaginians, the Saguntins only excepted. With whom as yet he would not seem to war: howbeit, to minister some cause and occasion thereof, quarrels were picked, and seeds of diffentions sown between them and their neighbors, namely the *Turdetans*. Unto whose aid, when he was come, that was himself the sower of all the variance, and had let them together by the ears: and when it appeared plainly that it was not a matter of right to be tried by law, but an occasion rather sought of fight and open war: then the Saguntins sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, for to crave aid against that war, which doublets was at hand. The Consuls at that time of *Rome*, were *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Titus Sempronius Longus*, who having brought the Embassadors into the Consill House, and proposed matters unto the LL. there, concerning the weal publique, and decreed to send their Embassadors into *Spain* to take survey, and look into the state of their allies: who also if they thought it meet, should give *Annibal* warning, not to meddle with their confederates, and molest the Saguntins; and withall, to sail over to *Carthage* into *Affrick*, and there make relation of the complaints and grievances of the allies of the people of *Rome*: when, I say, this Embassage was decreed, but yet not sent, news came sooner than all men looked for, that *Saguntum* was already besieged. This was the matter propounded new again before the Senate. Some were of mind to dispatch the Consuls unto the Provinces of *Spain* and *Affrick*, with commission to make war both by sea and land. Others thought better to bend all their forces wholly into *Spain* against *Annibal*. There were a gain of opinion, that so great and weighty an enterprise was not hand over head, and rashly to be attempted; but rather that they should attend the return of the Embassadors out of *Spain*: and this advice that seemed most safe was held for the better and root place. And therefore so much the sooner were these Embassadors *P. V. Terentius Fluccus*, and *Q. Robilius Pomphilius*, addressed unto *Annibal* before *Saguntum*, with direction, from thence to go forward to *Carthage* (in case he would not desert and give over war) and for to demand the Captain himself, for amends and satisfaction of breaking the league. But while the Romans were amused about these consultations & decrees,

* People, a
algia in Par-
tugal.

* Morisco.

decrees, *Saguntum* was by this time with all forcible means assaulted. This City of all others most wealthy and rich, stood beyond *Iberus*, situate almost a mile from the sea. The inhabitants are said to have had their beginning out of the Island *Asaphibus*: and some among them, were descended from *Ardes*, a City of the *Rutunians*: but they grew within short time to this populous and wealth of theirs, partly, by the fruits and revenues of their lands; and partly, by the traffick and gain of their merchandise, and commodities transported by sea, as also by the great affluence and enclose of people, and lastly by their straight rule of discipline, whereby they observed their troth and loyalty with their allies, even to their own ruin and final destruction.

Annibal after he had invaded their confines as an enemy, and by way of hostility, with his Army overrun and walled their country, besieged and assailed the City three waies. There was one canon or angle of the wall shooting out into a more plain and open valley, than any other place all about: against which he meant to raise certain mantlets or tabricks, under which he might approach with the Ram to batter the wall. But as the place far from the wall, was even enough and handsome for such engines of battery to be driven upon: so after that they came to the proof and execution indeed, the succets answered nothing to the enterprise begun. For besides that there was a mighty tower over-looked and commanded them, the wall it self (as in a place doubt and suspected) was more fortified and raised higher there than elsewhere: and also the chofynest and ablest men were bestowed to make more forcible resistance, where there was like to be most trouble and danger. And first with shot of darts and quarrels, and such like, they put the enemy back, and would not suffer the pioneers and labourers in any place to entrench or raise rampiers in safety. In process also, they shot not from the wall only and that tower, and shewed themselves there in arms for defence, but also their hearts served them to fall forth, and to break into the guards of the enemies, yea, and to enter upon their trenches and fabricks. In which skirmishes there died not many more Saguntins than Carthaginians. But so soon as *Annibal* himself, approaching unadvisedly under the wall, fortune to be wounded grievously in the forefront of his thigh, with a dart or light javelin, and therewith fell to the ground: they all about him fled so fast, and were so scared, that they had like to have given over quite and abandoned their mantlets, and other fabricks afore said. After this, for some few daies, whiles their General was under cure of his hurt, they lay at feiged rather, than followed the assault. In which mean time, as they rested from skirmishing, they ceased not to invent new devices, and to prepare new fabricks. Whereupon the assault began again more hot than before: and in many parts at once they fell to raise rolling mantlets, so many and so thick, that some places would not receive them: and withall to drive the Ram against the walls. *Annibal* had men good store, for it is thought he was 50,000 in Camp strong. The townsmen with devising means to defend, and see to every place, began to have their hands full: but all would not serve. For now were the walls beaten with the rams, and many parts thereof shaken and battered: and at one place above the rest, by continual battery there was such a breach, as the town lay open and naked to the enemy. After that, three turrets, and all the wall between fell down with a mighty and horribly crash, in such as the Carthaginians thought verily that with that rush the town had been won: by which breach, as if the wall had protected both E parties before, they ran forth together on each side to fight. The battell was not like to a tumultuary skirmish, such as are wont to be about assaults of Cities, by the occasion and advantage of the one part or the other; but a very set and ranged field (as it were) in an open ground between the breaches of the wall, and the houses of the town that stood a pretty way distant within. Of one side they were pricked forward with hope, on the other with despair: whiles *Annibal* thought verily that he was master of the town already, if he held on but a little longer: and the Saguntins seeing their town bare, and void of walls, opposed their bodies in the breach, not one stepping back a foot, left in the space between he should let in the enemy. The more fiercely therefore, and the thicker and closer that they fought together on both parts, the more were wounded; and there was not a dart could light in vain between their bodies and their armour, but it did mischief. The Saguntins used a weapon called *Falarica*, in manner of a dart, which they let fly and lanced from them, having a long shaft or steel, round and even every where toward the one end, where it was headed with iron, and bound about with tow, and smeared with pitch. The iron head was three foot long, that it might pierce both harness and body through. But the greatest fear that it did was this, although it stuck fast in the target, and entered not into the body, that being driven and flung, when the middle part was set on fire, by the motion thereof as it flew, it gathered much more fire, forced the soldier to forsake his armour, and exposed him unarmed and naked to the shot following. Well, the fight continued doubtful a long time, by reason that the Saguntins took better heart unto them, because they had rested beyond their hope and expectation: and the Carthaginians took themselves vanquished, for that they had not got the victory and better hand: whereupon the townsmen all at once set up a cry, and beat the enemies back to the very breaches, and ruins of the wall, and from thence thrust them out clean. While they were thus encumbered and affrighted, yea, and at last discomfited them, put them to flight, and chased them as far as their Camp.

In the mean while news came, that there were Embassadors arrived from *Rome*: unto whom *Annibal* dispatched certain messengers to meet with them at sea side, and to give them to understand, That neither they might safely with security of their persons come among the broiles of so many barbarous & fierce nations; nor their Master *Annibal* amidst those dangerous and troublesome

Saguntum besieged by *Annibal*.
Zanto.

The description of a weapon or dart, called *Falarica*.

The Oration
of Hannu in
the Senat of
Carthage.

belome affairs, had any leisure to attend or give audience unto embassages. He knew full well, that the Embassadors being not received and entertained, would straight to Carthage. Whereupon, he addressed forth his letters and curriers to the chief of the Barchine faction, to frame and prepare the minds of that side; so, as they of the other part might not gratify, or do any thing in favour of the Romans. By which means, besides that they were neither admitted by *Annibal*, nor audience given them, that embassy also was in vain, and took no effect at Carthage. Only *Hannu* notwithstanding the whole body of the Senate was against him, spake with great silence and assent of the hearers, by reason of his authority and reputation, and pleaded to the point of the breach of League, in this wise: "I have, quoth he, foretold and warned you in the name of the gods, who are the witnesses and judges of covenants and confederacies; I have, I say, admonished you, that ye should not send *Amilcar* his son, or any of his breed unto the Camp: for that neither the ghost and spirit, nor the progeny and race of that man can rest, and be quiet: nor the Roman League will ever be assured and established, so long as there remained one alive of the Barchine name and family. But sent ye have, for all my words, unto your armies, a youth boiling in ambition, enflamed with a covetous desire of being a King, and one that seeth no other way thereto, but by raising one war after another, to live guarded with armies and legions about him. In which action of yours, ye have as it were mistified dry fowl, and put oil to the fire: ye have, I say, fed that fire, wherewith ye now all are set a burning. Your armies now besiege *Saguntum*, from which by covenant and virtue of the League they are debarred. Within a while and shortly will the Roman legions lie in siege before Carthage, under the conduct and guidance, no doubt, of those gods, by whose support and aid in the former war, they were revenged for the breach of the accord and alliance. What? know ye not yet, either your enemy, or your selves, or the fortune of both nations? This good Captain and gentle General, forsooth of your making, would not admit and receive into his Camp Embassadors coming from our allies, and in the behalf also of our allies: wherewith he abolished the law of Nations. Howbeit, they having taken a repulse, from whence even the very Embassadors of enemies, are not wont to be repelled, are come unto you, and by virtue of their League demand amends of trespass and restitution or satisfaction for their damages. And presuppose the State be not touched nor culpable in this Action, they require no more but to have the author himself in person, who is the offender. The more gently they deale, and the longer it is ere they begin, the more obnoxious they will be, and continue with greater rigour (I fear me) if they once begin. Set before your eyes the Islands *Ægeæ*, and *Eryx*: and what for these four and twenty years past, ye have endured both by land and sea. Neither was this beardless boy our Captain then, but his father *Amilcar* himself, even a second *Mars*, as these his suppoits would have him. But what of that? We could not then according to our league, hold our hands, and let *Tarentum* in Italy alone: like as now we are doing with *Saguntum*. Therefore, both God and man took the matter in hand, and vanquished us in the end: and when we were at arguing and debating the case with discourse of words about this point, Whether Nation of the main had broken the league, the event of war, as an indifferent and equal judge, awarded victory where the right was. And Carthage it is, against which, *Annibal* even now hath reared manlets, towers, and other engines of assault: even now, battereth and shaketh he Carthage walls with the Ram. The ruins of *Saguntum* (God grant I be a false Prophet) will fall upon our heads, and the war begun with *Saguntum*, we must maintain against the Romans. How then? (will some man say) shall we yield *Annibal* unto them? I know well how small my authority is in this point, by reason of the old grudge and enmity between me and his father deceased. Howbeit, as I rejoiced, that *Amilcar* was dead, for that if he had lived still, we should ere now have warred with the Romans: so this very youth, an impe of his I hate and detest as the very fury and fire-brand of this war: whom I would have by my good will, not only to be rendered unto them, for to purge and expiate the breach of league: but if no man would challenge him for to be punished, I would award that he should be carried and transported as far as there is sea or land, and to be sent away thither from whence we might not once hear of him again, and where he might never trouble the quiet and peaceable state of this City any more. Over and besides, my opinion and resolution is, that some Embassadors be sent presently to Rome, to satisfy the Senate: and others also, with a message to *Annibal*, that he withdraw his forces from *Saguntum*, and with commission to render up *Annibal* himself into the Romans hands, according to the tenour of the League: and a third Embassage likewise to the Saguntins, for to make restitution and amends for their harms and losses already sustained. When *Hannu* had made an end of his speech, it was altogether needless, that any one man there should make reply, and debate the matter with him by way of Oration: the whole Senate was so possessed already and wrought for *Annibal*: and with one voice they blamed *Hannu*, and sounded it out, That he had made a bitter speech, and more favouring of a enemy, than *Flaccus Velerius* himself the Roman Embassador. After this, the Roman Embassadors had this answer returned. That the war began by the Saguntins, and not by *Annibal*. Also, that the people of Rome offered them injury, in preferring the Saguntins before the most ancient alliance of the Carthaginians. Whiles the Romans thus spent time in sending Embassages, *Annibal* having wearied his men, what with skirmishes, and what with trenching and raising mounts and fortifications, gave them rest some few daies and bestowed certain good guards to ward and keep the manlets and other engines of battery. In the mean season he encouraged his souldiers, and set their

* *Gibbs*, or *Favosagus*. The same which *Vergil* calleth *Aegæ*, and the Italians in old time *Sæx*.
* A City in Sicily, situate upon an high hill of that name, *Trapani*, or *Monte S. Julianus* at this day.

hearts on fire, partly, by pricking and provoking them to anger against their enemies, and partly, by drawing them on, and alluring them with hope of great rewards. But after he had once in a general assembly made proclamation, That the spoil and pillage should be the souldiers share: they were all so enraptured and enflamed, that if presently he had sounded the signal of battle, it seemed, that no force in the World had been able to resist them. The Saguntins, as they had some rest from skirmish, and continued certain daies, neither afflicting nor allured: so they gave not over labouring night and day, for to make up a new wall and counter-mine, on that side of the Town which lay open by reason of breaches. But after this, grew the assault more hot and furious than before: neither wist they well (the shouts and alarms were so divers and dissonant on every side) whether to come first, or where was most need of help and succour. *Annibal* himself was present in person to encourage and exhort his souldiers, where as the routing Tower was driven which was so high, that it overlooked all the mures and counter-fortifications of the City, and being on a approach, had near the walls, furnished as it was in every loft and story, with ordinance of quarrel shot, brakes, and other artillery, beat the defendants from off the walls, so as none durst abide upon them. Then *Annibal*, taking the time, and supposing that he had now a good opportunity presented unto him, sent about 500 Afflictors that were pioneers with pick-axes, mattocks and such like tools: to undermine the wall yea, and to dig into it from the very foundation. And that was no hard matter to do, for that the cement or mortar was not hardened and bound with lime, but tempered with earth and clay, after the old manner of building: and therefore the wall came tumbling down before it was hewn and wrought into: and through the wide breaches, whole troops of armed souldiers entered the Town: and withal, they seized one high place above the rest, wherupon they planted their artillery and ordinance of things and brakes, and cast a wall about it, that they might have within the very City a fort and bulwark of their own, like a Cast or overlook all. The Saguntins likewise raised another mure within along that side where the Town as yet was not taken: So that on both sides they made fortifications, and so a fought with all their might and main. But the Saguntins defending the inner parts, by little and little brought their Town daily into a smaller compass. And by that means, as also by reason of the long siege, as scarcity and want of all things grew more and more, to the expectation of forrain aid and succour was every daies than other: the Romans their only hope, being so far off, and their enemies to neer on every hand. Howbeit, the sudden rode and journey of *Annibal* against the *Oretans* and *Carpetans*, refreshed for a while their troubled and afflicted spirits. These two Nations being risen upon a discontentment of a freight matter and rigorous levy of souldiers, had staid and detained those Master-masters, that had in commission to take up all sufficient and able men for the wars, and so made some few and fear of rebellion: but being prevented in the beginning by the speedy coming of *Annibal*, were soon quiet, and laid down their arms. But the assault of *Saguntum* continued nevertheless. For *Mababab*, *Himilco* his son, whom *Annibal* had left behind as Lieutenant, so belittled himself, that neither the Townsmen nor the enemy found the mis or absence of the General. This *Mababab* had made some fortunate skirmishes, and with three rams shaken a good part of the wall, so as he showed to *Annibal* at his return, all lying along E and every place full of fresh ruins. Wherupon the army was presently brought against the very Castle of the City, where began a cruel and bloody conflict, with the slaughter of many on both sides, and one part of the said fortrefs was forced and won.

Afterwards there was some treaty of peace and agreement, by means of two persons, *Alcon* a Saguntine, and *Alorcus* a Spaniard, and some small hope there was of it. *Alcon* supposing he could somewhat prevail by way of request and entreating, without knowledge of the Saguntins, departed away by night to *Annibal*. But after that he saw, that with all his wangling he could do no good, but that heavy and intolerable articles and capitulations of peace were exhibited, as from a wrathful conqueror, of an Orator, proved to be a very traitor, and remained still in the camp with the enemies, laying, that he was sure to die, whosoever should move the Saguntins to peace, under those conditions. For demanded it was of the Saguntins, *Impunito*, to make restitution to the Turdetans of all harms and losses. *Item*, to deliver up all their gold and silver. *Item*, to quit the Town, and depart but with one sure of apparel a piece: and there to dwell, where the Carthaginians would appoint. When *Alcon* avouched plainly that the Saguntins would never accept of peace with these conditions, *Alorcus* replied again and said, That seeing all things else now failed them, their hearts also must needs come down, and fall likewise: and therewith promised to deliver unto them the tenor of the said peace, and to be a mediator and desier in the compiling thereof. At that time he served *Annibal* as a private souldier: howbeit, a publick friend he was, and an host and guest of old to the Saguntins. Who having in sight of all men yielded up his offensive arms, to the warders of the enemies, and passed the rampiers, was brought (for to him self desired) before the Governor and Provost of *Saguntum*. Thither came running presently, a number of all sort of people: but after the rest of the multitude were commanded to void, *Alorcus* was called into their Council house, and having audience given, made this or the like speech unto them. "If *Alcon* your countryman and fellow citizen, as he came from you to *Annibal*, for to treat about peace, had likewise brought back again unto you from *Annibal* the conditions and articles of peace, I needed not to have taken this journey: who am come unto you neither as an Orator from *Annibal*, nor yet as a fugitive. But seeing he hath remained with the enemy, either through your default or his own, I know not whither, if he pretended and fained cauleis

* The inhabitants of *Oretania*.
* In the realm of *Extremadura*.

The Oration
of *Alorcus* a
Spaniard, in
the Senat of
Saguntum.

"fear himself is to blame; but if they stand in danger that report a truth unto you, then are ye in great fault. I therefore, to the end ye should not be ignorant, but that there are conditions offered to you of life, of safety, and of peace; in regard of old amity and acquaintance, in regard (I say) of mutual intertainment long time between us, am now come unto you. And that ye may believe, that whatsoever you shall hear delivered from me, I speak it for your good, and for the favour of no man else; this one thing, if no more, may assure you, that neither so long as ye were able to make resistance by your own strength, nor all the while that ye hoped for aid from the Romans, I never made word or mention of peace unto you. But seeing now, that ye have not any hope at all from the Romans, and that your own forces and City walls, are able no longer to defend you: I present unto you a peace, more necessary, I confess, than equal and reasonable. Whereof you may have some hope, in these terms; namely, if as *Annibal* offereth and presenteth it like a conquerour, so you will hear of it, and accept thereof as conquered: if I say, ye will not make reckoning of that which you forgo as a loss and damage (saying by extremity all is the victors) but that which is left, again and advantage, yea, and freely given unto you. Your Town, whereof a great part is ruined by him, and which he hath taken in manner all, that he mindeth to put you by: your Lands and possessions he leaveth unto you, purposing to let you out a plot of ground, whereupon you may build your selves a new City. Your gold and silver all, as well common treasure as private monies and plate, he commandeth to be brought unto him: the bodies of your wives and children he is content to spare and save undefiled: upon this condition that you will depart without armor, and with a double suit of apparell a peece, and no more. These are the impositions that your enemy (a conquerour) demandeth: Which albeit they be hard and grievous, yet your fortune and fate is such, as you must allow thereof and be content. For mine own part, I am not out of hope, but when you have put all into his hands, he will deal better by you, and remit somewhat of these conditions. But I think ye were better to abide all this, rather than your bodies to be murdered, your wives and children to be ravished, and haled and forced before your faces, as the law and manner of war requireth.

To the hearing of this Oration the people had flocked about and by little and little entangled their own assembly with the Senators: and all of a sudden the chief of them withdrew themselves and departed, before answer was given: and brought all their silver and gold, as well publick as private, into the market place: and when they had cast it into a great fire made halflie for that purpose, most of them threw themselves into it headlong after. Whereupon there being a fear and trouble already throughout the whole City: behold another outcry besides and noise was heard from the C. file. For a certain Tower that had been a long time battered and shaken, fell down; and at the breach thereof, a band of Carthaginians made entry, and gave sign to their General that the City was abandoned of the ordinary Watchmen and *corps de guard* of the enemies, and altogether lay open and naked. *Annibal* supposing it was no wisdom to neglect and slack to good an opportunity, with all his forces at once assailed the City, and was in the turning of an hand: and presently gave order that all above fourteen years of age should be put to the sword. A cruel commandment, no doubt, but yet needful, as afterwards it was well seen in the end and upshot of all. For who would have pared and taken pity of those, that either thus themselves with their wives and children into their ditches, and burnt them over their own heads, or in their armor, gave not over fight before they died? Thus was the Town won with exceeding store of pillage within it. And albeit much was spoiled on purpose by the owners, and that in the massacre and execution they had no respect of age in the fury of their anger: and for all this, the prisoners fell to the fouldiers there: yet certain it is, that of the goods fold in port-fale, there arose a good round piece of money: and much rich household stuff and costly apparell was sent to *Carthage*.

Some there be that write, how *Saguntum* was won the eight Month after the siege began: and that from thence *Annibal* departed to winter in new *Carthage*: as also, that the fifth month after he departed from *Carthage*, he arrived in *Italy*. Which being so, it cannot be, that *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* should be the Consuls, unto whom both in beginning of the siege, the *Saguntum* Embassadors were sent: and who also in their year of government fought with *Annibal*, the one near the river *Ticinus*, and both together a good while after, at *Trebia*. And we must say, that either all these things were achieved in shorter time a good deal, or else that *Saguntum* in the beginning of that year, wherein *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls, began not to be besieged: but finally was forced and won. For the battel at *Trebia* could not be so long after as to fall in the year wherein *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Flaminius* were Consuls. For that *Flaminius* entered his Consulship at *Ariminum*, and was created by *T. Sempronius*, Consul, who after the battel of *Trebia* came to Rome to elect Consuls, and after the Election was ended, returned again to his army, into the wintering harbours.

About the same time, as well the Embassadors which returned from *Carthage*, brought word to Rome that there was nothing but war: as also tidings came, of the destruction of *Saguntum*. And so greatly grieved and sorrowed the Senators, and pitied withal their allies thus unworthily massacred, so alienated in themselves they were, that they had not sent aid in time, so deeply offended and incensed with indignation against the Carthaginians, yea, and so mightily feared the loss of the very main chance at home, as if the enemy had been already at the gates of the City: that in very deed, having their minds possessed at one time, with so many troubles, they rather

trembled and quaked for fear, than setled themselves to consultation and counsel. For they considered and saw very well, that neither a more fierce and warlike enemy ever encountered with them: nor the State of Rome was at any time so reddy, so feeble, and so undispole to war. Moreover, it was commonly said, that the *Sardinians*, *Corfians*, *Hiprians*, and *Albians* had rather challenged the Romans, and made bravados of war, than exercised and toiled them in any hard conflicts: as for the Gauls, they were but tumults, rumors, and alarms which they made, and no wars indeed: but the Carthaginians their enemies, they were old beaten fouldiers, inured and hardened for this 23 years in most difficult service of war, amongst the Spanish Nations, and went away ever with victory: first trained and practised under *Amilcar*, then under *Asdrubal*, and now lastly under the conduct of *Annibal*, a right hardy and valiant Captain. Considering moreover, that now he cometh fresh from the ruin of *Saguntum*, a most rich City, and passeth straight-ways over *Iberus*: drawing after him a train of so many nations of the Spaniards, exercised already by him in the wars: and will no doubt raise the Gauls, a people at all times ready to take arms: so as now they were to wage war in *Italy*, with no more but all the World besides, yea, and under the walls of Rome, for the defence of the City.

Now had the Provinces been nominated and appointed before to the Consuls: but then were they commanded by casting lots, to part them between them. To *Cornelius* fell *Spain*: to *Sempronius* *Affrick* and *Sicily*. Likewise decreed it was, that for that year, there should be levied six Legions of Romans: and of allies, as many as they thought good: also that as great a navy as might be, should be rigged and set out. So there were enrolled 24000 Roman footmen, and of horsemen 1800: of allies 44000 foot, and 4000 horse, 220 galleys, with five course of oars on a side, and twenty foists, were set afloat. After this, a bill was preferred unto the people, that it might please them to determine and grant, that war should be proclaimed against the people of *Carthage*. And in regard of that war, there was also a solemn supplication holden through the City: wherein the people adored and prayed the Gods to prosper and bring to an happy end, this war which the people of Rome had determined. And betwixt the Consuls thus were the forces divided: *Sempronius* had the conduct of two Legions, consisting of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse a piece: also of allies sixteen thousand foot, one thousand and eight hundred horse, besides 160 galleys, and twelve barks or foists. With this power for Land and Sea service, was *Sempronius* sent into *Sicily*, from thence to passe over into *Affrick*, in case the other Consul were able to impeach the Carthaginians for coming into *Italy*. *Cornelius* had the charge of a smaller power: for that *L. Manlius* the Pretor, was sent in person into France with a sufficient army: but in the number of ships especially, was *Cornelius* scantied 60 galleys of five banks of oars he had, and no more, (for it was supposed that the enemy would neither come by Sea, nor fight in that kind of service) and two Roman Legions with the full proportion of horsemen, and 14000 footmen of allies, with 1200 men of arms. That Province of France (in those parts where the Carthaginians was expected) had that year two Legions of Roman footmen, 14000 allies, besides 2000 horse from them, and 6000 of the Romans. When all things were thus prepared, to the end that before war began, it might appear they dealt by order of law, and with justice; and that all due complements might be performed, they sent certain grave and ancient personages in Embassies into *Affrick*, to wit, *Q. Fabius*, *M. Livius*, *L. Aemilius*, *C. Licinius*, and *Q. Bibulus*. Fittly to demand and know of the Carthaginians, Whether *Annibal* by their publick warrant and authority, besieged and assailed *Saguntum*? then, if they avowed the act, and stood to it (as they were like to do) confessing that it was done by the counsel of the State: to give defiance, and proclaim open war against them. The Romans being arrived at *Carthage*, had audience given in their Senat-house: where, after *Q. Fabius* had briefly demanded nothing else, but that one thing which he had in charge and commission, then a principal Senator amongst the Carthaginians stood up and said:

"Your former Embassage, my masters of Rome, was even as vain as this, when ye required and would needs have *Annibal* to be yielded unto you: as if he had besieged *Saguntum* of his own head. And as for this, that you come with now, howsoever in words it seem more mild and smooth, in very deed and in truth it is more rude and rigorous: for then, was *Annibal* only charged and demanded to justice; but now are we both urged to acknowledge a fault, and also forced to make restitution and satisfaction out of hand: as if we had avowed and confessed the action. For mine own part, of this mind am I, that the case ought thus to be laid, and the question brought to this issue, not whether *Saguntum* was besieged by a private person, or publick Council: but whether by right, or wrongfully. For to enquire and examine whether our citizen and subject have done this by our advice, or of himself, pertaineth to us alone, as also to censure and punish him accordingly: with you we are to debate this point only, Whether it might stand with the league to do it, or no? And therefore since it pleaseth you, that we should dispute and distinguish, between the action of a General, warranted by the publick State, and an enterprise proceeding from his own motive; ye shall understand, that there was indeed a league between you and us, contracted by *Lutatius* the Consul, wherein there is a clause, comprising the allies of both parties: as concerning the Saguntins (who as then were none of your confederates) there was not one word at all therein: but in that league, (ye will say) that was contracted with *Asdrubal*, the Saguntins are expressly named and excepted: to which I have nothing to plead, but even that which I have learned of you. For ye your selves denied, that ye were bound to stand

* The Handers of *Sardigna*.
* The Handers of *Corfica*.
* The people of *Iberia*.
* The people of *Sclavonia*.

i. 200 to a Legion.

The Oration of a Senator in *Carthage*.

"to that accord which C. *Lucullus* your Consul first made with us, because it passed neither by consent of the nobles, nor grant of the people. Whereupon, there was another league new drawn out, and by public agreement enacted. If you then, be not tied to observe you leagues, unless they be authorized by the nobles, or ratified by the people no more can the league of *Asdrubal* oblige us, which he concluded without our privy and knowledge. Forbear therefore to speak either of *Saguntum*, or *Iberus* : and what your mind hath so long conceived, let it hatch now at length, and bring it forth. Then *Q. Fabius* the Roman Ambassador, having made a hollow lap within the plait and fold of his hide gown, Here quoth he, within this lap, we present and offer war and peace unto you, take whether ye will. At which word, they all cried out at once with as great stomach and boldness : Many even which you will yourself. Whereat he let his robe loose again : Why then, there is war, quoth he, take it amongst you, let come say they all again, and welcome be it : and as willingly as we accept thereof, so shall we follow and manage it as thoroughly.

This direct demand, and round denouncing of war, seemed more for the honor of the Romans, than to make much dispute and argument about the right of the cause, and of the covenants : a vain matter before, but now especially, after the winning and destruction of *Saguntum*. For if the question were to be decided by words and reasoning, that league of *Asdrubal* which was exchanged for the former of *Lucullus*, was not the same nor the tenor thereof to be compared : seeing that in the accord of *Lucullus*, this branch and proviso was expressly added, [That it should stand good, and be ratified, if the people approved thereof :] but in this of *Asdrubal*, there was no such condition at all : and besides, the covenant for so many years (pace during his life, was so established and confirmed, and no word to the contrary : that when the very maker and author thereof was dead, there was no change and alteration. And yet, put case they should have stood upon the former alliance the *Saguntins* were therein well enough compelled and provided for : in that the allies of either part were expected and comprehended. For neither was this clause added [They who at that time were allies] nor yet were they excepted again, who afterwards should become, or be admitted allies. And seeing that it was lawful to entertain new confederates, who is it that would judge it reasonable, either that no man should be received into amity for any good desert whatsoever : or being once received into protection, should not be defended accordingly : Provided always, that no allies of the Carthaginians should either be solicited to rebellion, or received again, if of themselves they once revolted.

The Roman Ambassadors as they were commanded at *Rome* called the seas from *Carthage* into *Spain*, for to visit all the Cities, and to see whether they could either draw them to their society, or withdraw them from the Carthaginians. And first they came to the *Burgundians*, where being courteously entertained (for weary they were of the Carthaginians government) they stirred up many other nations beyond *Iberus*, to have a desire to change for a new world. From thence they came to the *Volicians*, whose notable answer reported throughout all *Spain* turned away all other States from banding with the Romans : for thus in a solemn assembly a sage and ancient father among them framed his answer. With what face can ye (Romans) require us to prefer your friendship and amity before the Carthaginians : seeing that the *Saguntins* who did the same, have been more cruelly by you their allies betrayed, than by their enemies the Carthaginians destroyed? By my advice go and seek you considerers there where the worst calamity and misery of *Saguntum* is not known. The lamentable ruin of which City, as it is a doleful example : so it shall be a notable warning to all nations of *Spain*, that no man ever after repeat truth in the protection and society of the Romans. Whereupon, they were commanded to depart the borders of the *Volicians* immediately, and in no Diet or Council of *Spain*, had they afterwards any better entertainment, and more courteous language. Thus having in vain gone through all *Spain*, they took their way into *Gaul* : where they saw a strange sight, and a fearful fashion : for all in armour (such was the guise and manner of the country) they came to their public assemblies : and there these Ambassadors after they had set out in goodly words the greatness and glory of the people of *Rome*, and highly magnified their large empire and dominion, and thereupon made request, that they would not give the Carthaginians leave (who minded to make war upon *Italy*) for to pass through their Cities and Towns : herat they set up such a laughter, with a certain grumbling and murmuring, that scarcely could the youth be filled and quired by the Magistrates and Elders : so foolish, so foolish, and shameless seemed this demand, in their conceit : that they should once imagine that the Gauls were such Allies, as they would be content (rather than to let the war pass into *Italy*) to avert and turn it upon themselves, and to suffer ye, and offer their own territories to be spoiled and foraged, for the safety (soforth) of other mens Lands, who were but meer aliens and strangers unto them. The noise and garboil being at length hushed and appeased, this answer was returned to the Ambassadors : That neither the Romans had deserved it well, nor should the Carthaginians so ill at their hands, that they should take arms either for Romans, or against the Carthaginians. But contrary-wile, they were advertised, that some of their nation, whereby the people of *Rome* driven out of the marches and confines of *Italy* put to pay tribute, ye, and indured other outrages and indignities. The like demands and answers passed to and fro in other Councils and Assemblies of *Gaul* : neither could they meet with any friendly entertainment, or have peaceable words given them, before they came to *Maffia* : where, after diligent inquiry, and faithful search made by their allies, they had true advertisements, that *Annibal*

The answer of one of the principal Volicians in Spain, to the Roman Ambassadors.

* Maffia.

Aforehand had wrought the hearts of the Gauls to his own purpose, and was possessed of them : but they understood withal, that they were not like to continue long in good terms of kindness and favor even to him, (so fierce and savage, so untractable are they, and untamed by nature) unless their Princes and Rulers be ever and anon well fed and plied with gold, whereof that nation of all other is most greedy and covetous. The Roman Ambassador, having thus gone their circuit over all the States of *Spain* and *Gaul*, returned to *Rome* : not long after that the Consul, had taken their journey into their Provinces : where they found the whole City possessed with the expectation of war : to rise and currant was the rumor and bruit abroad, that the Carthaginians were already passed over the River *Iberus*.

B *Annibal* after the winning of *Saguntum*, had retired himself to winter in new *Carthage* : and there having intelligence what had been done and decreed as well at *Rome*, as at *Carthage* (in *Africa*) : and that he was reputed not only the Captain General and Conductor, but also the very author and cause of all this war : so soon as he had divided and sold the rest of the booty and pillage that remained, thought good now to make no longer delays, but assembled the souldiers of the Spanish Nation, and to them he spake in this manner. My truly friends and loyal confederates, I am persuaded, that ye yourselves do see as well as I, now that all the States of *Spain* are in peace and quietness, that either ye are to make an end of souldiery, and all our forces to be cass'd and discharged from service : or else that ye must remove the war into other Lands. For so shall these Nations prosper and flourish, and not only enjoy the blessings of peace, but also reap the fruits of war, if we will seek to gain riches, and to acquire glory and honor from others. Since therefore we are to war shortly far from home, and doubt it is, when you shall see again your houses, and whatsoever there is dear unto you : if any of you be desirous to visit home, his wife and children, kinsfolk, and friends, I give him licence and free passport. But I command you, that ye withdraw, to show yourselves here again before me, in the beginning of the next spring : that with the help of God, we may in hand with that war, whereby we shall purchase both worship and wealth. There was not one in a manner but well accepted of this liberty so frankly offered by himself, and were desirous to have a sight of house and land, both for that every one sorely longed for their friends and kindred, and forelaw in farther time to come, a greater mile, and cause of more longing after them. This rest all Winter time, between their travellings, and shortlily they were soon alter to endure, refreshed as well their bodies as their minds, and prepared them to abide and endure all new pains whatsoever. So in the very prime of the spring, according to the Edit aforesaid, they all assembled together again. *Annibal* having taken a muster and survey of the aids that were sent unto him from all those Nations, went to *Gades* : and there, to *Hercules* he paid his old vows, and bound himself to new, if the rest of his enterprises should succeed well and have good success. After this, dividing and casting care indifferently, as well for offensive as defensive war, doubting lest whilst he went by Land through *Spain* and *France* into *Africa*, should lie open and naked to the Romans from *Sicily* : he purposed to fortifie and make that part sure with strong garrisons. In lieu whereof, he sent for fresh supply out of *Africa*, specially of Archers and Javelotiers, and those lightly armed : to the end, that the Africans might serve in *Spain*, and the Spaniards in *Africa* : like (both the one and the other) to prove the better souldiers, far from their own countries, and being bound as it were, with mutual oaths and pledges. So he sent into *Africa* 13850 footmen, armed with light targets, and 870 slingers of the Islands * *Baleares*, 1200 Horsemen also out of sundry Nations. Which forces he disposed, partly for the defence of *Carthage*, and partly to be divided through *Africa*, for the guard thereof. He sent withal, certain Commissioners into all their Cities to take up souldiers, and enrolled 4000 of his chosen youths, who should be brought to *Carthage*, there to lie in garrison, and to receive for hostages. And supposing that *Spain* was not to be neglected, and the rather, because he was not ignorant how the Roman Ambassadors had visited the same round to see how they could sollicite and work the Princes and rulers to their mind, he committed the charge of that Province to his brother *Asdrubal*, a valiant and hardy man : and furnished him with good forces, especially out of *Africa*, to wit, 1850 Africans footmen, 300 Ligurians, 300 *Baleares* Islanders. To this power of footmen, three hundred Horse of the * *Libyphoenicians*, a Nation mixt of Carthaginians and Africans, of * *Numidians* and Moors, that coast upon the Ocean, 1900, with a small corner of 200 Horsemen of *Bergeres* out of *Spain*. And because he should want no manner of Land help, fourteen Elephants besides. Moreover, there was a fleet allowed him for the defence of the Sea-coasts. For by what forces and service the Romans had before got victory, thereby it was likely, that they would still maintain and continue their war, so *Carthage* therefore of five barks of oars, he had at Sea, two of four, and five of three. But of the five barked galleys aforesaid, he had no more but two and thirty, fitted and well appointed with rowers and mastmains, and so were the five of three barks.

From *Gades*, the army of *Annibal* returned to winter in *Carthage* : and from thence he passed by the City * *Etrusca*, and marched forward with his forces to *Iberus* and the Sea-coasts. Where it is reported, that in his sleep he dreamed, and saw a vision namely a young man of divine shape and semblance, saying That he was sent from *Jupiter* to guide him in his voyage into *Italy*, and willed him therefore to follow him, and in no wise to turn his eyes from him one way or other. Also, that at the first he being scared and a little doubtful, durst not look either above or behind him, but followed him still afterwards (as man by nature are curious) when he cast and discouried in

The speech of *Annibal* to his Spanish souldiers.

* *Gades*, or *Cadiz*, the City of *Malis*, or of *Cadiz*.

* Two Islands, *Malis* and *Malis*, of *Carthage*, *Carthage*, *Carthage*, and *Nova*.

* Wild in the Kingdom of *Tunis*, the inhabitants bid it gride.

* *Hibera* or *Me*, *quenda*, the vision of *Annibal*.

his mind, what it might be, that he was forbidden to see behind him, he could not hold and rule his eyes, but must needs look back: and then he beheld behind him, a serpent of huge greatness coming amain, and all the way as it went, to bear down trees, groves, and thickets: and after all that, he perceived a great storm and tempest ensuing, with mighty thunder-claps. Now when he was desirous to know what this great confusion and strange light might signify, he heard a voice, saying, That it betokened the ruins and wasting of Italy: wiling him therefore, to go still forward with his voyage, and search no further into the secrets of the Gods, but leave them to the hidden destinies. *Annibal* right joyous at this vision, passed over *Iberus* with his whole power, divided into three parts, having left certain before him with gifts and rewards, into all parts whereas he should march with his army, to gain the hearts of the *Gauls*; and withal, to seek out and discover the passages of the *Alpes*. So he crossed the River *Iberus* with 50000 foot, and 12000 Horse, strong. After this, he subdued the Illyerets, the *Bargaulins*, *Aulians*, and

* The people of *Pertus*,
* *Muralis*, in *Ca*
* *Alimias*,
* *Guligins*.

* *Granada*, or
* *Almaria*.

* *Rosifion*.

Aquitain, which lyeth under the hills *Pyrenae*. The government of all these Nations, he let over to *Hanno*, that he might have at his command the freights which joyed *France* and *Spain* together. Unto whom he allowed 10000 footmen, and 1000 horse, for to defend and keep in obedience those countries. After that his army was on foot, and began to march through the forest *Pyrenaeus*, and that there ran amongst the barbarous people a more certain bruit, That they were to make war with the Romans; that they departed not, for fear so much of the war, as the tedious journey and unpassable wayes of the *Alpes*. *Annibal*, considering that either to recal them, or to keep them by violence, was a dangerous matter: for fear lest thereby he should provoke the fiercest attacks of the rest; sent home again above 7000 of such, as he perceived to be weary, and to have no mind to the service; and made semblance withal, that the Carpatens were by his leave discharged. And doubting lest long lay and ease there, might tempt his souldiers, and give occasion of mutinies, with the rest of his forces he passed *Pyrenaeus*, and pitched his camp before the Town *Illyopia*. The *Gauls*, albeit they were advertised, that it was Italy, at which *Annibal* stood: yet became the bruit was blazed, That the Spaniards beyond *Iberus*, were by force subdued, and strong garisons placed in their Cities: certain Nations of them, for fear of servitude and bondage, stole up in arms, and assembled together at *Rosifion*. Which being related to *Annibal*, he fearing here, that they would stay him in his journey, than endanger him in fight; sent certain Orators, Embassadors to their Princes and great Lords, to signify unto them, "That himself in person would gladly parle with them, and that it should be in their choice whether they would come nearer to *Illyeria*, or himself go forward to *Rosifion*: where, being near together, they might more easily meet and confer. For as he was willing to receive them into his camp, and would be glad to see them there: so he would not think much of his pains, to repair unto them himself, as one that was thither come, as a friend and guest unto *France*, and not as an enemy; and would not by his good will draw a sword (if the *Gauls* would let him alone) before he were entered within Italy. And thus much verily passed by messengers and couriers between. But so soon as the Lords of *France*, who presently removed their camp to *Illyeria*, were come willingly enough to *Annibal*, as being bribed and corrupted with money and presents, they gave his army good leave to pass through their confines along the Town *Rosifion*.

In Italy, this while, the Embassadors of *Marseilles* had brought no other word to *Rome*, but that *Annibal* was only gone over *Iberus*: but, by that time, the *Boii* had stirred up the Insubrians to mutiny, and were revolted themselves, even as if he had passed the *Alpes* already: which they did not so much upon old rancour and malice to the people of *Rome*, as for that, they took it ill, and were discontented, that there were Colonies brought lately into the *Gauls* country, to be planted about *Pedun*, *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Whereupon they arose suddenly, took arms, and entered by force into those parts, and made foot work and fearful havoc, that not only the country people and villagers, but also the three Roman Commissioners called *Triumvirs*, to wit, *Ca. Lucatius*, *Ant. Servilius*, and *Titus Annius*, who were come to set out the Lands and territory to the said Colonies, not misting the walls of *Placentia*, fled to *Mutina*. That *Lucatius* was one of them, it is not doubted; but some records have *Q. Asinius* and *C. Herennius*. Instead of *Ant. Servilius* and *T. Annius*; and others again, nominate *P. Cornelius Asinus* and *C. Papirius Maf*. It is uncertain also, whether they work the Embassadors sent to the *Boii*, to relation of exposing the matter, that had abuse offered them; and were evil treated; or that the *Triumvirs* above said, were set upon and assailed, as they were mauling over the Lands. But whiles they were thus besieged at *Mutina*, and these *Boians* being at siege (a nation so ill at altogether in the fear of assailing Towns, and likewise of all other most cowardly, to attempt any martial exploits) whiles they lay idly about the walls, and never once advanced against them, they began to make shew of a treaty for peace. Whereupon the Roman Embassadors or Commissioners, being by the chief of the *Gauls* called out to parle, were not only against law, offensions, but with breach also of their faithful promise, and word which they had given them, apprehended: and the *Gauls* said plainly, they would not let them go, unless their hostages were delivered them again. These being touching the Embassadors being reported and *Mutina* with the garison in danger: *L. Manlius* the Pretor, in great anger and indignation, brought his army in more hast than good order, before *Mutina*. There were in those days great woods about the high way, and most part of the country wilds

* The river

* The City

* *Placentia*.

* *Mutina*.

* *Burbonis*.

A wilds and wafts, not inhabited: where he having engaged himself without his espials, was intrapped within an ambush; so that many of his men, and hardly recovered the open champion country. There he incamped himself strongly: and for that the *Gauls* had no heart to assault, nor hope to win the camp, his souldiers courages were refreshed: albeit it was well known, that they had received a shrewd foil, and knew their forces to be much impaired. Then began he to march on, in his journey aforesaid. And so long as he led his power through the open country, the enemies were not in sight: but when they were entered the forests again, they let upon the rearward of them: where, besides the great fright and damage of all the rest, 800 Roman souldiers were left dead in the place, and the enemies went away with six ensignes. But afterwards, the *Gauls* ceased to molest B and trouble, and the Romans gave over to fear, so soon as they were passed, and escaped the rough, umbrous, and unpassable forests. And the Romans being now able in the open and champion country to march with safety, made halt to get to *Tanetum*, a village near unto the *Pa*. There within a fort which they made for the time, with the help and provision of victuals by the river, and the aid also of certain *Gauls* called *Brixians*, they despatched themselves against the enemies, whose number daily increased. After this sudden tumult was reported at *Rome*, and that the LL. of the Senat were advertised, that besides the war with the Carthaginians, the *Gauls* were up in arms: they gave order, that *C. Aufidius* the Pretor should go (with one Roman Legion, and four thousand allies, who were enrolled by the Consuls in a new levy) to aid *Manlius*: who without any skirmish (by reason that the enemies were fled for fear) came to *Tanetum*. Also *P. Cornelius* having newly levied one Legion in lieu of that which was sent with the Pretor, departed from the City of *Rome*, and passing with 60 *Gauls* along the coasts of *Tuscan*, *Liguria*, and so forward of the *S. Iez*, shortly arrived at *Assisina*, and encamped neer the next mouth of *Rho* da us, (for the river is divided into many branches, and so discharged it fell into the Sea) being not fully of belief that *Annibal* as yet had passed over the mountains *Pyrenae*. But when he understood that he was ready even then to pass *Rhodanus* also; and doubting in what place to encounter and meet him, his people as yet not well recovered, after their being sea-sick: he sent before, 300 elect men of arms, guided by the Massilians, and certain *Gauls* that came to aid for to discover all, and to take a full view of the enemies lately without danger.

Annibal having appeared the rest of the country, either for fear or by means of money, was now D come into the country of the *Volcans*, a puissant people and a valiant. Their inhabitation along both the banks of *Rhodanus*: and mistrusting that they were not able to defend their Lands against the Carthaginians, on that side of the River which lay to them: because they might have the whole River to serve them for a good defence and rampier, transported over the *Rho*ne all in manner that ever they had, and kept the bank on the other side. The rest of the inhabitants neer to the River, and even those also in whose territories *Annibal* had set foot already, both he himself with gifts allured to get together from all parts shipping, and to frame new vessels: and they of themselves likewise, were as willing to have his army transported, and their own country eased and delivered (they cared not how soon) of so great a multitude of troublesome guests. Whereupon, there was got together an huge number of lighters, barges, and boats especially, which E were made in hast without great workmanship; in which the people inhabiting thereby nled to transport wares and commodities from one to another. Other new wharries also, the *Gauls* began first to make of the hollowed trunks of trees; and after them, the souldiers for that they had both store of timber and saw the workmanship but sleight and easy, made in hast certain bottoms, such as they were, like troughs without form or fashion, regarding no handiworkmen at all, so they would but store on the water, and receive burden, in which they might convey over themselves and that which they had.

Now when they had prepared and made all ready for their passage, the enemies on the other side right against them, kept and covered all the bank along with men and Horse, putting them to much trouble and fear. *Annibal* therefore to withdraw them from that place, commanded *Hanno* the son of *Bomilcar*, at the first watch of the night, to go up the stream along the river side, one day's journey, with part of the forces, and those most of them Spaniards: and wheresoever he should espie a convenient place, to cross the river, and to land as secretly as he could: and then to fight about with his men, that when need were, he might charge upon the back of the enemy. Thereupon were appointed certain *Gauls* for guides: who from thence conducted them some 3 miles above, to a little Island compassed about with the river, which here spread out in breadth by reason that it divided it self, and the by the channel was not so deep: where they shewed him a place of passages. There, in all hast they cut down and hewed timber, and made boats, to set over Horse, and man and other burthen. The Spaniards made no more ado, but fastening their apparel to vessels of leather like bladders, full of wind, and laying their bucklers thereupon, far aloft and tossed over nimble. The rest of the army also, with jynnyng planks and troughs together, was let over. Where having encamped neer the river, as being weary with their night journey, and toilsome work, they settled one day to refresh themselves, whiles their Captain studied and was occupied, to execute his commission and his intended service in good and convenient time. The morrow after, they removed from thence, and gave knowledge by smoke that they were passed over and not far off. Which when *Annibal* perceived, for that he would not lose the vantage of that time, he gave signal to his men also to get over the water. Now had the footmen already their boats prepared and fitted. And the course and ranks of barges (which to receive and break

* *Tanetum*.

* Of *Brixia*.

* *Rho*ne.

* *Volcans*.

break the force of the current from above, transported the Horsemen, besides the Horses that swam after) made for the small boats that passed beneath, a gentle and calm water. For a number of Horses swam after the ships, haled by the bridle reins which were tied to the poulps, besides those, which being saddled and bridled, and fitted to serve the men of arms so soon as ever they were landed, were belovew in barges and ferry boats. The Gauls stood upon the bank with loud hooping, hollowing, yelling and hinging after their manner, who shaking their targets over their heads, brandishing and flourishing their swords in their right hands, shewed themselves ready to receive them, albeit to great a number and World of barges and boats full in their eye over against them, together with an hideous roaring of the water, might have scared them: besides loud noises of mariners and ouldiers, who laboured and strived to break the power and force of the water, and who being on the other side of the bank encouraged their fellows that were passing over. And thus frightened enough as they were, with the tumult and noise presented before their faces: behold there arose a more fearful and terrible outcry behind their backs, upon the forcing and winning of their camp by *Hanno*. And himself in person came soon after: so that they were put in fear on both sides. For not only out of the ships there was a great multitude got to Land, but also a power at their backs unlooked for, came forward and charged them. The Gauls, after they had made some resistance, and saw they were easily put back; brake through, where they espied the way to lie most open, and in great fear they fled divers ways into their Towns and Villages. *Annibal* then, having conveyed over the rest of his forces by leisure, cared no more now for any French stir and tumults, and so encamped himself. But for the transporting of the Elephants, I suppose there were sundry devices: and certainly, how ever it was, the thing is diversely recorded. Some say, that when the Elephants were gathered together upon the bank, the most courageous and fiercest of them all, was chafed, angered, and railed of purpose by his master or keeper: and when he was pursued of the beast, and to save himself fled from him, and took the River, thereupon the Elephant followed after him as he swam, and so drew after him the whole drove of the rest: and as any one of them (learning the depth) failed to wade, the very force of the River carried him to the other side. But it is more credibly and certainly reported, that they were conveyed over in certain barges: which as it was a safer way and surer course before it was practised, so when it was done and past, it was more easily credited. They could therefore one vessel or barge, 200 foot long, and 50 foot broad, to reach from the strand side and the shore into the River: which because it should not be carried down with the course and stream of the water, they fastned to the bank above with many strong ropes, and like as it had been a bridge, they covered it over with earth, that the beasts might boldly go thereon as upon the firm ground. Now there was another barge full as broad, but of length only 100 foot; fitted and appointed to pass the River, and was tied and coupled thereto: and when as the Elephants (driven after the females going before) upon the steady barge, as it had been upon a cauley, were gone over into the lesser which was fastned unto it: then presently was it loosed from the bonds wherewith it was slightly tyed, and so haled and drawn by certain galley boats, directed with reins through to the other bank. Thus when the first were landed, they went for more still, until they were all set over: and verily, so long as they were driven on still, as it were upon a long bridge, they nothing feared: the foremost only were afraid when the barge was loosened, and they parted from their fellows, and so were carried away into the wide and deep River, where thronging and struggling together, and justling one another, they made some trouble, whilst they that were outmost gave back from the water as much as they could, until such time as very fear (when they saw all about them nothing but water) caused them to be quiet. Some of them also liking beasts as they were, and surely, tell out into the River, but by reason of their heaviness, they stood sure, and casting their Governors, they sought the sounds foot by foot, by little and little, and got safe to Land.

Whiles the Elephants were thus transporting over, *Annibal* in the mean time had sent 500 Numidian light Horsemen to the Romans camp, as espials to discover the ground, where they were to learn what forces they had, and listen after their designs and purposes. This wing and troop was encountered by three hundred Roman Horsemen, sent as is aforesaid, from the mouth of *Rhodanus*: where there was a more cruel skirmish than for so small a number, for besides many hurt, there were slain on both sides in a manner alike: but in the end, the fear and flight of the Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, being now already much travelled and wearied: on whose part (being the winners) were slain 160. not all Romans, but some Gauls: and on the Roman side who were overcome, there dyed above 200. This beginning and prognostication as it were of the war, as it portended and presaged an happy end and success of the whole unto the Romans: so it shewed plainly, that the victory would hang long in equal balance, not without much effusion of blood, and danger of their part. The conflict being thus determined, they returned each one to his own Captain. As for *Scipio*, he could not resolve to take any course himself: but according as he saw the plots and enterprises of the enemy, so to frame his own. And *Annibal* gaining uncertain whether to go forward with his journey begun, into *Italy*, or to give battle unto the first army of the Romans that came in his way and met him: was drawn away from all present conflict by occasion of the coming of the Embassadors of the *Boii* and of a great Lord and Potentate, called *Metalus* who promising to be his guides unto him in his voyage, and complaining in his perils, thought it good, and gave advice to invade and set upon *Italy* first of all before

any other war, whilst forces were entire in heart, no where put to the hazard, and to give them as it were the first hand. The common multitude of the Carthaginians (for that the former war was not clean forgot and out of remembrance) feared very their enemies, but more their inimitable journey, and the *Alps* especially, the name whereof to men not experienced, was very fearful and terrible. Whereupon, *Annibal* being now resolute to march onward in his journey, and to pass into *Italy* assembled his people to an audience, and by sundry means, as well by way of rebuke, as also by encouragement, windeth and allayeth the minds of his souldiers. "I marvel (quoth he) what sudden fright or new fear hath possessed your hearts that ever before now have been undaunted: who have lived to many years, and always won the victory; who departed not out of *Spain*, before that all those Nations and Lands, which lie enclosed between two divers Seas, were brought in subjection to the Carthaginians: who taking indignation and great disdain, that the people of *Rome* should require all thine to be yecced unto justice (as offenders and malefactors) that had besieged *Saguntum*, have thereupon pified their *erum*, with this intent even to destroy and extirp the Roman name, and to let free the whole world out of their servitude and bondage: no man thought it long then of his travel from East to West, from the setting of the sun to the rising of the same: now when as ye see the greater part (by far) of our journey done and past, the forest and mountain of *Pyrene* beyond more fierce and ruclations surrounded, that great river *Rhodanus*, passed over, manage the hearts of many thousand Gauls that would have impeached your passage yea, and the rest of his ministration over one now *Italy*, when you are within the gut of the *Alps* to the other side whereof hitherto hath been so close and faint as it were, and stand still tired at the very gates of the enemies. Why? what other thing take ye the *Alps* to be but high hills? And imagine they be higher than the Cliffs of *Pyrene*: what? there is no land (I am sure) that reaches up to heaven, and no place for men unsufferable. But for the *Alps*, they are inhabited and they are tilled: they breed and feed living creatures and cattle: and are they a terrible and passable for some few, and unpassable for whole armies? These very Embassadors whom you see here, flew not over the *Alps* with wings, neither were their ancestors time out of mind horn and bred there but came from other parts as strangers and inhabited *Italy* before yea, and oftentimes have gone over the same *Alps* hug multitudes together with their wives and children, in manner of travellers and pilgrims that seek new countries to inhabit: what should there be unpassable then or impossible for the armed souldier, crying about him nothing but instruments of war? For the winning of *Saguntum*, what perils were adventured, what travails were endured and illawarded for eight months space? Should any thing then seem so hard and difficult as to flay them in their enterprise once begun, who aim at no less than to conquer *Rome*, the head City of the world? And have the Gauls indeed forced and won therein times past, whilst the Carthaginians despair now to come unto? Therefore, either ye must confess your selves inferior in stomach and valor to that nation, which is so oft (the dayes passed) by you have been vanquished: or else make reckoning with assured hope that the goodly fair fields that lie between *Tyberis* and the walls of *Rome* are the end of your journey.

When in these terms he had exhorted and encouraged his souldiers, he commanded them to Eke their repast and repole, to cherish and refresh their bodies, and to prepare themselves for the march. The morrow after he departed cross from the banks of *Rhodanus*, and entered the inland parts of *France*: not for that it was the more direct way to the *Alps*, but because he thought the further he went from the Sea side, in so much less danger he should be of meeting the Romans, with whom he was minded to fight, before he was arrived into *Italy*. After that he had travelled four dayes journey, he came to an Island where the two rivers *Arar* and *Rhodanus* issuing out of sundry parts of the *Alps* and taking a direct course, after they have run through a good part of the country fall at length together and meet in one and the ground lying between is called by the name of the *Island*. Near there, inhabit the *Allobroges*, a Nation even in thole dayes nothing inferior, either in wealth and puissance, or in fame and reputation to any people or state. For the Gauls whatsoever, But at that very time there was some discord and variance among them, by occasion of two brethren who were at strife for the crown and Kingdom: the elder (whose name was *Brancus*, and had before enjoyed the Seignory) was deposed and thrust out by his younger brother, and a lively crew of the youth: who as they had less right on their side, so they were the mightier. The deciding of this variance was referred and put over unto *Annibal*, in as good and fit a time for his purpose, as he could have wished: and his forthwith was made the umpire and judge, to determine whether of them should be King: who restored the elder to the Kingdom: like as it would have been adjudged by the award of the Senators and Nobles of the country. For which benefit and good turn, he was rewarded with victual, and store of all things abundantly yea and with rayment and apparel, which he was driven to provide aforesaid, for the same that went of the *Alps*, which for their coldness were in great discredit.

Having thus appeased the debate of the *Allobroges*, and minding now to set forward to the *Alps*, he would forgo the direct straight way, but turned on the left hand to the *Triacims*, and from thence passing by the frontiers of the *Vocontins*, he marched into the *Triacims*: and never was he stayed or impeached in his journey, before that he came to the River *Durance*, which descending also out of the *Alps*, is of all other Rivers in *France* most hard to be passed over: for although it carry with it a might force of water, yet will it bear no vessel, beane it is kept and restrained with no banks, but running at once by many divers channells, maketh ever

* The River *Sone*.

* The people of *Savoy* according to *Strabo*. But *Daul* phing a later *Marianus*, and others.

* *Entrecoires* in *France*, said by *Strabo*. * *Vindis*, of the country of *Biffon*. * *Isle of *Cenais*, * *Durance*.*

new foords, and caſteth up new ſhelves and whirl-pits; (for which cauſe alſo a footman hath much ado to wade therethrough, and knoweth not the foords) beſides, it rolleth down round ſtones and pibbles, whereby there is no ſure nor ſafe footing for him that would wade through. And it chanced at that time, that it ſwelled and was riſen high by fall of rain, and by land-floods, and caſteth them to have very much to do, that paſſed over it: and over and beſides all other difficulties, they were of themſelves troubled and diſquieted through their own fearfuſneſs and ſundry cries which they made. *Publius Cornelius* the Conſul, about three dayes after that *Annibal* diſlodged from the bank of *Rhodanus*, was arrived with his army (arranged in a fourſquare battell) as far as the place: where the enemy was lately encamped, purpoſing without any ſtay to give him battell. But ſeeing the hold abandoned, and that he was not like to overtake him, being loſt far gone forwards; he returned to his ſhips at Sea, ſuppoſing by that means, with leſſe danger and difficulty, to encounter *Annibal* as he defended from the *Alps*. But left that *Spain* (which was the Province allotted unto him) ſhould be left diſturiſhed of Roman ſuccours, he ſent his brother *Cn. Scipio* with the greateſt part of his forces againſt *Aſdrubal*: not ſo much to defend their old allies, and procure new, as to drive *Aſdrubal* out of *Spain*. Himſelf with a very ſmall company returned to *Genua*, with intent to guard *Italy*, with that army which was about the *Po*.

Genua.

Annibal being departed from *Druentia*, marched for the moſt part through the champion countries, and came in peace and quietly, to the foot of the *Alps*, for any trouble from the peſants that there inhabited. And albeit he had ſome knowledge of the *Alps* before by report, (which ſuffice to make things that are uncertain, much more than indeed and truth they are) yet ſeeing now near at hand the height of thoſe Hills, and the ſnows, entermingled along with the ſkies, the rude and miſhapen houſes ſet upon rocks; the cattel, ſheep, oxen, and horſes, ſinged with cold; the people with long ſhaggy hair, and without any trimming, both living and lively creatures, even parched, ſtiff and ſtark with froſt; and all things elſe more ſtrange and illavoured; than can be ſpoken: then began his ſouldiers to fear aſreth. So ſoon as they advanced forward, and began to march upon the firſt cliffs, there appeared over their heads the mountain people, who had ſeized the Hills: who if they had kept the ſecret and hidden vallies, and ſuddenly all at once charged upon them they would have made a ſoul ſlaughter of them, and put them to flight. Then *Annibal* commandeth the enſigns to ſtand ſtill, and ſet certain Gauls afore, as eſpials; by whom he underſtood, that there was no paſſage that way: whereupon, he pitched his camp among thoſe craggy and ſteep rough places, upon a large plain and valley as he could find. Then by the ſame Gauls (who much differed not in tongue and manners from the other, and had entermingled themſelves in talk with the mountaineers) he underſtood, that they kept the paſſage, but in the day time, and ſlipped away in the night, every one to his own harbour. So at the break of day he mounted thoſe ſteep hills, as if he would openly in the day time march through the ſtreights. Thus having ſpent the day in making ſemblance and ſhew of one thing, and intending another, he encamped himſelf ſtrongly in the place where he had reſted and ſtaid: and ſo ſoon as he perceived, that the mountain people were departed from the ſteep hills, and kept not to ſight watch and ward: after that he had made ſhew of fires, more than for the number of thoſe that remained behind; and left with the Cavalry all the bag and baggage, with the greateſt part of the footmen: himſelf in perſon took unto him the nimbleſt, moſt active, and valiant ſouldiers lightly appointed, and with all ſpeed paſſed through the ſtreights aforeſaid, and encamped on the very hills which the enemies before held and beſet. Then in the morning betime his camp diſlodged: and the army behind, began to march and ſet forward. By which time the mountaineers, at the ordinary ſignal given, came forth out of their Caſtles and Forts, and met at the uſual place of their accuſtomed guards: but then all at once they might ſee ſome of the enemies over their heads, to have gained their own fortreſſes, and others alſo marching in the way. Both which objects at one time preſented to their eyes, made them blank and to ſtand ſtill in a miſe a good while. But afterwards, when they ſaw *Annibal* his army, diſtreſſed in the ſtreights, and in great trouble and diſorder among themſelves in the march, by reaſon eſpecially the horſes were loſt affrighted: ſuppoſing, that the leaſt fear and terror (beſides) that they could procure, would be enough for their enemies overthrow and confuſion, they croſſed the rocks overthwart, and (as they were accuſtomed and uſed to them) ran to and fro, up and down through the blind and un haunted by ways. But then verily, the Carthaginians were much encumbered, as well by their enemies, as alſo by the diſadvantage of the place, and more ado there was among them (whiles every one ſtrove who ſhould firſt eſcape the danger) than with the enemy. There was nothing that diſordered and troubled the army in the march, ſo much as their own horſes, which (by reaſon of the diſſonant and divers cries, that the echoes between the woods and vallies redoubled) were affrighted: and alſo if any of them chanced to be ſtricken, galled, or wounded; they kept ſuch winſing, and ſinging about them, that they overthrow and made great havock of men, and of all ſorts of carriage. Beſides, the preſs was ſo great, and the ſtreights of both ſides ſo ſteep and craggy, that many a man was thrown down head-long a mighty height: yea, and ſome of them armed: and the ſumpter horſes and beaſts for carriage eſpecially tumbled down again with their load, as if a houſe or Caſtle had come down with a miſchief. Which, although it were terrible to behold, yet *Annibal* loſt a while ſtill, and kept his own men together, for fear of encreaſing this diſorder and affright. But after that he ſaw his army diſbanded and marching in diſarray, and that it was to no purpoſe

A poſe to lead his army ſafe through the ſtreights, if he loſt the carriages: for fear hereof, he ran down from the higher ground, and albeit, with the violence of his charge, he diſcomited the enemy, yet he encreaſed the trouble and fear of his own people. But that was ſoon appeared in a very moment, after the ways and paſſages were once cleared, by reaſon of the Mountaineers that were ſet: ſo that within a while the whole hoſt paſſed through, not only at eaſe and leiſure, but alſo in a manner without any noiſe at all. This done, he ſeized upon a Caſtle, which was the chief ſtrength of that country, with other villages lying about it: and for three dayes ſpace he viſtalled and maintained his whole army, with the Cattell of his priſoners. And for that he was now neither moleſted with the Mountaineers, who were at the liſt diſcomfited, nor greatly encumbered with the difficulties of the ways, in thoſe three dayes he rid a good deal of ground, and journeyed a great way into the country: until at the length he came to another coaſt well peopled (for ſuch Mountain and Hilly quarters;) where he had like to have been overtaken, not by open force, but even in his own proceſſed winning: firſt, by a ſubtile praſtic, and after by a ſecret ambuſh. Certain ancient men, the Rulers and Governours of the Caſtles, repaired unto *Annibal* as Orators, ſaying, That they having been taught and made wiſe, by the profitable example of other mens harms, made choice, rather to trye the amity, than prove the force of the Carthaginians; and therefore were willing to do his commandment, and be at his devotion: requeſting him to take at their hand, victuals and guides for their journey, yea, and hoſtages alſo for better aſſurance of promiſes to be performed. *Annibal* neither overhaſtily believing them, nor yet churiſhly diſtruſting and eſting their offer, let being reſected and caſt off, they might become open and profreſed enemies; gave them good language, and a courteous answer, received the hoſtages whom they gave, accepted victuals, which they had brought with them to maintain his army by the way, and followed their guides, but ſo, as his army was not diſturiſed in their march, as if he had been amongst his friends, and in a peaceable country. Firſt, went in the vanguard the Elephants, and the Horſemen: himſelf marched after with the flower and ſtrength of his footmen, looking all about him with an heedful eye. So ſoon as he was entred a narrow paſſage, which of the one ſide lay under a ſteep Hill that commanded them aſt, the barbarous people role out of their ambuſh from all parts at once, both before and behind, and charged upon him both a far off and neer at hand; yea, and rolled down mighty huge ſtones upon them as they marched. But the greateſt number came behind upon their backs: againſt whom he turned and made head with the power of his footmen, and without all peradventure (if the tail both of his army, had not been ſtrong and well fortified) they muſt needs have received in that lane and ſtreights, an exceeding great overthrow. And even then, as it was, they came to an extremity of danger, and in manner fell into a preſent miſchief. For whiles *Annibal* made long ſtay, and doubted whether he ſhould engage the Regiment of footmen within the ſtreights, for that he had not leiſe any ſuccours in the rereguard to back the footmen, like as himſelf was a defence to the Horſemen; the mountaineers came overthwart, and flanked them; and breaking through the files of the battell, beſet the way, and croſſed upon him. So that *Annibal* took up his lodging for one night, without his carriages and Horſemen. The morrow after, when as the barbarous people ran between them more coldly than before, he joyned his forces together, and paſſed the ſtreight not without great damage and loſſe; but with more hurt of the ſumpter Horſes than of men. After this the Mountaineers (fewer in number, and in robbing wiſe rather than in warlike ſort) ran in heaps one while upon the vanguard, other while upon the rereguard, as any one of them could either get the vantage of ground, or by going one while afore, and by ſtaying another while behind, win and catch any occaſion and opportunity. The Elephants as they were driven with great leiſure hereaſt through theſe narrow ſtreights, they were ready ever and anon to run on their noiſes: to what way ſoever they went, they kept the army ſafe and ſure from the enemies; who being not wed unto them, durſt not once come neer. The ninth day he won the very tops of the *Alps*, through by-lanes and blind cranks: after he had wandred many times out of the way either through the deceitfulneſs of their guides; or for that when they durſt not truſt them, they adventured raſhly themſelves upon the vallies, and gueſſed the way at adventure, and went by aim. Two dayes abode he encamped upon the tops thereof, and the ſouldiers wearied with travel and fight reſted that time: certain alſo of the ſumpter Horſes (which had ſlipped aſide from the rocks) by following the tracks of the army as it marched, came to the camp. When they were thus overtired and wearied with theſe tedious travels, the ſnow that fell (for now the ſtar *Vergily*, was ſet and gone down out of that horizon) increaſed their fear exceedingly. Now when as at the break of day the enſigns were ſet forward, and the army marched ſlowly, through the thick and deep ſnow; and that there appeared in the countenance of them all, ſtubbornneſs and deſperation: *Annibal* advanced before the ſtandards, and commanded his ſouldiers to ſtay upon a certain high Hill, (from whence they had a goodly proſpect and might ſee a great way all about them) and there ſtood unto them *Italy*, and the goodly champion fields about the *Po*, which lie hard under the foot of the Alpine Mountains: ſaying, That even though they mounted the wals, not only of *Italy*, but alſo of the City of *Rome*; as for all beſides (ſith he) will be plain and eaſy to be travelled: and after one or two battels at the moſt, ye ſhall have at your command, the very Caſtle and head City of all *Italy*. Then began the army to march forward: and as yet the enemies verily themſelves adventured nothing at all, but ſome petty robberies by ſtealth, as opportunity and occaſion ſerved.

How.

Howbeit they had much more difficult travelling down the hill, than in the climbing and getting up; for that most of the passages to the *Alps* from *Italy* side, as they be shorter, so they are more upright: for all the way in a manner was steep, narrow, and slippery, so as neither they could hold themselves from sliding, nor if any tripped and stumbled never to little, could they possibly (they staggered) to recover themselves and keep sure footing, but one fell upon another, as well Horle as Man. After this they came to a much narrower rock, with crags and rags so steep downright that hardly a nimble fouldier without his armor and baggage (do what he could to take hold with hands upon the twigs and plants that there about grew forth) was able to creep down. This place being above naturally of itself steep and pendant with a down-fall, now was holed and dammed up with a new fall of earth, which left a bank behind it of a wonderful and monstrous height. There the *Bolsen* men stood still as if they had been come to their wayes end: and when *Anubal* marvelled much what the matter might be that stayed them so, as they mar, he did not: word was brought him that the Rock was unaceffible and unpaffable. Whereupon he went himself in person to view the place, and then he saw indeed without all doubt, that although he had fetched a compass about, yet he had gained nothing thereby, but conducted his army, to pass through wilds, and such places as before had never been beaten and troden. And verily that (of all other) was such as it was impossible to pass through. For, whereas there lay old snow untrouched and not trodden on, and over it other new newly fallen, of a small depth: in this soft and tender snow, and the same not very deep, their feet as they went, easily took hold: but that snow being once with the going of lo many people and beasts upon it, fretted and thawed, they were lain to go upon the bare ice underneath, and in the slabbry snow both as it relented and met about their heels. There they had lost and much struggling, for that they could not tread sure upon the slippery ice: and again going as they did (down hill) their feet sooner failed them: and when they had helped themselves one in getting up, either with hands or knees: if they chanced to fall again, when thoir their props and stays decayed them, there were no twigs nor roots about, whereon a man might take hold, and rest or stay himself, either by hand or foot. And therefore all that the poor beasts could do, was to tumble and wallow only, upon the slippery and glasse ice, and the molten slabby snow. Otherwhiles also they perished as they went in the deep snow, whiles it was yet soft and tender: for when they were once sidden and fallen, with flinging on their heels, and bearing with their hoofs more forcibly to take hold, they brake the ice through: so as most of them; as if they had been caught fast and fettered, stuck full in the deep hard frozen, and congealed ice. At last, when as both man and beast were wearied and overtired, and all to no purpose they came upon the top of an hill, having with very much ado closed the place aforehand for that purpose: such a deal of snow there was to be digged, shovelled and thrown out. This done the soldiers were brought to break that rock through which was their only way: and against the time that it was to be hewed through, they felled and overthrew many huge trees that grew there about and made a mighty heap and pile of wood: the wind turned fully for the time to kindle a fire, and then they set all a burning. Now when the rock was on fire and red hot they powred thereon Vinegar for to calcine and dissolve it. When as the rock was thus baked (as it were) with fire, they digged into it, and opened it with pickes axes and made the decent gentle and easy, by means of moderate windings and turnings: so as not only the *Horses* and other beasts, but even the *Elephants* also might be able to go down. Four dayes he spent about the levelling of this rock: and the beasts were almost pined and lost for hunger. For the hill tops for the most part are bare of grass, and look what forage there was, the snow overhilled it. The dales and lower ground shew some little banks lying to the sun, and rivers withal, near unto the woods, yea, and places more meet and befitting for men to inhabit. There were the labouring beasts put out to graze and pasture, and the soldiers that were wearied with making the wayes, had three dayes allowed to rest in. From thence they went down into the plain country, where they found both the place more easy and pleasant, and the nature of the inhabitants more tractable.

more tractable.

In this manner and by this means principally, entred the Carthaginians into *Italy*, five months after they departed from new *Carthage* (as some write:) and within fifteen dayes overcame and passed the *Alps*. What power *Annibal* had, when he was arriv'd in *Italy*, the historians do not agree. They that speak with the most, write that he was 10000 foot, and 2000 Horse strong: they that make the least of it, say they were 2000 foot, and 6000 Horle. *L. Cinctus Alimurus*, who hath delivered under his hand, that himself was taken prisoner by *Annibal* (a writer of great authority) would induce me sufficiently to believe him, but that he fetcheth down the number of his Army, by adding to the rest, the Gauls and Ligurians. He recordeth, that coming thither the Infantry was 80000 and the Cavalry 10000; which was conducted into *Italy* (but likely it is that from all parts there came more thither than so, and so some Authors do report) and that he heard from *Annibal* his own month, that after he had passed *Rhodanus*, he had lost 26000 men, and a great number of Hories and other beasts of burden. when he came down into the *Taurins* Country, which was the next Nation in *Italy*, adjoining to the Gauls. Which being a thing agreed upon amongst all, I marvel so much the more, that there is any doubt, on which side he went over the *Alps*; and that commonly it is believed, that he passed by a place called *Penninus*, and that thereupon the top of the *Alps* took the name, and was so called. *Cadus* saith, he took his way over by the top of *Croton*: but which passages surely would have brought

And ~~he~~ brought him ~~not~~ into the Taurins country, but through the mountain forest ~~unto~~ into the Gauls ~~and~~ ^{called} *Lubini*. But neither is it probable, that in those days the same passages were open into *Fræce*: considering, that the ways which lead to *Penninum* were environed with nations half Germans. And certainly the Veragians, who inhabit this very top (in case a man may build ought upon this conjecture) never knew that these mountains took the name of any passage of the Carthaginians, that way: but of some one place consecrated in the top of the hill, which the pealans and mountaineers called *Penninum*.

They happily and fitly it fell out for the enterlife of his first designments, that the Taurins the next nation he came unto, made war upon the Infrubrians. But *Annibal* being busied in refreshing his army (that now had most feeling of their harms which they had caught before) could not arm the same to the aid and gratifying of either party: for ease after travel, plenty upon scarcity, good keeping and delicate, after loathsome nativities, did by a sudden change greatly alter and temper their lean and pined bodies, well near savage and wild grown. Which was the cause that *P. Cornelius* the Consul, being arrived and landed at *Pise*, after he had received of *Maximus Attilius* an army of new and raw souldiers, fearful for some shameful disgrace and defeat lately received, made haste and bighed him to the *Po*, for to give battle unto the enemy, before he were well refreshed and in heart again. But by that time that the Consul was come to *Placentia*, *Annibal* had dislodged and removed his camp, and won by assault the chief City or Town of the Taurins, because it willingly yielded not to accept of his amity and protection; and truly not by fear only, but also of voluntary good will, he had gained unto him the Gauls that inhabited about the *Po*, but that the sudden coming of the Consul interrupted and surprized them, as they were casting about to seize some opportunity of rebellion. So *Annibal* dislodged, and removed out of the Taurins country, with this opinion, that the Gauls especially being doubtful as yet what part to take, would follow him being present in place. Now were the armies in manner one in fight of the other, and the Generals approached nigher together: and as they were not yet well known one unto the other, for they had already both of them a great opinion, and reciprocal admiration of the other. For as *Annibal* was much renowned, and his name right well known among the Romans, even since before *Saguntum* was lost: so *Scipio* was taken of him, and reputed for some singular and excellent man, in that he especially above all other, was chosen General against him. Which mutual conceit and impression they had, they augmented themselves one to the other: for that *Scipio*, albeit he was left behind in *France*, yet he met *Annibal*, and was ready to make head against him, so soon as he was passed the Alps: and *Annibal* again, because having enterprised to great an adventure, as to pass the Alps, and now brought the same to good effect, but *Scipio* to prevent *Annibal* in crossing the *Po* before him, removed his camp to the river *Tiemur*: and for to encourage his souldiers, before he brought them forth to battel, he made an Oration unto them, and began in this manner.

“My valiant souldiers and trusty friends, if I were now to lead that army into the field, which I had with me in *France*, I would have foreborn to make any speech at all unto you; for to what purpose needed I to exhort, either that Cavalry, which so valiantly had vanquished the horsemen of the enemies at the river *Rhodanus*: or those legions, with whom I followed in chase as if they were, even the very enemies, and whose falling off and refusing battell I take to be a confession of victory? But now for as much as that army, being indeed levied for the province *Spain*, I desireth with my brother *Cn. Scipio*, under my name and commission, where it pleareth the Senate and people of *Rome*, they should be employed, to the end that ye might have a Consul to be your Captain, against *Annibal* and the *Carthaginians*, I have willingly offered my self to this war. If being then, your new Captain, and you my new souldiers, meet it is and convenient I should use a few words unto you. And to the end you should not be ignorant, either of the manner of this service, or quality of your enemy: with those men ye are to fight, whom in the former Punick war ye overcame both by land and sea: of whom for these twenty years ye have received tribute; from whom ye have won (as the due wages and reward of the war) *Sicily* and *Sardinia* both, and them do hold and occupy. In this battell therefore, both you and they are to carry that mind, and so to be affected, as winners and losers are to befor never think that it is valor and hardihood that provoketh them now to fight, but meer necessity and compulsion enforce them to the field. Unles you will believe that they who when they had an entire army and unfouled, refused battell, should now have greater hope, and take more courage, after they have lost two parts of their horse and foot, in the very passage of the *Alps*; and of whom, there have more perished in a manner, then remain alive. But will some man say, True it is, few they are in number, but stout in heart, and tall of hand, whose strength & puiissance, no force is hardly able to abide. Images they are nay, to say more truly, the very shadows of men, and no better; with hunger bitten, with cold starved, loth for want of keeping, spoiled with raiments and filthy ordure, bruised and weakened amongst hard rocks and craggy cliffs: over and besides, joints and marrow dried up and burnt, their sinews shrunk, hard, and stiff again with cold and chilling snow, their limbs tinged with bitter frost, their armor crushed, bruised, and their weapons broken; their hories, no other then lame jades and poor hide-bound Tiers. See what horsemen lo, what footmen ye are to fight withal. Believe me, ye shall have the very reliques and last remnants of enemies, not enemies indeed. And I assure you, nothing fear I more than this that before ye shall skirmish with this kind of enemy, it will be thought that the *Alps* already have

"vanquished and defeated *Annibal*. But peradventure it was to meet, and reason would, that the gods themselves without man's help, should against that Captain and nation, which had broken league and covenants begin the war first, set it in good forwardness, and bring it to the point of an end: and then we, who next to the gods have been offended and wronged, should finish the same thus begun to our hands, and brought to good end a pass. I fear not that any man here doth think, that I utter these brave and glorious words only for to hear them you, and that my self think otherwise in heart, then I speak with tongue. I might have gone my self well enough into *Spain*, my proper and peculiar province, (where I had been sometime) and with an army of mine own: I should have had my brother there, both a counsellor to me in my distresses, and a companion with me in my dangers. I found *Afrubal* rather than *Annibal* mine enemy, and no doubt, the affairs and charge of the war far less then here. But when I failed by the coast of *France*, and upon the bruit and news of this enemy was set a land, I sent my Cavalry before, and removed camp as far as to *Rhodanus*, and in a battel of horsemen (for with that part of my forces it was my hap to encounter and fight) I discovered the enemy: and for that by land I could not overtake his Infantry, to hastily they marched away, like men that fled) I was fain to return to the sea, and embark again into my ships: and with as great expedition and speed as I could make (considering to great a compass about sea and land) at the very foot of the *Alps*, I was ready to encounter and affront him. Can it be thought then, that whiles I shunned and avoided fight, I fell by chance and at unawares upon this dread and redoubted enemy? or rather, that I followed him hard at heels, and challenged him, to draw him forth unto a battel, thereby to have it decided who should have the victory in the end? I would gladly make trial, whether all of a sudden the earth hath brought forth for these twenty years, Carthaginians, of another mould or new stamp: or whether they be the same that fought near the Islands *Egates*, and whom ye sent away, and let go from *Eryx*, valued after the rate of 18. * deniers: a piece, and no more: and fain would I see, whether this *Annibal* be the concurrent of *Hercules*, to undertake his journeys and voyages, as he saith himself: or one left by his father, a tributary, a vassal, and a slave of the people of *Rome*: I who, but that he is tormented in conscience for the outrage and cruelty committed upon *Saguntum*, would have some respect and regard, if not of his native country (conquered and subdued) yet of his own house, of the peace and covenants written by his father *Amilcar*, and his own hand: *Amilcar* (I say) who at the commandment of our Consul, removed his garrison from *Eryx*: who fuming and storming, received with sorrowful heart the grievous and heavy conditions of peace imposed upon the conquered Carthaginians: who capitulated and covenanted to abandon *Sicily*, and to pay a tribute to the people of *Rome*: I would have you therefore (my hardy soldiers) to fight against him not only with the same courage as you do with other enemies, but in a certain heat of choler & indignation, as if you should see your own servants and slaves on a sudden to rise up in arms against you. We might well if we had been so minded, when they were enclosed and shut fast within *Eryx*, have put them to the utmost extremity of all worldly pain, and famished them. We might have passed over with our victorious Armado into *Africa*, and within few days forced and razed *Carthage*, without any battel fought. We pardoned them at their humble request, and took them to mercy: we let them out where they were besieged and beleaguered, and notwithstanding that they were by us subdued, we made peace, and contracted amity with them: and afterward, when they were molested and distressed with the Africans war, we counted them within our protection. In recompence of these good favours and demerits, they come against us, under the leading of an humorous brain-sick and furious young man, to invade and assail our country. And I would it had pleased God, that we had all this war for our honor only and reputation, and not for our safety and our lives. But we are to fight now, not for the holding and possession of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, as in times past: but for our freehold, and the inheritance of *Italy*: and that which more is, there is no army behind our backs to withstand and make head against the enemy, if we chance to fail of victory: neither are there any more *Alps*, which while he is getting over, we might have leisure in the mean time to assemble and prepare new forces. Here in this very place, (soldiers) must we stand to it, and make resistance, as if we were fighting under *Rome* walls. Let every man think that he is not only to defend and ward his own body, but to protect his wife and little children: and let every one regard and take care, not for his privat affairs and domestical charge, but often consider this, That even now the *Senat* and people of *Rome* beholdeth and seeth our hardy deeds, and look how our force and valor now speedeth and sheweth it self, such from henceforth will the state and fortune be of that City and Empire of *Rome*.

These words had the Consul to the Romans. But *Annibal*, supposing that his men were first to be encouraged by representation of some deeds, & then exhorted with words; having marshalled his army in a round compass (as it were) to behold some spectacle in a Theatre: he set in the midst of them all, the prisoners mountaineers, bound (as they were) hand and foot: and casting down at their feet, the armor and weapons of the Gauls, he demanded of them by a trump-man, or interpreter, Which of them (upon condition to be eased of his bands, and to have armor, and an horse of service, given him for a prize of victory) would enter into combat, and fight at the utterance for his life. And when they all answered with one voice, That they would with no better, and not one of them but called for a sword, & required to fight: and thereupon, he lots were shuffled to be cast, & not there was but wished himself to be the man, whom fortune would chuse for the combat.

Then

A Then every man as his lot fell, in token of cheerfulness and contentment of spirit, leapt for joy among his fellows that rejoiced in his behalf, fell a dancing after their manner, and so (hastily) took arms and weapons: all the while that they were in fight there appeared such affection and disposition of mind, as well in them that were in the same state and condition, as also in those who stood there as spectators in the multitude to look on: that no less happy and fortunate were they accounted, whose chance it was to die in the place, then those who had the upper hand. Upon the sight of some couples that were thus matched in combat, he dismissed them and whies he saw them in this good mind, so well affected and resolute; then he assembled them all together to an audience, and thus by report he spake unto them.

B "My valorous soldiers, if in the consideration of your own fortune, ye will anon but bear that mind, which even now ye shewed in beholding the example of the state of others: the journey is ours, and we have the victory. For that was not a dumb show and bare pageant, but a very mirror and pattern of your own condition: and I wot not, whether fortune hath compassed about with harder bonds and greater necessities, your own selves, or your prisoners. On both hands, as well the right as the left, enclosed ye are, and shut up within two seas: and have not so much as one ship to embark in, nor to escape away, and save your selves. Before you need at hand is the *Po* a greater river, and more violent then *Rhodanus*; behind you are the *Alps* to hem you in; in the *Alps*, I say, which ye hardly passed when you were in heart and lusty. Here must ye either get victory (irs) or lose your lives, even where ye have first encountered your enemy: and the same fortune, which hath laid upon you necessity of fight, presenteth and profereth unto you (if you go away with victory) such rewards, as men use not to wish for greater and more honorable at the hands of the immortal gods. If by our manhood and valour we should but recover and win again *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which were got from our fathers: those were rewards and prizes sufficient: but now, over and besides, what riches or treasure the Romans in so many triumphs, have gathered, laid up, and held in possession, all that will be ours, ye, and the winners thereof themselves withal. Go to it then a Gods name, and take arms, in assured hope of gaining so rich a booty and reward. Ye have all this while been long enough a courting and chasing the wild beasts in the wide and desart mountains of *Luftania* and *Celtiberia*, and have seen no recompence and fruit of your travels and dangers: it is now high time for you to serve in the wars for good pay and rich rewards, and to receive great wages and prizes for your labour and painful service: you that have measured so long a voyage, passed over so many mountains and rivers, and marched through so many armed and warlike nations. Here is the place where fortune hath let down the utmost bound, and pitched the farthest point & limit of your labors; here will she give you a condigne recompence and salary, after you have served and followed the wars the full time, by order and law required. Never think that the victory will be so hardly achieved, as the war in name is counted difficult. For oftentimes an enemy of small or no reckoning and regard, hath given a bloody battel: yea, most noble States, most renowned and glorious Kings, have in the very turning of an hand been overthrowen. For, letting aside this goodly, gay, and glittering name only of the Romans, what is there wherein they are with you to be compared? To say nothing of that continual warfare of yours, for 20 years past, e, with such valour and happy success: even from *Hercules* pillars, from the Ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth, through so many nations of *Spain*, and most fell and cruel Gauls, ye are come thus far with victory. And now shall ye fight with an army of new and untrained soldiers, who no longer ago then this very summer, were beaten, put to the sword, vanquished and besieged by the Gaulish army (to say a truth) not known at all to their own Captain, & as little acquainted with him. And to speak of mine own person, if not born yet at leastwise brought up in the very tent and royal pavilion of my father (a most noble warrior and renowned Captain of his time) who have subdued *Spain*, conquered Gauls, overcome not only the people of the *Alps*, but that which is much more, the very *Alps* themselves. Should I make comparison between my self, and this half-year Captain, who hath abandoned and left his own camp and army? Unto whom, if a man should this day, present the Carthaginians and Romans together, without their ensigns and colours, he could not tell, I dare well say, of whether army he were the leader and Consul. For I make no small account, I tell you of this (my tall fellows) that there is not one of you all, who hath not many a time and often seen and beheld my self in person, performing some warlike and military exploit: and unto whom I (as beholder and eye witness of his valor) cannot recount the time and place of his worthy deed & service. Then ye praised and commended me, then ye rewarded & honored me with divers gifts & presents. And even I (who have been a soldier trained up and taught by you, before I was your General) will march in battel against them, that know not one another, and are unknown likewise unto their Captain. Which way soever I turn and cast mine eyes, me thinks, I see all full of courageous stomack, and a forcible puissance. The footmen, old bearded and practised soldiers, lances and men of arms, with hard horses, and the light horsemen likewise, chosen forth of most hardy and valiant Nations: of one side, most faithful and resolute allies; on the other, doughty Carthaginians, ready to fight, as well in countries defence, as also for most just and due revenge. We come of our selves to make war, and we descend into *Italy* with banners displayed, resolved to fight with so much more courage, as they commonly who are assailants, have greater stomack and more hope then the defendants. Over and besides, our hearts are kindled, and our minds pricked

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* Tit. lib. 3. d. Scil.

* Putagel, * Sicily, or as some think Arragon.

"on and provoked with sense of injuries and indignities. First and foremost they required, that your General should be delivered unto them, as a condemned prisoner at the bar: then they would have had all you that were at the assault of *Saguntum*, yielded up into their hands, to be put to most extrem tortures & execution. A people they are, full of all excessive cruelty, insolence and proud beyond all measure; they would have but all in their power, and at their disposition: they must prescribe, limit, and set down, with whom we should war; with whom we may make peace: restraining and enclosing us within the terms and bounds of hills and rivers; which, forsooth, we must not pass: and they themselves keep not the limits, which they appoint. Pass not (say they) *thence* in any wise; meddle not at all with the *Saguntines*; come not near them. *Saguntum* standeth upon the river *Iberus*, step not one foot forward, we advise you. It sufficeth not their turn, that they have taken from us our ancient Provinces, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, unless they may have away *Spain* too. And if I should depart from thence, and quit that Realm also, they would not stay there, but will pass over straight into *Africa*: nay, they have sent over this year already two Consuls, the one into *Africa*, the other into *Spain*: nothing have they left for us, but that which we can win and hold with the sword's point. Well may they be cowards, and play the idle larks, having a place of refuge to retire unto, who in their own country and ground may be received, when they take their heels and run through ways without danger, to save themselves. As for us, it stands us upon to play the men, and to make account of no mean designs between victory and death, but upon certain despair of all hopes: sides, either to obtain victory; or if fortune shall fail and give us the foil, chuse rather to die fighting, than to be killed flying. If this be settled and deeply imprinted in your hearts, if this be your resolution, I will say once again, The day is yours. A more poignant and sharper goad, than this, to provoke men to victory, never gave the immortal gods to any whatsoever.

When by these Orations, the soldiers hearts of both sides were inflamed to fight, the Romans made a bridge over *Ticinus*: and for defence of the bridge, erected a lance and fort thereupon. But *Annibal* while the enemies were busied at work, sent *Maharbal* with a Cornet of Numidians, to the number of 500. light horsemen, to overrun and waste the territories belonging to the allies of the people of *Rome*: commanding him withal to make as great spare of the Gauls as he could, and to solicit and persuade their Nobles and Lords unto rebellion. After the bridge was finished, the Roman army passed over into the Insularian country, encamped themselves upon certain hills, five miles off from a village where *Annibal* also lay in camp: who seeing there was a battle toward, sent speedily for *Maharbal* back again, and the horsemen: and thinking belike, that he could never lay enough to his soldiers, and admonish them sufficiently to do well and animate them to fight, he called them all again together to an audience: where he proposed, and promised unto them openly, certain assured rewards, the hope whereof might incite them to fight manfully. *Imprimis*, that he would endow them with fair lands, in *Italy*, *Africa*, or *Spain*, where they would themselves, to have, and to enjoy to him and to his heirs for ever, as free hold in frank tenure, without service: if any one would chuse to have money rather than land, him he would content with silver. Item, of the allies, as many as hereafter were desirous to be enfranchised Citizens of *Carthage*, they should have their free burgeoisie: & those that had a mind rather to return home again, he would endeavor and bring about that he should live so well, as not one of them would wish for to exchange his state with any of his neighbors and countreymen whatsoever. Last of all, look what bond servants attended and followed their masters, to them he promised freedom; and in lieu of them, he would deliver again unto their masters, two for one, of the slaves taken captives in war. And that they might be assured, that he would perform all the promises, he held with his left hand a Lamb, and in the right a flint stone, and prayed solemnly, That if he failed herein, *Jupiter* and the rest of the gods, would kill him, as he slew that Lamb: and presently after his prayer done, he smote the Lamb on the head, and dashed out the brains. Whereat they all every one, conceived and embraced assured hope unto themselves, that the gods said *Amen*, and were on their side: and supposing that the only way of enjoying their hopes, and obtaining their rewards, was, because they had not fought already; with one heart and voice they called for battle.

The Romans for their part, were nothing so lusty; for besides other things, they were affrighted with new prodigies and fearful sights. For it happened that a Wolf entered their camp, & after he had worried and torn those that came in his way, escaped unhurt. Also a swarm of Bees flew upon a tree that grew over the General's pavilion, which strange tokens being purged and cleared by an expiatory sacrifice, *Scipio* with his Cavalry and darts lightly appointed, went toward the camp of the enemy to view their forces, and to observe how many and of what condition and quality they were: and there he encountered *Annibal*, who also was gone forth with his horsemen to discover the country about. At the first they saw not one another, but afterwards, by reason of the thick dust that rose upon the march of so many men and horses, they knew that enemies approached near. On both sides the battalions made a stand, and every man buckled himself to the skirmish. *Scipio* placed his Archers and horsemen of the Gauls in the forefront: the Romans and strength of Allies, he bestowed behind for succours in the rereguard. *Annibal* set in this battle, his great barbed horses with his lances and men of arms, and strengthened the wings with Numidian horsemen. The very first charge and shout was scarce done, when the Archers foresaid retired among the rereguard in the second battailon: by occasion whereof, the horsemen alone fought a good while in

equal

A qual battel: yea, and afterwards, because the footmen that were intermingled among troubled and disordered the horses, many either fell or else alighted from their horses, so to gather where they saw their fellows to be envired and overcharged. The conflict became very doubtful in many places until such time as the Numidians (who were in the wings) wheeling about by little and little, shewed themselves behind the backs of the Romans: this fearful sight troubled them greatly, and the fear was increased by reason of the Consul his hurt: the extreme danger whereof, was put by and avoided by the rescue of the son (then a very tripling as yet, and scarce had any hair upon his face) this youth is he, who had the honor of happily ending this war, surnamed afterwards (upon the noble victory and memorable conquest over *Annibal* and the Carthaginians) *Africanus*. But the Archers were they that fled fastest away, even those whom the Numidians let upon first. The rest that were horsemen, keeping thick and close together, recovered their Consul within their files into the midst of them: and protecting him not only with their weapons, but also with their bodies, brought him back safe unto the camp: retiring all the way neither disorderly, nor like fearful men over hastily. The honor of saving the Consul, *Calpurnius* attributed unto a bond slave of *Liguria*. But I verily would rather believe it of the son: which also the greater number of authors do affirm, but the common lame goeth of the said bond slave. This was the first battel with *Annibal*: wherein it easily appeared, that the Carthaginians were better in Cavalry, and therefore the open plain field such as were between the *Po* and the *Alps*, were not so good for the Romans to fight in. The night following therefore, *Scipio* commanded his souldiers secretly without any noise to truss up bag and baggage, and to dislodge: and removed from *Ticinus*, and made haste to *Po*: that whiles his boats were not yet unloosed one from the other, in which (as upon a bridge) he had brought over his army, he might without any trouble and pursuit of the enemy, conduct the same back again. And they came to *Placentia* before that *Annibal* knew they were departed from *Ticinus*: howbeit, he took some of them that made stay on the higher side of the bank as they were too slow about disjoining and loosening the foresaid bridge of boats: upon which he could not pass over, by reason that when both ends were let loose, the planks and all went down the water with the stream. *Calpurnius* writeth, that *Mago* with his horses, and Spanish footmen, presently swam over the river; and that *Annibal* himself led over his army at the upper foords of *Po*: for which purpose, he set the Elephants along on a row to break and bear off the violence and stream of the current. A thing surely that they were hardly able to do, who were skilful and by long experience knew the nature of the River very well. For it soundeth not like a skull, that horsemen with their armor and horses safe, could overcome to great a rage of the river, although we should grant that all the Spaniards gat over upon blown bladders or leather vessels, and besides, they had needed many days to fetch a compass for to find the foords of *Po*, over which, the army (laden with cartage) might be conveyed. But those authors carry more credit and authority with me, who write that scarcely in two days they found a place to make a bridge (of planks joined together) over the river, and that *Mago* and the Spanish light horsemen were sent that way over before.

Whiles *Annibal* on this side of the River, staid in giving audience to the embassages of the Gauls, he conducted over the regiments of footmen more heavily armed: in the mean while, *Mago* and the horsemen, after they had passed the river, marched one day's journey apace toward the enemies at *Placentia*. And *Annibal* (few days after) encamped himself strongly six miles from *Placentia*: and the morrow after in the sight of the enemies he put his men in array, and made them offer of battle. The night following there was a petty massacre committed in the Romans camp by the Gauls that came to aid: but greater was the garbail and tumult, then the harm indeed. For about 2000 footmen, and 200 horsemen, having slain the warders at the gates, fled away to *Annibal*: whom he spake courteously unto, and when he had drawn them on, in hope of great gifts and rewards, he dismissed every one into his own City and Country, to solicit and persuade their countreymen to side with him. *Scipio* taking that massacre as a foretoken and overture to the Gauls revolt in general; and supposing, that now being once guilty and tainted with this offence, they would in a madnels run all to take arms and rise. Although still he were fore of his late wound, yet the night following at the relief of the fourth watch, he marched thilly, and removed his camp near the river *Trebia*, into the higher countries, and hills, that were more troublesome for men of arms. But he wrought not so closely and without the knowledge of the enemy, as he did at *Ticinus*. For *Annibal* having sent out, first, the Numidian light horse, and then all his Cavalry: without question had disordered and endamaged the rereguard, but that the Numidians for greediness of prey and booty, diverted aside, and turned into the tents, abandoned and forsaken of the Romans. Where, whiles they spent time in ransacking and rifling every corner of the camp (and when all was done, could find no pillage worth the stay) the enemy escaped their hands. And when as they had eluded that the Romans were newly got over *Trebia*, and pitched out a plot for a camp, they intercepted a few of them that lingered about the river, and slew them. *Scipio* not able now to abide any longer the grief and pain of his wound, by reason of the shaking and shogging of his body as he travelled, and thinking it good to expect the coming of the other Consul his Colleague, (whom he heard already to be sent for out of *Sicily*) chose out a place near the river which seemed most safe for to encamp in, and it he fortified. *Annibal* also lay not far off in camp; who as he was proud upon the late battel of horsemen, so was he perplexed for want of victuals, which scarcity increased upon him every day more and more.

* About 25 English miles, as appears by the book.

as he travelled through the enemies country, finding in no place provision aforehand. Whereupon, he went to *Cl. fidum*, a town wherein the Romans had bestowed and laid up great store of grain: where, as he prepared with violence to force the town, there appeared some hope of treason, by corrupting of *P. Brundisium*, the captain of the garrison there, and that with no great sum of money; for in consideration only of 400. peeces of gold given unto him, *Cl. fidum* was betrayed unto *Annibal*: the very storehouse and garner of corn that the Carthaginians had, all the while they were in leaguer near *Trebia*. Upon those prisoners that were taken when the garrison and fort was betrayed, he exercised no cruelty, because that in the beginning of his affairs, he would win himself a name and opinion of clemency.

Whiles the war by land continued thus at *Trebia*, there had been some warlike exploits achieved both by sea and land about *Sicily*, and the Islands that lie against *Italy* near unto it, both by *Sempronius* the Consul, and also before his coming. Twenty galleys with five ranks of Oars, and a thousand armed men, were sent from the Carthaginians to invade and waste the coasts of *Sicily*. Nine of them arrived at *Lipara*: eight fell with the Island of *Vulcano*, and three were driven by tempest into the straits of *Sicily*. Against them being decyred within kenning, there were twelve ships let out from *Messana*, by *Hiero* King of the Saracians, who happened at that time to be in *Messana*, attending the Roman Consul his coming; and without any resistance made he boarded those three ships, and brought them away into the Haven of *Messana*. By those that were taken prisoners, it was known, that besides the twenty ships aforesaid, sent against *Italy* (of which Fleet they were) 35 galleys of five course of Oars, made sail for *Sicily*, to solicit and persuade the old allies there to revolt. Item, that the especial point and design that they shoud attempt to seize upon *Lilybaeum*: but they thought verily that by the lame gull or tempest wherewith they were scattered, that other Fleet also was cast upon the Island *Aegrotus*. And according to this intelligence, the King from *Messana* writeth to *Emilius* the Roman Pretor or Governor of *Sicily*, advising him to keep a strong garrison in *Lilybaeum*: whereupon the Lieutenants and Colonels about the Pretor, were sent from him with all speed to all the Cities about, to give order, that their people might be in readinesse, to keep good ward, and above all, to hold *Lilybaeum* safe. And for preparation of war, there went forth a proclamation, that the sailors and mariners shoud bring into the ships ten days provision of victuals and meat ready dressed: to the end that upon the signal given at an hours warning, without all delay, they shoud a shipboard: Also that all that dwelt along the coast, shoud from their sentinels, watch-towers, and beacons, spy when the enemies fleet approached. Now (albeit the Carthaginians of purpose stayed the course of their ships, that they might come just before day to *Lilybaeum*) they were discovered, both for that the Moon shone all night, and also because they came under sail which they had hoisted up. So soon therefore as the signal was given out of the Sentinels and watch-towers, & alarm tried in the town, the mariners were soon imbarcked the soldiers also were bestowed some to man and guard the walls and guard the gates, others to crie in the ships. But the Carthaginians perceiving they were to deal with them that were provided for them, (as being advertised of their coming) forbore to enter the haven until day, and employed the time in striking sails, in uncracking their ships, and preparing them for battle. When it was broad day light, they retired into the deep, to have free room enough to fight: and that the enemies ships might have free egress out of the haven. The Romans for their part retired not battle, comforting themselves with the remembrance of the valiant exploits performed in that very place, and trusting also upon the number and valour of their soldiers. They were not so soon lanched into the open sea, but the Romans were desirous to grapple, and to come close to hand fight: but contrariwise the Carthaginians held aloof, willing to proceed byunning and policy more than by strength and meer force, and to make trial rather of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, than either of the prowess of men, or goodness of armour: for as their Fleet was sufficiently furnished, and to the full with a multitude of mariners, so was it provided of soldiers: and wheresoever they grappled together, and came to hand-fight, they were not an equal number of men armed to hold play with the enemies: which being once perceived, the Romans gathered heart, and redoubled their courage, by reason of their number: the other side again were discouraged and out of heart, for their default of soldiers. Incometh a leaven Carthaginian galleys were soon swelled round and boarded the rest dead. Of soldiers and mariners together, 1700. were in them taken: amongst whom, there were a three great Gentlemen of Carthage. The Roman fleet tillent and whole, save one vessel only that was boughed and pierced (yet albeit he brought back) returned into the haven.

Direfully did this battle, and before that they of *Messana* had knowledge thereof, *T. Sempronius* the Consul arrived at *Messana*: and as he entered within the bound King *Hiero* met him, with a fleet well furnished, and richly decked and coming forth of his royal City, to the Admirall of the Consul he welcomed him and rejoiced for the safe return of his men and ships, and prayed God, that his voyage into *Sicily* might prove happy and fortunate. Then showed he unto him the present estate, and the affairs of the Island, opened the deliverments of the Carthaginians: and promised withal, that with as good a mind and sound heart, as in the former war against the Carthaginians when he was a young man, he had aided the people of *Rome*: so now he should be won to assist them, and for proof thereof, he would shew him a true order of firmish boats, and their placements, and also the mariners with their weapons. Among other matters he shewed him how *Lilybaeum*, and other Cities on the sea coast were in great danger, by reason of

* *Lipara*, one of the Islands *Aegrotus*.

* *Vulcano*, another of the same Islands, * *Messana*.

* *Messana* a City in *Sicily*, and a Cape there, called the Eye of *Sicily*.

A some among them that desired a change and alteration. Whereupon the Consul thought good to make no delay, but to set sail with all speed to *Lilybaeum*, whom the King and his royal fleet accompanied: and as they were sailing, tidings came of the foretold battle before *Lilybaeum*, and how the enemies ships were either scattered and put to flight, or boarded and taken.

The Consul having bid King *Hiero* adieu, with his fleet set sail from *Lilybaeum*, leaving behind him the Pretor to defend the coast of *Sicily*, and crossed the sea himself to the Island *Melita*, which was held by the Carthaginians. At whole coming, *Amilcar* the son of *Gisco*, Captain of the garrison there, rendered himself, and 2000. soldiers within a very few, together with the Town and the Island. From whence, within few days he returned to *Lilybaeum*: where the prisoners (excepting certain noble persons of high parentage) were by the Consul and the Pretor both sold openly in port-fair. When the Consul thought *Sicily* on that coast sure enough, he set sail from thence towards the Islands of *Vulcano*, for that the bruit went that a fleet of Carthaginians there lay at road: but there were no enemies to be found about those Islands: for it chanced they were already passed over to wale along the river and coast of *Italy*; and having foraged the territory of *Vibo*, they put the City also in great fear. As the Consul returned back again to *Sicily*, tidings came that the enemy had made rodes into the country of *Vibona*: and he received letters also from the Senat, concerning the coming of *Annibal* into *Italy*, and therefore that he shoud with all speed possible aid and succour his Colleague. The Consul being at once troubled with many cares, presently imbarcked his army, and by the Adriatick sea, sent them away to *Ariminum*. To *Sextus*, *Pomponius* his Lieutenant, he gave the charge of 25 Gallies for the defence of the territory of *Vibo* and the sea-coast of *Italy*. With *M. Emilius* the Pretor, he left a fleet augmented to the number of fifty sail: which done, and all things set in order in *Sicily*, himself with ten ships coasted along *Italy*, and arrived at *Ariminum*, from whence he put himself in his journey, and marched with one army to the river *Trebia*, where he joined with his fellow Consul. Now were both *Cornelius*, and the whole puissance and force of the Romans opposed against *Annibal*, so as it appeared plainly, that either with that power the Empire of *Rome* might be defended, or else all their hope was gone. Howbeit, one of the Consuls being weakened and discouraged with the defeat of his horsemen in one battle, and dismayed besides with the hurt he had received in his body, desired to have the fight deferred: but the other coming fresh and lusty, and thereby more hardy, would abide no delay.

Tell out to at that time, that the Gauls inhabited all the Country between the two rivers *Trebia* and *Po*: who whilst these two most puissant nations were at strife and warred held off as neutrals, and favoured neither side, making full account of the good will and grace of that part which should have the better. The Romans became they would now make no truce, and have no more truce in the fire, took the matter well enough: but *Annibal* was very much thereby offended, giving out very often, that he was sent for by the Gauls for their deliverance and liberty. Upon this indignation and displeasure, and for that also he would feed his men with booties, he commanded 2000 footmen, and a thousand horsemen, most of them Numidians, and some Gauls among, to overrun and spoil all the country forward, even to the banks of *Po*. The Gauls standing in need of help, and having until that time kept themselves in doubtful terms, were forced to turn from those that offered them wrong, and to encline and cleave unto the Romans: that should revenge their injuries and protect them. Whereupon they sent Embassadors to the Consuls, requesting the Romans help for their land, which by reason of the exceeding fidelity, and too much loyalty of the inhabitants toward them, was now endangered. *Cornelius* liked neither the cause, nor yet the time to deal in such affairs: he had the nation besides in suspicion and jealousy, as well for many treacherous parts, as also (in case he would or could forget all other lewd pranks of their) for the lame disloyalty and unfaithfulness of the Boians. *Sempronius* contrariwise thought it the best bond to keep their allies in faith and allegiance, to defend those that came first to band and side with him. But notwithstanding his Colleague cast doubts and held off, yet he sent his own Cavalry, and a thousand well neer off footmen darters amongst them, to guard the country of Gaul beyond *Trebia*: who coming suddenly upon the enemies, and charging them at unawares, as they came scattered abroad, and out of order, yea, and most of them laden with spoil, mightily affrighted them, and made a foul slaughter and pursued them in flight, as far as to their standing camp, and corps de guard. From whence (nevertheless) they were beaten back by the multitude that followed forth: but by new success from their own companies, they renewed the fight again. The fight afterward was doubtful and variable: and although they made a saving bargain on both parts yet the common voice gave the honor of victory (such as it was) to the Romans rather than the enemies. But no man made a greater matter of it, and reckoned it more to the ill, than the Consul himself. He joined, he made his boast, that he had got the better with the help of the famous Gauls: which moved the conduct of the other Consul, came by the worse. And now (saith he) the soldiers are comforted and refreshed well enough and none there is but my brother Consul that would have the battle deferred: who no doubt is more heart-hearted than hardly hurt: and for the remembrance and smart of a little green wound quaker to hear of the field, & of all things cannot away with edge-tools. But we must not thurst it still here, and was aged for the pleasure of one trait and sickly person for what reason is it, that we shoud drive off longer, and spend more time in vain? What other Consul expect we to make up the third? or what army besides shoud we look for? The Carthaginians lie encamped in *Italy*, and well near within the view and sight

* *Melita*.

* *Vibona*, or *Vibona*.

* *Ariminum*.

* *Sisteria*.

"of the City of Rome; and it is neither *Sicily* nor *Sardinia* taken from them by conquest, nor *Spain* on this side *Iberus*, which they shoot at, to win again: but that the Romans should be thrust out of their native soil and country wherein they were born, that is their drit and designation. Oh how deeply (quoth he) would our Fathers sigh, how heartily would they groan, they who were wont to manage war about the walls of *Carthage*, if they should see us their off-spring and children, two Consuls with Consular and royal armies in the midst of *Italy*, frightened thus and panting for fear within our camp? And that *Annibal* hath subdued and brought under his subjection all the country between the *Alps* and *Apenninum*? These and such like speeches uttered he to his Collegue, as he sat by his beds side, where he lay sick: thus spake he, as in an open audience, in the Coss, pavilion and all that quarter, to the souldiers. The time also of the Election of magistrates at *Rome*, being so near at hand, set him forward; for fear, lest the war should be deferred unto the new Coss, and the opportunity wishal, of winning all the honor to himself whilst his Collegue continued sick, pricked him on. Whereupon, for all the contradiction of *Cornelius*, which he nothing weighed and regarded, commandment he gave to his souldiers to be ready, to give battel anon unto the enemy. *Annibal* as one that knew and saw well enough what was best and safest for his enemy, could hardly imagine or conceive any hope to himself, that the Consuls would enterprize any thing rashly, or without aduilement; but when he understood by hear-say, that which afterwards by good proof and experience he found true, namely, that the one of them by nature was hot, haity, proud, and furious: and supposing, that he was the prouder and more furious for the late good hand he had of his forragers: made no doubt and distrust of the happy success and issue of a battel, whensoever it should come. Marry, careful he was, that no good time and opportunity presented unto him, should be overslip: but to try the hazard and fortune of the field, whilst the enemies souldiers were raw and untrained, and the better and wiser man of the two Generals, was unmeet for service by reason of his wound as yet uncured: and the courages of the Gauls lusty and forward: for well he wist, that a mighty number of them would the more unwillingly follow, the further they were drawn from their own home. *Annibal*, I say, hoping that by these and such like occasions, a battel would be soon offered: desired also himself to bid battel, if the enemy staid long: and being advertised besides by the Gauls, his eipials (whom he employed to hearken out and learn what he desired to know, and thought them more sure, because they served in both camps) that the Romans were ready for the field: then began he (rasy Carthaginian as he was) to seek out a convenient place for an ambush. Now there was in the mid way between, a river running within the borders, having very high banks of either side, and therefore lying close hidden, and all about overpied with mossy weeds, with briars, brambles, and brush-wood, as for the most part, such sort of places are overgrown withal. Which when *Annibal* in person had ridden about, and well viewed, perceiving that it would afford lurking holes handsom enough even for horsemen there to be hidden, This shall be the place (quoth he, to his brother *Mago*) which you shall keep. Chuse therefore out of all the horse and foot a hundred lusty fellows of each: and see you repair with them to meet the first watch, for now is it time to take repast, and to refresh your bodies. And with that he sent out to the camp the Criers, to call the souldiers to supper. And long it was not, but *Mago* came with his chosen men, I see (quoth *Annibal*) ye are goodly men of person, and sufficient. And that ye may be as able in number, as hardy in courage, elect ye also out of the Cornets of horse and squadrons of foot, nine a piece such as your selves to fort withal. *Mago* shall show you the ground where ye must lie in ambush; you shall find the enemy as blind as beetles, altogether unacquainted with these feats and cunning devices.

Thus *Annibal*, having committed unto *Mago* a thousand horsemen and as many footmen himself: etimes in the morning, willed the Numidian Cavalry, when they were past over the river *Trebia*, to ride braving before the gates of the enemies, and by darning and shooting into their guards, to provoke and draw them forth to fight: with this direction moreover, when the skirmish was begun, to fall off, and seem to retire by little and little, and so to train them on this side the river. This charge had the Numidians, but the other Captains, as well off set as horse, were commanded to let their Companies all to their breakfast: which done, to arm themselves, and with their horses ready saddled, to attend the signal of battel. *Sempronius* upon the alarm and hubbub of the Numidians, as being forward and desirous of fight, first brought forth all his horsemen, and bare himself bold and confident in that service; after that six thousand footmen a and at last, all his whole forces; and led them to a place which before he had designed and appointed in his mind. It fell out to be in Winter, after the midst of December, and a snowy day it was in those parts lying between the *Alps* and *Apenninum*. Now by reason of the rivers and moors so near, both horse and men were exceeding cold: also for that they were hastily on a sudden, called forth fasting, and unprovided of all means against the cold, they had never a whiff of hear left in them: and the nearer they came to the air and vapour of the river, the sharper cold pinched and pierced them through. But when as once they followed upon the Numidians that gave back, and were entered into the water (which by reason of the rain that fell by night was risen brief-high) they were not so soon gotten out again of the river, but all their bodies began to chill, and be stiff again for cold, that scarcely they could hold their weapons: and withal, as the day went further on, for very hunger they fainted. But *Annibal* his souldiers, who in the mean time had made fires, before their tents, and had oyl sent them to every company, for to supple and soften their joints, and

A and limbs, and taken their repast, and eated at leisure: when they heard say, that the enemies were passed the river, with hearts courageous and bodies fresh and lusty, take them to their weapons, and come forth to fight in ordinance of battel. The Baleares, and light armed men, to the number almost of 8000, he ranged before the standards in the front: after them he placed the footmen, better appointed and armed to the proof, even the very strength and manhood of all his forces: about the wings he set 10000 horsemen, and behind those wings, he divided and appointed his Elephants both on the one side and the other.

The Consul *Sempronius* seeing his horsemen following the chase on the spur, and out of order: and how at unawares they were charged again by the Numidians, who upon a sudden turned and made head upon them, founded the retreat: and when they were rallied about him, he compassed his footmen with them. The Romans were in number 18000, of Allies and Latines 26000, besides the aids of the *Cenomani*: which Nation of the Gauls only, continued faithful and true to the Romans. With these forces came they into the field, and began the battel. The first charge of the skirmish was given by the Islanders of *Baleares*, upon whom, when the legions made head with greater violence, their light armed men were quickly brought into the wings: which was a cause that the Roman horsemen presently were uncharged and distressed. For whereas of themselves they were but 4000, horse, and hardly able to withstand the shock of ten thousand horsemen of the other, the Romans also were wearied, but most of the Carthaginians fresh and untainted: over and besides, they were overwhelmed with a cloud (as it were) of darts, sling and shot by the *Baleares* Islanders: Moreover the Elephants which appeared aloft from the hindmost ends of the wings frightened the horses especially, and not only with the strange fright, but also with the uncount a scent and favor, made them flee every way. The battel of the Infantry was equally as uncount a scent and favor, made them flee every way: which the Carthaginians, (as having a little advantage of heart, rather then in strength of body: which the Carthaginians, (as having a little advantage taken repast) brought fresh with them into the field: but contrariwise the Romans were fasting and weary, and for cold even stark and benumbed. Howbeit their stomachs would have served to have held out and withstood to the end, if they might have fought with footmen only. But both the *Baleares*, having disordered the horsemen, flanked them with their shot, and also the Elephants by this time were entered into the middle battalion of footmen: and withal, *Mago* and the Numidian light horse (so soon as this battalion was unawares gone past their aim, and bothment and lurking holes) start up and arose from behind, and put them in exceeding trouble and fright. Yet for all these inconveniences and disadvantages (so many on every side) the main battel a good while stood unmoved and stirred not, but kept the array, and especially (beyond the expectation of all men) against the Elephants. For certain footmen placed for the purpose (by flinging of darts forced them to turn head: and when they were once turned forward, they followed hard upon them, pricking and galling them under the tails. In which place by reason of the tender skin they are soon wounded. Whom when *Annibal* saw thus feared and ready to turn upon their own part, from the main battel to the flanks and outflanks, he commanded them to be driven unto the left wing upon the Gauls that came to aid, and presently enforced them to run away. The Romans seeing their auxiliary Gauls put to flight, were driven unto a new fear. Whereupon fighting now as it were in a ring and round on both sides, there were among them, to the number also of 10000, who seeing no way else to escape, brake through the middle battalion of the Africans, which was strengthened with the aid of the Gauls, and that with a great slaughter of their enemies: and seeing they neither could return into their camp (the river being between) for the rain well discern how to succour their fellows, they took the way straight to *Placentia*. After this, there brake forth in all parts. They that took the river either perished in the streams and whirl-pools: or such as made stay to enter, were by the enemy overtaken and slain. But as many as here and there fled scattering through the fields, following the footing and tricks of the battalion that retired back, came to *Placentia*. Some for fear of the enemy adventured boldly to take the river, and being once over, recovered the camp. The rain and snow together, and the intolerable cold killed many, as well men as beasts in manner all the Elephants. The Carthaginians followed the enemies in chase as far as *Trebia*, and there gave over: and returned into the camp to clumie and frozen, as scarcely they felt the joy of their victory. By reason whereof the night following, when as the guard of the Roman camp, and the remnant of that great company of souldiers passed *Trebia* with float-boats and flat barges, the Carthaginians either perceived nor indeed for the noise the tempestuous rain made, or for weariness and sore wounds were they not able to stir, and therefore made semblance, as though they knew not of it. And so whilst the Carthaginians were at rest, the army was by *Scipio* the Consul brought (in a still march) to *Placentia*: and from thence having crossed the *Po*, came to *Cremona*, because one Colony alone should not be charged with the wintering of two armies at one time.

G Upon this defeat and overthrow, there arrived such fearful tidings at *Rome*, that they believed verily and looked for no other but that the enemy would come with banner displayed straight to the very City: and that there was no hope nor help left behind to defend their gates and walls from assault and violence. For seeing that the one Consul was vanquished at *Ticinus* and the other also, who was called unto him out of *Sicily*: since both Consuls, and two consular armies were thus defeated, what other Captains, what Legions remained now to be sent for, to aid? As they thus debated, what other Captains, what Legions remained now to be sent for, to aid? As they were in this agony and fear, *Sempronius* the Consul came home: who with very great danger had passed through the enemies Cavalry, which was spread here and there all about, to fetch in booties: and

* *Dei de Mith.*

and more by venturesome hardihoods than good advice and hope, either to mis them unprovided, or to resist if he had hapned upon them, he got away. And after he had held the assembly for election of the Consuls (the only thing above all other for that present most desired) he returned into his standing camp to winter in. Now there were created Consuls, *Cn. Servilius*, and *C. Flaminius* the second time.

Howbeit the Romans were not in quiet within their wintering camp; for the Numidian horsemen ranged about, and made excursions into every quarter, and (those who troubled and encompassed them, more then they) the Celtiberians and Portugals. Whereby all convoy of victuals from every part was stopped, but only that which came by the *Po*, in Keels and such like vessels. Neer to *Placentia* there was a merchants town, both fortified strongly, and also well furnished with a good garrison: upon hope to force that castle or town, *Annibal* went with his horse and foot, lightly armed: and supposing that to carry the matter covertly, would avail much to the effecting of his purposed enterprise, he came upon them in the night: howbeit he was not so close and secret, but he was defied by the watch: who suddenly set up such an alarm, that it was heard as far as *Placentia*. Whereby the Consul somewhat before day was there with his Cavalry, having commanded the Infantry to march on after, ranged in a square battailon. In the mean while the horsemen skirmished, wherein *Annibal* was hurt, and departed out of the skirmish, by which means the enemies were frightened, and the Castle and hold manfully defended. After few days that he had taken his ease, before he was well cured of his wound, he went forward to assault *Vicumvici*. That was a town also of merchandize (or mart town) and had been fortified by the Romans in the Gauls war. Whereupon, the people bordering there about on every side, fled thither to make repair, and much frequented the same: and even then for fear of rodes and excursions many of the Peasants and rural people retired themselves thither for refuge. This multitude (such as they were) upon the report of the valiant holding and defence of the fort by *Placentia*, were encouraged, and took arms, and went forth to encounter *Annibal*. And in the midway they chanced to affront him and skirmish, in no battel array, but as they marched disorderly: whereas they were on the one side, none but a rude and confused sort; and on the other side, both a Captain that might trust his souldiers, and souldiers also that might reckon upon their Captain, there were to the number of 5000, difcomfited and put to flight, even by a few of their enemies. The morrow after, they yielded themselves, and received a garrison within the walls: and so soon as upon commandment to give up their armor, they had obeyed and so done: presently a signal was given unto the conquerors to sack and spoil the town, as if it had been forced by assault: where there was nothing rotten and omitted any calamity whatsoever, that might afford in such a case memorable matter & sufficient argument for writers to record. So pitiful examples were practised upon the poor silly wretches, of all loosefies and lust, cruelty, and inhuman pride and outrage. And there were the expeditions and enterprises of *Annibal* achieved for this winter time.

After this the souldiers took repose, but no longer then the intolerable cold lasted: For immediately upon the very first and doubtful tokens of spring; he departed from his wintering hold, and led his army into *Tuscany*, purposing to adjoin unto him (either by force or love) that nation also, as well as the Gauls and Ligurians. But as he passed over *Ageninum*, there arose so terrible storm and tempest, and surprised him, that he surmounted well-near the foul trouble and encumbrance endured in the *Alps*. For the wind and rain together did beat and drive upon their very faces. At the first for that either they were to lay away their armor, or else in striving and labouring to march on against the weather and by the whirl-puffs of wind turned round about, and ready to be born down, they stood still: but when as now the violence and fury of the storm stopped their breaths, suffered them not to take their wind at will; they were fain to turn their backs, and sit them down on the ground for a time. Then lee, the skie thundered again, and made an horrible noise, and amid those terrible cracks redoubled, it lightened thick. Whereupon, they lost their hearing and seeing; and for fear, all of them became astounded. At length it poured down, and thereby the wind and storm increased more forcibly upon them. Whereupon they were driven to this necessity, even to pitch their camp, even in that very place where they were so suddenly caught and overtaken by tempest. But that was to them the beginning of a new toil and travail: for neither could they spread and display ought, nor pitch any thing safely: neither would that which was pight down continue and abide the wind, which rent and tare, and broke every thing, and hurried it clean away. And within a while the water that fell, and by reason of the wind was raised aloft, being ogealed once upon the cold tops of the hills, turned into a kind of hail and snow together, and came upon them with such a force, that leaving all things else, the men were forced to lie along, groveling upon their faces, rather stifled and smothered, then covered with their billings. Hereupon ensued a frost, so violent and outrageous, that of that miserable and pitiful heap of men and beasts, that lay there along, there was not one for a good while could raise and lift up himself when he would, by reason, that for stark cold their sinews were benumbed, that they could hardly bend and bow their joints. Afterwards, at length, when with bestirring and chafing their limbs, they gat some heat, and came again to themselves, and that here and there in some places they began to make fires: every one that had no means for to do, ran and fled to the succor and help of others. Thus for two days they remained there pinned up as if they had been besieged. Many a man and beast, and seven Elephants also of them that remained after the battel at *Trebin*, were starved and perished.

By

By occasion hereof, *Annibal* departed from *Ageninum*, back again toward *Placentia*: and when he had marched ten miles on his way, he let him down and encamped. The morrow after he led against the enemy 12000 foot, and 5000, horse, *Sempronius* the Consul also, being now returned from *Rome*, refused not battel: and the same day, the enemies were distant but three miles asunder. The morrow after they fought on each side most fiercely and courageously, and with variable event and fortune. At the first-on let the Romans had the better hand, so far forth, as that not only in fight they overcame their enemies, but also after they had difcomfited them, and put them back, they chased them into their camp, and anon assailed the same. *Annibal* having ordained some few to defend the rampart and the gates, retired the rest thick and close together into the midst of the camp, and commanded them to give ear, and be inventive to the signal, when he would have them issue forth. Now was it the ninth hour of the day, when the Roman Consul having coiled and wearied his souldiers to no purpose, and seeing no hope to win the camp, founded the retreat. Which so soon as *Annibal* heard, and saw the fight withal to slack and wax cold, and the enemy retired back from the camp, presently sallied forth himself with the whole strength of his Infantry, for he had sent out his horsemen both on the right hand and the left after the enemies. There had not been lightly a more fierce and cruel battel strucken, and more memorable, for the final mischief of both parts, if the day would have given them time to have fought longer. But the night parted the fray, which was hotly begun with exceeding fustock and courage. Whereupon, the contending and charging one of another, was more eager, then the laughter bloody between them: and as the fight in manner was equal, they parted with loss alike. For of each side there died above six hundred footmen, and half as many horsemen. But the loss on the Romans side was greater than in proportion of the number, because certain of the degree and calling of Knights, and five Colonels, and three Captains of the Allies, were slain.

* Three of the clock after noon.

After this journey, *Annibal* went into the country of the Ligurians, and *Sempronius* to *Luca*. To welcome *Annibal* at his first coming into *Liguria*, there were delivered unto him two Roman Quæstors or Treasurers, *Cn. Fulvius*, and *L. Lucretius*, who were intercepted by the Ligurians, & taken in a train of ambush, with two Colonels, and five others besides, whose fathers by calling were as good as Senators fellows: and this was done, because he should assure himself the better, that the peace and amity contracted with them, would be faithfully kept and observed.

Whiles these things thus passed in *It. I. Cn. Scipio* who was sent into *Spain* with a fleet and army for sea and land; having set sail from the mouth of *Rhodanus*, and compassed the mountains *Pyreni*, arrived at a place called *Emporia*: where he disembarked and landed his forces, and reduced unto the Roman Empire all the country, beginning at the Lacetans, and so from thence all the sea coast as far as to the river *Iberus*, partly by renewing their ancient leagues, and partly by devising new contracts new. Whereupon, there arose a great name of him for his clemency; whereby he prevailed not only with the States by the sea side but also amongst the inlanders and mountaineers, even to the nations that were more fierce & savage: with whom he not only made peace, but also wrought them so, that they took arm in his quarrel: and there were levied from among them, certain strong cohorts and bands for to aid and succour him. *Hanno*, whom *Annibal* had left for defence of that province, was not ignorant hereof: and therefore, before all was gone, and the country alienated, he thought good to meet with this mischief: and having pitched his camp in sight of the enemies, let his men in ordinance or battel. The Roman Captain likewise resolved not to defer the fight; knowing that so, he might be forced to encounter both with *Hanno* and *Adrubal*. And rather yet he desired to deal with them one after the other single, than at once with both. But this battel was not so much dangerous, Six thousand enemies were left behind slain, and two thousand taken prisoners, together with those that were left for the guard of the camp. For both the camp was forced and won, and also the General himself with certain guards was taken prisoner. Moreover *Stiffum*, a town neer unto the camp, was won by assault: howbeit, the spoil and pillage of the town were matters of small worth and value; namely, the household stuff, and such petty and trumpery of barbarous people, and certain poor base slaves. It was the camp that enriched the souldiers: by reason that not only the army which was now vanquished, but that also which with *Annibal* served in *Italy*, and left behind them about *Pyrenius*, all good things to speak of, that they set store by, because they would go lightly, and not be encumbered with carriages. Before any certain report of this overthrow came to *Adrubal*, he had passed over *Iberus* with 8000, footmen, and 1000, horsemen, as purposing to make head against the Romans at their first coming: but when he heard how the field was lost, and the camp withal, he turned his journey to the sea. And not far from *Tarracoon*, he found the souldiers of the Armado, and the mariners besides, wandering and stragling over the fields (for usual it is, that happy success should breed careles negligence) whereupon he sent out his horsemen every way, and with great slaughter and flight he chased them to their ships: and not adventuring to make any longer stay thereabout, for fear to be surprised of *Scipio*, he retired back to the other side of *Iberus*. *Scipio* also upon the first report of these new enemies, having rallied his forces together in great haste, after he had slightly chastised a few Captains, and left behind him a small garrison at *Tarracoon*, returned with his fleet to *Emporia*. He had no sooner departed from thence, but *Adrubal* was there in his place; and having induced and incited the State of the Illegetes (who had given hostages to *Scipio*) for to revolt and rebel, even with their own youth, walled the territories of all those that continued faithful confederates to the Romans. Afterwards, when *Scipio* was routed

* Tarracoon.

verence he had of the Gods themselves: which rashness, as it cost him nought, but was ingrafted in him by nature, so fortune had nourished and maintained the same with prosperous success in his affairs at home, and wars abroad; so as it appeared evidently, that since he respected neither God nor man, and deigned not to take their counsel and advice, he would go rashly to work, and do all in haste, hand over hand, without discretion. And to the end he might be more forward to plunge himself headlong into these his infirmities and imperfections, *Annibal* devised to anger him; and to move his patience, leaving the enemy therefore on his left hand, he put himself into the way to *Fejula* to wait and spoil the country of *Tuscany*; and shewed to the Consul a far off, what foul work and havoc he possibly could make, with fire and sword. Then *Flaminius*, who of himself would not have rested and late still, in case *Annibal* had been quiet; seeing once the goods of his allies and friends, harried and driven away even before his eyes, and thinking it tended greatly to his shame and dishonor, that a Carthaginian should march thus at his pleasure, through the mids of *Italy*, and without any impeaching and controulement, to pass on forward, even to besiege and assault the walls of *Rome*; when all others about him sitting in council, gave advice for profit and safety, rather than for shew and bravery; namely, to pause awhile, and expect the coming of his Colleague, that they might with joint armies, with one heart, and with common accord of counsel, conduct and manage the war: and in the mean time, with the Cavalry, with Auxiliary or aid-fouldiers lightly armed, repress the enemy, and stay him from spoiling so licentiously at his pleasure; in a great chafe and choler he rose up, and departed out of the Council, and presently founded the march, and gave the signal of battail: and withal, "Nay we were best (quoth he) to remain and sit here till before the walls of *Arretium*: for this, 'be like, is our native country, and here is our place of habitation: as for *Annibal*, let him 'escape forth of our hands, and wait all *Italy*; let him spoil afore him, and over-run all with fire and sword, until he be as far as *Rome* walks: and let not us, in any case once stir from hence, before that the Senators send for *C. Flaminius* from *Arretium*, as sometimes they called *Camilus* 'from *Vesii*. With these and such like reproachful and taunting words, he commanded in all his standards and ensigns to be plucked up, and called for his Horse. He was not so soon mounted on his back, but the Horse fell presently, cast the Rider over and over with his head forward; and there lay *Flaminius* the Consul under foot. As they all, that attended about him, were affrighted and troubled in mind, at this unlucky preface and fore-token, in the very beginning of his enterprise: word moreover was brought unto him, that one of the port-ensigns was not able to pull up his ensign, do what he could, and putting his whole strength unto it. The Consul turning to the messenger. What? hast thou any letters besides (quoth he) from the Senat, to prohibit me for giving battail? go thy ways, and bid them dig up the ensign, with help of spade and mattock, if their hands be so benumbed for fear, that they can not pluck it up: and with that began the army to march. The principal Leaders and Captains, besides that they agreed not, but gained this course, were much dismayed and terrified with this twofold prodigious sign: but the common fouldiers rejoiced and took great pleasure, to see this forwardness and animosity of their General: having an eye rather to the end of their hope, than to the cause which they had to hope to. Now *Annibal* waited in all manner of hostility that he could devise, the territories between the Town *Corone*, and the lake *Thrasymenus*, and all to whet the edge of the Consuls stomach, to chafe his hot blood, and to provoke him for to be revenged, for the harms: not wrongs done to his good friends and allies. And come already they were to certain places, naturally made as it were for an ambush, whereas the lake *Thrasymenus* lieth hard at the foot of the Hills of *Cortina*: for there is between, but a very straight and narrow passage, as if there had been left so much space of ground, only for that purpose, and nothing else. For if a man go but a little further, the plain lieth more open, and groweth larger, and from thence the hills begin to arise aloft. *Annibal* in the open ground pitched his camp, for himself with his Africans only and the Spaniards to lodge in, and made abode. The Balearians, and the other light armed fouldiers, he led about behind the Mountains: the Horsemen he placed at the very gullet of the straight passage, where the little hills handomely covered and hid them close: to the end that, so soon as the Romans were entered in, when he had put forth his horsemen against the gullet of the straight, all might be enclosed within the lake and the Mountains. *Flaminius* being come to the lake the day before at the Sun setting; the morrow after, before it was full day light, without discovering and clearing the coasts by any scouts and espials sent out before, passed through the straight. After that his army began to be spread and displayed more at large, as the plain opened wider, he espied and perceived those enemies only which he had before his face: for the ambushes lay close hidden, both behind his back, and over his head. *Annibal* having once got the enemy (as he would) enclosed thus within the lake and the Mountains, and environed with his forces, gave the signal to them all for to charge: who came down every man the nearest way he could: and so much the more were the Romans affrighted and troubled with this sudden occurrent, by reason that the mist which arose out of the lake, was setled thicker in the plain, than upon the hills: whereby the Companies and Squadrons of their enemies coming out of many Vallies, were seen well enough one of another, and therefore more joyntly gave the charge all at once together. The Romans hearing the cry and shout which arose from all parts; before they could well discern and see, perceived themselves compassed all about and surprised, and were assailed both affront, and on their flanks, ere they could put themselves in battail-ray, as they ought, make

The battail at
Thrasymenus.

A their armour and weapons ready, and draw their swords. When all the rest were thus amazed, and at their wits end, the Consul alone, for all this imminent danger, shewed himself nothing daunted or afraid, but set in order the ranks and files which were thuffled and blended together, according as time and place would give him leave: and marshalled his fouldiers, (who turned every way as they heard the sundry and divers noises) and in the best manner he could devise, he comforted and encouraged them, willing them to stand to it, and fight like men, forth that there was now no means else to escape. "All the vows and invocations upon the Gods for their help, would not serve, but only it was mere force and mere manhood must do the deed; and they were "to make way by dint of sword, through the midst of their enemies battailions: and the less men "feared, the less danger commonly beideth them. Howbeit, by reason of the noise and hurly-burly, neither counsel nor command could be heard: and so far off were the fouldiers from knowing their own Ensigns, their ranks and places, that scarcely their heart would serve them to take arms, and to buckle them, as they should, fitly for fight: in such sort as some of them were surprised and born down, laden rather with their harness, then covered and defended there-with. And in so great a mist and darkness, more use they had of ears than eyes: for at the groines of their wounded fellows, at the blows and strokes upon the bodies and armour rebounding again, at the confused shouts and shrieks of hardy and fearful men one with another, they turned their faces, and cast their eyes every way. Some as they would have fled, light into the press of those that were fighting, and there were set fast: some again as they returned for to fight, were born backward by companies that ran away. Afterwards, when they had stayed in vain every way to get forth, and laid well, that on both sides and flanks the mountains and the lake: that afront and behind, the enemies battailions hemmed them in; then they knew evidently there was no hope of life but in their right hand and force of arms. Then every man became a Captain, and encouraged himself to fight manfully: so as the battail began afresh, not in order by the *Principes*, *Hastati*, and *Triarii*, nor according to the accustomed manner, whereby the vanguard should fight before the main battail and the standards, and behind them the rearguard, and that the fouldier should keep his own legion, his own cohort, band, and company: but at a venture, even as it happened, so they went to it and buckled, pell-mell: and as every mans heart served him, so he marshalled himself to fight, either before or behind. Their courage and animosity was so ardent, their spirits and minds so intentive to the battel, that being as there was, a terrible earthquake at the very instant, D which overthrow, turned upside down, a great part of many Cities in *Italy*, turned aside the courses of great rivers out of their channels, and drove their streams against the current, forced the Sea into fresh Rivers, yea, and overturned Mountains with mighty falls, and laid them flat; yet there was not a man who fought in that battail, that once heard or perceived it. The conflict lasted almost three hours. Sharp it was in every place, but about the Consul most cruel: and look in what part soever he saw his men distressed and in hazard, there courageously he aided them. By reason that the flower and bravest gallants followed him, and was himself for his own person goodly beleeen in his rich armour, he both assailed the enemy most furiously, and also defended his own citizens as valiantly: so long, until a certain Infubrian, a man of arms (*Ducarius*, was his name) one that knew his vilage well enough. This is (quoth he) to his country-men, the Consul that defeated our army; put to the sword our Legions, wasted our territories, and he that defeated and sacked our City. Now will I offer him as a sacrifice out of hand to the ghosts and spirits of those our fellow citizens, who by his means have been piteously slain: and therewith, letting spurs to his Horse, he rode through the thickest troop and press of his enemies: and when he had first slain his Elquier outright (who opposed his body between, and set himself against him, seeing him coming so furiously) he ran the Consul quite through the body with his lance. And when he would rather than his life have disarmed and rifled him, the *Triarii* led with their targets over his corps, and to keep him off. Hereupon from hence first many began to flee: but anon, neither deep lake nor high mountain, could impeach and stop their fearful flight: like blind men they ran and sought means to make escapes; 'we the last never so farrow, were the Hills never so steep and craggy, horse and man, man and armour, fell headlong one upon another. A number of them seeing no way else to escape, entered into the Lake by the first edges and shallow brims thereof, waded so far, and went up so high, that they left their heads and shoulders openly above the water. Some there were, who unadvisedly (such was their fear) sought to save themselves by swimming; which being an endless piece of work, and beyond all hope, their wind and breath failing them, they were either rifled and swallowed up of the gulle, or after that with too much haste, they had over-laboured and toiled on themselves, they did what they could to swim back again, and with much ado to recover the Land: and there, by the enemies Horsemen who had taken the water, were they killed every where, and cut in pieces. Six thousand or thereabout, of the vanguard, who lustily braked through the mist, smote the heads of their enemies, unwitting of all that was done behind, escaped safe out of the gullet: and having seized the top of a little hill, there they stood, and might hear only the outcries of men, the raising and rustling sound of their armor, but how the battel went on, neither could they know, nor yet discern for the thickness of the dark mist. But now when they were come to some edge, and one side went down and had the worse, by which time the heat of the sun had broken and dispached the mist, and the bright day appeared: then through the clear light the hills and dales showed evidently, the havoc & overthrow that was made, and how

the Roman army was foully difcomfited and defeated. For fear therefore, that the enemy (having) defcried and feen them a far off) ſhould lead out againſt them the Cavalry, up they went with their Ensigns in all haſt, and got them away with all ſpeed poſſibly they could. The morrow after, when over and beſides all other calamities, they were in danger of extreame famine, and that *Muharbal* (who with all his power of Horie purſued them by night, and overtook them) had given his faithful word and promiſe, that if he delivered up their armour, he would ſuffer them to depart in their ſingle garments, they yielded themſelves. Which promiſe *Anibal* ſaw performed as truly, as all Carthaginians uſe to do, and ſafe Carthaginian as he was, he clapt them all into priſon, and hung irons upon them. This is that noble and famous battel fought at the Lake *Therſymenus*, and of thoſe few overthrowes that the Romans had, the moſt memorable of all others. 15000 Romans were there ſlain in fight: 10000 were ſcattered: and lying through ſundry parts of Tufcany, gat to *Rome*. 1500 of the enemies loſt their lives in the field. But many more of both ſides afterwards died of their wounds. Others there be that report much murder and slaughter on both ſides. For mine own part (beſides that, I love not to write vain untruths, nor any thing without good warrant, and yet the humour of writers for the moſt part is too much given that way) I have followed for mine Author *Fabius* eſpecially, who lived about the time of this war. *Anibal* having enlarged without ranſome as many of his priſoners as were Latins, and put the Romans in ſtreight ward, cuttled out from among the heaps of his enemies that lay one upon another, the dead bodies of his own men, and commanded they ſhould be buried: and having with great care and diligence made ſearch alſo, for the dead corps of *Flaminius* to inter it, he could never find it.

At the fiſt news in *Rome* of this overthrow, the people ran together in exceeding fear and trouble into the common place of Aſſemblies. The Wives and Dames of the City, went up and down to and fro in the ſtreets, and enquired of whomſoever they met, what ſuddain calamity this was, whereof the bruit went; and what was become of the army? And when as the multitude aſſembled thick (as it were) to a publick audience, turning to the Comitium and the Senat-Houſe, and called upon the Magiſtrats: at length ſomewhat before the ſun-ſet, *Marcus Pomponius* the Pretor came forth and ſaid, A great battel hath been fought, and we have loſt the field. And albeit they heard of him no more than this of certainty yet they filled one anothers ears with rumors, and caried home with them theſe news, to wit, that the Conſul was killed, and a great part of his army with him ſlain: that there were but a few left alive, and thoſe either fled and ſcattered up, and down in Tufcany, or elle taken priſoners by the enemy. And look how many casualties & miſfortunes follow the overthrow of an army, into ſo many cares and perplexities were the ſpirits and minds of all thoſe plunged, who had any kinſfolk that ſerved under *Flaminius* the Coſ, all the whiles they were ignorant, what was the fortune of their friends. And no man knew for certain, what he waſt to hope for, or to fear: he morrow and certain dayes following, there flood at the gates a ſort of people, and thoſe were women more than men, waiting to ſee their friends themſelves, or thoſe that could tell tidings of them: and ever as they met with any, they would ſtock-about them, and be very inquisitive: neither could they be plucked away from them of their acquaintance and knowledge, before they had questioned every particular circumſtance, from point to point in order. There might a man have ſeen an alphabet of faces, in thoſe that departed from the meſſengers, according as the tidings was joyfull or wofull: there might a man have ſeen a number coming about them to accompany them as they returned to their houſes, either rejoicing for their good hap, or comforting them for their miſfortune and calamity. The women eſpecially, as well in joy, as alſo in ſorrow, were in their extremities. One above the reſt (as it is reported) ſtanding at the gate, upon the ſuddain ſight of her ſon alive & ſafe, fell down dead at his very feet. Another, who had received an untrue report of her ſons death, as ſhe ſat mourning at home within her houſe in great ſorrow of heart, ſoon as ever ſhe ſaw him coming into the houſe, for exceeding joy yielded her laſt breath, and died. And for certain dayes the Pretors kept the Senators together in Conſult, from the ſun-riſing to the ſetting, conſulting under whoſe conduct, and with what forces they might be able to withſtand the puſſance of theſe victorious Carthaginians. But before they were thoughtly reſolved of any determinat purpoſe and counſels to be taken, ſuddainly there arrived other news of a ſecond loſſe, namely, that 4000 horſemen under the leading of *C. Curius* the Propreſtor, ſome from *C. Scipio* the Coſ, unto his Collegue, were incloſed by *Anibal* in *Umbria*. For thicker they had taken their way, upon the news they heard of the battail at *Therſymenus*. The brave and rumors hereof hammered diversly in mens heads. Some, whoſe minds were poſſeſſed already with grief of a greater calamity, thought the loſs of that Cavalry but ſmall, in compariſon of the former defeat: Others eſteemed that which hapned, not according to the importance of the thing it ſelf: but like as it falleth out in the natural body of man, that it ſeemeth to be crüe and weak every occaſion, but it ſeemeth ſmall and light: is more offenſive unto it and footeth off, than a greater ſaſe and obſect in it ſound and ſtrong conſtitution: even ſo, when any croſs or adverſity befall upon the politick body of a City, diſſealed (as it were) and ſickly, we are not ſo ſenſitive to the ſame by the greater force of the accidents, but according to the feeble and decayed ſtate thereof, able to endure and abide no new inſult, that it ſufferth ſhock and grieve it, whilſt as yet it ſeemeth to be ſound. The City of *Rome* took her loſſe to the ſovereign ſhock and approved remedy, which ſhe had long deſired, and yet not applied and uſed of late: namely, to the nomination of a Dictator. And becauſe the Conſul himſelf was abſent, by whom alone it was thought the

A might be named: and by reaſon that Italy was ſo overſpread and ſorlaied with the Punick forces, there might no courier be well diſpatched, nor letters ſafely ſent unto him: and for that the people had not authority of themſelves to create a Dictator, they therefore elected a Pro-dictator (a thing that was never ſeen and praſticed before that day) namely, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and for his General of the Cavalry, *M. Minucius Rufus*. Theſe had commiſſion from the Senat, to fortify the walls and Towers of the City, to plant and beſtow guards thereon, where they thought meet, and to cut up and break down the bridges upon the great rivers: ſhewing hereby, that ſince they were not able to keep and defend Italy, they were now to fight for houſe and home and to guard the very City.

Anibal in this mean time waſt come directly by the way of *Umbria*, as far as to *Spoleum*. And after he had grievouſly waſted and ſpoiled the territory, he aſſaid to give aſſault to that City: but from thence he had the repulſe with the loſs of many of his men, And gueſſing by the ſtrength of that one Colony (where he ſped but badly in the attempt of it) how great and difficult the enterpriſe might be of aſſailing the City of *Rome*; he turned another way into the * Picene country, not only abounding in plenty of all kind of corn and grain, but alſo affording rich ſpoil and pillage: which the hungry and needy ſouldiers foraged and caried away as greedily, beyond all meaſure. And therefor certain dayes he kept a ſtanding camp, and reſreſhed his ſouldiers, toiled as well with winter journeys and boggy wayes as alſo in the late battel, which was more joyous and fortunate in the looſe and patting, than light and eaſy in the conſtand fighting. After he had reſted and reſreſhed his ſouldiers ſufficiently, who took more pleaſure in booties and prizes than in eaſe and repoſe, he diſlodged, and journeyed forward: waſting and ſpoiling fiſt the * Pretutian and Adrian territories, and then the Marians, Marrucins and * Pelignians: and all about *Arpi* and *Luceria*, being a region neſt adjoining unto * *Apulia*.

Cn. Jervilius the other Conſul, having had ſome light skirmiſhes with the Gauls, and won from them one mean Town of ſmall importance, after he waſt adviſed one of the death of his Collegue and the defeat of the army, ſearing even then what danger might beſide the walls of his native country, ſett peradventure he ſhould be abſent in the hazard of the main chance, put himſelf in his journey toward the City of *Rome*. *Q. Fabius Max.* the Pro-dictator aforeſaid the ſame day that he entered his office, aſſembled the Senat, and began fiſt with matters of religion, and concerning the Gods: and after he had laid open unto the LL. of the Senat, that the Conſul *Flaminius* had ſaulted more in the neglect and contempt of Divine ceremonies, and the Auspices, than D otherwise in raſhneſs and for want of ſkill in ſeats of war: and that the Gods themſelves were to be conſulted about the purging and expiation of ſins and offences, and what might appeaſe their wrath: gained and obtained this one point, That the Decenvirs were commanded to repair unto the books of *Sibylla*, (a thing not uſually decreed: but when ſtrange ſigns and prodigious wonders are reported) who having peruſed the books of deſtinies, made relation and informed the Senators, fiſt, That the vow made unto *Mars* for the good ſucces of that war, waſt not performed with due complements, and therefore ought to be accompliſhed anew, and in more ample manner: alſo, that the great Games and Plaies ſhould be vowed unto *Jupiter*, with Temple: likewiſe to *Venus Erycina*, and to * *Mens*. Moreover, that a ſolemn ſupplication and a Leſtiteri ſhould be celebrated, and a ſacred Spring vowed, if the Gods granted them an happy end of war, and the Common-wealth to remain in the ſame ſtate, wherein it flood before the war began. The Senat gave order, that ſo far as *Fabius* was to be employed in the wars, *M. Anibal* the Pretor, ſhould have in charge to ſee all the premiſes performed with all good ſpeed, according to the will and mind of the Collegue of the Biſhops or Prelats. Theſe Ordinances of the Senat being conſented, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch-prelate, with the advice of the whole Collegue of the Prelats, thought good and gave advice, that fiſt above all other things the opinion and pleaſure of the people (as touching the ſacred Spring) ſhould be known, for that without the voyces and conſent of the people it could not be vowed: And in this form of words waſt the bill propounded unto the people. Pleaſeth it you, that this grace may paſs, and the thing done with your aſſent in this wiſe? If the ſtate of the people of *Rome* and the Quirites for five years next enſuing, continue ſafely preferred in theſe wars, as I deſire it ſhould, then ſhall the people of *Rome*, and Quirites perform an oblation and gift vowed and promiſed: namely, in the war between the people of *Rome* and the Carthaginians: and in the war with the Gauls on this ſide the Alps: to wit, that the earneſts which the Spring ſhall yield, and aſſaid out of ſheep and ſwine, goat and kine, and all things that ſhall be prophane, be ſacrificed unto *Jupiter*, accounting from that day that the Senat and people ſhall ſo ordain: Item, that he which ſhall ſacrifice, may do it when he will, and in what manner he will: and in what ſort ſo ever he ſhall ſacrifice, that it may ſtand for good and rightſal. If haply it ſhall, that ſhould be ſacrificed, let it be counted prophane, & not diſliked: If any man lame or maimed, or ill the ſame unſuſtained, let it not be imputed unto him as criminal: If any perſon conceal away the ſame or hide it out of the way, let it not be imputed for wickedneſs unto the people, nor to him from whom it ſhall be ſo ſtolen or hidden. If once by chance ignorance to ſacrifice upon an unlucky & diſmal day, let it be accounted good and lawful whether by night or day, whether bond or free ſhall ſacrifice, let it be taken and hold good. If before it the Senat and people ſhall ordain theſe ſacrifices to be done, or ſhall ſacrifice, let the people be aſſiſſed and diſcharged freely therefore. And for the ſame purpoſe, were the great games (before vowed) performed with the expence of * 33333 Asles, and one third part of an Aſ: beſides the ſacrifice of 300 Oxen to *Jupiter*, & of white Oxen and other ſacrifices, unto many other ſaints. After theſe vows pronounced and made accordingly, the ſupplication waſt proclaimed & in proceſſion there went with their wives & children,

* *Marcia Antonia*.* *Abneger*,
* *Vulturnus*,
* *Paſſina*.* The goddeſs
of Underſtand-
ing.* *roſa* li. 14.
li. 4. d. ſer.

* The goddess
of Understand-
ing.

children, not only the multitude of the City, but also of the country, so many as had their private estate, any way depending upon the publick. The Lectitern likewise was prepared and trimmed, and continued for three dayes; and the Decemvirs deputed for holy ceremonies had the ordering thereof. The sacred beds were openly to be seen. one for *Jupiter* and *Juno*, another for *Neptune* and *Minerva*; a third for *Mars* and *Venus*; a fourth for *Apollo* and *Diana*; a fifth for *Vulcan* and *Vesta*; and a sixth for *Mercury* and *Ceres*. Then were the Temples vowed: unto *Venus Erigina*, *Q. Fabius Max.* the Dictator, vowed one Temple. For, so it was delivered from out of the books of definitions, that he should vow it, who had the sovereignty in the City, and unto * *Mens, Attilius* the Pretor vowed another. Thus when Church matters touching Religion were finished, the Dictator propounded concerning war and the State; namely, with what Legions and how many, the Senat thought good to withstand the victorious enemy. And a decree passed, that he should receive the army at the hands of *Cn. Servilius* the Col, and enrol besides of the citizens and allies, as many horsemen & footmen as he thought convenient: and that he should do and order all things at his own discretion, for the good of the Common-weal. *Fabius* said, That he would adjoin unto the army of *Servilius*, two Legions more; which being levied by the General of the horsemen, he proclaimed, that they should meet together upon a certain day at *Tybur*; and when he had published a proclamation, That whosoever inhabited within any Towns or Castles unlicensed, should depart into places of safety; and that all should remove out of the villages of that country, through which *Annibal* was to go (but first to set on fire their houses, and spoil their corn, that he might find nothing there when he came) he went himself forward by the high way or cauley *Flaminia*, to meet with the Consul and the army. And when he discovered them marching about *Otricoli*, by the river *Tyberis*, and saw the Consul with his horsemen coming forward to him, he sent a Sergeant, to give warning to the Consul, for to come without his Lictors to the Dictator, who obeyed his commandment. And as their meeting together, represented an exceeding great show of the Dictatorship unto citizens and allies both, who by reason of discontinuance so long time, had welneer forgotten that government: behold, there came letters from the City importing news, that certain ships of burden transporting victuals from *Hosia* into *Spain* for the army there, were by the navy of the Carthaginians boarded and taken about the sound or haven of *Cassia*. Whereupon immediately the Consul was commanded to go to *Hosia*, to take up all shipping at *Rome* or at *Hosia*, to furnish them with saylers, and man them with souldiers, and so to pursue the Armado of the enemies, and to keep the coasts of *Italy*. A mighty number of men was levied at *Rome*, The Libertins also, who had children, and were of lawfull age to serve, swore allegiance unto him, to be his true souldiers. Out of this army of citizens, as many as were under 35. years of age, were shipped: the rest were left behind to guard the City. The Dictator having received the Consul's army at the hands of *Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, went through the Sabins Country, and arrived at *Tybur*, whither he had commanded the new souldiers to repair at a day. From thence by crofs wayes he returned into the high way or cauley *Latina*, even to *Prenefte*: from whence (having searched diligently by his espials, all the wayes) he led forward toward the enemy, purposing in no place to hazard the fortune of battail, but upon necessity. The very first day that he encamped not far from *Arpi*, within the sight of his enemies, there was no ho with *Annibal*, but without further delay, he came forth into the field in battail array, bad him battail, and offered fight. But seeing his enemies quiet, and no stirring in the camp, he fell to taunting and reviling them: saying, That now at length yet, the martial hearts of the Romans were daunted and tamed; and seeing they refused fight, they confessed plainly, and granted themselves inferior unto him in valor, prowess, and glory: which said, he retired into his camp. Howbeit, chafing and fretting secretly in his mind, for anger that he had to deal hereafter with a Captain, far unlike to *Flamininus* and *Sempronius*: and that the Romans now at last, being schooled and taught by their own harms, and to their great cost, had sought out and got a Captaine to match *Annibal*: he straightwayes he began to fear the wisdom of the Dictator, and not his force: but having had as yet no trial of his constant resolution, he fell to disquiet his mind, and to tempt him with often removing his own tents, and waisting the fields of his allies even under his nose: one while he seemed to march haway apace out of all sight, another while he would of a suddain stay, and lie close in one by-place and corner, out of the way, to spie when he could take him in some plain and even ground. But *Fabius* led his army, and marched above on the higher grounds, a pretty distance off from the enemy, so as neither he would let him go clean and abandon him, nor yet encounter with him. He kept his souldiers for the most part within the camp, save only when necessity otherwise constrained. For purveyance of forage and fewell, they went neither few in number, nor straggling afunder. The wards of Horsemen and those that were lightly armed, standing always in order of battail, and ready prepared and furnished for suddain impressions and tumults, yielded both security to his own souldiers, and also danger to his enemies, as they ranged all abroad and foraged the Country. In this manner never was the main chance put to the venture all at once of fortune: and the small trials of light scuffling and skirmishes (begun in safety and security by reason of the recourse of refuge so neer) injured and heartened the souldiers, frightened with former foils, and made them at length to distrust less either their own valour, or fortune. But *Annibal* was not more discontented and displeased, nor more ready, so grosse and thwart these to whom some policies and counsels of his, as his own General of horsemen: who wanted nothing else but sovereign command, to overturn headlong the Common-weal: a man in all his designments,

A meets violent and hasty, and of tongue intemperate. And first secretly among some few, but afterwards openly in the hearing of all men, he termed *Fabius*, in stead of a stayed and sober man, slow and dull: in stead of wary and heedfull, timorous and fearful: attributing unto verities the names of vices of meer semblance: and having a singular dexterity to debate his betters and superiours, exalted himself thereby: a cunning cast, of all others the worst, and yet hath mightily prevailed and sped too well in many that have used it. *Annibal* from *Arpi* passed into *Sannium*, wasteth the country of *Beneventum*, winneth the City *Telefa*, and still provoketh (of set purpose) the Roman Captain, if haply he should incense him by to many indignities and losses of his allies; and so draw him to fight on even hand.

B Amongst a great number of Italian confederats and allies, whom *Annibal* had taken prisoners at *Therimachus* and dismissed, there were three Campan horsemen, whom *Annibal* even then had tolled on, and allured with gifts and fair promises to win unto him the hearts of their country-men. These brought word unto him, that in case he would lead and bring his army into *Campania*, he should soon be Lord of *Capua*. And albeit the thing in it self seemed greater than the quality of the persons that counselled him thereto: and therefore stood in mammering, one while in good hope and assurance, another while in fear and distrust: yet they perswaded him at last to remove out of *Sannium* into *Campania*. After he had admonished them very often, to see that they made their word and promises good by deed, and commanded them withal to return unto him with some of their principal Citizens: and Country-men, he sent them away.

C Himself gave commandment to his guide, to conduct him into the territory of * *Capuani*: being advised by those that were skillful and acquainted with the coasts of those parts, that if he could gain beforehand that safe and sure, he might exclude the Romans from coming to rescue and succour their confederats. But the ambiguity of the name, and the Carthaginian language far differing from the Latine, caused the guide to mistake *Capuani* for *Capuam*: and so in mistaking his intended journey, he came down, through the *Alfani*, *Calatine*, and *Calene* Countries, into the plain champaign region of *Stella*. Where seeing all the coasts environed round about with Mountains and Rivers, he called the guide unto him, and demanded where he was: and when he answered, that he should that day lodge in *Capuam*, then and not before, the error was found; and he knew that he was far out of his way, for that *Capuam* was distant in another

D Country far off. And after he had beaten the guide with rods, and hanged him up by the head, for an example to terrifie all others, he fortified himself within camp, and sent out *Mabinbal* with the Horsemen into the Falern Country, to fetch in booties. So they wasted and spoiled as far as the waters of *Sinuessæ*. Much harm did these Numidians, but the slight and fright of the people was far greater. And yet notwithstanding that great fear, when all was on a light fire as it were, and nothing but war, the Roman allies continued still firm in their faithful allegiance: and the reason was, because they were ruled under a just and moderate government, and neither refused, nor thought much to be subject unto their betters, the only bond of loyal fidelity. But so soon as he had pitched his camp by the River * *Vulturnus*, and that the most goodly and pleasant Country of all *Italy* was on fire, and the Villages every where burned and smoked again: whiles

E *Fabius* led his power over the ridge of the Mountain *Massicus*, the sedition was like to have broken out again, and certain Captains of the mutiny began to be enkindled afresh. For there had been great quierness, and all was still for some few dayes; because seeing the army march faster than their usual manner was, they supposed verily, that they made more speed and hastened, to save *Campania* from being spoiled and wasted. But when they were come to the foremost edge and point of the Mountain *Massicus*, and that the enemies were within sight, burning the dwelling Houses of the Coloners and inhabitants of *Sinuessæ*, and likewise of the Falern Country, and all this while not one word of battail: And are we come hither indeed, quoth *Mimnius*, to behold only and to see, and feed our eyes with looking on our allies, consumed and wasted with fire and sword? and if we bask at nothing else, can we for shame abide to see the Calamity

F of these Citizens here, whom our fore-fathers planted in *Sinuessæ* as coloners there to inhabit, to the end that all this tract and coast should be safe from the invasion of the Samnites? But behold, it is not a neighbour enemy (the Samnite) that stretch it but a forrein and alien, even the Carthaginian who from the farthest and most remote parts of the world, (whiles we stand at a bay, till the off fill, and for laziness do nothing) is come forward even hither unto us. And are we so far degenerate (with sorrow of heart I speak it) from our progenitors and fathers, that along which coast they thought it dishonorable unto their empire, for the Carthaginian Armadoes and ships to stote, sail, and ride: we should see the same now pelted full of enemies, the Numidians and Moors? We, who ere while taking soul (corn and great disdain to see *Saguntum* besieged, called not only upon men, but also upon the faith of alliances and the Gods to wit-

G nesses; stand still gazing upon *Annibal* marching against the walls of a Roman Colony, and ready to assault it. The smoke of the villages and the fields now on fire, is ready to put out our eyes and to choke us up our ears round and ring again with the piteous cries of our allies that weep and lament, and call oftener unto us than unto the Gods for help. And we here lead our army as if they were a flock of sheep, over the shadowy forests, and hills out of the way, hid among the clouds and thick woods to keep them from the heat of *Suo*. If *Furius Camillus* had been of mind, by ranging and wandering over hills and forests in this manner, to win again the City out of the hands of the Gauls, as this our new *Camillus* forsooth (sought out of purpose to be our only Dictator

* S. Germano.

* Vulturno.

The mutinous
Oration of
Mimnius.

"Dictator in this our distress and hard estate) goeth about to recover Italy from *Annibal*, Rome had been French at this day: which I fear me, if we go thus coldly to work, our ancestors have saved and reserved to us, for *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. But he, a brave man, and a Roman indeed, that very day when word was brought to *Pœius*, that he was chosen Dictator by the suffrages of the people, and approbation of the Senators, although *Janiculum* was high enough, where he might have let him down and beheld the enemy at ease, descended into the plain and even ground, and the same day in the very midst and heart of the City, where now *Gaulbry* or *Bispa Gallica* standeth, and the morrow after, between *Rome* and *Gabæ*, slew the Legions of the Gauls. And what should I say of that, which happened many years after, when at the sieges of *Candium* we were put under the yoke by the Samnites our enemies? Whether I pray you, did *L. Pappus* Cur for seek out the mountains of *Samnium*, or rather he hard upon *Luceria* and besieged it, provoking and challenging the victorious enemy; and thereby look off the yoke from the Romans neck, and laid it upon the proud Samnites? And what other thing else of late days but expedition, gave the victory to *Comilius Lulianus*? Who the morrow after that he discovered the enemy, set upon his fleet heavily fraught with victuals: and overcharged as it was with his own munition, furniture and provision, sunk, and destroyed the same. It is meer folly to believe and think by sitting still, by bare prayers and vows, to vanquish and subdue the enemy. Our forces must be put into arms, and brought down into the plain that man to man may cope and buckle together. By adventuring boldly, by action and execution, hath the Roman Empire grown to this height: and not by these conceits and devices, which fearful cowards term the wary policies of war. As *Minutius* spake these words in preaching wife, a number of Roman Colonels and Horsemen came flocking about him. Yea, and these lusty and rash speeches of his, came even unto the ears of the footmen: So as, if it had been in the voyces and election of the fouldiers, out of all question they seemed willing to prefer *Minutius* before their General *Fabius*. But *Fabius* again regarding always with good eye his own men, no less than his enemies, carrying a resolute mind, invincible ever before any other, albeit he was well ware, that not only within his own camp but also now at *Rome*, he heard ill for his temporizing and slow proceedings: yet drew he out the rest of the summer, and held on still the same course and purpose, never altered his former manner: until that *Annibal* being clean disappointed of long desired battle, besought himself anon and looked about for some places of winterabode considering, That the country where now he was, rather yielded plenty for the present, than store for long continuance: as standing upon Hortyards and Vineyards, and all things planted, rather for fruits of pleasure and delight, than for necessity and profit. Intelligence hereof being given to *Fabius*, by his espials, for that he knew well enough, that *Annibal* was to return through the same streights, by which he had entered the Falern country: he holdeth and keepeth the hill *Calentia*, with sufficient garrisons and likewise *Capitulum*, a City divided by the river *Volturnus*, and parteth the Falern and Campanian countries asunder. Himself bringeth back his power through the same hills, having sent out to discover and espie 400 Horsemen of confederates, under the conduct of *L. Hostilius Mancinus*, who being one of the crew of those lusty youths, that oftentimes heard the General of the Horsemen giving out abroad brave words and stout speeches, at first went forward in manner of an espial, to discover and espie the enemy from a place of safety and security: and when as he saw the Numidians ranging all about the villages, and flew from them of whom he took at a vantage, straight-ways his mind wholly possessed and set upon fight, and so forgot the charge and direction of the Dictator, who had commanded him to go forward as warily and as closely as he possibly could, and to retire himself again before he came within sight of the enemies. The Numidians charging and recharging him afront one while, and flying from him another while drew him almost unto their very camp: when as both horse and man were wearied. From whence *Caralis*, who then had the conduct and command of the Cavalry, set out against him lustily upon the spur, and before they came within dart short put the enemies to flight, and followed them continually in chase almost five miles. *Mancinus* seeing neither the enemy to give over pursuit, nor any hope to escape away, exhorted his men, and turned head upon them, overmatched as he was every way: where he himself and his choicest Horsemen were beset round and slain: the other taking themselves again to flight for life, first *camero Cales*, and after through by-lanes and difficult ways, to the Dictator. That day, as hap was, *Minutius* had joyned himself to *Fabius* having been afore sent to keep with a strong guard, the forest or pass, which above *Terracina*, groweth into a narrow gullet, and reacheth to the sea; for fear lest the adventue of the way *Appia*, were without defence, *Annibal* might enter and invade the country of *Rome*. When the Dictator and the General of Horsemen had joyned their forces together, they encamped upon the very high way, that *Annibal* was to passe with his army. Now were the enemies two miles off. The morrow after, the Carthaginians took up with their army all the way between the one camp and the other. When as the Romans were quartered even under their very trench and rampier, in a place not doubt of great advantage, yet for all that approached *Annibal* with his light Horsemen: and to provoke his enemies, fought by flarts and fits, charging upon them, and retiring back again with great humble silence. The Romans kept still their standing, embarrailed as they were. The fight was cold and lingering to the mind and liking of the Dictator, rather than of *Annibal*: and where there were of the Romans part 200 slain, there dyed 800 of the enemies. Then seemed *Annibal* after, to be enclosed and shut up as it were and besieged within *Capitulum*, seeing that *Capua*, *Samnium*,

Samnium, and many rich and mighty Nations confederate with the Romans, were on their backs to furnish them with store of victuals. And *Annibal* contrary-ways was like to take up his wintering place, within the crags and rocks of *Ferula*, amid the Sands of *Luturnum*, and the mossy standing pools. Well wist *Annibal* now that he was laid out hardly, by the same cunning sleights, that he had used himself. And therefore when as he could not escape away by *Capitulum*, and seeing that he must needs to the Mountains; and passe over the top of *Gallia*, for fear lest that the Romans should set upon his army enclosed in the valleys between the Mountains, he devised a stratagem, by way of a ridiculous illusion, to beguile the eye-sight of his enemies, and to frustrate and deceive them of their expectation: by means whereof, he purposed in the beginning of the night, boldly and by stealth to gain the Mountains. The manner of his crafty device was this. He caused to be gathered out of all the villages thereby many fire-brands then took he certain bayons or small fagots of birch-wood, dry sticks, and such like trash, and tyed them fast to the horns of the Oxen, whereof he had tame and wild, a great number that he drove before him amongst other prizes gotten out of the country: so as he might make wel-near two thousand head. To *Asdrubal* he gave in charge, that so soon as it grew to be dark night; he should drive those Oxen with their horns set a fire toward the Mountains, and especially if he possi he could, to the very streights and gullet which the enemy kept. It began no sooner to be dark, but *Annibal* with great silence dislodged and removed his camp, and the Oxen aforesaid were driven a good way before the ensigns and the army. When they were come to the foot of the Mountains, and to the Crightest passages, immediately the signal or watch-word was given to fire the Oxen horns, and to chase them up against the Hill. The beasts, what with fear to see a light fire blazing over their heads, and what with pain to feel the heat now come to the quick flesh and the roots of their horns, fell tumbling up and down, as if they had been mad. By this their gadding thus all at once every way, all the coppies and springs thereabout were set on a light fire, and seemed as if the whole woods and hills had burnt withal: the shaking of their heads also to and fro without stay, made the blaze greater, and gave shew and semblance of men running from one place to another. They who were appointed and set to keep the passages of the streights, so soon as they saw certain fires upon the tops of the Hills, and over their heads, supposing themselves to be entrapped and enclosed with fire on every side, abandoned their hold, and kept their standing no longer: And whereas the flame shone most out, thinking that to be the safest way, they sped them thither, then to the top and ridge of the Mountains. Then and there, they light upon certain of the Oxen wandering astray from their company, and at first seeing them a far off, but not well discerning them, they imagined that they spit fire, and breathed their blazing flames out of their mouths: and wondering at the strange sight, stood still amazed and astonished. But when as afterwards they discovered the device, and found it out to be a subtle and deceitful invention, proceeding from mans brain, they mistrusted withal some secret trains and ambush, and with an exceeding noise fled away as fast as ever they could, and stumbled upon the vantage-grounds of their enemies, that were lightly armed. But they were afraid as well of the one side as the other, to begin any skirmish in the night season, and layed until day light. In the mean while, *Annibal* E having conducted his whole army through the streights, and killed some of his enemies in the very pale, encamped himself in the territory of *Alifan*. *Fabius* deservied this tumult well enough, doubting some privy ambush, and abhorring utterly all night battles, kept his men within the strength of their rampiers. At the break of day there began a skirmish on the side of the hills in which the Romans as being far more in number, had environed on every side the light-armed fouldiers of the enemies, and soon defeated them: but that a band of Spaniards, sent back of purpose from *Annibal*, came to rescue them: who being better acquainted with the Mountains, and more light and nimble in running among the crags and cliffs, by reason of well of the agility of body, as the fashion of their light harness; easily in that kind of skirmish, avoided and shifted from their enemy, heavily armed at all pieces, and used to fight upon the plain, and to stand firmly and keep their ground. Whereupon in the end they parted asunder one from the other, but nothing near on even hand: for the Spaniards in a manner all, went clear away unhurt, the Romans lost some of their men; and so on both parts they returned to their camps. *Fabius* likewise removed, and having halloed over the streights of the forest, encamped in an high ground, and strongly situate even over *Alifan*. Then *Annibal* making as though he would march through *Samnium* toward *Rome*, returned back, waiting and spoiling the country as far as to the *Peligni*. And *Fabius* hovered still upon the Hill tops between the army of his enemies and the City of *Rome*; leading his host so, as neither he departed far, nor yet encountered and affronted his enemy. Then *Annibal* turned his way, and departed from the *Peligni*, and retired himself into *Apulia*, until he was come as far as *Grius*, a City abandoned and forsorn of the inhabitants, by reason that a part of their wall was fallen down, decayed and ruined. The Dictator fortified his camp in the territory of *Luturnum*. Now was he sent for home from thence to *Rome*, by occasion of certain solemn sacrifices: whereupon, he conferred and dealt with the General of the Cavalry, not only by way of absolute commandment, but also with advice and persuasions, yea, and as one would say, by prayer and intreaty: "That he would trust more upon confederate counsel, than doubtful fortune; and be directed and guided rather by him, than follow the steps of *Samnium* and *Flaminium*; and not think there was nothing done and effected, and make no reckoning of this; That the enemy had been

Fabius his words in the Senate.

and extolled the valour of the enemy; or rehearsed & reckoned up the losses and spoils received forth two years space, through the rashness and unskilfulness of the Commanders: and said withall, that the General of the horsemen was to answer and give account for fighting against his edict and express commandment. Moreover, (quoth he) I was in place of sovereignty and government, & to do all according as I thought good. I would effect and bring to pass, within few daies, that men should know that a good warrior was to make small reckning of fortune but without win, & counsel were to guide and direct all. And for mine own part, I deem it a great honour & glory to have preserved an army in a time of trouble and danger from shame and ignominy, than to have slain many thousands of enemies. After he had made these and such like speeches & reasons in vain and created for Col. *M. Autilius Regulus*: for that he would not be present to debate the question concerning the right and authority of his own government, he departed by night stealth toward the army: even the very day before that the foresaid law should be propounded. The morning came, and the commons were assembled to an audience: wherein he seemed rather secretly in their hearts to malice the Dictator, & to affect and favour the General of the horsemen, than durst come forth and be seen to perswade and set forward that which pleased them all in common. And notwithstanding the bill was exceedingly well liked of yet there wanted one to give credit and authority therunto. At length, one stepped forth to set it on foot, namely, *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prator, a man not only of oblique degree by calling, but also of vile & base parentage descended. His father was (as they say) a Butcher, who kept sheep and sold meat himself, and trained up his son as his apprentice in the same mechanic and servile occupation. This *Varro* being a young man, and well left by his father (who was grown rich, and gained greatly by his trade) gave his mind and conceived some hope to live more gentlemanlike, and took a great liking to the common place, and pleading at the bar: exercising himself in entertaining causes of base persons, against the estate and name of honest Citizens and of good reputation: by means whereof he grew to be known among the people, and afterwards was advanced to place of worship and honour. And having been Treasurer of the City, and born both Adulteries, as well that of the Chair. As the other of the Commissions: and at length gone through one Pratorship, he aspired now higher, in hope to be Consul: and full craftily waited his time, and sought to wind himself within the favor of the people, by means of the ill opinion and hard conceit they had of the Dictator: & thus he alone went away with all the affectionate love of the Commons. All men that were either at *Rome*, or in the Army, both good and bad, in general (excepting the Dictator himself) received and admitted that bill as made to his disgrace and shameful reproach. But he with the very same gravity and countenance of heart, endured these injurious courtes & dealing of the people raging against him, wherewith he had born his adversaries standing & charging him before the multitude: and having received in the way as he journeyed, letters importing the decree of the Senat for dividing his authority equally with the General of the horsemen, and being assured that notwithstanding his commission were parted and communicated with another, yet his skill and sufficiency of conduct and command, remained still with himself with a mind invincible as well against Citizens as enemies, he returned to the army. But *Minutius*, who before that time was hardly to be endured, both for his fortunate success, and also for the favour of the Commons: now verily beyond all measure and bounds of modesty, vaunted and gloried in that had conquered & got the mastery over *Fabius* as well as over *Annibal*: That *Fabius* (say) who in time of distress and calamity, was the only warrior and Captain that could be found out to match *Annibal*: that the superior Magistrat was by the consent & approbation of the people, (a thing never to be found in any record of Chronicles) made but even equal with the inferior to wit, the Dictator with the General of horsemen: and in that City, wherein the Commanders of the Cavalry were wont to quake and tremble at the rods and axes of the Dictator, so conspicuous and evident in theories of the world, was his felicity and prowess above all others. And therefore minded was he to follow his own fortune, and to take his time in case the Dictator still continued ingringling in sloth and idleness, condemned in the judgment both of God and Man. Wherupon the very first day that he & *Fabius* were met together, he said that they were above all things to determine & set down in what sort they might order this their equal authority of government. He for his part thought it best, that each other day (or if longer time between were supposed better) they should one after the other alternatively have the full and whole command of all for the time in their several turns: that if any occasion of fighting a battell were presented, they might be able to countervail the enemy, not only in counsel, but also in power and strength. *Q. Fabius* liked not of this: supposing that whatsoever lay in the hands and disposition of his rash colleague must needs be subject unto the arbitrement of Fortune: saying moreover unto him, That he was indeed to impart unto him government and rule, but not wholly to depart thereof, and shut himself out. And therefore he would never willingly fail, but (to his power) to manage by counsel and discretion one part or other: neither would he divide with him either time or daies, but the forces and armies: that *Minutius* might have one moeyty, and himself another: & since he might not preserve all by his own counsel & policy, yet he would endeavour (so far as he could) to save somewhat. And so much he prevailed, that they parted the Legions between them, as the manner of the Consuls was. The fifth and fourth fell to *Minutius*, the second and third to *Fabius*. In like manner they divided the horsemen number for number, and the auxiliary souldiers of Allies and Latines. The General of the horsemen would needs likewise that they should be encamped alunder.

Annibal

Annibal conceived hereupon a two-fold joy, (for he was not ignorant of all that was done among the enemies, partly by intelligence given him from thence by fugitives, and partly by means of his own scouts and spies) for he made this reckoning, both that he should deal well enough with the lavish rashness of *Minutius*, and handle him in his kind; and also that the prudent policy of *Fabius* was abridged and diminished by the one half. Now there was a little hill between the Camp of *Minutius* and the Carthaginians: and no doubt there was, but that he who could gain it aforehand should have the vantage of the enemy, in regard of the ground. That hill *Annibal* was not so desirous to get without skirmish, (& yet it had been a matter of good importance) as willing thereby to give some occasion of fighting and scuffling with *Minutius*, whom he witt very well to be always forward enough to encounter him and make resistance. The plain all between, seemed at the first fight nothing commodious nor good for men that would lay an ambushment, because it was neither over-grown with any weeds, nor yet in any part roughly over-spread and covered so much as with briars and brambles. But in very deed, the ground was naturally made for to cover and hide an Ambuscado: and the rather, because in so naked and bare a valley none would have imagined and suspected any deceitful trains, and lurching of wait. And yet there were in divers nooks and corners thereof certain hollow rocks and caves, and some of them of sufficient capacity to receive 200 armed men. In these lurking holes there were belovewed 5000 of horsemen and footmen one with another, some in one place, some in another, according as they might commodiously lie there closely hidden. And yet, lest the stirring of any one that might chance to go forth unadvisedly, or the glittering of armour, should bewray the trains in so open a valley, *Annibal* by sending out at the break of day some few for to seize the afore said hill, withdrew the eyes of his enemies another way. Thence at the first view were deprived of the Romans for their small number, and every man was desirous to be doing with them, and their fingers itched for to set the enemies back, and drive them from thence. The General himself *Minutius*, as fool-hardy and forward as he that was most, sounded the alarm, and commanded to go to the winning of the place, braving and threatening of the enemies full vainly. First, he lent forth his light armed men to skirmish, but afterwards, the Cornets of horsemen, set close and jointly together in array: and at the last, seeing the enemies seconded with new succours and supplies, he advanced forward himself with his Legions in order of battell. And *Annibal*, wherefore he perceived his men to be distressed, made out continual fresh aides one after another, both of horse and foot, ever as the fight increased and grew hotter: so as now he had his full army in field, and they maintained battell on both sides with all their power and main forces. First, the light armed Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, desirous to get up against the hill, (possessed aforehand of the enemy) were put back, and beaten down again: in much, as in their retire, they put the horsemen in fear that followed hard upon them, and fled for refuge to the Ensigns of the Infantry. The main battell of the Legionary footmen, among all the rest that were affrighted, only remained without fear, undaunted: and seemed in a plain, level, and downright field without ambush, likely enough to have held their own, and in no respect to have been over-matched: so courageous they were, and had taken such heart upon their late victory, some few daies before. But the enemies starting suddenly out of their Ambuscadoes, so troubled, disordered, and terrified them, flanking them on both sides, and charging withall behind, that neither their heart served any of them to fight, nor their hope remained to fly and escape away. Then *Fabius* hearing the first cry, and knowing thereby that they were in great fear, and seeing besides a far off their battell disordered and in dismay, (I thought even as much (quoth he) and no sooner than I feared, it is fallen out) he sent forth some few, with such over-rough fool-hardiness and taken it tardy. The man, forsooth, that most needs be made equal with *Fabius* in government, seeth by this time, that *Annibal* is his good Master, & his benefactor by odds in prowess and fortune: but we shall find out some other time to chide and to angry. Come on now, forth with your standards and ensigns, let us wrest from our enemies hands the victory, and wring from our Citizens mouths confession of their error and trespass. Now when some of them were slain, and others looked about which way to make escape and flee: *Fabius* with his forces shewed himself as sent down from heaven to relieve them. And before he came to lance one javelin, or began to joyn battell and fight one stroke, he not only flaid his fellows from running away, but also his enemies from further heat of fight. As many of the Romans as were disbanded and scattered asunder all abroad, repaired again speedily from all parts, and talked themselves to the entire battell: the rest who by whole troops had turned their backs, made head again upon the enemy: and one while giving ground and retiring by little and little, another while standing in a ring and round together steadfast, kept this order of turns: so as now, both they that were discomfited, and those that were unmoiled became reduced into one body. G of a battell, and advanced their ensigns against the enemy. By which time *Annibal* sounded the retreat, and openly confessed and said, that as he had vanquished *Minutius*, so he was foiled and overcome of *Fabius*. Thus when the more part of the day was spent with variable fortune, and all retired again to their Camps, *Minutius* called together his souldiers, and spake unto them after this manner: I have oftentimes heard it spoken (my good souldiers) that he is the best man that will be ruled and directed by sage advice & counsel: but he that neither hath the skill to advise, nor the grace to be advised by another, is simply of the worst nature, & good for nothing.

His speech to
the Dictator.

"Since that we therefore are not so happy as to attain unto the highest degree of wit, and perfection of nature, let us content our selves with the second place, and keep a mean between: and whilst we learn to rule, let us settle our selves and resolve to obey him that is wiser than our selves. Let us joy in Camp with *Fabius*, and when we have preferred our selves and our ensignes before his pavilion and tribunal, see that when I salute him by the name of Father (as is becoming his excellency and majesty, and the benefit by us of him received) that ye also call those souldiers your Patrons, whose valiant hands and trusty arms erewhile protected you: that this day may give us yet, if nothing else, the honour and name of thankful persons. Having thus said, he gave commandment to pack up bag and baggage, and to dislodge: and as they marched in good array toward the Camp of the Dictator, they struck both him and also all about him into a wonder and admiration. And having pitched their ensignes before the Tribunal: then *Minimus* the General of the horse went forth before the rest: and after he had greeted *Fabius* himself as his Father, and the whole Army likewise saluted those about *Fabius*, by the name of Patrons: "To my parents (quoth he) O Dictator, unto whom I have made you equal in name only (as much as my tongue will give leave) I am bound and beholden for my own life only and no more: but to you I am indebted for saving both my life, and all these here. The Act therefore and ordinance of the Commons which hath been a clog and burden to me rather than an honour, here of my self I renounce, revoke, and abolish: and (that which I pray God may prove to the good both of you and me, of mine army and yours as well that which is preserved, as that which is the protection) I submit and surrender again my self under your command and government, together with these ensignes and legions thereto belonging: beseeching you to pardon me, and to entertain me in the room of the General of the Cavalry, and thole here with me, every man in his former place. Then interchangeably they gave their hands one to another: and the souldiers (after the assembly dismissed) were courteously invited, and friendly entertained, as well by them that were unknown unto them, as of their acquaintance, and so the day, dolorous, heavy, and almost dismal and accursed, turned to be joyful and festival.

So soon as tidings came to *Rome* of their occurrences, and the same confirmed as well by the letters of the Generals themselves, as also by the common voice of souldiers from both Armies, every man, the best he could, praised and extolled *Maximus* up to the sky: whose honour and reputation was as great in the opinion of *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, for then and never before, they found, that they had to deal and war in *Italy*, and with Romans. As for the two years past before, they set to fight both by Roman Captains and souldiers, that they could be hardly persuaded, that they warred with that Nation, whereof there went to great a fame, and of whom their forefathers had reported such wonders and terrible things. They say also, that *Annibal* as he returned out of the field, gave out these words, "That the cloud which hid on the hill tops, hovered so long in the wind that it proved a tempestuous storm in the end."

Whiles these things were doing in *Italy*, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* the Consul, having sailed about the coasts of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* with his fleet, and received hostages both of the one Isle and the other, passed over into *Africk*: and before that he landed in the continent and firm land, he waited the Island *Meninx*, and having received ^{ten} talents of silver of the inhabitants thereof, for fear lest their Territory also should be consumed with fire, and spoiled as well as the rest: he came to *Africk*, and there let his forces ashore. From thence he led his souldiers and mariners likewise, one with another, disbanded and out of order, as if they were to rob and spoil some desert Islands, unpeopled and void of Inhabitants. Whereupon they felt unadvisedly into an ambush, and being unskillful of the country, and therewith but few and scattered, they were soon enclosed among many, and with much slaughter and shameful flight were driven and beaten back to their ships. The fleet thus having lost a thousand men, and one Treasurer of the Army among them, called *Sempronius Blaesus*, looted in great haste from the shore (which now was overcast by enemies) and held their course for *Sicily*, and at *Lilybaeum* was let over and delivered to *T. Gracilius* the Praetor, so to be brought back again to *Rome*, by *P. Sura* his Lieutenant. *Cn. Servilius* himself journeyed through *Sicily* by land, and crossed the narrow seas into *Italy*: for both he and his Colleague *M. Atilius* were sent for by the letters of *Fabius*, to receive the Army at his hands, now that his six-months-foreign government was well near expired. All the Annals in a manner do record, that *Fabius* was the man, who during his Dictatorship, fought and waged war with *Annibal*. *Cassius* writeth also, that he was created Dictator by the people. But both *Cassius* and the rest, either knew not, or else forgot, that the Consul *Servilius*, who then was far from *Rome*, and in the Province of *France*, had the lawful right and authority only to nominate a Dictator: and because the City so affrighted, by reason of that notable overthrow could not stay so long, they were driven to this shift, That there should be created by the people a Pro-Dictator or Dictator his Deputy. But the noble acts and glorious renown of that General, together with the title of his Image, which might recommend his house more honourable to posterity, gained easily this point, and caused the Pro-Dictator to be created Dictator, and so called.

The Consuls, *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, having received the army (as is before said) fortified in good time the places for wintering harbour (for it was then the Autumn season) conducted and managed the wars together in great concord, and followed the same politic course that *Fabius* had done before them. For as *Annibal* made rode at any time to purvey corn, they would meet him just at every turn, in sundry places, and either cut off the trail of his

* Gracilius
Zorili,
* Syll. Hist.
according to
the letter At-
tick talent.

* Marcellus.

A men, or intercept and catch them as they went scattering, but never hazard all in one set field: is the only thing that the enemy shot at, by all the means he could devise. And so near driven to *Annibal*, and to those terms of want and scarcity, that but for very shame (left by his dislodging and departure he might be thought to flee) he would have retired back into *Gallia*, as being out of all hope to maintain and sustain his Army with victuals in those parts, in case the new Consuls who next succeeded, should hold on still the same policy and manner of warfare. Whither now approached, and all the war that was continued and rested about *Gervion*: at what time there arrived at *Rome* Embassadors from *Niples*, who brought with them, and presented into the Council-House, forty massive boles of beaten gold: and withall delivered this speech, and said, "That they knew full well, how the Treasure of the people of *Rome* was waited and continued by long wars. And forasmuch as the said wars were maintained, as well for the defence of the Cities and Lands of allies, as for *Rome*, the very head, mother City, and principal Citadel (as it were) of all *Italy*, and for the sovereign dominion and Empire thereof: the Neapolitans thought it meet and reason, that what store of gold their ancestors had left unto them, were it for to adorn and deck themselves, or to relieve them in time of need and necessity, with it they were to aid and help the people of *Rome* in their adversity. And if they could have brought themselves of any other means besides, wherein they might lead and befieid them they would as willingly and frankly have made presentment thereof: saying, moreover, that the Senators of *Rome* should do them an high pleasure, if they would make account of all that the men of *Naples* had, as their own; and judge them worthy, at whose hands they would vouchsafe to accept a present, much greater, and more precious in regard of the mind and affection of the givers than the substance and value of the thing. The Embassadors were highly thanked, as well for their liberality and munificence, as for the care they had of them: and that boil was only received which weighed least.

About the same time, a Carthaginian spy, who for two years space had walked unknown and unsuspected, was detected and apprehended now at *Rome*: and after his hands were cut off, was suffered to depart. Five and twenty slaves were crucified for a conspiracy conceived in *Campus Martius*. The informer was made free, and had ²⁰⁰⁰ pound of brass bullion given him for a reward. There were also sent Embassadors to *Philip* King of the Macedonians, to demand again *Demetrius Pharius*, who having been vanquished in plain field, was fled unto him. Others likewise were dispatched to the Liguans, as well to expostulate with them and complain, that they had succoured *Annibal* with men, money, and other munition: as also toarken and learn (seeing they were so near) what the Boians and Infubrians did or went about. Besides, a third Embassage was addressed as far as to *Illyricum*, unto King *Pneus*, to enquire and call for the Tribute, whereof the term was expired and past: and if he were minded to take a longer day, than to receive hostages and pledges of him for security. See how careful the Romans were, and what a provident eye they had, notwithstanding the great way which lay heavily upon their necks and shoulders, to their other affairs: inasmuch as no one thing in the world, how distant and remote soever, was by them neglected. But as concerning religion, and Church matters, they made some scruple of conscience, that the Temple of *Concord* (which *L. Marcus*, L. Deputy in *Gallia*, had vowed two years before in time of a sedition and mutiny of souldiers) was not as yet set out to workmen for to be built or edified accordingly. And therefore two Dummies were for that purpose created by *Emilius* the Praetor, or L. Governour of the City, namely, *Cn. Pupius*, and *Cassius Quintus Flaminius*: who gave order, that the Temple should be built upon the Capitol hill. The same Praetor, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, sent his letters unto the Consuls, importing thus much, That if they thought good, one of them should repair to *Rome* for the creation of new Consuls; and that himself would summon the Parliament against that day which it should please them to appoint. The Consuls wrote back again according to the prebibles, that they might not depart far from the enemy without damage of State: advising them to hold an assembly for the Election aforesaid, by authority of an interregent, rather than that one of the Consuls should be called away from the wars. But the LL. of the Senate thought it better to have a Dictator chosen by one of the Consuls, for the holding of that high Court of Parliament. So *L. Veturius Philo*, was nominated Dictator, and he chose for General of the Horsemen *M. Pomponius Mauro*. But their men being not duly and lawfully created, were commanded at the forthnights end to give over their places, and then the matter grew to an Interregent. The Consuls had their Commission, for government and conduct of the Army, continued and confirmed for one year longer. The Senators named for Interregents, first *Cn. Claudius Cento*, the son of *Appius*: and after him, *P. Cornelius Africa*. During the whole Interregent, the Parliament was holden, with much contention and debate between the Nobles and the Commons. The vulgar people endeavoured to advance unto the Consulship *C. Terentius Varro*, a man of their own coat and condition, one crept into good liking and favour with the common sort by opposing himself and contesting against great personages, and by other popular practices and courses that he used to win grace among the people: as namely, by abasing the greatness of *Fabius*, and the Majesty of the Dictatorship: for nothing was there else, in him, to commend him to the world, but a malicious mind to bring others into disgrace. The Nobles withstood the Commons all they could, to prevent this mischief: That men should not take a custom to be their equals, by means of inveighing and making head against them. *Bibulus Herennius* a Tribune of the Commons,

* Cicerone
The Embassadors
of Naples
in the Senate
of Rome.

* 60 pound f.
th. 6. d. l. s. l.

* Scatonia.

The Oration
of Brutus
before the
Senate.

mons, and kinsman to C. *Tullius*, blamed and accused much not only the Senate, but also the
 Augurs, in that they forbade the Dictator to finish and go through with the election: and so by
 drawing them into hatred, sought to purchase favour and credit unto *Tullius* his Candidate,
 who stood to be Consul. "First quoth he whereas the Noblemen for many years together sought
 "occasions of war and trained *Annibal* into Italy, the same persons craftily have made a long war
 "of it, when it might have been brought to a final end before now. Alas, when it was well seen
 "that *M. Minutius* in the absence of *Fabius* had a lucky day: two legions only and no more, were
 "offered and exposed as it were to the enemy to be hewn in pieces: and then afterwards, they
 "were relieved and saved from massacre, and the very edge of the sword: to the end that *Fabius*
 "might be called Father and Patron: even he, who to say a truth, first impeached the Romans for
 "vanquishing the enemies, before that he saved them from being vanquished. Moreover, the
 "Consuls that succeeded, following the same course and artificiall fetches that *Fabius* pra-
 "ctised before them, drew out the war still on length, when they had good means of victory, and
 "might have fully finished it. A complot (no doubt) contrived and concluded among all the No-
 "bles. And never will they cease to make an end of war, before there be a Consul chosen, a meer
 "Commoner indeed, to wit, a man never seen afore, and of the first head. For those who are of
 "Commoners now made noble, are all alike and of the same profession: they draw all in one
 "line, and have learned one lesson: and ever since that they have left to be contemned of the No-
 "bility, are afraid to despise and disdain the Commonalty. For who feeth not, that in seeking to
 "have an Interregnum their only purpose and reach was that the Election might be full and wholly
 "in the power and ordering of the Nobles? That was the thing which the Consuls aimed at, in
 "laying behind in Camp with the Army: & afterwards when there was a Dictator created against
 "their wills for to hold the great assembly for the Election, their drift was, and they wrought to,
 "and brought it about in the end, that the Augurs should give it out and pronounce, that there
 "was an error committed in creation of the Dictator. And therefore, faith he, the Commons can-
 "not of all things away with these Interregns: & verily, one of the Consulships (at least) ap-
 "pertain of right to the Commons of Rome: and no doubt, the people in their free election would
 "more willingly make choice of one to be Consul, and confer the dignity upon him, that loved
 "rather to win the victory at once, than to continue commander in the Army a long time. When
 "the Commons were once enkindled and set on fire with these speeches and remonstances, albeit
 "three of the *Patricii* were competitors, namely, *Pub. Cornelius Merenda*, *L. Manlius Volsus*, and *M.*
Emilius Lepidus, and two new Noblemen, who were already familiar and acquainted with the
 "Commons, to wit, *C. Attilius Serranus*, and *Q. Fabius Pansa*, of whom the one had been High Priest,
 "and the other Augur: yet at length was *C. Terentius* only created Consul, to the end that the elec-
 "tion should be in his power, that he might choose unto him a Colleague at his pleasure. Then
 "the *Patricians* having a sufficient tryall, that their Candidates and Competitors were of small force
 "and not able to prevail, urged and put forward *L. Emilius Pansa*, who sometimes had been
 "Consul with *M. Lelutius*, in the condemnation as well of himself as of his companion, escape
 "the peril of being burnt, and was well finged and scorched, as it were in the fire: a man of all
 "others most mischiefously bent against the Commons: him they urged, to say to stand for a Consul-
 "ship notwithstanding he refused a long while, and alledged many reasons against it. And to the
 "next Comitiall or Parliament day, by occasion that all the concurrents and competitors afore-
 "said that stood with *Varrus*, gave place and left off their suit, he was chosen to match with the Consul
 "elect, for to thwart and cross him, rather than to be assistant unto him in the government. This
 "done, they proceeded to the election of *Prætors*, wherein *M. Pomponius Mabo*, and *P. Furius*
Philus were created. Unto *Pomponius* fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City of Rome: and un-
 "to *P. Furius Philus*, between the Citizens of Rome and forreiners. Two other *Prætors* besides were
 "chosen, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, to be sent *L. Deputy* unto *Sicily*, and *L. Posthumius Albinus* into
Gallia. All were created in their absence, and excepting *Terentius* the Consul only, there was no
 "Magistracy conferred upon any, who had not aforetime born and exercised the same: for divers
 "valorous and hardy men were passed over and left out, because in such a time of trouble, it was
 "not thought good to prefer any man to a government, wherein he was raw and unexercised.
 "The Armies also were augmented: but to what proportion they arose, either in Cavalry, or In-
 "fantry, I dare not set down any thing for certainty: so greatly do authors vary both in the num-
 "ber and quality of the forces. Some say, there was a new supply of 10000 footmen enrolled. O-
 "thers affirm that to the five legions there were were adjoynd four new besides, to the end they
 "might employ nine legions in the wars. Alas, that the legions were increased in number both
 "of foot and horse: to wit, with the addition of one thousand footmen, and three hundred horse-
 "men in every Legion: for sometime before, a Legion contained 4000 foot, and 200 horse; as
 "old *Quadratus* saith; whereas at first *Romulus* ordained it to be 3000 of the one, and 300 of
 "the other: so as a Legion consisted now of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse; and that
 "the associates should double the number of horsemen, and find even proportion of footmen with the
 "Romans.

Some Historians have written, that at what time as the battell of *Canus* was fought, the Ro-
 mans were in Camp 8200 strong. But in this they all agree, that the Romans warred with great
 preparation, and more force and fury than in years past, because the Dictator had put them

All within
the marks
read as a
marginal
note.

A in good hope, that the enemy might be vanquished and subdued at once. But before that these
 new Legions advanced under their ensigns and banners out of the City, the Dictators were com-
 manded to go and permit the books of *Syllaba*, by reason that men were commonly put in igno-
 rance, and terrified with news of strange fights and prodigious things. For the manner went, that both
 at Rome, in the *Aventine*, and also at *Ardea*, it rained stones many about one time; and that in the
 Sabins Country (which no doubt portended a great massacre and slaughter), there issued out of
 a certain fountain, waters hot, with much blood: and men were more terrified therewith, because
 it did so many times together. Besides, in the street called *Formica*, toward *Capua*, many mis-
 tery persons were blasted and smitten to death with lightning from heaven: and the prodigious
 signs were expiate and purged with due remedies put out of the fore-aid books. *Fabius* does also
 from the City of *Pestum*, brought unto Rome a prefect of malle, holes of beaten gold, thanked
 they were like as the Neapolitans before them, but the gold was not received.

At the same time there arrived at *Orbitum* C. *Hiero* a fleet of ships, ready rigged, and furnished
 with store of victuals. The Syracusan Embassadors were brought into the Senate house, with
 they declared, "That K. *Hiero* so soon as he heard of the death of *C. Flaminius* the Consul, and the
 "defeat of the Army, took it to heavily, that no proper calamity of his own, or of his kindred, unto
 "his kingdom, could have troubled him more, and touched him nearer: and therefore albeit he
 "knew full well, that the grandeur and courage of the people of Rome, was ordinarily more admi-
 "rable in their adversity than in prosperity and welfare, yet he had lent all those things, where-
 "with good friends and faithful Allies are wont to furnish their associates in time of war, praying
 "the LL. of the Senat, in any case not to refuse the same, but to take all in good worth. And first
 "to furnish for good luck sake and fortunate preface, they have brought with them the Image of *Vi-
 ctory* in gold weighing 320 pound: requesting that it would please them to accept the same to
 "have and so hold it, as their own for ever. Moreover, they have transported with them 100000
 "Modios of wheat, and 200000 of barley, to the end they should be at no faultier victuals, and
 "were ready moreover to bring in more, according as they should need, and to what place they
 "would appoint. As for footmen heavily armed and horsemen he knew well the people of *Capua*
 "would use none but natural Romans, or at least wife Latines. But forasmuch as he had seen and
 "observed in the Roman Camp, forrein aide consisting of light armed souldiers, therefore he had
 "sent 1000 Archers and Slingers, a meet and competent power to match with the *Baleares* and
 "Mores, and other nations that use shot, and to reach their enemies afar off. Oxer and buldies
 "these gifts and real presents, they compelled and advised them, that the Lord Deputy of *Sicily*
 "should pass with his fleet unto *Africk*, both to find the enemy work, and give him his hands
 "full of war at home: and also to afford him less service, and worse opportunity, to send aid
 "incomer to *Annibal*. The Senate returned this answer again unto the King. That King *Hiero*
 "had done the part of a right good man, and a singular friend and ally: who ever since that he was
 "entered into amity with the people of Rome, hath held on the same course still, in keeping his
 "faithfull allegiance, and never failed, but at all times and in all places, uncoined and advanced
 "the State and Empire of Rome, with all bounty and princely munificence: which the people of
 "Rome took most thankfully, as in right they ought. As for gold some other Cities likewise had
 "brought and offered unto them, but accepting only in good worth their kindness received it not.
 "But the Image of *Victory*, and the happy preface and forerunner thereof they gladly accepted, and
 "for that blessed Saint they appointed and dedicated unto the Capitol, and Temple of *Jup. Opt.*
 "Max, to be the seat and shrine thereof: that being consecrated in that Cattle and highest trea-
 "sures of the City of Rome it might be propice and gracious, and remain firm and fast to the peo-
 "ple of Rome. As for the slingers and archers, together with the corn they were delivered to the
 "Col. Five and twenty galleys, with five ranks of oars to a side, were joined to the Navy which was
 "under the conduct of *T. Octavius* the Pro-prætor in *Sicily*: who had commission, if he thought it
 "good and expedient for the commonweal to pass over into *Africk*, The Consuls having finished
 "the matters and levied souldiers, and a few daies, until their allies were come with aid from the
 "Latines. Then were the souldiers particularly (a thing never done before) by their Colonels, put
 "to their corporal oath, and sworn to make their repair at the Consuls commandment, and with-
 "out their leave, not to depart: for until that day there passed nothing but a sacramental promise
 "and simple promise in general. For whensoever the horsemen resorted to their Decuries, and footmen
 "to their Centuries; both they of the Cavalry in their Decuries, and also of the Infantry in their
 "Centuries, (where after a sort) voluntarily among themselves, that they would not abandon their
 "enigms by way of flight, or upon any fear, nor go out of their ranks, unless it were to fetch either
 "some offensive armour, or to imitate an enemy, or to save the life of a Citizen. Which having been
 "aforetime a voluntary covenant and accord between themselves, was now by the martial Tribunes
 "or Colonels, reduced to a formal and solemn oath, and bound the souldiers to observe them same,
 "of necessity. Yet before the ensigns set forward and marched out of Rome, the Consul *Varrus* dealt
 "many hot words and brave orations in the assembly of the people, intimating & purporting thus
 "much in effect: That the Nobles had called for war in Italy where it was like to remain long e-
 "nough, and to stick close to the ribs of the common-weal, if he were served with many in. h. Ge-
 "nerals as *Fabius* was. "As for my self (quoth he) I shall (I trust) vanquish the enemy, the first day
 "that I set eye upon him yea, and finish the war at once for ever. But his Colleague *Pansa* made
 "but one only speech, even the day before they were to take their leave of the City, which was not

The Embas-
adors of K. *Hie-
ro* join the Senat
of Rome.

* 11220 lib-
sterl.

* 9375 quarters,
reckoning
six modii to
Medimnus,
which is sup-
posed to be
much about a
bushell and a
half of London
measure.

The Oration
of Q. Fabius
Max. to L. Aemilius
the Consul.

to well taken of the people for the present, as it is proved true in the end. Wherein he gave Varro many hard words, nor girded at him otherwise than thus: "That he marvelled much, how any Captain, before he had experience either of his own Army, or of his enemies, and knew the situation of the place and ground, and the nature of the country, sitting as yet within the City in his gown, could perfectly tell what he was to do in the field, and in arms: and be able also to foretell and set down the very day, wherein he was to encounter and joyn in raised battle with the enemy. For his own part, he would not cast thus aforeshand, nor plot his designs and counsels before due time & season, which present occurrences are worse much more to minister unto men, than men to sit them to the occurrences that shall happen. This would he wish with all his heart, that the enterprises taken in hand warily and with discretion might prove as lucky and fortunate. As for I, inconsiderate rashness, besides that it importeth folly, hath ever to that day sped but ill. Thus it was well seen, that this man of himself inclined to prefer safe proceeding & advised counsel before doubtful waies & fool-hardy counsels: & to the end that he might persevere in that resolution more constantly. Q. Fabius Maximus at his departure (by report) bad him farewell, in this or such like manner. "If either you, O L. Aemilius, had a Colleague like unto your self, (which I could rather wish) for that your self were suitable to your Colleague, these my words to you were altogether needless, and superfluous. For you twin, being two good Consuls, would even without my speech do all things faithfully to the good of the Commonwealth: and contrariwise, if both of you were bad, ye neither would vouchsafe to give ear to my sayings, nor ponder in mind my counsels. But now, when I consider your companion what he is, and your self, to be a man of that quality & worth, I say, you are he to whom alone I am addressed to direct my whole speech: to you, I say, whom he thinks I foresee already, like to be in vain and without effect, an honest man and a good Citizen. For if the Commonwealth be hale and lame, but of one side, as great sway and authority will bad projects & lead courses carry, as the good face, and wholesome counsels. For you are far out of the way and much deceived, O L. Aemilius, if you think to be less troubled with Annibal, than with C. Terentius. And I wot not well, but I greatly fear, that you shall have a more cumbrous adversary of the one, than a dangerous enemy of the other. For, with Annibal you are to fight in the field, and in time of battle only; but with Terentius you shall have to do in every place, and at all hours. Against Annibal and his Legions you shall make head, and have the help of your own Cavalry and Infantry: but General Varro will assail you even with your own footsouldiers. Far be from you in any ill sense the late remembrance of C. Flaminius, for I love no such unclay prelagging. Howbeit, he began his mad fits when he was once Consul, and never before: when he was in his Province with command, & in the Camp with his Army, and never else. But this Varro, even before he stood for the Consulship, and all the whiles he was a sutor therefore, and now likewise, that he is Consul, before that he seeth camp or enemy in field is horn-mad, and talketh like a man besides himself. What foul work then (think you) will he make, when he shall see himself with armed youths about him in the Camp, who now amongst peaceable Citizens in their gowns and long robes within the City, stirreth so great storms and tempests, cracking and vaulting at every second word of nothing but fight, skirmish, and battle? What a coil, I say, will he keep there, where no looser a word spoken, but a blow given: and when upon direct command, presently enforceth execution? But in case this man (as he saith flatly he will) fall immediately to strike a barrel, either I know not what belongeth to Art military, and have neither skill how to conduct this kind of warfare, nor any experience of the quality and nature of this enemy, or else there will be another place more noble and memorable by our defeat and overthrow, than was the Lake Trasimene. But it is no time now to stand upon these terms, and to glorifie my self in comparison of this one person who have loved (as it is well known) to exceed and go beyond all measure in despising glory & honour, rather than in desiring and coveting the same. But the truth is this & so it will be found in the end, that the only way to war against Annibal, is that which I took and alwaies used. Neither is it the issue and event alone (for that is matter and teacher of fools) which sheweth & proveth this unto us, but even reason it self which hath said, and will be still the same and immutable, as long as things in the world hold on as they do. We war, (you see) in Italy, at home, in our own ground and place of residence: all quarters round about us, full of our own Citizens or friendly Allies: who daily help us, and will be ready still to furnish us with armour, men, horse, and victuals. Sufficient proof and testimony of their faithfulness have they given us already in our hard distress and adversity. Space and process of time maketh us better stronger, wiser every day than other, and more constant and resolute. Contrariwise, Annibal is in a strange and foreign land, in his enemies country, in the midst of all things that are crots and adverse unto him, far from his house and home, far from his native soil, having peace no where, neither by sea nor land. No Cities receive him and give him entertainment, no wals he hath, within which he can retire himself in safety. Nothing seeth he, whereto ever he goeth, that he can say is his own. From day to day, from hand to mouth, he liveth of rapine and spoil. Scarce a third part hath he of those forces, which he transported over the river Tiber. Hunger and famine hath wasted more of them, than the edge of the sword: and for this small remainder that is left, he is hard and scant provided of food and sustenance. Make you any doubt then but we shall vanquish him, whiles we sit still and take our ease, who day by day decrease sensibly, and waxeth old and feeble, who neither hath store of victuals to maintain an Army, nor supply of men to make up his broken bands, nor mals of money to entertain them.

How

A "How long was he faine to fight for Gerion, a poor little Castle in Apulia, as if it had been the howls of Carthage it self? Neither will I boast and magnifie my self at all before you, O Aemilius. "Do you but only consider, how Cn. Servilius and Atilius, the last Consuls, played mock-holiday with him and deceived him. This is the only way of safety. O L. Paulus, which I hear me our own Citizens will make difficult and dangerous unto themselves, more than the enemies can. For you shall have your own souldiers, and your enemies both of one and the same mind. Varro the Roman Consul, and Annibal the Carthaginian General will aim and reach at one and the self-same thing. And you, being but one man, must make account to resist two Captains: and resist them you shall well enough, if you will stand firm and hold your own against all bruits and speeches of the people, if neither the vain-glory of your fellow that shall be blazed, nor the infamous rumours that shall be fastly blown abroad to your disgrace, shall once stir you from your constant resolution and maintenance of the truth. O L. sayings these be, and common provs, that right and true-dealing may well be fickle, but it shall not die: it may be bleeding but shall not miscarry. And he that will despise vain-glory shall attain in the end to true glory. Let them call you and spare not fearful for careful, cold and slow for wise and considerate, an ill souldier and ignorant for a skilful warrior and experienced. But be not you daunted: I had rather hear a wise and sober enemy to fear you, than see foolish and brain-lick Citizens to praise you. Adventure all things boldly. Annibal will concern you: enterprise nothing rashly, he shall dread you. And yet my purpose is not, neither speak I this that you should enter into no action at all: but my meaning and advice is, that in all your doings you be guided and directed by five reasons, not haled and carried away with blind fortune. Order the matter so, that all things live within your compais, and at your disposition. Stand ever armed and upon your guard. Have your eye about you still, and keep good watch, that neither you lose any opportunity that shall present itself unto you, nor yield unto the enemy any occasion for his advantage. Take time and leisure, your shall find all things clear plain easie, and certain. Contrariwise, that maketh waste: it is ever to seek it foreteth nought, but is stark blind.

The Consul answered to these speeches, with no light from cheer and gladiome countenance, as consoling, that all he spake was rather true in substance, than easie in execution. "For (said he) if the General of horsemen were so violent, and not to be endured of you, who were his Dictator and to overaign Commander: what course shall I take, what shift may I make, what power and authority sufficient, am I like to have to sway against my seditious, quarrelsome, and heady Colleague? For mine own part, in my former Consulship, I hardly escaped a scolding, and much ado I had to pass through the light fire of the flaming peoples doom and heavy censure, wherein I was well scorched and half-burnt. I wish all may be well in the end. Howbeit, if any thing shall fall out otherwise than well, I had rather hazard the pikes and darts of the enemies, and leave my life behind me among them, than put my self to be tried again by the voices and suffrages of angry and teety Citizens. Paulus had no sooner delivered this speech, but (as the report goeth) he went forth on his journey and the chief LL of the Senat accompanied him. The Roman Commoner Consul was likewise attended of his favourites the Commons, more looked on & gazed at for their multitude and number, than regarded for the worth & quality of their persons.

So soon as they were arrived at the Camp, and that the new army was intermingled with the old, they divided the whole army into two camps & ordered the matter so, that the new which was the lesser should be nearer to Annibal: and in the old, the greater number and the whole strength and flower of the main forces should be quartered. Then they sent away to Rome M. Atilius the Consul of the former year, who excused himself by reason of his old age, and desired to be gone. But they gave unto Cn. Servilius the charge and conduct of one Roman Legion, and besought two thousand horsemen and footmen of their allies in the lesser Camp. Annibal, notwithstanding he well perceived that the power of his enemies was re-enforced by one half more than before, yet wondrous joyful he was at the coming of these new Consuls. For not onely he had nothing left him of victuals, which from day to day he purveyed for, to serve his present need and no more; but also there was no more to be had, and nothing remained for to fill his hands with: by reason that after the iteratory was not safe to travel in, the corn from all parts was conveyed unto the strong walled Towns, and there laid up: so that (as afterwards it was known for certain) he had scarce corn enough for to serve ten daies: and the Spaniards, by occasion of the dearth and want, were at the point to revolt unto the Romans, if they might but enjoy a good and commodious time therefore. Over and besides to the inbred rashness and over-hasty nature of the Consul. Fortune also ministered matter to confirm him therein. For in a certain tumultuary skirmish (to stop and impeach the torragers and Plunderers of Annibal, and which began rather by chance as the souldiers happened to encounter one another than upon any considerable council aforeshand, or by direction and commandment from the Generals) the Carthaginian had the foil, and went by the worst: for of them there were 1700 slain: but of Romans and Confederates not passing 100. And when in the train of victory they hotly followed the chase in disorder, the Consul Paulus, who that day had the absolute command (for they governed by turn each one his day) restrained and staid them, Varro thereat calied and fretted, crying out aloud. That he had let the enemy escape out of his hands: and if he had not thus given over the pursuit, the war might have been ended at once. Annibal took this loss and damage nothing near the heart, but rather made full reckonie, that he had caught

The answer of
Aemilius to
Fabius.

(as

... *think* it, when he saw that the Romans rather began to stir without order, than till to rumour-
rally on head to the fall, and that his cruddy duty was diffused and took no effect, returned a-
gain into his Camp. Where he could not for want of corn make abode many daies; and besides
not only fouldiers (who were not all one mans child) but a confused mixture of all Nations
began to dye to plot and enter into new deuicements, but also their Captain himself was of many
minds. For whereas they began with muttering and grumbling, and afterwards with open
mouth, to demand and call for their due wages complaining first of the dearth of victuals, and
in the end, of meer hunger and famine; and withall a rumour rose, that the mercenary fouldiers

[illegible]

* That is a
scarlet cassock
out of the Ge-
neral his pavil-
lion.
The memora-
ble battle of
Cannae.

and loose shot, close to the main battel of the Roman Legions; and of all the rest of light armed auxiliaries, consisted the van-guard. The Consuls led both the parties, *Terentius* the left, *Æmilius* the right, *Cn. Servilius* had the conduct of the main battel. Now *Anibal* by the break of day, having sent before the Balære slingers, and his other light armor, passed over the river, and marshalled them in battel array, ever as they came to land. The horse as well Gauls as Spaniards, he opposed in the left point, near to the bank, even against the horsemen of the Romans: the right consisted of the Numidian light horse: and the main battel was strengthened and fortified with his Infantry: but in such manner as the Africans flanked both, in manner of wings: and between them were betwixt the Gauls and the Spaniards in the midst. A man that had seen the Africans, would have taken most of them for Romans, so armed were they with Roman armor, I gotten much of it at *Trebia*, but most of all at *Thrasymenus*. The Frenchmen and Spaniards had targets neer of one fashion, but their swords were unlike and far differing. Those of the Gauls were very long and not pointed. But the Spaniard, whose manner is rather to fight with the thrust and to loyn, then to slash and strike edglong, had handsome short cuttillases, and sharp at the point. And after this sort flood these two nations armed before the rest (terrible to behold, both for the bigness of their persons, and also for their habit and attire.) The Gauls all from the navel upward naked: the Spaniards with linnen waistcoats or jackets, glittering wondrous bright, bordered and embroidered with purple and scarlet. The complete number of all, as well horse as footmen, that flood embattelled, amounted (as they report) unto forty thousand foot, and ten thousand men of arms. These Captains had the leading of these two points, to wit, *Asdrubal* commanded the left, *Maburba* the right. *Anibal* himself in person with his brother *Mago*, conducted the middle battel. The Sun shone sidewise upon the flanks both of the one and also of the other army, very indifferent and commodious to both parts, were it that they were so placed and marshalled off purpose, or chanced at adventure so to stand: the Romans with their faces full toward, the Carthaginians into the north. But the wind which the inhabitants of that country call *Vulturnus*, arose and blew full upon the faces of the Romans, and raised such flore of dust, and drete it so upon their eyes, that it took away their sight and prospect. The cry and shout began on both sides, and the Auxiliary foildiers put themselves forth first to skirmish, and charged one another with their light shot. Then the left point of the Gauls and Spanish men of arms encountered and ran full upon the right hand of the Romans Cavalry, nothing at all after the order of horle-service, for they were of necessity to affront one another straight forward, as having no room left about them to ling out and ride at large, being flanked on the one hand with the river, and enclosed on the other with the battailon of footmen. Whereupon I say, they were forced to charge full butt from both parts, directly before them, so long as their horses flood close and thrust together: but at length when they began to stir and wince, the riders, man to man, fell to take hold and clasp one another, and every man to pluck his enemie besides his horle, (as now they were driven much what to fight on foot. This conflict was rather sharp then long: and to be short, the Roman Cavalry was difcomfited and put to flight. And anon, as the horle made an end of their fight, began the skirmish of the foot also. At the first the Gauls and Spaniards equal to their enemies both in force and courage maintained the conflict right hardily, and kept their order and arrais. At length the Romans call about and devised on what side, and with what form of a close battailon, to force back that pointed squadron of the enemies, ranged very thin, and by so much the weaker, and bearing out withal, from the rest of the battel, now when they had once driven them to retreat, and give ground, the Romans pressed on still at one instant, and with the same violence pierced through them as they fled for fear headlong, until they were entred as far as to the very midit of the vanguard and main battel: and finding none able to stand in their way and make resistance, they gained in the end the very reward of the Africans: who having drawn in from both sides their skirts and wings, flood together strong, and firmly kept their ground. The Gauls and Spaniards continued still in the midst, somewhat advanced without the rest of the battel. Now when this pointed squadron was driven by the Romans, and made even and equal still with the front of the battel, and afterwards upon farther enforcement, gave way for them to pass in a lane through the midit thereof: by that time the Africans charged upon their flanks: and while the Romans unwarily were engaged over far within them, they came about them on the skirts, and within a while having stretched out and spread their wings, enclosed the enemies round on their backs also. Hereupon the Romans who had performed one battel and conflict in vain, were forced to give over the Gauls and Spaniards, whom they had disraied and put to flight, and were to begin a fresh fight with the Africans: and that to their own great disadvantage: not only because they being enclosed and pent up in a straight room, were to deal with them that had compassed them all about and were at liberty, but also because they being wearied, were to maintain a new skirmish with those that were fresh in heart, and lusty. And now by this time, in the left point of the Romans battel, where the horsemen of their associates were marshalled to affront the Numidians they were fain to close fight: which at the first these Numidians began but coldly and faintly, after the deceitful manner of Carthaginians, unto whom they were fast and neer neighbours. For 500. of them or thereabout, having besides their usual javelins and darts which they commonly carry, short daggers or skeins hidden under their cuirass and helmets, made semblance of riding away from their own companies, and siding to the Romans, with their bucklers at their backs, all of a sudden dismounted from their horses, and throwing their bucklers, targets,

and

And spears at their enemies feet, were received within the main battel, and from thence conducted to the hindmost in the rearward, were commanded there to abide behind at their back: And until such time as the skirmish joined on all sides, they continued quiet. But when they saw every mans eye and mind busied and occupied in the conflict, then they caught up those bucklers that lay strewd and scattered among the dead bodies all abroad, and played upon the battel of the Romans from behind: and what with wounding their backs, & cutting their hamstrings, they made foul work and slaughter among them; and more then that, raised a greater fear and tumult by far. Now when the Romans in one place were fought and ran away, and in another fought for life, armed only with despair of a means to escape: *Asdrubal* who had the charge of that side, I caused the Numidian horsemen, who fought but coldly with those that flood affront them, to be withdrawn from the midit of the battel, and sent them to pursue the enemies in the chafe. And so the Africans over weary now with execution and killing, rather then with any other fight, he joined the Gauls and Spanish footmen to assist them. On the other side of the battel, *Paulus*, albeit at the very first shock and encounter, he was sore wounded with a bullet from out of a sling, yet oftentimes he made head against *Anibal*, and kept his battailons close and thick together, yea, and in divers places renewed the conflict, and evermore the Roman horsemen guarded and protected him. But at the last they left their horses, because the Consul his strength failed him to rule his own, and to fit him. Whereupon there was one brought word unto *Anibal*, that the Consul had commanded his men of arms to light aloof. Then (quoth *Anibal*, as the report goeth) Yea, mar? For by how much gladder would I be, if he delivered them into my hands bound hand and foot? And surely the horsemen fought so alter they were alighted, as if there had been no doubt, but that the enemy had the victory. Howbeit, although they had the worle, yet they chose rather to die in the place, then to flie: and the victors angry at the heart with them for thus staying the accomplishment of the victory, went down with them, and killed outright all those whom they could not make to give ground and yield. And yet a few such as were wearied with much toil and overcharged with many wounds they enforced to retreat. Anon they were all disbanded and scattered asunder: and as many as could, recovered their horses, and fled away. *Cn. Lentulus* Comandeeing (as he rode by) the Consul sitting all agore blood upon a stone. Ah *L. Æmilius* (quoth he) whom the gods ought of right to regard and save, as being the only guileless man, and innocent of this days work and unhappy overthrow, take here this horle of mine, while some vigor and strength remaineth in you. Able I am to mount you upon him, to accompany and protect you also. Come I say, and make not this battel more curfed and sorrowful by the death of a Consul. Without it, I wot, we have cause enough already, and too much, of dolorous tears and wofull lamentation. Whereunto the Consul made this answer: Give thee thanks, O *L. Cernius*, gra-mercy for thy kindness, and God bleis thee in this thy virtue and prowess. But take thou heed to thy self, lest by thy foolish pity of me, thou lose that little time which thou hast to escape out of the hands of the enemies. Save thy self, and go thy ways to the LL. of the Senat, and wilt them all from me in general, to fortifie the City of Rome, and man it well with strong guards, before the enemy follow the train of victory, and come against it. But more particularly, let *Q. Fabius* understand, that *L. Æmilius* yet, was mindful of his whollom precepts: all the whiles he lived, and now also forgot them not at the hour of his death. And suffer thome to yield unto nature, and let go my last breath, even here among the heaps of mine own slain foildiers, that I may end my days and die neither an accused and guilty person, nor in my Consulship stand up to accuse my Colleague, and to defend mine own innocency, and justifie my selfe, by the blaming of another. As the Consul uttered these words, first the multitude of his own citizens in the rout, and then the enemies in pursuit, ran over him: and not knowing who he was, overwhelmed him with javelins and darts good store. As for *Lentulus*, his horle carried him away to a little hill. Then they fled all again as fast as they could, 7000. recovered the lesser camp, and ten thousand the greater: and upon two thousand put themselves into the village it self of *Canna*. But because it was an unvalled and fenceless town, they were immediately environed by *Cn. Paulus* and the horsemen, and so perished every one. The other Consul made no semblance, that he was offended or displeased with the companies that thus fled, were it of purpose, or as it chanced: and accompanied with fifty men of arms or thereabout escaped to *Venusia*. In this battel were slain of Romans (by report) 40000. footmen, and 2700. horsemen: and in a manner, as many besides of Allies, as of natural Citizens. Amongst whom there was one Consul, two Treasurers, *L. Attilius* and *Furius Bibaculus*, 21. Colonels: some also who had been Consuls, Pretors, and Ediles. Of which number was *Cn. Servilius*, and *C. Minucius Nautius*, who the year before had been Commanders of the Cavalry for some certain days. Besides 80. Senators, or such as were Senators fellows, and had borne those dignities, in regard whereof, they were to be chosen Senators. These served as volunteers and were enrolled among the Legions. There were taken prisoners at this field, as the general speech went, 3000. footmen, and 300. men of Arms.

This is that noble battel, so famous for the overthrow at *Canna*, and comparable to that defeat at the river *Allia*. For like as this was of less importance, then the other, in respect of that which ensued after the conflict, because the enemy stayed his hand, and pursued not his victory: so if we consider the loss of men and defeat of the army it was the greater, and for the shameful flight more dishonorable. For the running away that was at *Allia*, as it betrayed the City, so it saved the Army: but at *Canna*, when the one Consul fled, there were scarce 50. of his army that accompanied him

him, and as for the other Consul, whiles he lay a bleeding and dying, all his forces to speak of took their heels.

The speech of
P. Sempronius
Tudianus to
his fellow
soldiers.

Now there being a number in both camps, half disarmed, and wholly without their chief Commanders: the Captains of the greater Camp sent a messenger unto the other, willing them to come over thither, that they might march in one entire company together, and depart to *Cannus* in the night season, whyles their enemies were fast asleep: as partly wearied with long fight and partly charged with wine & good cheer after their joyful victory. This advice, some there were that misliked together and rejected. For why (say they) might not they come hither themselves to us, as well as send for us, since we may as soon join together? Because, I would all the ways between are full of enemies, and they chose rather to hazard the bodies of others, when adventuring their own persons in to great danger. Others were not so much displeased for any dislike of the motion, as their hearts faked them to take in hand the enterprise thereof. Then spake P. *Sempronius Tudianus* a Colonel. And will ye rather chuse (quoth he) to be taken captive by a multitude of foes and cruel enemy? And to have your heads valued at a price? And that Chapmen coming to buy you in open market, should ask every one of you this question, Whether art thou a Roman Citizen, or a Latin Confederate? And so by thy disgrace, reproach, and misery, another man shall get honor, and thy self none. Ye are not (I see well) like to *Lucius Emilius*, who made choice to die valiantly, then to live in shame and obloquy: nor to many other to brave and hardy men, who lie about him dead on the ground by heaps. But before day light surprize us, and greater troops of enemies beset the passages, let us break through these, that in disorder and out of array, make to trouble our gates. The point of sword and edge of courage, is able to pass through enemies, stand they never so thick and close together. We will make a pointed bayonet, tailon in wedg-form, and pierce through their loose and thin squadrons, as easily as if nothing stood in our way. Go with me therefore as many of you, as are willing to save yourselves and the Common-weal. The word was no sooner out of his mouth, but his sword was out of scabbard, and with a pointed battailon took his way through the midst of the enemies; and when the Numidians flanked them, and shot hard at their right side that lay open to them, they shifted their targets to their right arm, and so escaped, to the number of 600, unto the bigger camp, and forth from thence joining to the other greater company, they retired themselves safe to *Cannus*. These exploits were performed by men vanquished, more upon a present fit of courage, as hath many natural instinct guided, or chance led him, then either any sage advice of their own, or command of other.

Now when all the rest came about *Annibal*, immediately upon this noble victory to congratulate and rejoice with him, yea, and to advise him, that after to great a battle performed, he should rest of that day, and the whole night following, both refresh himself, and also give rest and repose to his wearied soldiers: *Maharbal*, General of the Cavalry, was of mind that it was no giving over thus: Nay (quoth he) that you may know of what consequence this battle is, you shall break your fast and eat your dinner five days hence in the Capitol. Follow hardly with your horses, that they may see you are come, before they hear that you are coming. No faith *Annibal* says, let carriers on Gods name go alone, and spare not to carry news thereof: Your words are good, and it is a gay matter and plausible you speak of: but the way thereto is longer, and more than I can presently conceive and comprehend: I give you thanks *Maharbal*, and I commend your good mind and forwardness: but we had need to deliberate and pause further upon this point. Ah (quoth *Maharbal*) true it is, I see well, that God hath not ended one man with all gifts. Thus halt the way O *Annibal*, to win a victory, but not the grace to use a victory. And surely, in this one day's delay, as it was certainly believed, stood the safety and preservation of the City & Empire of Rome. The morrow after, so soon as ever the day began to appear, they minded only and intended the gathering of spoils, and to view that great butchery and slaughter: a pitiful and lamentable sight even to the very enemies to behold. So many thousand Romans lay there alone in every place, horsemen and footmen pell mell, one with another, according as their hap was to meet together: and either to join in fight, or die in flight. Some were seen to arise up all bloody from out of the midst of the slaughtered bodies, such as the bitter morning cold had nipped their wounds, and made them to start up by reason of their smart, and were by the enemy knocked down again and killed. Other some they found lying along still alive, cut shorter by the thighs & bays, who offered their bare necks & throats to be cut & called upon them to let forth the rest of their blood. Divers were found with their heads covered within the earth, who, as it appeared, had made themselves holes & gutters in the ground for this purpose, to inter themselves, wherinto they thrust their mouths & faces, & being buried with mould cast over them, were so stifled & choked. But above all the rest, there was one that drew every mans eye upon him & made them all to wonder. *Nemidius* with his nose and ears pitifully mangled & cropt, but yet alive, lying under a Roman dead. For when his hands so wounded as they were, would not serve him to handle a weapon, for very anger he set mad & lay (so long as he had any breath within him) biting his enemy with his teeth.

After they had spent a good part of the day in gathering spoils, *Annibal* marched forward to attack the lesser camp and first and foremost he turned aside the arm of the river that flanked them, and so excluded them from the water. But they all within being over-wearied with toil, with watching and bleeding of their wounds, yielded sooner than he looked for: and expounded, *Impetris* to deliver up their armor and horses: *Item*, to pay 300, Quadrigates

A peeces of silver, for every Roman: 200, for every one of the Allies: and every bondman 100 a pece. *Item*, that after this ransom paid, they should depart in their single apparel. Thus they received their enemies into the camp, and were themselves put all in ward: but, Allies and Citizens by themselves, apart one from the other. While they trilled time there, there were about 4000, footmen, and 200 horsemen, even as many as either their strength or hearts would serve, who out of the greater camp fled to *Cannus*, some marching in order, others scattering abroad over the fields, which was not the worst way of the twain, and less safe. And then the camp was surrendered to the enemy, by those that were hurt and heartless, upon the same conditions that the other war. A rich booty was there gotten: and letting aside horses, and men, and silver, which they used much in trappings and caparisons of their horses, (for soldiers, be ye sure, occupied very little silver, either in their own apparel, or at their board) all the pillage was given to be rifled and ransacked amongst them. Then he gave commandment that the dead bodies of his own men should be gathered together for to be buried. And as men say, they were to the number of eight thousand, all right valiant and hardy men. Some Authors report, that the Roman Consul also was fought up and interred. As for those, which escaped to *Cannus*, were by the *Canusins* entertained only within the walls, and lodged in their houses: but a noble Lady and a wealthy, named *Bulla*, relieved them with some victual, apparel, yea, and money also in their purses for their journey. In regard of which bountiful liberality of hers, after the war was finished, she was highly honored by the Senat of Rome.

Now, there were amongst them four Colonels; namely, *Fabius Max*, of the first Legion, whose father had been Dictator the year before: and *L. Publicius Philus*, of the second Legion, together with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* of the third Legion, who had been *Edile* but lately afore: and by general consent of them all, *P. Scipio*, a very young man, and *Appius Claudius* were chosen to bear the sovereign rule, and to have the absolute command and conduct of the army. But as they sat with some few others, in counsel together about the managing of their main affairs, behold *P. Furio Philus*, whose father had been a Consul, gave them to understand, that all their consultations were in vain, and that they did but foster and cherish a foolish hope of an overthrown state: for the Common-weal was in a desperate case, past all cure, and remediless. Also that certain noble young Gentlemen, of whom *L. Cecilius Metellus* was the principal, minded nothing else but to take sea, and were ready to embark, to abandon Italy, and to fly for succor to some King or other. This evil tidings as it was most grievous and heavy in itself: so falling out as it did, presently upon other misfortunes so suddenly and unlooked for, put them into their dumps, and wonderfully amazed and astonished them all. And when they that were present in place laid their heads together, and thought good to call others to counsel upon this point, *Scipio* a young man, even then predestined to be the fatal Captain of this war, answered: What do we here? (quoth he) it is no time now to sit consulting in so great extremity, but letting all discourse, presently to proceed to action, and to do some exploit. As many therefore as are willing to save the Common-weal, take arms and go with me forthwith: for no where are our enemies (to say a truth) encamped against us more, then where such designments are plotting and contriving. Forth he went with a few following after him, unto the lodging of *Metellus*: and finding there the young Gentlemen afore said, close together in counsel thereabout: he drew his sword, and brandished it naked over their heads, as they sat in consultation. "I swear before you all (quoth he) and I swear from my very heart, and no man urgeth me thereto, that I for my part will neither forsake the Common-weal, nor suffer any Citizen else of Rome to abandon her. And if I fail with it, willing and willing, then confound me O *Jup. Opt. Max*, and bring a most shameful end upon my house, my family, and all that I have, swear thou O *L. Cecilius* after me, as I have done, I advise thee: and ye all that are here present take the same oath: for whoever shall refuse, know he assuredly, that upon him I have drawn this sword. Hereat they being no less terrified, then if they had seen the Conqueror himself *Annibal* in person, took the oath every one, and yielded themselves unto *Scipio*, for to be kept in ward to serve against *Annibal*.

At the same time, whiles these things were working at *Cannus*, there arrived at *Venusia*, upon four thousand foot and horsemen together, such as in their flight had been separated asunder all over the fields, and repaired unto the Consul there. The Venusins took order for them all, that they should be gently entertained, and carefully tended, and divided into several houses: and they bestowed upon the horsemen, a hide cassock, a coat, and * 25, Quadrigates a pece: and gave ten Quadrigates to every footman: and armor besides, to as many as wanted. And in all other courtesies of hospitality, both publick and privat, they strove and endeavored that the people of *Venusia* should not in any kind of friendly offices, come behind one woman of *Cannus*. Howbeit in regard of the great multitude, the burden and charge lay more heavy upon dame *Bu*. *Celsiorum* their number was then to be ten thousand. Then *Appius* and *Scipio* having intelligence that the other Consul was alive and well, dispatched a messenger presently, to advertise him how many footmen and horsemen there were in all with them: and to know his pleasure what, whether he would command the army to be brought unto *Venusia*, or abide still at *Cannus*. But *Varro* (the Consul) of his own accord brought his forces to *Cannus*. So as by this time, they made a pretty good show of a Consular army, and seemed sufficient to defend themselves, if not by the force of arms in the field, yet at leastwise, with the strength of walls within the town. But the news came to Rome, that there was not so much as this small remnant left of Citizens and Con-

* 15 s. 7 d. obol-
ter. A Quadrig-
ate, which is a
pece of silver
coyn among
the Romans,
the same that
now is called a
denario at Cal-
citra, i. a cha-
racter drawn
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s, as prefen-
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side of the
pece.

Confederates together: but that the two Consuls and both the armies were put all to the sword, and hewn in pieces to the last man, Never was there known so great a terror and turmoil within the walls of *Rome* (and the City still remaining in safety.) I will therefore even at first, sink under my load and saying nothing at all: and never will I go about to recount those things by discourse of words, which in reporting, I should make less than they were indeed. For there was not now, a flying rumor first of one foil, and then of another: to day of this foil, and to morrow of that: as the year before, when the Consul and his army were defeated at *Thrasymeneus*, but manifold overthrows together were multiplied, and altogether at once, to wit, how both the Consuls were slain, and two Consular armies lost: no camp, not a pavilion of the Romans left standing: neither Leader nor Soldier remaining alive: and how *Annib.* I was now become Lord of *Apulia*, of *Samnum*, and well near of all *Italy* full and whole. And verily, there is not (I suppose) a nation under the cope of heaven besides, but would have been overwhelmed and crushed utterly under the huge heap and heavy weight of so great a ruin & overthrow. Should I compare the defeat and foil that the Carthaginians received at the Island *Ægates*, in a conflict at least wherewith they were so quelled, and their backs so broken, that at one clap they lost *Sicilia* and *Sardinia* both, and that which more is, yielded themselves tributaries and subjects to the people of *Rome*. Or should I make comparison of their unfortunate and unhappy battle in *Africa* afterwards? wherein this very *Annib.* gave overplay, yielded the bucklers, and confessed himself vanquished. Nay, they are not any way comparable with this, but only that they were born and supported with less courage, and valour of mind.

Well, to proceed, *P. Furius Philus*, and *M. Pomponius* the Pretors, assembled the Senat in the Court *Hofilia*, for to consult about the defence and guard of the City: for they made no doubt, but now that the armies were both defeated, the enemy would speedily come to assault *Rome*, the only piece of work, and warlike service that remained behind undone. But being to seek what counsel to take, and what remedy to devise for redress of these calamities, to exceeding great and grievous, and yet not known to the full, and interrupted and shrewdly troubled besides with the clamorous noises and plaints of women: whilst that in every house almost, they ceased not to mourn, weep, and wail confusedly, as well for the quick as the dead (because as yet it was not openly and for certain known who were alive, and who were slain.) Then *Furius Max.* gave his opinion, that certain light horsemen should be made out and sent forth by the highways *Apulia*, and *Latina*, and to ride along, and enquire of them whom they heard to meet with, (first I mean as fled, and were scattered here and there abroad) if happily some of them could report upon his knowledge, what was become of the Consuls, and the armies: and in case the immortal gods had of their mercy and compassion: read some poor remnant still of this miserable and woful Empire, for the Roman name: where that residue of small forces was; what way *Annib.* took; and whither he was gone after the battle was fought: what preparation he maketh what presently he is doing, or intendeth for to do. His advice was, I say, that to spy, hearken and learn certainly, these premises, certain lusty young men, active and industrious, should be employed. But for the LL. of the Senat thus much, that considering there were few Magistrates at home, and those not able to rid the City of this tumultuous and fearful hubbub, therefore they should take upon themselves, to debar the dames and women for coming abroad, and force them every one to keep home, and tarry within doors: to restrain the plaints and outcries of households and families: to cause silence throughout the City: to take order that all Posts, and messengers of news, should be brought before the Pretors: and that every man should attend at home the tidings, good or bad, that concerned himself, or his own state. Over and besides, that they should let warders at the gates, to see that no person went out of the City: and compel every man to hope for no other earthly safety for themselves, but in the preservation of the City, and walls thereof. And when the tumult and hurry is once hushed, then (quoth he) may the Senators well be called again into the Council-House, and consult for the defence and safeguard of the City. When all the assembly liked well, and approved of this opinion, and went every man on *Fabius* his side without contradiction, so as the market place, by authority of the Magistrates, was cleared and voided of the multitude, and the Senators were divided and gone sundry ways to appease the uproars: then at last, came letters from *Tarentum* the Consul, importing, that *L. Æmilius* the Consul was slain together with the army: that himself was at *Cannum*, busied in rallying the reliques of so great an overthrow, as it were after a shipwreck upon the sea: and there were ten thousand soldiers of them, or very near, and those much out of frame and good order. As for *Annib.* he sat still now at *Cannæ*, busily occupied about the ransoming of prisoners, and intensive to the rest of the spoil and pillage: not measuring the victory with the mind and courage of a conqueror, nor yet after the guile and manner of a noble warrior and great commander. Then were the private and particular losses also divulged and spread abroad through every man's house and family, and the whole City was so filled with sorrow and lamentation, that the Anniversary solemnity of sacrifices to *Ceres* was foret, because it was not lawful for those that mourned to celebrate the same: and there was not a matron throughout the City, but was in heaviness and sorrow for the time. Left therefore other sacrifices likewise, as well publick as privat, upon the same occasion, should be neglected and discontinued, there passed an Act of the Senat, by virtue whereof a term was prefixed, to make an end of mourning within thirty days. Now was the trouble of the City no sooner allayed, and the Senators called again

into the Council-House: but to mend the matter, there were other letters brought out of *Sicily* from *T. Otacilius* the Vice-pretor, notifying thus much, That the realm of *Hiero* was much wasted by the Carthaginian navy: and when he would have succored him at his earnest suit and petition, there was another Armado ready rigged, decked and furnished, riding by the Islands *Ægates*, waiting the opportunity of the time, that when the Carthaginians perceived once that he had turned and bent his forces to the defence of the coast and river *Syracusæ*, they might immediately set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the Roman province. And therefore in case they were minded to aid and maintain a confederate King, and defend the Realm of *Sicily*, they must of necessity rig and man another fleet out of hand. When the letters both of the Consul and also of the Vice-pretor were read, agreed it was, and thought meet, that *M. Claudius* Admiral of the fleet which rid in the harbour of *Ofis*, should be sent unto the army at *Cannum*, and letters be dispatched withal unto the Consul, willing him upon the delivery of the army unto the Pretor, to repair unto *Rome* with all speed possible, and not fail, so far forth as he might, without any detriment and hindrance of the Common-weal. Besides these to great losses and adversities, men were put in fear with sundry prodigious tokens: and among others, in that one year, two Vestal Virgins, *Opimia*, and *Floronia*, were detected and attainted of manifest whoredom: the one of them was buried quick, as the manner was, under the ground at the gate *Collina*, the other killed her self, *L. Caninius* (a Secretary or Scribe unto the Bishops, whom now they call *Minors Pontifices*) the party who had committed fornication with *Floronia*, was by the chief or high Priest to beaten with rods in the Comitium, that he died under his hand. This heinous fact, and enormous offence falling out among so many misfortunes and calamities, was reckoned, I say, (as usually it is) for a portentous sign: and therefore the Decemvirs were commanded to search and peruse the Books of *Sibylla*, and *Q. Fabius Pictor* was sent to *Delphos*, to consult with the Oracle there of *Apollo*, and to learn, by what prayers and supplications they might pacify the gods, and what would be the end of so great and fearful miseries. In the mean while, out of the learning contained in those books of delivies, there were performed certain extraordinary sacrifices among which a Frenchman together with a French woman; likewise a Grecian man and woman, were let down alive in the beast market into a vault under the ground stoned all about: a place sometime embred and polluted with the blood of mankind sacrificed, but not according to the ceremonies and religion of the Romans. When they had sufficiently (as they thought) pacified the gods, *M. Claudius Marcellus* sent from the haven of *Ofis* for the defence and guard of the City, 1500, soldiers; whom he had levied and enrolled for the service at sea. Himself having lent afore the legion belonging to the Armado (which was the third) with *Theon* a Sidonian a Colonel, and delivered the fleet unto *P. Furius* companion with him in commission: within few days after made haste, and with great journey arrived at *Cannum*. At *Rome*, by virtue of the Authority of the Senators, *M. Junius* was created Dictator, and *T. Sempronius* General of the horse, who proclaimed a muster, and enrolled all the younger sort above 17, years old, yea, and some also under that age, that yet were in their *Prætextæ*, and were not come to *Toga virilis*. Of these were made up four legions full, and a thousand horsemen. Likewise they sent unto their Allies, and namely to the Latine Nation, to receive soldiers from thence according to the form of the league: giving commandment, that harness, weapons, and all other habiliments of war, should be in readiness. Also to furnish out the army, they plucked from the Temples, and publick Galleries and walking Places, the ancient spoils and armor of their enemies. And for very need and want of free men, they were compelled to devise a new kind of mustering never used before: for they bought up in open markets, with the City money, 8000, lusty strong young men, miser bond-slaves: but they demanded first of every one by himself, whether they were willing to serve in the wars, and if they put them in armor, And they thought it better to take up and levy soldiers thus, than to redeem and buy again their own who were captives, albeit they might have been ransomed for smaller sums of money. For *Annib.* after this to fortunate field fought at *Cannæ*, setting his mind wholly upon affairs belonging to an absolute conquest, rather than any more wars; caused his captives to be brought forth, and severed the Roman confederates apart from the rest: and unto them (as he had done aforetime at *Trebit*, and the Lake *Thrasymeneus*) he spake graciously, and lent them home unarm'd. The Romans also he called unto him, and gave them kind and loving words, more than ever he had done before. "What? we and the Romans (quoth he) war not mortally and deadly one with the other to the utmost: nay, our quarrel is rather for honour and sovereignty. And as my father and progenitors afore me, were lubdub'd of the Romans, and yielded at length to their valor and prowess: lo the only thing that I seek for, and indeed or unto this, That they likewise in their alternative turn, may give place unto my felicity and virtue together. And therefore I grant the Romans this favor and liberty, to redeem their prisoners: and this shall be the ransom, for every man of arms I demand 500 *Quadrigræ*, 300 for a foot-man, and 100, for a bondman. And albeit the horsemen ransom was somewhat inhand, above that sum which they capitulated for, when they yielded, yet glad they were to accept of any condition and covenant whatsoever. So it was agreed, that ten out of them should be chosen by voices, to go to *Rome* unto the Senat: and he took no other pledge for assistance of them but their oath, that they would return again. With them was sent *Carthago*, a Noble man of *Carthage* with commission (if he could perceive haply the Romans sent to peace) to offer unto them conditions, and to capitulate with them. They were not so soon gone out of the camp, but one

* The Percy or Minor Priests

* It was the upper garment that the Romans children used until they were fully 16 years of age, embroidered with purple. * Otherwise called *Pura*, & *stygus*, because it was all white, and without any purple, which they put on at 17.

The Oration
of M. Junius to
the Senat.

of them (a man of a Roman nature and disposition) made semblance, as if he had forgotten somewhat behind him, and so to discharge himself (forthwith) of his oath, returned into the camp, and before night overtook his company again. When word was brought, that they were coming to Rome, there was a Lictor sent out to meet *Carthago* upon the way, and to warn him in the name of the Dictator, before night to depart out of the confines of the territory of Rome. But the Committees of the Captives had audience granted them in the Senat-house by the Dictator. And the principal man among them, *Marcus Junius*, spake in this manner.

"Right honourable, and my very good LL. of the Senat, There is not one of you all ignorant, that never any City whatsoever, hath been at less charge for redeeming of prisoners taken in wars, and made to small regard of them, then ours. But if we be not blinded in our own conceit, and think better of our cause, then there is reason: never were there any soldiers that fell into the hands of our enemies more to be accounted of by you then we are. And why? We yielded not our weapons in battell for cowardize and fear, but after that we had stood well neer upon night fighting over the dead bodies of our fellows slain, and so maintained the fight to the very last, then we retired our selves into the camp. The rest of the day and night following, notwithstanding we were weary with travel, and faint of our hurts, yet we manfully defended our rampart. The morrow after, when we were beset and invested round about by the conquerors army, yea, and excluded from water: and saw no other hope at all to break through our enemies, ranged to strong and close together, and thinking it not a matter of reproof, and against the law of arms, that when 5000. of our Citizens were slain in field, some Roman soldiers should remain alive after the battell of *Cannæ*: then and not alone, we agreed upon a sum of money, that being ransomed, we might be set at large, and so we yielded unto the enemies our weapons, wherein now we saw no help at all. We have heard likewise, that our ancestors deemed themselves from the Gauls with a sum of gold: and our fathers also, notwithstanding they were most straight laced, and hardly brought to capitulate and compound for peace, yet sent Embassadors to *Tarentum*, for to redeem their captives: and both those battells, first in Italy with the Gauls, and then before *Heraclea* with *Pyrhus*, were not so ignominious and shameful for the losse it self, as for the fright and beauly running away. But the plains of *Cannæ* are covered all over with heaps of Roman bodies: and we that be here, had not remained alive after them, but that the enemies strength held out no longer, nor their sword would serve to kill any more. And yet there be some of our men also who fled not back in battell: but being left behind to guard the camp, were taken prisoners by the enemy as well as we, at what time as it was surrendered into their hands. Certainly I envy not the fortune, nor repine at the welfare and good estate of any Citizen or fellow souldier, neither would I be thought the man, who by deserting another, would seem to advance my self. But even they verily (unless peradventure good footmanship and swift running deliver reward) who for the most part fled out of the field unarmed, and never flinted before they gat *Venusia* or *Cannusum* over their heads, cannot justly prefer themselves before us, nor boast and glory, that they stand the Common-weal in better stead, then we. Find them you shall (I doubt not) good men and valorous souldiers: so shall you too, yea, and more ready to do true service to our country, in that by your bounty and good means we have been ransomed and retired again into our country. Ye have levied souldiers of all ages and degrees, and I hear say, there be 8000. bondmen in arms. We are no fewer in number our selves, and redeemed we may be with as small moneys as they are bought, I say no more, but so, for if I should make farther comparisons between us and them, I must do wrong to the Roman name and nation. This is a special thing moreover (my LL.) which in mine advice ye are due to consider in this deliberation, in case ye be hard-hearted, as to have no regard of us, or of our desert, namely in what enemies hand ye leave us. It is with *Pyrhus* peradventure, who used us being his prisoners, like friends and guests. Nay, is he not a Barbarian and Carthaginian? who whether he be more covetous or cruel, can hardly be imagined. O that ye saw the irons and chains, the nasty filthiness and foul usage of your Citizens. I am assured, you would be no less moved and affected to compassion at the sight thereof, then if ye beheld on the other side your Legions lying slain all over the plains and fields of *Cannæ*. Ye may observe and behold the sorrowful cheer, and faint tears of our kinsfolks standing here in the porch and entry of this Court, and waiting for your answer. And if they to fare, and are so penitive for us, and for them that are absent, what heavy hearts have they themselves (think ye) whose liberty and whose life lieth now a bleeding? And in good faith, if so be *Annibal* himself would, contrary to his nature, be respective and merciful to us, yet should we think our lives did us small good, so long as we are reputed of you unworthy to be ransomed and redeemed. There returned in times past to Rome certain captives, sent home by *Pyrhus* without any ransom paid, but the returned accompanied with Embassadors, right honorable personages of this City, who had been sent for their redemption. And shall I return unto my country again not esteemed a Citizen worth 300. Deniers. Every man hath a mind by himself, and a fame of his own my LL. And I wot well, that my body and life is in jeopardy. But I fear more the hazard of honor and good name, lest we should be thought condemned and rejected by you. For the world will never believe, that you did it to spare your purse, and to save money.

When he had made an end of his speech, immediately the multitude who were gathered together in the common place, set up a lamentable and piteous cry, and held out their hands unto the

Council.

A Council-house, beseeching the LL. of the Senat to let them have and enjoy their children, their brethren, and kinsfolks again. The very women also, for fear and necessity, thrust themselves among this prels of men in the market place. But when all others besides the Senators were voided, they began to debate and contend about the matter in hand. Great variance there was in opinion, some thought it reason, that their ransom were disbursed out of the common chest: others were of mind, that the City should be at no charge at all for their redemption: marry they would not be against it, but that they might be enlarged and delivered at their own cost and expenses. And in case there were any that had not ready coin enough for present payment, the chamber of the City should lend them money, so as the people might have good security, as well by tories B bound, as by their good lands, mortgaged for the satisfaction of that debt. And when T. *Mellius Torquatus*, a man of the old world for precise severity, and as most folk thought too hard and austere in this point, was demanded his opinion, he spake, by report, to the cause in this wise.

"If the Committees (quoth he) had treated and made suit, for the redemption of them only that are captive in the hands of the enemies, and there staid: if they had not touched the person of any other besides, I would in few words have knit up my verdict and judgement of them. For what need I to have done else, but put you in mind, and exhort you, to observe the custom delivered unto you from your ancestors, and to maintain the example so good and necessary for the service of war. But now, seeing they have not only justified, but also (as it were) glorified themselves, in that they yielded unto the enemies, and thought it good reason to be preferred, not only before them that were taken prisoners by the enemies in the field, but also those that saved themselves, and escaped to *Venusia* and *Cannusum*; yea, and before C. *Terentius* himself the Consul: I will not hide any thing from you my LL. but acquaint you with every thing that was done there. And would to God, that the words which I will utter here in your presence, I might deliver at *Cannusum*, even before the body of the army, the best witness of every mans cowardise or valour: or at leastwise, that P. *Sempronius* were present here alone whom, if these fellows would have followed as their leader, they had been souldiers at this day in the Roman camp, and not captives at the devotion of the enemies. For whilst the enemies were wearied with fight, joyous and jocund of their fresh victory, and most of them retired into their own camp: they might have had the whole night to have themselves at their pleasure: and it that were D not, yet being less than strong, they had been able to have made a lane through them, were they never so thick, and to have broken away in despite of their hearts. But neither attempted they so much of themselves, nor yet would follow the leading of another. P. *Sempronius* *Tudianus* ceased not all night long almost, to exhort, to admonish, and encourage them, for to follow his conduct, to take the time when but a few of their enemies were about their camp, whilst they were at repose and rest, and whilst the night lasted favourable unto them, for to hide and cover their enterprise: perswading with them, that before day light they might easily reach unto places of security, and arrive safely at the Cities of their Allies. Like as in the days of our Grandfathers, P. *Decius* a Tribune Colonel in *Stumium*: like as of late time when I was E a young man my self, in the first punick war, *Calpurnius Flaminius* said unto three hundred his voluntary souldiers, at what time as he minded to lead them to the gaining of a little Hill, standing in the midst of his enemies: Let us die hardly my souldiers, and by our death save and deliver our Legions, beset and besieged round about. If P. *Sempronius* had said so much to you, he would never have esteemed you men of valour nor yet Romans, if no man among you would have born him company, or seconded him in that singular vertue. But he showed you a plain and easy way, leading as well to life and safety, as to honour and glory. He offered himself to be your guide, to bring you to your native country: to your parents, your wives and children: yet would not your hearts serve you to escape and save yourselves. Where had your hearts been, then, if he would have had you to die for your country? 50000. of our Citizens and Confederates, lay that very day slain at your feet. If so many examples of manhood and vertue, could not move you, nothing in the world will ever move you: it is to great a soil and overthrow, that not able to make you despise and set little by this life: none will ever do it, Desire home a Gods name, and long after your native country, whilst ye are free and in safety: nay, desire to be in your country, whilst it is your country, and whilst ye are Citizens thereof. Now your desire and longing cometh too late, being disanchored, having lost your former estate and sight of Citizens, and made your selves bondslaves to the Carthaginians. Think ye for a peece of money, to recover your liberty again, and to return to your former degree, from which through faint-heartedness and cowardize ye are fallen? You would not hearken nor give ear to P. *Sempronius* your Citizen, willing you to take weapon in hand, and to follow after him: but anon after ye G could listen after *Annibal*, commanding you to betray and render the camp, and deliver up your camp. But why blame I their littleness and dastardly fear: when I may reprove and accuse them for willful and lewd wickedness: For they not only refused to be ruled by his good counsel and exhortations, but also attempted to hinder and stay him in his intended enterprise, had not right hardy and valiant men with their swords drawn, set these dastardly beasts farther off. P. *Sempronius*, I tell you, had somewhat ado, to pass the ranks and squadrons of his own countrymen before he could break through the battallion of his enemies. Longeth our country to have these for her Citizens? who if the rest had been like them, should by this day, have had never one

The Oration
of T. Mellius
Torquatus in
the Senat.

a one of them that fought at *Canna*, for her Citizens. Of seven thousand armed souldiers, there were found 600 that had the heart to break away, maugre the enemies, to escape and return with liberty, and with their armor, home into their country, notwithstanding there were forty thousand enemies to resist them: how easily then and safely, deem you, might a power almost of two Legions, have passed through them and gone their ways? Ye had had this day my Lords twenty thousand at *Canninum*, of right brave hardy, and loyal souldiers. But now which way can these cowards possibly be reputed true and faithful Citizens? (for valiant souldiers, I am sure, they will not think themselves, nor take up on them to be, unless a man could be periwaded and leave they were such) who would have impeached and withstood the self getting away even when they were at the point to open a passage: or that they rather do not envy now, both the safety and also the honor of others which they have won by provells: knowing in their own conscience, that their timoroussness and cowardlines was the cause of most ignominious and shameful service. They loved better to die within their pavilions, and to look for the day of fight and the enemy together: whereas in the still dead time of the night, they had the opportunity to escape. But how then? Although their hearts failed them to break away out of the camp, yet to defend the same manfully they had courage and valor enough. Besieged they were, strictly beleaguer'd: in the day and night for a good time; and in their armor forced to stand upon their guard, and manfully they quit themselves within their rampart, at length (God wot) when they had assayed and endured all extremities, when all succors failed them, sustentation of this life: so pinched with hunger and so enfeebled, that they were not able to bear their own armor and lift up their weapons: overcome at the last, rather with the necessity of mans frail nature than by the violence of the enemies they, good men gave over and yielded themselves. Nay forsooth, it is neither so nor so. The morrow morning when the sun arose, the enemies advanced and approached toward the rampart: and within two hours after, without any trial and hazard of skirmish, they delivered up their weapons and themselves. Thus ye see what their good service was, for two days together. When they should have stood to it in field, and fought, then they fled back to their tents: when they were to guard and defend their trench and rampart, they surrendered them to the enemy: good no where, neither in battle nor in basil. I agree to ransom you, you (I say) when you ought to have sallied forth of the camp, linger behind and stay still: and when need was, to abide by it and to defend it like valiant men, surrender camp, give up your weapons, and yield your own bodies to the enemy? Nay, but to speak what I think, my sentence is (my LL.) that these fellows deserve no more to be ransomed, then those to be delivered unto *Annibal*, who issued out of the camp, pierced through the midst of the enemies, and most valiantly saved themselves, for to do service another day in their country. When *Manlius* had said, albeit the prisoners were allied near in kindred to most of the Senators: yet over and besides the precedent of the City itself, which never from the first beginning favoured the redemption of such souldiers, as suffered themselves to be taken prisoners: the ransom itself, which amounted to a good round sum made them to pause: because they were unwilling both to empty the public treasury; (having already disbursed great sums, in buying up bond-slaves, and arming them for the wars) and also that *Annibal* (who as the voice went, was at a very great stand for money) should be enriched thereby. When this their answer was returned, it to wit, No redemption of captives: there was a new fit of weeping and wailing afresh added to the former sorrow of the people, namely for the loss of so many Citizens; and so with many a tear that they shed, with sundry piteous and moans which they made, they accompanied the Committees above said, as far as the gate. One of the ten went home to his house the same time, who upon a fraudulent and cautelous return made into the enemies camp, as is afore said, supposed he had acquit himself and disordered his confidence of his oath, Which being known and recommended to the Senat, they were all of mind that he should be apprehended, and attended with a good and sufficient guard at the charge of the City, and so carried back to *Annibal*. There goeth another report of these Captives, that first there came ten of them as Committees: and when it was debated in the Senat, and dook made, whether they should be admitted into the City or no: they were at length received, but so, as that they had no audience in the Senat: and upon longer stay made then they looked for, three others followed after them to wit, *L. Scribonius*, *C. Calpurnius*, and *L. Maelius*. Then by mediation of one Tribune of the Com, a kinsman of *Scribonius*, the matter was propounded in the Senat concerning the ransom of the captives: but granted it would not be: whereupon the three latter Committees returned to *Annibal*, and the other ten that first came, remained still behind: who upon a colourable occasion, had made an errand back to *Annibal*, when they were well onward on their way, to take a note, forsooth, of the names of the prisoners, and thereby seemed to have discharged their confidence of the oath. Also, that in the Senat there was hard hold, much question and variance, about the delivering of them again into the hands of *Annibal*: and how at last, they who were of opinion to have them rendered and sent back, failed of their purpose. by reason they came short by some voices and opinions, and that the other side carried it clean away. But by the next Censors that came in place, they were so marked and branded with all notes of disgrace and shame, that some of them immediately made themselves away with their own hands: and the rest forbare, not only the common place and market all their life time after, but also came not abroad, in manner, to be seen in the very streets, and never looked out of their doors. Thus a man may rather marvel, that authors should so differ among themselves,

themselves, than from any of them pick out and discern the truth. But how much greater this overthrow and loss at *Canna* was, than any other before time, appeareth by this evident argument, in that those Allies, which ever to that day stood fast and sure unto them, now fell to shrink and fail: and surely for no earthly thing else, but because they began to despair of the main chance of the whole State and Empire. For hereupon there revolted unto the Carthaginians, the Arretians, the Calatins, the Hirpins, a part of the Apulians, all the Samnites, except the Petellins, all the Brutii in general, and the Lucans. And more then these, the Surrentins, and the whole trust well-near of the Greeks along the sea coast. The Tarentins, Metapontins, the Crotonians, the Locrians, and all the Gauls within the Alps. And yet for all these defections, and rebellions of their Allies and Subjects, were not the Romans one whit inclined to make any mention of peace, neither before the coming of the Consul, nor yet after that he was returned, and renewed again the dolorous remembrance of that woful overthrow received. And even at that very instant, so high minded was the City, and so far from drooping and being cast down, that as the Consul returned homeward from so great a defeat, whereof himself only was a principal cause, he was not only upon the way by all the States and companies of the City in great numbers, but also highly thanked, in that he despair'd not of the State of the Common-weal: who, if he had been the General and Leader of the Carthaginians, should have been sure to have inoaked for it, and endured all extremity for torment and punishment.

The three and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and twentieth Book.

The Campanians revolted unto *Annibal*, Mago was sent to Carthage, with news of the victory at *Canna*: and in the entry of the Council-House, he poured out (on the floor) the golden rings which had been plucked from the fingers of the Romans there slain, which by report exceeded the measure of a Modius. Upon these tidings, Hanno the noblest personage among all the Carthaginians, persuaded with the Senat of Carthage, to sue unto the people of Rome for peace, but he prevailed not, by reason of the Bacchin side and faction, that gain-said him. Cl. Marcellus the Pretor fought fortunately before Nola, in a sally which he made out of the town against *Annibal*. The Army of *Annibal* fell to riot at Capua, and gave themselves to such sensuality, while they wintered there, that both in bodily strength, and also in courage of mind they became much enfeebled. Castilium was besieged by the Carthaginians, and the inhabitants within were driven by extreme famine, to eat thongs and leatherns, plucked from off their shields and targets, yea, and to feed upon Mice and Rats. They lived with Nuts which the Romans sent unto them down the river Volturnus. The body of the Senat was replenished by receiving unto them a new supply from out of the order of Knights or Gentlemen to the number of 197. L. Posthumus the Pretor, with together with his army defeated by the Gauls, and put to the sword, Cneus and Publius Scipios, vanquished Aldrubal in Spain, and had the conquest thereof. The remnant of the army defeated at *Canna* was sent away and confined into Sicily, and commanded not to depart from thence, before the war was fully finished. A league and society was concluded between Philip the King of the Macedonians and *Annibal*, Sempronius Gracchus the Consul, discomfited and slew the Captain. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate exploits achieved by T. Manlius the Lord Deputy in Sardinia, against the Carthaginians and the Sardi: who took the General himself Aldrubal, together with Mago and Hanno, prisoners. Claudius Marcellus the Pretor vanquished and defeated in a set battle before Nola, the army of *Annibal*: and was the first that put the Romans in some good hope of better success, after they had been routed out with so many foils and losses.

The three and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Annibal after the battle fought at *Canna*, and the winning and ransacking of both the Roman camps, dislodged anon, and was removed out of *Apulia* into *Samium*, being sent unto, for to come unto the Hirpins country, by *Statius*, who promised to betray and deliver the City of *Cons* into his hands. Now there was a Citizen of *Cons*, named *Trebin*, an able personage and of great name in his country. But the bend and faction of the *Cons* (a family of great power, by favour of the Romans) kept him down and over-weighed him: but

rather than said any thing directly befitting the present estate of our fortune. For what have we let us at all, after this discomfiture of *Canus*, that we should be willing to have that supplied by our allies which is wanting? As who would lay, we had somewhat already. Should we demand of you footmen, as though we were furnished with horse? Should we say that we lacked money, as if money only were wanting, and nothing else? No, no, Fortune hath dealt hardly with us, that she hath left us just nothing, nor to much as that, which might be made up, and supplied by others. Our Legions of footmen, our Corners of horse, our armor and munition, our standards and Ensigns, horse and man, money and victuals, all is gone, lost, and perished; either in the battell or the morrow after in the ruin of our Camp when we were turned out of our tents and pavilions. And the more ye are not, O Campans, to aid and help up in this war; but in our behalf and for us, ye ought to take the whole charge of the war upon your own selves, against the Carthaginians. Can't you remember how in time past when your ancestors and forefathers were fearfully driven to keep within your walls, standing in dread and bodily fear, nor of the Samnites only your enemies, but also of the Sidicins: we took them into our protection, and defended them before *Sarculia*; and how for your sakes we began war with the Samnites, and maintained the same for the space of an hundred years, and in great variety of fortune, giving and taking sundry foils all the whiles. Over and besides, call to mind how we concluded an indifferent and equall league with you, to the disadvantage of neither parts: how we granted unto you the liberty of living under our own laws: and how at the last (a matter I wote of right great importance and consequence, before this our late overthrow) we granted unto a great part of you, the freedom and privilege of Burgheis, and parted with you on the franchises of our own City. And therefore ye ought of right (my Matters of *Capua*) to repune this loss and misfortune now received: to be as well yours as ours; and to make reckoning to defend the common state and country of both. It is neither Samnite nor Tuscane that we have to deal with; to whom if we lost and parted with our Empire yet it remained still within the compass of *Italy*: but the enemy that puniteth us, is a Carthaginian, drawing after him a train of footmen, who are not to much as born in *Affrick*, but coming from the farthest and most remote parts and bounds of the world, from as far as the streights of the Ocean, even from *Hercules* his pillars: void of the knowledge of all law, right, and discreence of condition without reason and discretion, and (in manner) without commerce of mans language. The fouldiers, so fierce and fell by nature, so cruell and merciless by use and custom, their captain hath withall made more wild and savage, by making bridges, cauleys, and high-waies, over heaps of dead mens bodies: and (which I labor to speak, by teaching them to eat men flesh, to see and endure these men to be their LL, whom feeding as they do upon the execrable meats and viands, which even to touch and handle without great horror we may not: to resort for justice as far as into *Affrick* and *Carthage*, and to suffer *Italy* to be reduced into a Province under the Numidians and Moors, what is he that would not detest and abhor, were he but born only within *Italy*? A worthy honour and immortal glory it will be for you, O ye Campans, if the Roman Empire and dominion, thus growing to ruin and falling down prostrate under the weight of this late overthrow, might by your fidelity and forcible power be raised and upheaved, and set upright again. I suppose ye have levied and enrolled already thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, out of Campain: for corn, for corn ye have store and plenty: Now if your faith and truth be unwelcome to your wealth and fortune, neither shall *Anniball* find that he hath won the victory, nor the Romans feel that they have lost a journey. With this Oration thus ended, the Consul gave the Embassadors their discharge, and dismissed them. As they returned homeward, one of them, *Sibus Virius* by name, said thus unto his fellows, 'Now is the day come (quoth he) wherein the Campans may be able, not only to recover again the lands which in time past the Romans have wrongfully taken from them; but also obtaine and enjoy the sovereign rule & Empire of *Italy*. As for *Anniball*, we may on Iudee, on Ant, and captivate with him what articles and conditions we list our selves, to our best behoof and benefit: And it is all to nothing, that *Anniball*, having now dispatched and finished the war will of his own accord depart like a Conquerour into *Affrick*, and withdraw his forces out of these parts: so as the dominion of *Italy* shall be left wholly to the people of *Capua*. *Virius* had no sooner delivered these speeches, but they all applauded him and accorded thereto. And in such terms they related their Embassage, as all men thought no less but the Roman Empire and name was utterly perished and extinct for ever. Incontinently the Commons and the greatest part of the Nobility of *Capua* inclined to revolt and rebell: Yet by the continuance and authority of the Ancients and Elders the matter was laid and deferred for some few daies. At length, the greater part prevailed: whose opinion was, That the same Embassadors which were sent to the Roman Consul should be addressed in embassie unto *Anniball*. But I find in some Annall records, that before they went, and before their resolute determination to revolt, there was an Embassage sent from the *Capuans* to the City of *Rome*, demanding thus much, That if they meant to have any help and aid from them, one of their Consuls might be a *Capuin*. Whereat the Senat of *Rome* took much snuff and indignation, that the said Embassadors were commanded to void the Council-House, and a Sergeant sent after them at their heels, to set them out of the City: charging them at their perill, to take up their lodging that night without the territories of *Rome*. But because this demand jumpeth too neare to the like that the

Latines made long before: and both *Calpurn* and other Historians have (not without good reason) passed it over and said nothing thereof, I dare not avow it for a truth. Well, Embassadors there came unto *Anniball*, and concluded peace with him under their conditions, and covenants: *Imprimis*, That no General, Captain, or Magistrate of the Carthaginians should have any jurisdiction or power over a Citizen of *Capua*: *Item*, That no Citizen of *Capua* should be compelled against his will to serve in any wars, or execute the charge and office of a souldier. *Item*, That the Campans still enjoy their old Laws and Magistrates of their own: *Item*, That *Anniball* deliver unto the Campans three hundred Roman Captives: such as they themselves shall choole: whom they might mortgage and exchange for these three hundred horsemen of the Campans that were in *garrison*, and served for pay in *Sicily*. These were the Articles of the accord. But the Campans stuck not to do more than so, and to go farther than their capitulations: committing divers and sundry outrages. For the Commons suddenly at once apprehended all the Roman Captives over the confederate souldiers, yea, and attached other Citizens of *Rome*, that were either employed in any military charge, or otherwise occupied in their private affairs: and caused them to be clapt up within the stoves and hot houses, as in ward and late custody, where their breath being stifled and flopped up with exceeding heat, and steaming vapours, they were stifled, and died miserably. But there was one *Decius Magnus*, a man who wanted no means of sovereign authority, but only the sobriety, discretion, and wisdom of the Citizens with whom he lived: who withstood all that ever he could such enormous and audacious courtes, and endeavored to hinder the Embassage sent to *Anniball*. And so soon as he heard that *Anniball* was lending a garrison, he recourded unto his fellow Citizens the proud and lordly rule of *Pyrrhus*, the miserable and wretched thraldom of the Tarentines, as precedents sufficient to give them warning. He called them to a stand in open place and audience, first, that they should not receive the garrison into the City: then, that being admitted they should either be thrust out again: or rather if they would expiate and make amends by some valiant and memorable act for that shameful lend part of theirs, reverting to some of their most ancient Allies, yea, and kinsmen by blood, they should fall upon the Carthaginian garrison, and kill them every one, and to reconcile themselves again to the Romans. *Anniball* having intelligence of these plots (for they were not a forging and contriving in a corner) sent certain messengers to summon *Magnus* to repair unto his presence within his Camp. After that, seeing he stoutly denied to go, (for he pleaded that *Anniball* had no authority nor power to command a Citizen of *Capua*) he waxed wroth, and commanded the man to be apprehended, and to be hald perforce bound unto him. But fearing, upon better advice, lest by doing this violence some tumult might arise, and in the heat of blood break forth into an uncontrollable fray, he dispatched beforehand a messenger of purpose unto *Marius Blotus*, the Praetor or L. Governor of *Capua*: signifying, that the morrow next following he would be personally in *Capua*: and so with a small guard about him, he set forth of his Camp, and put himself on his journey. *Marius* assembled the people together, making proclamation, and warning them to be ready in all frequent solemnity, with their wives and children, to meet *Anniball* upon the way. They of the adverse side unto *Magnus* and the Romans performed this not only obediently, but also most effectually and with great diligence and endeavour. Yea, the common folk were very forward in this action, as desirous especially to see this great General and brave warrior, so noble and renowned for his many victories. *Decius Magnus* neither went forth to meet him, nor yet kept his house, because he would not seem to fear and carry a guilty conscience: but walked up and down idly for his pleasure in the Market place with one of his sons, and a few of his vassals and followers, whilst the whole City besides was busily occupied, and much troubled in the entertaining and beholding of this great Captain and Commander of the Carthaginians. *Anniball* being entered the City, incontinently required to have audience in their Council-House. Whereupon, the Nobles and principall Citizens of *Capua* requested him that he would not that day intend any weighty matters of importance, but himself in person solemnize with joy and mirth, as an high and festive holiday for his welcome thither. And albeit he was by nature haughty, and ready to fall into fits of anger, yet because he would not seem at his first coming to deny them any thing, he employed a good part of that day in feasting and viewing the City. Entertained and lodged he was and his whole train with the *Annis*, *Celeres*, *Strenus*, and *Pacuvius*, the most noble and honourable personages, and the wealthiest of all others. Thither unto him, *Pacuvius Calpurnius* (concerning whom I spake before, the principall man of that then into him, which reduced the City to the obedience and devotion of *Anniball*) brought bend and faction, which reduced the City to the obedience and devotion of *Anniball* brought his own son a young Gentleman, and said withall, that the youth kept continually with *Decius*, and that he was faine to pluck him away from his company and train, whose part he took, and stuck most firmly to him, in maintaining the old society and amity of the Romans, against the new League with the Carthaginians; and neither the bending and inclination of the whole City to the contrary side, nor yet the reverent majesty of a father, had yet driven him from his obdurate resolution. And for that time the father laboured with *Anniball* rather by way of prayer and intreaty, than by exclaiming and clearing his son, that he would not be discontented nor displeased with the young man. So he was overcome with the importunate request and plentifull teares of the father, and gave commandment, that heretogther with his father should be bidden to supper, at which feast he purposed to have the company of no other guests of all *Capua*, but only of his hostels that have him entertainment, and one *Jubellius Taurica*,

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land throne. *Anibal* having possessed himself of *Capua*, and solicited the Neapolitans on e again, and founded their minds-propounding before their eyes fear and hope, and all in vain led his forces into the Countrey of *Nola*, with this mind, not at first to go roughly with them to work, and by way of open hostility, because he was not out of all hope, that they would willingly come off and yield themselves: but in case they wavered, and answered not his hope and expectation in some good time, he would surely proceed against them in all extremity, and perthum to whatsoever they could endure or fear. The Senate, and especially the principal of them, continued still and pure in their alliance with the people of *Rome*; but the Commons (as their mind is desirous of alteration and to see a new world) enlined wholly to the side of *Anibal*, casting many doubts, and fears, that their lands and possessions should be wasted and spoiled withundry calamities and indignities that follow upon feare: neither wanted there heads and ring-leaders of a rebellion. Wherupon the Senate (for fear lest if they should seem to thwart and rolsome them) had not been able to wit-stand the violence of the multitude once up and driven to an head) closely dissimbled their intent and purpose, and so by temporizing, prevented a present mischief. For they made semblance that they liked well, and were resolved of revoking unto *Anibal* s. But upon what conditions and capitulations they should enter into new league and unity they knew not certainly so having taken another time they depicted in haste certain Embassadors unto the Roman Prator *Murelus Claudius* who remained with the Army at *Capua*, ad: cringing him in how great jeopardy the state of *Nola* stood, to wit That *Anibal* was al ready Lord of their lands and the Cithragians would soon be masters of the City unless they were rescued and relieved: that their Senat were driven to this shift. forto yield unto the Commons, and grant to rove whensoever they would have them; and by this means flaid them that they rebelled not over hastily. *Marcellus* after he had commended the Nolans, willed them with the same dissimulation to protit at time and hold off untill his coming: and in the mean while to conceal and keep secret to themselves, the dealings and treaties with him, and in no case to be known.

with the tidings of that unfortunate field, turned back again to *Capitulum*. And after they had spent certain daies there, as well fearing the Campains as suspected of them again, (for they deviled on both sides how to entrap one another, and how to avoid each others trains) and having received also certain intelligence, that in *Capua* there was treating about a revolt, and that *Annibal* was there received: they in one night let upon the Townsmen of *Capitulum*, and killed them, and got that part of the City which is on this side *Fulturnus* a river that runneth through it, and divideth it into two parts) and kept it still. Their number was well encreased by the coming of a cohort of four hundred and sixty Perusins, who likewise were driven to *Capitulum*, by the latter report and news, which a few daies before had turned the Prenetins thither. And surely there was sufficient almost of armed souldiers to man and defend the walls of that part, being off so small a circuit as they were, considering the town was flanked on the one side with the river. And again, for the proportion of corn (where of they had small store) they were men but too many. *Annibal* being now not far from them, sent before him the Getulians, under the conduct of a Captain named *Isleca*, with direction, that first if he could come to a parley, he should perswade with the Inhabitants within; and by fair words induce them to open their gates, and receive a garrison: but in case they continued still in their obstinacy, then to assail them by force, and give the attempt to enter into the City one way or other. When they were come under the walls, the barbarous Captain *Isleca*, supposing (because he heard no noise, and saw no stirring) that they had quit and abandoned the town and were fled, began to assail the gates, break open the locks, & burst the bars. But all at once on a sudden the gates were set open, and two cohorts well appointed and provided for that purpose within, falied forth with an exceeding great noise and tumult, overthrew a number of the enemies and beat them down. Thus when the first had the repulse and were set back, *Annibal* was sent with a greater power to second them, but was not able to make his party good with these squadrons that falied forth and charged upon him. At last *Annibal* himself encamped even before the wall, and with all his power and forces put together, made preparation to give assault to this little town & small garrison. And while he pressed hard upon them with flesh and hot assaults, in setting it round about, the enemies from off their walls, curtains, and turrets, let fire their shot so jointly upon the assailants, that he lost some of his best & most forward men. Once they issued forth of themselves upon a frascy, and minded to bid them battle, but by a counse of Elephants, fit between them and home, they had like to have been flurled forth and kept out, and so they made haste in great fear to recover the gates, and put themselves within the town again: having left, considering so small a number, a great fort: and more had died for it, but that the night parted the fray, and made an end of the skirmish. The morrow after, the assailants were all of them flurled to give assault and hot charge, but not before there was a mural Coronet of gold shewed, and promised unto him that first could scale the walls. And the General himself in their teeth and reproved them for being so long about the assaulting of a small and weak fort: to speak of, feared who upon a plain: whereas before they had won the strong town of *Saguntum*. He put them in mind both all and some, of *C. Min. Turpiliensis*, and *Trebia*. Then began they to set mantlets and pavises to, and to undermine. Many andundry enterprises were attempted, and nothing left undone, that either meer force could be performed, or by art and cunning devised. The Roman officers against their engines and labricks raised mounts, and platforms: yea and with countermines and cross trenches met with the mines of the enemies: so as both above ground, and underneath, they impeached all their attempts: so long, until *Annibal* for very shame was faine to give over his design for the present. And when he had fortified his standing Camp and placed there a mean guard for the defence of it, because he would not seem to have relinquished altogether the enterprise, he withdrew himself into *Capua*, there to winter. There he lodged his souldiers within house for the better part of winter: those souldiers, I say, who many a time and often had endured long, and held out against all travels and hardships that can possibly happen to the body of man: and never had been used to any good keeping, nor acquainted with delights and pleasures of the world. But even these men, whom no calamity, no misery could tame and overcome, were spoiled and undone with too much wealth and excessive dainties: and so much the rather as they more greedily fell thereto: and having not tasted thereof before, gave themselves wholly that way, and were deeply plunged and drowned therein. For sleeping on soft beds, wine and delicate fare, wenching and bathing, stews and hot-houses, idleness and taking ease, which by use and custom grew pleasant and delightful unto them every day more than other: had in much sort weakened their bodies, and made their hearts so effeminate, that from that time forward the reputation and name only of their victories past defended them more than any present strength and vigor they had: infomuch, as expert and skillfull warriors judged their Captain *Annibal* in more fault, and farther overleer in this action, than in not leading his Army straight forward to *Rome* after the battell before *Canna*. For, that fray might have been thought to have decried only the entire and final victory for a time, but this error and oversight seemed to disable him for achieving the victory for ever. So little retained he of his former old discipline that I assure you he went out of *Capua* again as if he had led some other Army and none of his own. For, not only they returned from thence moist of them intrangled and tazed in the love of harlots, but so soon as they came again to lie abroad on the bare earth under tents and pavilions covered with beasts hides, to march long journeys, and to taste of other military toil and labour: their bodies so tired, their hearts so faint, as if they had been

Capitulum besieged.

A saw souldiers, new come into the field: in such wise, as all the time of their summer abode in Camp many of them without licence and passport, would slip out of the way, and depart from their colours: and these flatter-backs had no other place of haunt to lurk in but *Capua*. Now when the winter season began to be more mild, and draw towards the Spring, *Annibal* brought forth his souldiers out of his wintering harbours and returned to *Capitulum*: where, albeit the assault ceased, yet the siege had continued to streight, that the townsmen and the garrison within the Fort, were driven to extreme necessity and want of victuals. Now the Captain over the Roman Camp was *T. Sempronius* [*Gracchus*] by reason that the Dictator was gone to *Rome* to take new Ambassadors. And as for *M. Vellus*, who was desirous for his part to relieve and succour the beleaged, by the intreaty of the Citizens of *Nola* and *Acerria*, who greatly feared the Campains, in case the garrison were once departed from them. And *Gracchus*, lying and keeping near unto *Capitulum*, stirred not one foot, by reason of the express commandment of the Dictator. That he should attempt nothing in his absence: albeit there came daily from *Capitulum* into the Camp such news, as would have moved and provoked the most patient man that was. For it was constantly reported, and for certain known, that some of them within the town, no longer able to endure the famine, threw themselves down headlong, and brake their necks: others stood unarmed upon the walls, offering their bare and naked bodies as a Butt and mark to the shot of arrows, and others dare, *Gracchus* grieved much to hear these piteous tidings, yet durst he not for his life, skirmish and fight without the warrant of the Dictator: & he saw full well that if he would convey corn and victuals unto them openly, fight he must: there was no remedy. Having therefore no hope at all to send any, but if it should be spied, he devised to fix many tuns and pipes with corn, that he had gotten together out of the country all about, and withall, to dispatch a messenger to the chief Magistrate of *Capitulum*, advising him that he should in the night take up all those vessels that came down the river. The night next following every man watched at the river side, according to the hope they conceived by the foresaid Roman messenger, and one eyed those tuns, lying down the mid of the stream: and the corn was equally divided among them all. Thus did they the morrow after, and the third day also. For, ever by night these vessels were let down into the water, and the same night they might easily come unto them: by reason whereof the sentinels and guards of the enemies were nothing ware of that which was done. But afterwards, the current growing more swift and rough, by occasion of continual rain that fell, the said tuns were some of them driven off the channel to the bank side, even where the enemies waited: and were emptied away, and flitting among the willows and others that grew along close unto the banks: whereof *Annibal* was adverted. And so from thence forward they tended the watch more lightly: that nothing sent down the river *Fulturnus* could escape them, and pass to the City. Afterwards, there was poured into the water great store of nuts from the Camp of the Romans: which floated down the channel unto *Capitulum*, and with grated skimmers of wicker were taken up. But at the last, they within the town were driven to this poor shift and extremity, for to take their thongs and bridle reins, to plank of the leather from their shields & bucklers, and make them soft in softening water, and prove how they could eat them. Nay, they spared not so much as mice, and rats, nor any other like vermin. Nor there was not a weed nor a root that they could come by upon the banks and terraces under the walls, but they gathered and digged up. And when the enemies had turned up with a plough all the green sward of the counter-leap without the walls, they within cast turpentine upon the mould. Whereupon *Annibal* made a shout at it, and cried aloud: What shall we here about *Capitulum* so long, until these rapes be come up and grown. And whereas before that time, he would never vouchsafe to hear of any composition and agreement now at last he was contented to take reason, and be conferred withall about the ransom of as many as were freemen within the Town. And it was covenanted between him and them that they should pay for their redemption seven ounces of gold a peece. So upon this ill promise made, and security given, they yielded themselves: and were kept bound in prison until they had made full payment of the gold aforesaid. After which, they were sent back under safe conduct to *Cumes*. For this is more like to be true, than the report which goeth. That there were sent out of them certain harlots, whom he fell upon them and slew them in the way. Most of them were Prenetins. And whereas, there were of them in all five hundred and seventy in garrison the one half well near, were either by sword or hunger consumed: All the rest, together with their Prator *Manlius* (one who a little time had been a Scribe or Notary) returned safe unto *Preneste*. In memorial and testimony of this his Statue was erected in the market place of *Preneste*, armed in his uralle, clad in a long robe, with his head covered: and three other images, with a title or inscription engraven in a plate of Brass, with this tenor: That *Manlius* had made a vow for those souldiers who lay in garrison with him at *Capitulum*. And the same title also was engraven under three other images, let up in the Temple of *Fortuna*. The Town of *Capitulum* was restored again to the Campains, with a strong garrison of 700 souldiers deducted out of the army of *Annibal*: for fear lest when he was departed once from thence, the Romans should assail them.

The Senat of *Rome* by vertue of a decree, granted unto those souldiers of *Preneste* double wages, with five years vacation & rest from warfare. And when to gratifie them further for their valiant service, they made offer unto them of the Burgessie and freedom of *Rome*, they chose rather to remain still at home, and would not change their own Country. But what befell unto the Perusins,

* 21. lib. lib.

mander in stead of himself, the Generals of the Roman armies, who had set foot in Spain, were such, as he might hardly make head against them with equal puissance. And therefore if they had any regard of Spain, he advised them to send one to succeed him with a strong power: for he should have his hands full, and enough to do in the Province, fall out things as unseasonably as they could. These letters, albeit at the first fight they greatly troubled the Senat, yet because the Italian affairs seemed of more moment and greater importance, they wrought no alteration in their intended course, either for *Asdrubal* himself, or his forces. Howbeit *Hamilcar* was sent with a complete and competent army, and a greater Armado, both for the holding of Spain in their allegiance, and also for their defence by Sea and Land. Who having passed over with all his power, as well for Land-service as the Sea, fortified his camp, drawn his ships ashore, laid them up in drie Land, and emptied them strongly all about: himself in person with his elect and most choice men of arms, made what halt possibly he could, through nations partly enemies, partly doubtful and untruly, and staid not either in one place or other (but evermore standing upon his guard) until he was come to *Asdrubal*. After he had declared unto him the order decreed by the Senat, and what he had in commission, and taken himself direction likewise from him, in what manner the war in Spain was to be managed, he returned back again to his own camp. In which voyage to and fro, he travelled lately by no one thing more than by speedy expedition. For he was ever gone from a place, before the people could agree together, and make head against him. Now *Asdrubal* before that he dilloved and set his army on foot out of those parts, levied sums of money of all the Cities and States under his jurisdiction: for well he knew, that *Asdrubal* had paid lively before him, for his passage through certain countries: and as well he witt befides, that the Gauls he was fain to wage, for amongst them no money, no men. And if he undertook and entered upon that great expedition, poor and bare of silver, he had never reached so far as the Alps. Thus having in great hast raised and collected his monies he came down to the river *Iberus*.

When the Romans heard of the proceedings and designs of the Carthaginians, and likewise of the journey of *Asdrubal*: both the Generals (laying all other matters apart) prepared to join their whole forces together, to oppose themselves, and to withstand such intended attempts: supposing, and considering, that if *Asdrubal* (who by himself alone was an enemy to Italy hardly supportable) were once ended, upon these careful cogitations being grieved and perplexed, they assembled all their power near to *Ilernis*: and after they had passed over the river, and long consulted whether they should encamp themselves and abide the coming of the enemies to bid them battail; or by invading and assailing the allies and subjects of the Carthaginians, to lay the enemy and hinder his intended journey: they resolved at length and made preparation to assault *Ibera* (so named of the river) near by the richest and most wealthy City at that time, of all others in those parts. Whereof when *Asdrubal* was advertised, he set to help his friends, advanced himself likewise to set upon another City lately yecded to the Romans, and reduced unto their subjection. And so the Romans after they had begun to lay siege to *Ibera*, gave over that enterprise, and made head against *Asdrubal* himself. And for some few dayes they lay incamped five miles asunder one from the other, not without some light skirmishes: but never came to pitch a fair field. At length upon one and the same day (as if they had been agreed afore) they happened on both sides to set out the signal of battail, and to come forth with all their power into the plain ground. The Romans stood arranged in three battalions: one part of the Infantry was placed before the standards in the vanguard, another Regiment belloved behind in the reargard: the men of arms flanked the sides like wings. On the other part, *Asdrubal* streghthned his main battel with Spaniards: in the right point he marshalled the Carthaginians, in the left the Africans. As for the auxiliary and mercenary Hostemen, whom he waged and hired: such as were Numidians, he ordained about the Carthaginians footmen to guard them: the rest that were Africans, he distributed and disposed about the skirts and edges of the battalions. Neither were all the Numidians placed in the right flank, but such as after the guise and manner of Vaulters, led two or three Horsey spee: and were often times in the mids of the hottest conflict, to leap among as they were from their wearied horie to another fresh one. So nimble are they themselves, and so triable and well taught to their hands are their Horses. Thus stood they arranged on both sides in order of battail. The Captains of either part for hopes in manner nothing unequal: for neither in number or quality of souldiers, was there any great oddes between them: Mary, for courage and heart, there was great difference and inequality in the souldiers themselves. For the Romans (notwithstanding they fought far from home) were so periwaded by their leaders, that they fought for *Italy* and the City of *Rome*: and therefore as if the whole hope of their life return into their country were to be tried and decided in this one battail, they resolved either to win the day or to dye for it. On the other side, the souldiers were not so resolute, for most of them being Spaniards, would have chosen rather to be conquered and overcome in Spain, than with conquest and victory to be drawn into *Italy*. And therefore at the first shock, when fiercely the darts and javelins were aned and let flye, their main battail retreated: and so soon as the Romans with great violence redoubled the charge, they turned their backs and fled. Howbeit in both flanks the fight was hot enough. The Carthaginians of the one side, the Africans on the other, charged the Romans very hard, and fought for against them, as if they had them invironed round about with their battalions. But when as the whole power of the Romans were once rallied and gathered

red together in the mids, they were strong enough to remove and let back the wings of the enemies. So they maintained fight in two divers places at once. But born in the one and the other, the Romans (after they had discomited the main battail in the mids) were no doubt, much better, as well in number, and also in strength and vigour of men. Many a tall flow was there slain. And had not the Spaniards at the first when the battail was leaved, and fled again by heaps, very few of the whole battail had escaped and remained alive. The Hostemen fought little or not at all. For the Moors and Numidians, so soon as they perceived the battail to flye into the loss of ground, preferred all on a suddain fled as fast as they could, and left the sides and flanks of the said battail naked, driving before them the Elephants without. And even *Asdrubal* himself, who maintained the skirmish to the very last, escaped with some few men of the thickest multitude and execution. The Romans took their camp and filled it. This battail was of such import and consequence, that it caused all the Spaniards, who were before but wavering to turn wholly to the Roman side, and left *Asdrubal* no hope at all, to pass with his forces into *Italy*, nor to come as to make head with safety in Spain. The news hereof being bruited abroad and sent to *Rome*, by the letters of the two *Sopio*, great joy there was, not to much for the victory, as because *Asdrubal* was tied by the foot, and staid for coming into *Italy*.

Amids these exploits in Spain, * *Petelia* (a City of the Brutii having endured the siege and many assault for certain moneths) was finally won by *Hamilcar*, one of *Asdrubal* Captains. But that victory cost the Carthaginians much blood, and many a sore wound. No force nor violence overcome the besieged *Petelians* more, than very famine. For having consumed and carenap all food of corn, all flesh of four footed beasts whatsoever: they were driven at length to feed and live upon thumashers lether, weeds, and roots, tender stalks of trees, and the crops of flinders and brambles: and they gave not over so long as they were able to stand on their legs upon the walls, and bear their annoy.

Amidst after the winning of *Petelia*, conducted his army against * *Conversina*, which being not so valiantly defended, was within few dayes surrounded up into his hands. Next about the same time, a power of the Brutians also, laid siege unto *Gravina*, a City built and inhabited by the Greeks, and in times past, mighty in men and munition: but now at this time so distressed with manifold and grievous calamities, that of all ages one with another, they were not able to make twenty thousand men. And therefore no marvel, if the enemies were soon masters of the City, being so destitute as it was of Citizens to defend it. Only the Cade they kept still, into which there were looke that escaped in that tumult when the City, was taken, out of the mids of the massacre. The Locrians likewise revolted unto the Brutii and the Carthaginians, by reason that the common multitude were fraudulently betrayed by the chief and principal Citizens. The Rhagines only of all that country, continued both true unto the Romans, and also at their own liberty to the very last. The same disposition to revolt, was to be seen even in *Sicily*, in so much as the very house of *Hiero* was not clear and free in all parts from rebellion. For *Gelo* his eldest son, having in contempt both the old age of his father, and also (after the overthrow at *Canna*) the society and friendship of the Romans, turned unto the Carthaginians. And he had, no doubt, made a general alteration in *Sicily*, but that his death came between and cut him off: which hapned so jump, even when he was warming the multitude, and soliciting his friends to rebellion, that his very father himself was drawn into deep despiration that he took his life away. These were the occurrences that fell out that year with variable event, in *Italy*, *Affrick*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*.

In the end of the same year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* moved the Senat, and made request, that the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, which he had vowed being Dictator, might now be dedicated. And the Senat made a decree. That *Titus Sempronius*, Consul elect, should so soon as he was entered into his office, propose unto the people, that they would create two Duumvirs for the dedication of Temples. And in honour of *Amulius Lepidus*, who had been Consul twice, and Augustus, his three sons, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, exhibited certain funeral games for three dayes space: and a shew in the Common place likewise for three dayes together, of two and twenty pair of sword-fencers, to fight at sharp to the death. The Consul *Ennius*, *C. Lelarius*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, now Consul elect, who in his *Edict* had been General of the Hostemen, set out the Roman games, which were renewed and continued still for three dayes. Likewise, the Playes of the Commons, were thrice exhibited by *M. Aemilius Cotta*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. Now after three yeares expired of the Punct of war, *T. Sempronius* the Consul, began his government upon the * *Ides of March*. As for the Patrons, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had afore-time been Consul and Centor, obtained by lot the jurisdiction of the Citizens: and *M. Valerius Corvinus*, of the strangers and aliens. To *Appius Claudius Pulcher* was allotted the government of *Sicily*: and to *Q. Mutius Scaevola* of *Sardinia*. *M. Marcellus* was by the people allowed to have the authority of a Vice Consul, in regard that he above all the Roman Captains, after the defeat of *Canna*, managed his affairs and warred prosperously in *Italy*.

Now the very first day that the Senat was assembled in the Capitol, they decreed upon the first motion, that within the compass of that year, there should be levied a double tax or tribute: and that one single tribute should be forthwith gathered, for present pay to all the souldiers, having those that served at *Canna*. Then concerning the armies this order was set down: *Imprimis*, that *T. Sempronius* the Consul, should appoint the two legions of Citizens a certain day

* *Bellicaphis*.* *Colenra*.

* 15 of March.

day to meet at *Cales*. *Item*, that six legions should be conducted to the camp of *Claudius* above *Suessula*. *Item*, that the legions which there were (and those consilied for the most part of the residue of the Cannian army) *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* the Pretor, should put over Sea into *Sicily*; and as for those that were in *Sicily*, they should be transported to *Rome*. *Item*, unto that army which was appointed to meet by a day at *Cales*, *M. Claudius Marcellus* was sent; and he was commanded to conduct the legions of the Citizens to the camp of *Claudius*. Last of all, to receive the charge of the old army, and to lead it into *Sicily*, *T. Metellus Croto* Lieutenant, was sent by *Ap. Claudius*. Men looked at first, and yet they said nothing, that the Consul should call an assembly for the creating of a Collegue unto him. But after that they saw that *M. Marcellus* was sent out of the way (as it were of purpose) whom above all others they were desirous to be the Consul for that year, in regard of his notable good service whiles he was Pretor, there arose much muttering in the Senat-house. Which the Consul perceiving: "My L.L. quoth he, it was for the good of the Common-wealth, that both *M. Claudius* should go into *Campania* to exchange the armies: and also that the Election of Consuls, should not be proclaimed, until that he were returned again "from thence, with dispatch of that business which he had in charge: that ye might have a Consul, such a one as the present condition of the State required, and your selves most desired. So there was no more speech of the election, until *Marcellus* was come back again. In this mean time were two Duumvirs created, *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the dedication of one Chappell *Vestis Erycina*, and *T. Othacilius Crassus*, of another to the Goddess *Mentis*. Both stand upon the Capitol hill divided under no more than with one only conduct of water passing between. And as concerning the three hundred Campanian Horsemen, who had served out their full time of warfare faithfully, and were come to *Rome*, a motion was propounded to the people, that they should be enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*: and in like manner, that they should be reputed as free Citizens of *Cumae*. From the day afore, that the Capuans revolted from the people of *Rome* and rebelled. The chiefest cause of proposing this act, was this, because themselves denied flatly that they knew, to whom they did appear, seeing they had abandoned their old native country: and yet were not enrolled and incorporated into that state, unto which they had retired. After this *Marcellus* was come again from the army, the solemn day of election of a Consul in place of *L. Postumius*, was published. And with exceeding great content of all men, *Marcellus* was chosen: and forthwith was to be begin his Magistracy. At whose first entrance, it hapned to thunder: and the Augurs being called to give their opinion of it, pronounced, that they thought he was not rightfully created. And the Senators gave it out commonly and bruited abroad, that the Gods were not well pleased therewith, because (forsooth) two Consuls were elected of the commonalty (a thing never seen before.) Whereupon *Marcellus* resigned up his place, and in his room was substituted *Fabius Max.* the third time.

That year the Sea burned. At *Sinuessæ* a cow brought forth a horse foal. And at *Lanuvium* in the Temple of *Iuno Hepta*, certain statues or images dropped with blood: and about that Temple it rained stones. For which shew, there was solemnised, according to the customeable manner, a Novendial sacrifice. The other prodigious signs likewise were expit with great care and heedful regard. The Consuls then, parted their armies between them. *Fabius* took charge of those forces which had been commanded by *M. Junius* the Dictator. *Sempronius* had the conduct of all the voluntary souldiers, and besides of 25000 of Auxiliaries lent from the confederates. *M. Valerius* the Pretor had the legions appointed for him, that were returned out of *Sicily*. *M. Claudius* the Vice-consul, was sent unto that army, which lay in garrison at *Noli*, above *Suessula*, and the Pretors took their journey into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The Consuls, whensoever they would assemble the Senat, proclaimed that the Senators, and all others that had lawful authority to speak their mind and deliver their opinion in the Councel-House, should meet at the gate *Capena*. The Pretors, those that were Judges in the Court, and to whom the civil jurisdiction appertained, erected their Tribunal seats and places of Affizes at the publick Fish-pond, and thither they commanded all writs to be returned, and appearance there to be made. And for that year all pleas and judgements of causes passed there.

In this mean time news came to *Carthage* from whence *Mago* the brother of *Annibal* was minded to transport and let over into *Italy* 2000 footmen, and 1500 horsemen, 20 Elephants, and 1000 talents of silver, together with a guard and supply of 60 galleys. That in *Spain* things went untowardly: and that all the Cities of *Spain* (in a manner) were revolted unto the Romans. Some there were of opinion, to withdraw *Mago* with that fleet and power of his, from the enterprise of *Italy* into *Spain*. Considering there was good hope shewed of a suddain recovery again *Sardinia*, for that there was but a small power of Romans there: and *Cornelius* the old Lord Deputy, well acquainted with the State of the Province, was now upon his departure from thence, and a new expected in his turn. Over and besides, that the Sardinians were weary already of the Roman government, which they had so long endured, as who the year that past was, had tyrannised over them chiefly, and exercised their authority with oppression, covetously imposing upon them hard exactions and tributes, and levying of them a most unjust taxation and contribution of com: and finally they wanted nothing but an head, upon whom they might relieve themselves. To this effect there was an Embassage sent secretly from the Lords and Princes of the Island. And the principal actor and procurer thereof, was *Hieracius*, a man in those days of greatest authority and power among them. Upon these tidings aforelaid, hapning so just at one time, they were both

A disquieted and also refreshed. So they sent *Mago* with his fleet, and other forces into *Spain*: and they chose for the expedition into *Sardinia*, *Afranius* (surnamed *Calvus*), for the L. General, furnished and appointed with as great a power almost, as *Mago* had.

At *Rome* likewise, the Consuls having dispatched the affairs of the City, addressed themselves to the war. *T. Sempronius* appointed *Sinuessæ* to be the Rendez-vous, where the souldiers should meet at a certain day. And *Q. Fabius*, by an order and direction from the Senat, made an Edict, That all men should before the first day of *July* next ensuing, gather all their corn out of the countries, and convey the same into the principal walled Towns: proclaiming that whosoever did not accordingly, their fields he would lay waste: sell their servants in port sale at the spear, and let their farms and villages a fire. Not so much as the Pretors themselves (created for civil jurisdiction and to decide law matters) were freed and exempted from the conduct of war. As for *Valerius* the Pretor, he was appointed to go into *Apulia*, for to receive the army of *Terentius*: and when the legions were returned out of *Sicily*, to employ them especially for the guard and defence of that country: and that the army of *Terentius* should be sent with some one of the Licutenants. And *M. Valerius* had as sail allowed him, to keep and defend all the Sea coasts between *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*. The like number of ships was assigned to *Q. Fulvius* the City Pretor, for to guard the River side, near adjoining to the City of *Rome*. *C. Terentius* the Proconsul had in charge to take up by commission souldiers in the Picene country, and to guard those quarters. And *T. Othacilius Crassus*, after that he had dedicated the Temple of *Mentis* in the Capitol, was sent into *Sicily*, as Lord Admiral of the Armado there.

Upon this war between two of the mightiest Cities, and most puissant states of the World, there was not a King and Prince, nor a Nation under Heaven, but was moved. Among whom *Philip* King of the Macedonians, had an eye thereto, and was more intertive in that he was creerer unto *Italy*, and only divided from thence by the Julian Sea. He at the first, when the bruit came to his ears, That *Annibal* was passed beyond the Alps: as he joyed much, that there was war kindled between the Romans and the Carthaginians, to as long as it was uncertain, whether nation was the stronger, he wavered in mind and was in suspense, whether of the twain he should wish to have the victory. But after that he heard once, that in three several battails one after another, *Annibal* and the Carthaginians had gotten the better hand, he inclined to the fortunate side; and sent Embassadors unto *Annibal*: who falling off, and desirous to avoid the Havens of *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, which were guarded and kept by the Romans fleet, arrived and landed at the Temple of *Iuno Lucina*: and so through *Apulia*, travelling toward *Capua*, chanced to light upon the midst of the Romans corps de guard, and were brought before *M. Valerius Leuvinus* the Lord Deputy, being then encamped before *Nuceria*. Where *Xenophanes*, the principal of the Embassadors, bashed not to say, That he was sent from King *Philip*, to treat and conclude a league and amity with the people of *Rome*, and had commission and direction to the Consuls, to the Senat likewise and people of *Rome*, to that effect. *Valerius* taking great contentment to hear of this new society and friendship with so noble a King, especially upon the rebellion of so many old allies, courteously intreated and friendly entertained this false hearted enemy, in stead of a truly friend: and appointed diverse to accompany him for ward, to guide him carefully in the ways, and to shew him what places, what passages and streights were held and kept, either by the Romans, or the enemies. *Xenophanes* with these instructions passed through the midst of the Roman guards into *Campania*, and to the next way arrived at the camp of *Annibal*, and made a league and amity with him, under these conditions and capitulations. *Imprimis*, That King *Philip* should with a right puissant Armado (for that he was supposed able to let out 200 sail) pass over into *Italy*, wait and spoil all the Sea coasts, and to his power maintain war by Sea and Land. *Item*, That when the war was finished, all *Italy*, together with the very City of *Rome* should be possessed by the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and unto him all the pillage and booty likewise should belong. *Item*, When *Italy* was thus subdued, that they should sail into Greece, and wage war with what Princes there they pleased, and that all the Cities of the main, and the islands which lay to *Macedony*, should fall unto *Philip*, and be annexed to his Kingdom. In these terms, and upon these Articles, in manner, was the league concluded and confirmed between the General *Annibal*, and the Embassadors of the Macedonians: and with them were sent back unto the King for the better ratifying of the said covenants, certain Legats, to wit, *Grigo*, *Bosar*, and *Mago*, who arrived together at the same Temple aforelaid, of *Iuno Lucina*, where they did closely a ship at anchor, expecting their return. From whence being departed, they were not so soon launched out into the deep, and had taken the open Sea, but they were deceried by the Roman fleet that guarded the coasts of *Calabria*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* made out certain Corycians, to pursue and fetch in that ship. Whereupon, the Macedonians began to flie, but seeing themselves overmarched in twinnels of sail, and not able to make way with them, they yielded themselves unto the Romans, and were presented unto the Admiral: Who demanded what they were, from whence they came, and whither they were bound. *Xenophanes* who had already spied so well by making of a lye, began to cog again, and say, That he was sent from *Philip* unto the Romans: that he came unto *M. Valerius*, because to him only he was able to pais in safety, but could not possibly get beyond *Campania*, being so strongly kept with garisons of the enemies. But afterwards, upon the sight of the Carthaginian habit and apparel, they began to suspect the Embassadors of *Annibal*: and they being questioned withal, their speech and language bewrayed them. Then was their retinue taken apart, and threatened to

confels. Letters also were found upon them, sent from *Anibal* unto *Philipp*, concerning the peace between the King of the Macedonians and *Anibal*. Upon these matters thus detected and certainly known, it was thought good to convey the Embassadors and their Company with all speed prisoners to *Rome*, unto the *Senat* there, or unto the *Consuls* whosoever they were. To this purpose were chosen five *Pinissles* that were most swift, under the conduct of *L. Voltur* *Arates*, who had his direction and charge to part the Embassadors in several ships, and keep them sure wander: and to take good heed, that they neither talked nor conferred together.

About the same time it happened at *Rome*, that *An. Cornelius Mammula*, upon his departure out of the Province *Sardinia*, made report in what state the Island stood; namely, that they all inclined to rebellion and war: that *Marius* who succeeded after him, presently upon his first coming, by reason of the ill air and unwholesome water, was fallen into a sickness, not to quick and dangerous, as chronick and tedious, and would not be able long to endure the service of war: that the army there, as it was insufficient to guard and keep in good order a quiet and peaceable Province, for could not hold out with the war that was like to ensue. Whereupon the *L.L.* of the *Senat* gave order, that *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, should levy and enrol 3000 foot, and 200 horse, and provide that this legion should pass over with all speed into *Sardinia*: and let thence with whom it pleased him to conduct and manage the war until *Marius* were recovered of his sickness. For this intent was *T. Manlius Torquatus* sent Governor; one, who had been twice Consul and Censor, and in his Consulship subdued the *Sardinians*.

Near about the same time, there was an Armado sent out from *Carthage* unto *Sardinia*, under the leading of *Asdrubal* (named *Calvus*, and being far rotted and braten with tempests, was called upon the *Barbar* *Barbar*: where (so far out of order was not only the ship-rackling, but also the way keels and bodies of the ships to shaker) they drew upon the ships to shore, and whiles they layed there about calling and naming them again, they spent much time.

In *Italy* whiles the war began to slacken and waxe cold by reason that after the battail of *Cume*, the strength of the one part was much abated, and their force decayed, and the courage of the other, well allayed and much cheemish: the Campians upon their own heads began to contrive, how to reduce the State of *Cume* under their obedience, first enticing them to revolt from the *Romans*: and seeing that none would not speed and take effect, they devised by a fraudulent promise to compels and entrap them. The Campians use yearly to sacrifice a sick steed and sacrifice in a certain place called *Hama*: and they gave notice unto the *Cumans*, that the whole *Senat* of *Capua* would resort thither: requesting the *Senat* of *Cume* likewise to meet them there, for to confer and consult together in common, how both Cities, the one and the other, might have the same friends and the same enemies, and no other: giving them withal to understand, that they minded there to have a good guard about them of armed men, for fear of some foul play and dangerous attempt from the *Romans*. The *Cumans*, albeit they suspected some treachery, denied nothing, supposing thereby to colour and cover their own crafty intended aignment. Now all this while, *T. Sempronius* the Roman Consul, having surveyed and purged his army at *Sinuesa*, at which place he had made proclamation, that his forces should meet together: passed over the River *Vulturnus*, and encamped near unto *Linternum*: where because the Soldiers in the standing camp had nothing else to do, he exercised them to run often therace and skirmish in array, to the end that the raw Soldiers (for such were the volunteers for the most part) might by use and practise learn how to follow their colours in good order, and in the time of battail know their own ranks and ensignes. In these kinds of training, the special care that the General had, and the only thing that he aimed at, was their concord and good agreement. And for this purpose, he charged the Lieutenants, and the Colonels and Captains, that they should not call in any mans teeth one or other, their fortune and condition aforesaid, thereby to breed any discord and heartbating among the companies: and that the old experienced Soldiers should suffer themselves to be beat equal in estate to the new learners: and those that were born free unto the volunteers, who had been slaves: reputing them all of birth good enough, and of gentle blood descended, unto whom the people of *Rome* had vouchsafed to commit their armor and ensignes: saying, that the same fortune which had driven them to do, forced them likewise to maintain the same, and make the best of it, now it was done. The Captains were not more careful in giving the good lessons and instructions, but the soldiers were as diligent to observe the same: and within a while their hearts and affections grew to be linked and united together, that they forgot generally, in what degree and of what condition each soldier entered into service. Whiles *Gracchus* was busied hereabout, the Embassadors of *Cume* certified him, what kind of Embassy came unto them from the Campians, a few dayes before, and what answer they had returned: advertising him that their festival day was to be holden three dayes after: that not only the whole *Senat* would be present, but also the camp and army of the Campians. *Gracchus* having commanded the *Cumans* to convey all that they had out of the fields and territories about, into their City, and themselves to keep within their walls: himself the day before the solemnity aforesaid of the Campians, removed his power to *Cume*, and there encamped. Now *Hama* is three miles off from thence. The Campians by this time were assembled there in great number, according to appointment: and not far from the place, *Marius Alfius* the chief head Magistrat of *Capua*, was incamped closely with fourteen thousand soldiers. He, what with preparation of the sacrifice,

and contriving withal, the deceitful train of treachery, was more busy and careful thereabout, than either in fortifying his camp, or in any other military action. Thus for three dayes continued this festival sacrifice at *Hama*. And ever in the night season it was performed: so, as before midnight all was done and finished, *Gracchus* supposing that a good time for his ambush to be employed, having set certain warders before the gates, that no man might go forth to give intelligence, caused the soldiers betwixt the six and tenth hour of the day, (from noon until four of the clock) to refresh themselves and take their sleep: that in the beginning of the dark night, they might assemble together at the watch-word or signal given them. And about the first watch he commanded to display their Ensigns and advance forward: and thus with a still march, he arrived at *Hama* by midnight, surprised the hold of the Campians, and entered all the gates at once, being negligently guarded, by reason of their overwatching. Some he killed lying along fast asleep: others, as they returned unarmed from the sacrifice. In this night-tumult there were slain more than two thousand, with *Marius Alfius* himself their leader: and 43 Ensigns taken and carried away. *Gracchus* with the loss of fewer than one hundred of his soldiers, having won the camp, retired speedily to *Cume*, for fear of *Anibal*, who lay in fort encamped upon *Tifata* over *Capua*. And (as he was a provident man and of great foresight) nothing was he deceived in his opinion. For so soon as this defeat was reported at *Capua*, *Anibal* supposing that he should at *Hama* find the army of the *Romans* (consisting for the most part of raw soldiers, and those, bondfellowes) jocund and lusty above measure, and insolent upon their fresh victory, busied in rifling their dead enemies thus conquered, driving away booties, and charged with pillage: removed his forces in halt, and marched apace beneath *Capua*: and encountered with some of the Campians that were fled, whom he cauled between two guards to be conducted late to *Capua*, and such as were hurt and wounded, to be set in waggons and carried thither. Himself found at *Hama* the camp empty and void of enemies, and nothing there but the tokens of a fresh massacre, and the dead bodies of his friends and allies lying here and there scattered. Somewhere were that advised him presently to advance forward to *Cume*, and to assault the Town. And albeit *Anibal* was willing enough thereto, and passing desirous (seeing he could not come by *Naples*) to have *Cume* at least, a maritime port-Town, as well as the other: yet because his soldiers had brought nothing with them but their weapons, as being led forth to march in such haste, he retired back again to his fort and camp upon *Tifata*. From whence, at the important prayers of the Campians, the day following he furnished himself with all the Ordinance and Ensigns meet for the assault of a City, and returned toward *Cume*: and having waited the territory thereof, he encamped himself a mile from the Town. Then *Gracchus*, more for shame, that he might not seem to leave his associates in such necessity, (who craved protection and recommended themselves to him, and to the people of *Rome*) than for any confidence and trust that he reposed in the strength of his army, layed in *Cume*. Neither *Fabius* the other Consul, who was encamped at *Cales*, durst let his army over the River *Vulturnus*: as having been busied first at *Rome* in renewing the *Auspices* and bird-flights: and after that, a troubled also about the fearful prodigious signs which were reported one after another. And when he sought expiation thereby of his officers, the Sooth-sayers made answer and said, That they could not perceive that the Gods were appeased and pacified for all that he did. Thus whiles *Fabius* upon these occasions was kept back, *Sempronius* was besieged, yes, and by this time assaulted, with his works and engines of battery. One mighty great Tower of wood there was erected against the Town. Against which, the Roman Consul raised another from the very wall somewhat higher than it: for that heuled the wall (which of itself was of good height) in stead of a ground-work, and planted thereon strong posts and piles of timber to bear up the forehead frame. From thence, at first the soldiers within, defended the Town and Walls with stones, with long poles and perches and other instruments to lance against the assailants. But at length seeing the other turret coming forward even close to the Town wall, they slung thereon at once much firework, and burning matter: at which fires the multitude of armed men for fear leapt headlong down the turret: and withal, they of the Town issued out at two gates at once, discomfited the guards of the enemies, and drove them into their camp: so as that day *Anibal* was more like one besieged himself, than laying siege unto others. There were of *Carthaginians* slain about fourteen hundred: forty wanting one were taken prisoners alive, such as about the walls and their Corps de guard stood careless and negligent, fearing nothing less than a fall out of the Town, and were suddenly at unawares taken and inspired. *Gracchus* founded the retreat, and cauled his men to retire within the Walls, before the enemies after their sudden triumph could be rallied together. The morrow after, *Anibal* (supposing that the Consul in his rust for this happy hand, would come into the field to fight a set battail) arranged himself in array between his Camp and *Cume*. But after that, he saw no stirring at all from the usual guard and defence of the City, and nothing put to the rash hazard of doubtful hope, he retired to *Tifata*, without any good at all done.

At the very same time that the siege was raised before *Cume*, *Titus Sempronius* (surnamed *Longus*, fought fortunately in *Lucania* before *Grummenum*, with *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*: slew more than two thousand of his enemies, lost himself two hundred and eighty men, and went away with 41 ensigns. *Hanno* thus driven out of the confines of *Lucania*, retired himself back into the country of the *Brutii*: And *M. Fulvius* the Pretor, recovered by force from the *Hippias*.

upon the greatest Camp, whereof *Ardubal* was the General. Thither also repaired the two Cap-
tain and two Armies of the Carthaginians, when they saw that the whole trial of the matter
was there to be determined, and so they issued out of their tents and fought. Therefore thousand
enemies were that day in field and about 16000 Romans: and yet the victory went to clear with
the Romans, that they slew more of their enemies than they were in number themselves, took
prisoners more than three thousand men, and not many under a thousand horie, and withal
won 60 military ensigns wanting one, and killed five Elephants in the battel: and to conclude,
were Lords that day of three Camps. After that the siege was raised from *Himurgis*, the Cartha-
ginian armies were led to the assault of the town *Incubili*, having their companies made up and
supplied again out of the Province, (as being a nation of all others most desirous and eager of war,
so there be hope of pillage or good recompence) and at that time especially full of young and in-
ftrymen. Where there was a second field fought with like fortune of both sides as before. There
were slain above thirteen thousand enemies and more than 3000 taken prisoners, besides two
and forty military ensigns, and nine Elephants. Then in a manner, all the Cities of *Spain* re-
voluted to the Romans. And far greater exploits were that summer performed in *Spain*, than in
Italy.

The four and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and twentieth Book.

Herome. King of the Syracusians (whose grandfather Hiero had been a friend unto the people
of Rome) sent unto the Carthaginians, and for his cruelty and pride, was by his own people mar-
tyred. Titus Sempromus Gracchus the Pro-Consul, had a fortunate battel near Beneventum, a-
gainst the Carthaginians, and Hanno their General, through the help especially of the bravest, whom
for their good service, he commanded to be made free. Claudius Marcellus the Consul laid siege unto
Syracusa in Sicily, which wholly in manner was taken away and turned to the Carthaginians. Wars
were proclaimed against Philip, King of the Macedonians, who in a night-scurish was surpris'd, discom-
fited, and put to flight: and with his army well near disarmed, escaped into Macedonia, to escape
that war. Valerius the Praetor was sent. This book containeth also the acts achieved in Spain by
Cn. S. Cipios against the Carthaginians, Syphax King of the Numidians, having entered into army
with the Romans, fought against Malanilla King of the Massilians: who stood for the Carthaginians,
and being overcome, pass'd over into Spain with a most mighty army unto Scipio, lying over against
Gades, where the narrow strait is between Africa and Spain. He and his soldiers were received
into friendship, whose aid the Romans sent for, and this was the first time that mercenary soldiers were
waged and served in the Roman wars.

The four and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Hanno was not so soon returned out of *Campaine*, into the country of the *Bruttii*, but by
their help and guidance he solicited to rebellion the Greek Cities which continued the
more waiting, y^e intelligence and alliance with the Roman. Because they saw that the *Bruttii*,
whom they both hated and feared sided with the Carthaginians. And first he assaid and
went in hand with *Rhegium*, where he spent certain daies to little or no purpose. In this mean
time the Inhabitants of *Locri* were busie in carrying away with great haste the corn, wood and
fewe, and all things else, necessary for the use of man, out of the country into the City; because
they would have nothing to the enemy to prey upon. And daily more and more of them went
out of the gates by night: so as at last there was no more left in the City, than those that were
compelled to repair the breaches of the walls and the gates, and to bring into the turrets and bul-
warks store of darts and other forth. Against this multitude and confused mixture of all ages, sexes
and degrees ranging over the fields, who of most were altogether unarmed, *Amilcar* the Cartha-
ginian sent out his Cavalry giving them direction and charging them to hurt no person. These
horsemen opposed their troops between them and home, only to exclude them out of the City.
When they were scattered one from another in flight, The General himself in person encamped
on a high ground from whence he might view the country and the City. And gave command-
ment to a cohort of the *Bruttii* to approach the walls to call forth the principal Citizens of *Locri*
to parley, and by making promise of *Amilcar* his friendship, to perswade and exhort them to yield
up the town. At the first they gave no credit at all unto the *Bruttii*, whatsoever they said: But af-
terwards, when they discovered *Hanno* and the Carthaginians upon the hills, and heard by some

A few of their own Citizens that were fled back & escaped, how all the rest of the multitude were
slain within danger of the enemies, they made answer, that they would confer and consult there-
upon with the body of the people. So immediately they were assembled together. The most light
headed persons were desirous of a change and new alliance: they also, whose kinsfolk and friends
were by the enemy intercepted and kept out of the City, had their minds engaged and bound sure
enough, as if they had put in hostages: and some few who were well affected inwardly in heart &
liked of constancy and true loyalty, yet durst not be known thereof, and shew themselves to stand
to it: so as they all agreed in outward appearance, to surrender themselves to the Carthaginians.
And after they had cloely conveyed into the haven, and embarked *L. Attilius* the Captain of the
Barrillon, and all the Roman souldiers that served under him to the end, that they might be trans-
ferred to *Rhegium*, they received *Amilcar* and the Carthaginians into the City, with this condi-
tion, that presently there should be concluded a league upon equal and indifferent covenants and
capitulations between them. But the promise in this behalf (when they had once yielded them-
selves) was nothing well performed: whilst *Amilcar* charged the *Locrians*, with fraudulent dis-
sembling and letting go the Romans: and they again alleged for their excuse, that they fled away,
and made an escape. The horsemen also followed hard in chase by land, if haply either the tide
might cause the ships to stay in the current within the straight, or drive them a land. But those
whom they pursued they could not overtake: many other ships they espied crossing the streights
from *Messina* to *Rhegium*. Roman souldiers they were sent from *Claudius* the Praetor, to lie in
C. garrison there and to keep the town. Whereupon they presently departed from *Rhegium*.

As for the Citizens of *Locri*, they had peace granted them by express order and direction from
Amilcar upon these conditions: *Imprimis*, That they might live free under their own laws: *Item*,
That both the City and the haven should remain still in the hands of the *Locrians*. The substance
of the covenant rested and was established upon these terms, That the Carthaginians and *Locri*
should aid and assist one another mutually, both in peace and war. So the Carthaginians reti-
red from the streights notwithstanding the muttering and murmuring of the *Bruttii*, because they
had left *Rhegium* and *Locri* untouched, which two Cities they made full account to have sacked
and rifled. And therefore they of themselves having levied and put in arms a power of fifteen
thousand of their own youth, marched forward to assault *Crotone* a Grecian City likewise, and fea-
ted upon the sea. Adjoining themselves, much to better their estate, if they could be possessed of a
port and sea-town, fenced with strong walls and Bulwarks. This only troubled and perplexed
their minds, that they durst not, but sent unto the Carthaginians for aid: fearing lest they might
seem to have ventred into action and war, without regard of the common good of their coun-
try, if they called them not: and doubting besides, that if the General of the Carthaginians
should prove again, rather an arbitrator of peace, than a coadjutor in war, they should fight in
desperate againist the liberty of *Crotone*, as they had done before against the City of *Locri*. Whereup-
on they thought best to send Embassadors unto *Amilcar* for his warrant, and to be secured from
him, that if *Crotone* were recovered by the *Bruttians*, it should be subject unto them. *Amilcar* made
answer, that this matter required consultation of men present with them in place, and therefore
he put them over to *Hanno*, from whom they received no certain answer to trust unto. For wil-
ling they were not, that a noble and rich City as it was, should be spoiled: and besides they were
in good hope, that in case the *Bruttians* should assaile it, and the Carthaginians all the while not
seeing either to allow or help them in their enterprise, the Citizens would the more willingly re-
volt unto them. The Inhabitants within *Crotone* were not of one mind, and affected alike. For
there was one malady that had infected all the Cities of *Italy*, namely, the dissention between the
Commons and the Nobles. The Senators inclined to the Romans, the Commons on the other
side took part with the Carthaginians. This division within the City, the *Bruttii* were by a fugi-
tive runaway advertised of in these terms: namely, that *Arifonmachus* the ring-leader and head of
the Commons, minded to betray the City: that it was a wide, vaste, and desolate town taking a
great circuit of ground: and all the walls being decayed and in sundry places broken down, the Se-
nators and the Commons kept their several guards and watches in sundry quarters far asunder.
And look (quoth he) where the Commons ward; there ye may enter at your pleasure. Upon this
intelligence and direction given by the fugitive, the *Bruttii* environed the City round about: and
being let in by the Commons at the first assault, were masters of all places, saving the Cattle. The
Nobles held that piece foreseeing what might happen, and therefore provided themselves of a sure
refuge. Thither fled *Arifonmachus* also, pretending that he meant to deliver the City to the Car-
thaginians, and not to the *Bruttii*. Now this City *Crotone* had a wall (before *Pyrhus* coming into
Italy) twelve miles in compass; but after it was laid waste by that war, (since the one half of the
town was inhabited. The river that was wont to run through the midst of the town passed now
G along the walls without those streets where the houses stood thick and well peopled, far from the
places inhabited.

Similes without the town there stood a noble Temple of *Lacinia Juno*, more renowned than
the City it self, as being honoured with great religion and devotion of all the Cities and nations
thereabout. A sacred grove there was in that place compassed with a thick wood, of tall trees,
having in the midst within it divers pleasant and fruitful pastures, wherein were fed beeds con-
secrated unto the goddesses, of all sorts, without any keeper and pastor. And albeit the cattell went
forth in the morning by herds and flocks of their own kind, severed by themselves, yet at night
they used to return back again to their own pens and stalls, without harm received either by the

wait-laying of wild and ravenous beasts, or by deceitful fraud of men. Great increase therefore and much commodity accrued by those cattle, inasmuch as thereof was made a massive Column or pillar of beaten gold, and consecrated in that place, so as the Temple was famous as well for riches as holiness and devotion. And many times it falleth out, that to such notable places there are attributed some strange miracles. For the report goeth, that there standeth an altar in the very porch of the Temple, the ashes lying whereupon no wind was ever known to blow away.

But to return to *Crotus*. The Cattle thereof on the one side standeth upon the sea, on the other side it bendeth and looketh toward the land. Defended in times past it was only by the natural situation of the ground, but afterwards fortified also with a wall; on that part whereas *Darius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, having gained the back rocks and cliffs behind, by craft and guile sometimes won it. This Cattle at that time supposed to be strong and safe enough, the Nobles seized and kept, notwithstanding the *Bruttii* and their own Commons besieged them. At length the *Bruttii* leaving the Cattle impregnable, by all the forces and assaults that they could make of themselves, were driven of necessity to crave aid of *Hanno*. Who having assailed to draw and urge the *Crotonians* to yield, upon these conditions: To suffer a Colony of the *Bruttii* thither to be brought, and there planted; and that thereby a City lying so waste and desolate, might be replenished and peopled again in ancient time: could not move and persuade any one of them all, but *Arifomachus*. For all besides, protested and said, they would die before they would be intermingled with the *Bruttii*; to change their own rites and manner of life, their customs, their laws; and within a while their language also for others that were strange and foreign. *Arifomachus* alone, seeing that he could not prevail neither by persuasions to induce them to yield, nor find any means to betray the Cattle like as he had done the town before, fled away to *Hanno*. Shortly after, certain Embassadors from *Lucer*, by the licence and permission of *Hanno*, entered the Cattle, and persuaded them to be content for to be translated to *Lucer*, rather than to abide and stand out the extremity: saying, that they had sent Embassadors already to that intent unto *Annibal*, and had got a grant at his hands, that they might so do. So they abandoned *Crotus*, and the *Crotonians* were brought down to the sea side and embarked, and the whole multitude departed to *Lucer*.

In *Arpi*, the very winter season was not quiet between the Romans and *Annibal*. *Sempronius* the Consul wintered at *Lucer*, and *Annibal* not far from him in *Arpi*: and as they could spy opportunity, or take their vantage, of the one side or the other, there passed some light skirmishes between them. But the Romans had always the better, and every day more than other, became more wary and feared from all trains and deceitful snares of the enemy.

In *Sicily* the Romans found a great change, and all out of order, by reason that King *Hiero* was dead, and the Crown translated to his Nephew, or sons son, *Hieronymus*: being yet a child, not like to use his own liberty with moderation, and much less to sway the Kingdom and Scepter with discretion. His guardians and friends gladly entertained the protection and government of such a nature, and were ready enough to plunge him headlong into all vice and wickedness. Which King *Hiero*, foreseeing, was willing (by report) in his latter daies, to have left *Syracusa* free and at liberty to the end that no noble kingdom, acquired and established by good means, should not under the Lordly dominion of a child to the great obloquy and shame of the world, be ruined, and come to nought. But his daughters with tooth and nail crossed this his disengagement, made full reckoning, that the child should only bear the name of a King, but the government of the whole State should wholly rest in them and their husbands, *Andromedus* and *Zailus*: who were the principal guardians, left to oversee the young Prince. And an easie matter it was not, for as aged men now fiftie or sixty years old, and ten, to hardly laid at day and night, by the fair speeches, and feminine flatteries of his daughters, to keep his mind free, and to apply and convert it to intricate private regards and the public consideration of the State. And therefore he left fifteen years to oversee and govern the child, whom he besought upon his death-bed, even when he was going out of this world, to maintain entire and unspotted, the faithful allegiance to the Romans, which he had kept and observed inviolate for the space of fifty years: and to suffer their helping hand willingly, to direct the young Prince above all, to tread in his steps, and to show that discipline wherein he had been nurtured and taught. After he had given this charge, and yielded up his breath, the guardians came abroad, brought forth the Kings last will and testament and shewed the young Prince in the open assembly of the people, and well near fifteen years of age he was. Where some few, such as were bestowed here of purpose within the press of the assembly for to shout and shew testimony of their joy and good liking, approved with open voice, and allowed the Kings will: whereas all the rest fared as Orphans in a City bereaved of their King and (as it were) become fatherless, and feared all things that might ensue. The King was interred and his funerals solemnized, with the love and kind affection of his people and subjects, more than with any studious care and diligence of his own friends that were nearest to him. After this, *Andromedus* removed from about the Prince all other guardians but himself, giving out oftentimes that *Hieronymus* was past a child, and able to govern of himself as King. Thus by deposing the Protectorship, which was common to him and many others, he took upon him and misruled the power and authority of them all. Hard it was even for a right good King and well governed, that should succeed after *Hiero*, to find favour and win grace among the *Syracusanians*: so heartily they affected and loved King *Hiero*. But *Hieronymus*, as if he had been willing and desirous, that by his vicious and wicked life, they should have a great mislike of his grandfather, and wish again for him: at the very first sight, when he shewed himself abroad in open

A place, declared unto the world, what difference and great odds there was. For they who for many years together had never seen *Hiero*, nor his son *Gelo*, either in habit of apparel, or in any other ornaments and port, differing from all other Citizens, now beheld him in his purple robes, with his regal Crown and Diadem, attended with his guard and train of armed penioners: yea, and otherwise, after the manner of *Denis* the Tyrant, riding forth of his Court and Palace, in a Chariot drawn with four white steeds. This proud pomp and stately array was accompanied and suited with flemish qualities and conditions. He contemned and despised all men: he scorned most proudly to give audience to humble suppliants; and sent them away with reproachful terms and taunts: And not only strangers, but also his very guardians hardly might have access unto him: and to conclude, his lulls and delights whereunto he gave himself, were new and strange: his cruelty that he exercised outrageous and inhumane. So dread and terrible was he to all, that some of his Tutors, either by making themselves away, or by voluntary exile were driven to prevent and avoid the danger of cruel torments. Of whom three only, who alone had more familiar recourse into the Court, to wit, *Andromedus* and *Zailus*, the sons in law of King *Hiero*, that had married his daughters, and one *Thraso*, had little or no ear given unto them in other matters: but whilst two of them drew toward the Carthaginians, and *Thraso* to the Roman alliance: with their arguing, debating and dispute, they otherwise turned the mind of the young King to hearken and give audience to their opinions. Now it hapned that there was a conspiracy intended against the life and person of the Tyrant, and the same detected by one *Calo*, the companion and playfellow of *Hieronymus*, and of the same age: one who ever from his childhood had been familiarly acquainted with him, and inward to all his secrets. This revealer of the conspiracy, could appease and nominate all the conspirators, only *Theodorus*, by whom himself was made privy to the treason, and solicited to be a complice therein. The pity was apprehended incontinently, and delivered unto *Andromedus* to be tortured; Who at the first without delay, confessed himself to be guilty, but concealed all the rest that were accessories. At the last, when he had been torn, mangled, and dismembered, with most dolorous torments, and intolerable for any man to endure: pretending and making semblance that he could abide no longer pains: disclosed not for all this the guilty persons indeed, but accused the innocent, and said falsely, that *Thraso* was the first deviser of the whole plot: and unless they had born themselves, and relied upon to mighty an head, to set them on work, they would never have attempted to dangerous an enterprise. He appeached also some other of the Tyrant his guard and household servants and daily waiters: even such as came into his mind during the time of his dolours and paines, and whom amidst his groans he imagined to be such, as whose lives might be best spared, and deaths least lamented. The naming of *Thraso* especially made the Tyrant to believe, that the detection founded to be a very truth indeed: whereupon the man was immediately led to execution and put to death: and the other innocents, as clear as himself, tasted of the same cup and suffered with him for company. As for the conspirators themselves, albeit one of their fellows was a long while put to bitter and extreme torture, there was not one of them that either hid his head or made an escape: so assured confidence had they in the resolute constancy and faithful promise of *Theodorus*: and such power and strength had *Theodorus* himself to keep close the secrets committed unto him. Now when *Thraso* was once dispatched out of the way, who only was the means to hold them in and to bind them to their alliance and allegiance to the Romans: then forthwith they began openly to incline to rebellion, and sent as Embassadors for the same purpose, two noble young Gentlemen, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* unto *Annibal*: From whom also they were sent back again in Embassy. These were both born at *Carthage*, but descended in blood from the *Syracusanians* by their grandfather, that was from thence banished: and were themselves by the mothers side meet Carthaginians. By entreaty of these two Embassadors, a League was concluded between *Annibal* and the Tyrant of *Syracusa*. And *Annibal* was content that they should abide still as Leigers in the Tyrants Court.

F When *Appian Claudius* the Prator and Lord Deputy of the Province of *Sicily* heard these news, he addressed straightwaies Embassadors unto *Hieronymus*: who laying, that they were come to renew the alliance which they had with his grandfather, had scornful audience given them to deliver their message, and were dismissed and sent away by *Hieronymus* with a harsh, demanding of them by way of a scoff: "How they had sped at the battle of *Canus*. For I can hardly believe" (quoth he) "that all is true which the Embassadors report of that field: and I would gladly know the certain truth & thereupon deliberate and take counsel, which side I were best to take. The Roman Embassadors said, they would repair again unto him when he could begin once to give audience with gravity and in good earnest to their embassy: and so after they had warned & admonished, rather than praised and entreated him, not to change, but to stand to the first covenant and promises, they departed. Then *Hieronymus* sent his Legates to *Carthage*, for to confirm the League with the Carthaginians, according to the alliance and amity made with *Annibal*. In which it was capitulated and covenanted, that when they had expelled the Romans out of *Sicily* (which would shortly come to pass, in case they felt either ships and a power of men) the river *Himer*, which (as it were) divided the Island in the midst, should confine and limit both the *Syracusan* kingdom and the dominion of the Carthaginians. After this, being puffed up with the fair flattering speeches of such as were about him, who suggested unto him, to remember and call to mind that not only King *Hiero* was his grandfather, but also King *Pirrhus* by the mothers side: he sent Embassadors unto the Carthaginians, to give them from him to understand, That he de-

med it right and meet, that all *Scyth* wholly should lie unto his dominion: and that the Empire of *Italy* only belonged properly to the Carthaginian people to acquire and conquer. This levity and vain-glorious humour they neither wondered at, as a strange thing in a giddy-brained young man; nor yet greatly blamed and found fault with, so long as they might enthrall him wholly and alienate him altogether from the friendship of the Romans. But all things in him turned to his overthrow and utter confusion. For while *Hippocrates* and *Epidaurus* were sent along with two thousand foot-soldiers, to go to found and solicit the Cities rebellion, that were held by the garisons of the Romans: and himself in person entered the country of the Leontines, with all the rest of the forces, which amounted to fifteen thousand foot and horse together: certain conspirators, who chanced at to be his own foot-soldiers, and bare arms under him, possessed themselves of a vake house standing over a narrow lane through which the King was wont to go down into the market place of the City: there when other stood armed and well appointed, and waiting when the King should pass by, one of the conspirators (whose name was *Indigemes*) had given him in charge, because he was one of the squires of the Kings body, when the King approached near unto the door of the said house, to find some occasion or other, in that straight passage, to slay the troop and train that followed behind. And to he effected indeed, and put in execution, as it was agreed and contrived. For *Indigemes* lifted up his foot, making as though he would looke and slack a straight knot of his sho-lace, which hindring his going, whereby he staid the company that followed after, so long, that the King passing by alone without his guard of armed men about him, was assailed mean while, and received sundry stabs and wounds, before they could come to relieve and save him. Hereupon arose an outcry and tumult, and divers of the guard lie at *Indigemes*, who by this time was ready to oppose himself and to ward all venues: howbeit he was hurt only in two places, and so escaped. The guard seeing the King there lying dead, fled away as they could. The murderers, some of them betook themselves into the market-place unto the multitude, that rejoiced for the recovery of their freedom: others repaired to *Syracusa*, to intercept and prevent the designments of *Antrochurus*, and other favourites and followers of the late King.

While things stood in these uncertain and doubtful terms, *Appius Claudius* foreseeing was like to ensue, and that very shortly, addressed his letters unto the Senat of *Rome*, certifying them that *Scyth* declined already, and was at hand to side with the people of *Carthage* and with *Antibal*. Himself in the mean time bent all his forces toward the frontiers of the Province and confines of that Kingdom, to withstand and hinder all the proceedings and enterprises of the *Syracusans*.

In the end of that year *Q. Fabius*, by order from the Senate, fortified *Paucoli*, a town of merchandise, and which in time of war was begun to be much resorted unto and frequented, and he placed a garrison. From whence as he was in his journey toward *Rome* against the great Election or Magistrates he proclaimed the solemn assembly of the people for that purpose to be the next Common day that followed upon his arrival thither: and so it fell out, that he went along the City, and immediately upon his journey, and came down into *Alors* field before he eured the City. Upon which day, when it hapned that the Century of the younger sort was drawn out by lot, and had the prerogative, and by their voices nominated *I. Octavius* and *M. Emilius Regillus* for Consul, then *Q. Fabius* after silence made, rose up, and delivered this or such like speech. "If either we had peace in *Italy*, or at least with those enemies, with whom I deal, neither negligent, or unadvisedly, the matter were not much, nor importing great hazard and danger: I would think, that whoever disturbed and rested your favours and free affections, which ye bring hither with you into this solemn place of assembly, to bestow honours and dignities upon whom ye please had but small and no regard of your liberty and freedom. But since that in this war and with this enemy, never any General of ours faulted in the managing of his affairs, but it costs dear, and we had some great foil and overthrow: it behoveth you, that with what mind and careful regard ye enter the field to combat in your armour, in the same ye should come hither into this *Alors* field in your gowns, and so proceed by your suffrages to elect your Consuls: and that every one of you should thus say to himself, I am to nominate a Consul to match with General *Antibal*. No longer since, than this very year, when as before *Capnia* *J. bellus* *Torona*, the bravest horseman and Cavalier of all the Campans defied the Romans, and challenged them to fight man to man, *Asellus Claudius*, the noblest Knight of all the Romans, and best man at arms, was chosen to encounter him. In times past, against a Gaul that offered combat upon the bridge over *Anio*, our ancestors sent out *Manlius*, a courageous, resolute, and puiant Champion. Neither can I deny, but upon such another occasion not many years after, the like trust was reposed in *M. Valerius*, who took arms likewise against another Gaul that challenged single fight. And even as we are desirous, & with to have our foot and horsemen both, more valorous and hardy than our enemies, or if that will not be, at leastwise equal unto them, and able to countermatch them: even so let us be careful to find out a General of our own comparable every way to the chief commander of our enemies. And when we have chosen the best warrior and Captain in the whole City, then presently without any longer delay, being elected and created for one whole year, he shall be sent to match with an old captain, that hath ever continued in the field, one who is not enclosed within compacts of time, nor restrained & gagged within the straight bounds of law, but that he may order & manage every thing, according as the occasions and present occurrences of war do require: Whereas, by that time

The Oration of Q. Fabius to the people of Rome.

"that we can make all ready and dispose every thing in order, and set in hand to begin our affairs, the year is come about and clean gone. Now forasmuch as enough hath been said, what manner of Consul ye ought to create: it remaineth to speak somewhat of them, whom the prerogative Century to highly favour, and is to much affected unto. As for *M. Emilius Regillus*, he is the Flamin of *Quirinus*, whom neither we may take from his ministry of Sacrifice, nor yet retain and keep him still, but we shall neglect either the service of the gods, or the due care and regard of the wars. *Octavius* hath married my utters daughter, and hath a sister by her. But your favours and good turns shewed both to me, and also to my ancestors, are not of so small account and reckoning, but that I ought to prefer the Common-weal before all private regards and alliances whatsoever. Every mariner, yea, and any passenger is able to steer and rule a Ship in a calm water: but when a buttering tempest is up, and the vessel tossed in a troubled surging sea, and carried away with violent force of the winds, then there had need be a man indeed, and a skillful Pilot to sit at the stern, and to guide the helm. We fail not now in a still and quiet sea: but we have been drenched, and in a manner drowned, with some storms already: and therefore we ought to have exceeding great care and be well advised storehand, whom we have to be the steers-man. In a matter of less consequence and importance, we have made trial, *O. T. Octavius*, of your knowledge and service: and you have not given us yet so good proof of your virtue and prowess therein, that we should put in trust with the managing of greater affairs, A Navy whereof you were Admiral, we rigged and trimmed to your hands this year for three causes: first, to annoy and spoil the sea-coast of *Affrick*: secondly to defend and keep up our behoof the ports and havens of *Italy*: last of all, and above all, to encompass and slay all supplies and new succours together with money munition, and victual, for being transported unto *Antibal* from *Carthage*. If *Octavius* have performed, I say not all these things, but in any one quit himself well, to the good and benefit of the State, Elect him Consul hardily and good leave have you. But if it appear, that while you had the rule of the Armada, all things (that a man would have) passed out of the country unto *Antibal*, with as great safety and security as if the seas had been open and void of enemies: If, I say, the sea-coast of *Italy* hath all this year been more in danger, and subject to sustain harm, than that of *Affrick*: what reason can you allege, wherefore the people of *Rome* should choose you above all others, to oppose as Captain, to confront their enemy *Antibal*. If you were Consul in place already, we would judge it requisite and good to nominate and create a Dictator, according to the example of our forefathers: neither could you take fault or be offended, that there should be found in the City of *Rome* a better warrior and more sufficient than your self. And surely it concerneth no man more than you *O. Octavius*, to see that there be not imposed a burden upon your shoulders under which you should fail and fall down right. Wherefore I advise and exhort you, as much as possibly I can, in electing of Consuls this day, to carry that mind and wit that careful providence, as ye would, in case ye were standing armed in battel array; and to choose out of hand two General Captains, under whose conduct and government ye should presently fight a field: and make choice of such Consuls, unto whom our children were to take the oath of allegiance: at whose commandment, they should come and assemble together, and under whose charge and protection they might willingly serve as foot-soldiers. The pool *Therapsinus*, the plain before *Cinara*, are heavy examples for us to remember: but yet they serve for good precedents unto us, to teach us how to avoid the like mischief another time. So the prerogative Century of the younger and puny sort, was called again to a new scrutiny, and to give their voices again. Whereat when *I. Octavius* began to cry out aloud and say very stoutly, that *Fabius* his desire was to continue Consul still, and therewith grew to be clamorous and troublesome to the assembly: the Consul commanded the Lictors to go unto him, and to lay hold upon him. And forthwith as yet he had not entered into the City, but came down straightwaies into the *Alors* field presently from his journey, he put them in mind, that the knitches of the rods together with the axes within them should be born before him. And in the mean time the prerogative Century began afresh to give their voices: and by it were nominated Consuls *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Marcellus* the third time: and all the Centuries besides without any jarring and variance elected the very same. One of the former Prators likewise was chosen again, namely *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, And other new created, that is to say, *T. Octavius Crassus* the second time. *Q. Fabius* the Consul his son who at that time was Edile of the chair and *P. Cornelius Lentulus*. After the Election of the Prators was ended and finished, there passed an Act and decree of the Senate that *Q. Fulvius* should extraordinarily have the charge of the City, and be Prator there: and that he above all other, when the Consuls were gone forth to the wars should be President and Governor of the City of *Rome*. There fell great rain and much snow that year, whereby the *Tiber* overflowed the fields, overthrow many houses, and overwhelmed much cattle and people, so as they utterly perished.

Thus in the fifth year of the second Punic war, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* the third time, when they entered their Consulship, let the City on thinking and musing of them more than usually had been known. For in many years there had not been the like couple of Consuls. And old men would talk and say, that even so were *Max. Rullus* and *P. Decius* declared Consuls against the Gauls war: and after them likewise, *Papirius* and *Corvinus* against the Samnites and *Brutii*: against the people also of *Lucania* and *Tarentum*.

cellus was created Consul in his absence, while he was with the Army abroad, and *Fabius* being himself present and president of the Election, was ordained to continue (still) in his Consulship. The occasion of the time, the necessity and occurrence of the wars, and the peril and hazard of the whole state were in him as no man looked nearly into the example and precedent to find fault with, all nor had the Consul in any jealousy of ambition and desire of rule: but rather every man commended his noble and haughty mind, who seeing that the Common-wealth stood in need of an excellent Captain, and knowing himself without all question to be the man, made less reckoning and account of the envy and ill will of men, that thereby haply might accrue, than of the good and profit of the Common-wealth. The same day that the Consuls began their office, they assembled the Senators in the Capitoll: and the first thing they did, was a decree, that the Consuls should either cast lots, or agree together between themselves, whether of them two should assemble the people for the election of Censors before he left forward to the army. After this, all they had their authority prolonged and continued still, who were employed abroad with the forces; and their commissions were renewed and sealed again, for to abide in the government of their Provinces: to wit, *T. Gracchus* at *Luceria*, where he abode with the army of the Voluntaries; (*Legionis* in *Luceria* in the Picene country: *M. Pomponius* in the Province of *Gaul* (on this side the *Alps*.) It was enacted also, that of the Prætors of the former year, *Q. Mutius* as Vice-Prætor should govern *Sardinia*; that *M. Valerius* at *Brundisium* should, contrary the river, look to the sea-coasts, and have an eye to all the attempts and enterprises of *Philip* King of the Macedonians, *P. Corn. Scipio* the new Prætor, was appointed to rule the Province of *Sicily*; and *T. Otacilius* to be admiral of the same Navy, which the year before he had the charge of against the Carthaginians.

Many prodigious and strange signs were reported that year, and so much the more as they were believed to be true of the temple and superstitions for of people. Namely that within the chapel of *Salus* in *Lavinium* the Raven, builded their nests. In *Apulia* a green palm tree was on a light fire. At *Mantua* a pool maintained by the overflowing of the river *Mincius*, appeared red with blood. At *Carthage* it rained chalk, and at *Rome* in the beasts market it rained blood. In a village, called *Silvius* arising under the ground, broke out and yielded such abundance of water, that it overflowed, tumbled up and down and carried away (as it had been the stream of a river) divers vessels as pipes, tuns, barrels and things that were in the place. The open and publick hall within the Capitol, the Temple of *Vulcan* in *Mars* field, a nut-tree in the Sabins country, the high street, the wall, and a gate at *Gabii*, were all blasted with lightning and fire from heaven. And by this time other miraculous and monstrous signs were commonly blown abroad, to wit, that the spear of *Mars* in *Prænest* of its own accord, stirred and moved forward: that an ox was heard to speak in *Scitia*: that the Infant within the mothers womb, in the *Marcus* country was heard to cry *to triumph*, at *Spole* a woman turned to be a man, at *Hadria* there appeared an Altar in the sky, and apparitions or shews of men discovered about the same, arrived in white. At *Rome* also within the City was seen, now the old time, a swarm of Bees in the very marketplace: a thing wondered at because it was rare and seldom known. Some there were also, that touched how they desired arms and Legions on the hill *Jugurthum*. Whereupon the City rose up in arms and when they were come into the *Jugurthum*, they said plainly, that there were none there appeared but the ordinary inhabitants of the hill, These prodigious signs by direction from the *Asplices*, i. e. the South-flyers were expiate and the gods pacified with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession and supplication was proclaimed unto all the gods that were shrined at *Rome* and had their chapel there.

After all complements performed, that belonged to the pacification of the gods, the Consuls propoed unto the Senat concerning State-matters and especially about the managing of the wars. Namely, what for es should be prepared, what numbers of souldiers levied, and where they should be bestowed severally. And agreed it was That there should be eighteen Legions employed in the wars, Whereof the Consuls were to take unto them two apiece: the Provinces likewise *N. Gaul*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia* should be guarded each of them with other twin. *Q. Fabius* the Lord Deputy of *Apulia*, was to have two Legions under his hand to command the Province: and *T. Gracchus* other two of voluntary to keep the country about *Luceria*; and *C. Terentius* the Prætor, Consul to have the charge of one in the Picene country: and *M. Valerius* another, for the Navy about *Brundisium*: and last of all, twin were left behind for the guard and defence of the City of *Rome*. For to make out this full number of Legions (if of necessity were to be levied new, And the Consuls were appointed with all convenient speed to enroll them: and likewise to provide an Armada that year of 150 Gallies, together with those ships which ride in the river along the coasts of *Calabria* for the defence of that Country. When the muster was done and the new ships bladd and shot into sea, *Q. Fabius* assembled the Centuries for the election of Censors: wherein were created *M. Attilius* *Regulus* and *P. Furius* *Philus*.

The rumour still increased that *Scipio* was out, and up in arms. Whereupon *T. Otacilius* was commanded to go thither with his fleet. And because there wanted sailors and mariners: the Consuls, by verue of a decree of the Senat published an Edict, That as many as in the time of *L. Æmilius*, and *C. Flaminius* Censors, either themselves or their fathers were enlisted in the Subsidy book from 50000 *Aff*, unto 100000 in good: or who afterwards grew to that worth should find one mariner, and six months pay. Item, That whosoever were rated above 100000 unto 300000 should

should be charged with three mariners, and one years pay. Item, That whosoever were valued in the Censors book between 300000 and 1000000 should allow five mariners. Item, That those above that proportion should let out seven, And every Senat should provide eight mariners, and furnish them with a whole years pay. According to this Edict, the mariners were let out well armed and appointed by their Masters, and having with them beforehand meat dressed and foddren to serve them thirty daies, they were embarked. This is the first time that ever the Roman Navy was furnished with sailors and mariners, at the proper charges of private Citizens.

This extraordinary preparation more than usually, terrified the Campans most of all other, for fear lest the Romans would begin war that year, with laying siege to *Capua*. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors unto *Annibal*, requesting him to come nearer unto *Capua* with his forces. For why? at *Rome* there were new armies levied, sent to assist that City: and the Romans were not discontented more with the revolt of any than of them. And forasmuch as this message was delivered in such haste and fear, *Annibal* thinking it good to make speed, left the Romans prevented him, dislodged and removed from *Arpi*, and encamped upon *Tifusa* over *Capua* in the fort, where he kept of old. Then, leaving the Numidians and Spaniards behind him both to guard the Camp, and also to defend *Capua*, he went down with the rest of his army to the Lake *Avernus*, pretending in shew there to sacrifice, but in very deed to lodge and toll it *Pæth* and the garrison there for to rebell. *Mævius* was no sooner advertized that *Annibal* was departed from *Arpi*, and in his return to *Campania*; but he immediately and day, and never staid, until he was come again, and repaired to his army. And withall, he gave order and direction unto *T. Gracchus*, to remove with his power from *Luceria*, and to draw near to *Beneventum*: likewise unto *Q. Fabius* the Prætor, (who was the Consul his son) to supply the room of *G. Cellus* at *Luceria*. At the same time the two Prætors took their journey and went into *Sicily*, *P. Cornelius* to the army there on land, and *Othacilius* to keep the sea-coast, and to be admiral of the Navy: and the rest spread them every one into their several Provinces. They also who had their authority and government continued ruled the same countries that they did before.

Whiles *Annibal* abode at the Lake *Avernus*, there came unto him from *Tarentum*, five noble young Gentlemen (Roman associates) which had been taken prisoners (some at the pool *Thrasymene*, others at *Cannæ*, whom he had sent home in the same manner of courtesy, as he had shewed ever to all the Allies of the Romans. These Gentlemen, in remembrance of his favours and benefits, made report unto him, That they had periwaded and induced a great part of the youth of *Tarentum*, to entertain rather the amity and alliance of *Annibal*, than of the people of *Rome*: and for this intent they were sent Embassadors from them, to request in their name, that he might please him to come nearer with his forces to *Tarentum*. For they say, if they might but once see from out of *Tarentum* his standard and ensigns, and him self near encamped, the City would without delay be surrendered up into his hands. For the younger people had the commons at their beck and commandment, and the commons ruled the whole state of *Tarentum* at their pleasure. *Annibal* after he had commended and thanked them, and withall laden them with many fair and great promises, willed them to return home, to hasten and set forward, and effect these intended designments, saying, that he would be there in good and convenient time. With these hopes the Tarentins took their leave, and departed. *Annibal* himself was wonderfully desirous to be Master of *Tarentum*. He saw it was a noble City and a wealthy: situated also by the sea-side, and a very commodious Port, looking and lying toward *Macedonia*: and well he wist that King *Philip* (if he should pass over into *Italy*, seeing the Romans were possessed of *Brundisium*) would arrive at this haven. When he had performed the sacrifice for which he thither came, and (whiles he made his abode there) foraged all the Territory of *Came*, even as far as the Cape and gave a camp, do to the fort and garrison there. There were six thousand of them within the town: and the place not only by natural situation strong, but also fortified by industry of man. *Annibal* having staid there three daies, and assailed the fort and the garrison on every side, finding he could not prevail nor effect any thing, went forward from thence, and proceeded to the walling of the Territory of *Naples*, upon anger, rather than any hope of gaining the City. The Commons of *Nola*, who long time were discontented with the Romans, and at deadly feud with their own Senators: upon his coming into the territory and confines to near unto them, began to rise in a commotion. Whereupon there came Embassadors unto *Annibal*, requiring him to advance to *Nola*, upon assured promise, that the town should be delivered into his hands. But *Mæcelius*, who was sent unto by the Nobles prevented this their plot and designment: and in one day he reached to *Stessula* from *Cales*, notwithstanding he made some stay to ferry over the river *Volturnus*. And to the next night he sent into *Nola* 600 footmen, and 300 horse, for to aid and defend the Senat. And like as the Consul bettered himself with all speed and diligence, to make *Nola* sure to him beforehand, so *Annibal* contrariwise temporized, being not so ready now to credit the Nolans: as having twice before given them like attempt, and to no purpose in the end, and therefore he trifled out the time, and made small haste.

At the same time also, *Q. Fabius* the Consul came against *Castellum* which was kept by the garrison of the Carthaginians, to see if he could surprize it. And to *Beneventum* at one time (as if they had been so agreed) came on the one side, *Hannibal* from the Bruttii, with a great power of foot and horse; and on another side, *Gracchus* from *Luceria*: who entered the town full. From whence so soon

soon as he heard that *Hanno* lay encamped within three miles of the City, by the river *Calentia*, and there waited the Country, he himself issued, and pitched his tents within a mile of the enemy: where he assembled all his souldiers together, purposing to make a speech unto them. He had with him the Legions that consisted most of voluntaries, who already two years before, had been more willing to deserve their freedom in silent manner, than to challenge and demand it with open mouth. Howbeit, he perceived when he departed out of the winter harbors, that they began to murmur and gremble in the army when they marched: and to complain in this wise. What shall we never serve in the quality and condition of freemen? Whereupon he had written unto the Senate, and shewed unto them not so much what they desired, as what they desired to have: certifying them, that unto that day they had done him good and valiant service: and wanted nothing but only their freedom, but they might go for true and lawfull souldiers. Whereupon the Lords of the Senat had put it unto his discretion for to do by them what he thought was expedient for the Common-weal. Thereupon, before that he should join battell with the enemy, he pronounced these words before them all, and said: "That now the time was come, of obtaining and acquiring that liberty, which so long they hoped after. For the next morrow they were to assault their enemies with banner displayed, and to fight in a plain and open ground, where without fear of any ambush the triall might be made with more force and true valour: Whosoever therefore can bring me the head of an enemy him my pleasure & will is to make free immediately: and who for leish greed and reciteth, him will I chastise as a bondslave ought to be punished. Now every man hath his fate, and condition lying in his own hands: and of your freedom I am not only myself will assure you, but for further warrant ye have the allowance of *Marcellus*, the *Col*, and generally of all the *LL* of the Council: whose advice I sought, and who committed unto my hand, the ordering of your liberty. And withall he read the Councils letters, and the decree of the Senat in that behalf. Whereat they let up a mighty cry in token of their assent and approbation, and called for battell: and earnestly urged to give the signal out of hand. Then *Gracchus* having pronounced the next day for battell, dismissed the assembly. The souldiers were joyous especially such as were to have their freedom in reward of one daies service, and bestowed them of that day in making their armor and weapons ready. The morrow after so soon as the trumpet began to sound: they were the first of all other that presented themselves before the Generals pavilion, well appointed and ready to fight: and by the sun rising *Gracchus* led forth his men into the field in order of battell. The enemies for their parts were nothing behind, but forward to encounter them. They were in number seventeen thousand of footmen most of them *Brutti* and *Lucans*: of horsemen, twelve hundred: among whom there were very few *Italians*, the rest were in manner all *Numidians* and *Moors*. The fight was sharp, and continued long, and for four houres was not seen which side had the better. No one thing else troubled the Romans more, than that their enemies heads, which were the prizes to redeem the souldiers liberty. For as any had killed their enemies lustily, they were fain full with much ado to cut off their heads: within the trouble some press and tumult, and so to lose time: and after that by reason that their right hands were employed and occupied with holding the same heads, it fell out that the best souldiers gave over fighting, and the feeble daffards and earthen cowed: only were to maintain the conflict. Which when the Marshalls of the field and Colonels reported unto *Gracchus*, and namely that there was not a souldier of the enemies standing that was wounded and hurt any more: but that they lay along were hacked and hewed as it were by butchers: and that his own souldiers instead of swords, had their enemies heads in their hands: he commanded in all haste, that upon a signal given, they should fling away their heads from them, and charge afresh upon the enemies. For their valor and prowess (such he) was well enough seen already, and evidently testified, and so long as they were so hardy men, and bare themselves so manfully they should not need to doubt of their liberty. Then the conflict began to be renewed and withall the horsemen charged the enemies where the *Numidians* received with equall valour: in so much as the fight of the Cavalry was as bravely performed, as the other of the Infantry: whereupon once again the victory seemed doubtful, in which part it would incline: while in both hosts the Generals reproached and debated the adverse part. *Gracchus* said that the *Brutti* and *Lucans* were too often vanquished and subdued by the Roman ancestors: and *Hanno* again girded at the Romans, calling them bondslaves, and souldiers let loose out of prison and houses of correction. At the last, *Gracchus* declared aloud, and said, They were not to hope at all for their liberty, unless that day their enemies were discomfited and put to flight. This one word of his at length set their blood in such an heat, that they raised a fresh shout, & as if they had been cast again in a new mould, they charged upon the enemies so violently, that they could no longer be resisted and withstood. First, they that fought in the vanguard of the Carthaginians were put out of order: then they about their standards and ensigns: and last of all, the whole battell was driven back and gave ground. Whereupon they fairly turned their backs, and fled to fall one upon another into their Camp, in such fear and fright, that not so much as at the very gates, nor upon the rampier, they staid once, and turned again to make head: so as the Romans following them hard at the heels into their camp as it were in one train pell-mell made a new skirmish even within the rampier of their enemies. Where the fight was not so cumbersome, by reason of the tightness of the room wherein they were pent, but the massacre and execution was as cruel and bloody. The prisoners also that were among the enemies, in this confused conflict and tumult, joyined themselves and stuck close together: and having caught up some weapons,

A helped forward the victory: and either charging upon the backs of the Carthaginians flew them, or else hindered them in their flight and running away. So of that great army, there were not all out two thousand (and the most part of them horsemen) that escaped with the General himself: all the rest were either slain or taken prisoners: and of military enigns were carried away forty five twain. Of the Victors, there died fift upon two thousand. All the spoils, but only the prisoners, was granted to the souldiers. The cattell also was reserved, as many as within thirty daies the right owners could justly make claim unto for their own. When they were returned laden with booties and pillage into the Camp there were almost 4000 of the voluntary souldiers, who had fought but faintly, and brake not into the Camp with the rest: who for fear of punishment seized a little hill not far from the Camp, and kept it for their hold. But the morrow after, being let from thence by the Colonels, they repaired again to the camp at what time as *Gracchus* had summoned his souldiers to an assembly. Where, after that the Pro-Consul first had rewarded his old souldiers with military gifts, according to each one his prowess and good service in that battell: then as concerning the voluntaries, he said thus much, That he had rather they were all commended by him good and bad one with another: than that one of them that day should taste of any punishment: and therefore he pronounced them all free in the name of God to the benefit, happiness, and felicity, both of Common-weal and also of themselves. At which word, they lifted up their voices aloud with exceeding cheerfulness and alacrity: and one while they clapped and embraced one another in their arms, with gratulation and great joy: another while again, they held their hands toward heaven, wishing and praying at the gods hands, all good blessing for the people of *Rome*, and for *Gracchus* especially. Then (quoth *Gracchus*) Before that I had made you all alike, and to have equal part in the right and priviledge of freedom, I would not let upon any of you, either the mark of a stout and hardy souldier, or the note of a faint-hearted and feebly coward. But now that I have discharged my self of the trust committed unto me by the Common-weal to the end, that all difference between prowess & cowardice, should not be forgotten altogether and perish: I will take express order that the names of them, whose conscience accused them of faint fighting, and avoiding the hazard of battell, and therefore were withheld themselves apart, be brought unto me. And when they are cited and called forth every one by his name, I will compell them to take a corporall oath (quoth he) that unless it be upon tickles, so long as they shall continue in soldiery, they neither ear nor drink but it standing upon their feet. And this punishment (I am sure) you will willingly take in good part: when ye shall consider better of it, and see that you could not have had an easier note of disgrace and shame, for your false hearts and slender service. Then he gave the signal to truss up bag and baggage, and founded the remove, and to dislodge: and thus the souldiers carrying and driving before them their booties, all the way disposing themselves so merrily and festive days, and not from fighting a bloody battell. All the people of *Beneventum* came forth in great numbers to meet them at the gates, welcomed the souldiers, bad them joy, embraced them and invited them to their homes, to give them entertainment and lodging. The boords were spread in every mans court-yard, and furnished with store of viands: they willed them to come and make merry with them, and requested *Gracchus* to give his souldiers leave to feast and make good cheer. And *Gracchus* was content, but upon this condition, that they should all eat their meals abroad in the open street. Then all things were brought forth, and set upon the tables at every mans door. The voluntaries took their repast and refection either with their caps on their heads, or else covered their rown with white wooll, some sitting, some standing: waiting and serving one another at the table, and eat their meat and fed with them together. This was such a worthy sight and solemnity that *Gracchus* after he was returned to *Rome*, caused the representation and remembrance of the celebration of this day, to be drawn and portrayed in colours and the picture to remain in the Temple of the goddess *Liberty*, which his father caused to build in the mount *Aventine*, of certain fines and forfeits and Falterswards there dedicated it.

While these matters thus passed at *Beneventum*, *Annibal* having spoiled and harried the territory about *Naples*, removed toward *Nola*, and there encamped before the town. Whom when the Consul understood to be coming, he sent for *Pomponius* the Pro-Prætor, together with that army which lay encamped above *Suessula* and provided to meet with the enemy, minding presently to bid him battell. He sent out *Claudius Nero* with the strength of his horsemen in the dead time of the night at a back gate, that was farthest from the enemy, giving him in charge to cast about closely, and fetch a compass, and fair and softly to follow the enemy, as he marched: and when he perceived the battell was begun, then to come forward, and set upon him behind on his back. But whether it were that *Nero* mislead of the way, or having not time enough, could not put this policy in execution, I know not. In his absence the armies joyined battell, wherein (no doubt) the Romans had the better hand. Howbeit, for default that the horsemen were not there in due time, the order of the direction failed, and took no effect. And notwithstanding that the enemies gave ground and retreated, yet *Marcellus* durst not follow hot upon them, but founded the retreat to his own men, being in a good way of victory. Yet were there by report above 2000 of the enemies slain that day, but of Romans under 400. And about the sun set, *Nero* who all the day and night past had tired horse and man, and done no good, and now returned, without so much as a sight of the enemy, was sharply rebuked of the *Col*. in so much, that he gave him this

and *Hannibal*. Then he sent out the Numidians and Moors, to fetch booties and prizes from out of the Salentine country and all the woods and chafes next unto *Apulia* from whence they drive of other cattell small fere; but of hories especially they brought away great numbers, of which there were four thousand divided amongst the horsemen to be handled, broken, and made gentle.

The Romans seeing there was like to be war in *Sicily*, & the same not lightly to be regarded; that the death of the Tyrant there, rather gave the Syracusians good Captains than wrought any change in their minds, or alteration in the cause; assigned unto *Al. Marcellus*, one of the Consuls, that he should go to govern. Presently upon the murder of *Hieronymus*, first the soldiers in the Leontine country, began to mutine and make an uprore, and boldly spake and said, That the Kings death should be espied, and his obsequies solemnized with sacrificing the blood of conspirators. But afterwards, when they heard often iterated the sweet name of liberty and freedom restored unto them; and that there was good hope that the soldiers should have a larger deal amongst them out of the Kings Treasures, and be under the command of Captains of better quality, and having besides all this a bedroil rehearsed unto them of the Tyrant his cruelty and foul facts, and of mortellity and outlandishness their affections were so altered that they suffered the body of their King to lie above ground unburied, whom a little before, they so greatly desired and wished for. Now as concerning the conspirators, whiles the rest of them remained behind to assure and protect themselves of the army, *Theodorus* and *Sofus* took the Kings horses and rode post, as hard as certainty could be *aching* (not to surprize upon a sudden all his followers and favourites (who knew nothing of that which was done) and fall upon them at unawares; but they were prevented not only by the time (which above all other things in such cases is most swift) but also by a counter one of the Kings servants. Whereupon *Andromedorus* had seized beforehand of that part of the City which he called the Island, together with the Cattle and all other places that he could conceiv with him were thought of any good importance; and then he fortified with good guards, *Theodorus* and *Sofus* being entered within the City at *Hieropolis* after first setting in the twy-light and during part of the evening; and shewing the Kings royal robes all embrewed with blood, and the crown and attire bewail of his head, he passed through *Theia*, and called aloud unto the people, to fight not on for their liberty and to arm themselves, and willed them to repair into *Theia*. The people some of them ran out into the streets, others stood in their entries and porches, and looked out at the windows from within their houses, and asked what the matter might be; they place themselves with torch and candle-light, and was filled with sundry garbolls and hurlyburlys. As many as were in arms gathered together in the open places of the City; those that were unarmed, took down off the Temple of *Jup. Olympian* the spoils of the Gauls and the Illyrians, which the people of *Syracuse* had given as a present to *K. Hiero*, and which he set aloft for a memorial praying unto *J. Jove*, that he would vouchsafe them this gracious favour, as to bestow those sacred weapons & harness upon them that meant to arm themselves therewith, for the defence of their country, and the maintenance of the Churches and shrines of the gods; & for the recovery of their liberty. This multitude also joyined with the *corps de guards*, that in the principal quarters of the City were bestowed in places convenient. But *Andromedorus* amongst other places that he fortified made fire also with strong guards of armed men the publicke garners of the City within the Island. There was a place enclosed round about with four-square stone, and built strongly like a fortress; this was possessed by the youth that had been appointed for to guard and defend that quarter; and they let messengers into *Syracusa* to signify that the garners and the corn were kept by them to the behoof of the Senat. And on the morrow at the break of day, the whole people assembled as unarmed assembled together in *Arcadia* within the Palace, And there before the altar of *Concordia* which in that place stood erected, one of the principal and chief Citizens, named *Phormion*, made an Oration unto them all, with frankness of speech enough, tending unto liberty and yet seasoned with modesty & moderation in this wise: Men, quoth he; that have experienced contentment and other indigencies, fall to abhor the same, and their former miseries; and from as known evils. But as for civil disorder, what calamities & miseries it bringeth with it, the Citizens of *Syracuse* have heard their fathers tell, and not seen and tasted themselves. That ye have been ready to take up arms and weapons in hand, I commend you for it; but I would

commend you more than, if ye used them not, unless ye be driven thereto by extreme necessity. For the present I hold it good, and my counsel is, that Embassadors be sent unto *Andromedorus*, to intimate unto him, yea, and to require and charge him, to submit himself unto the Senat and people, and by them to be ordered: to let open the gates of the Island, to put away from about himself guard, and deliver up the cattle and garrison. But in case he intend under the pretence of being guardian or protector to the kingdom of another, thereby to usurp it to his own use; I would be given to understand, by mine advice that we will seek to recover our liberty out of the hands of *Andromedorus* more fiercely and forcibly than from *Hieronymus*. And so presently upon this assembly embassadors were sent. Then the Senat went together and sat in Council; for, during the reign of *Hiero*, there was for an ordinary publicke Council of State: to after his death unto that day, the Senators were neither called together, nor their advice taken or sought in any manner. When the Embassadors were come unto *Andromedorus* and had delivered their message, he was himself (verily) for his own part moved with the generall consent of the Citizens; but especially when he considered, that among other quarters of the City possessed by the ad-

* The City of
Syracusa was
divided into
four parts,
namely *Theia*,
Neapolis,
the Island,
and the City
proper.
* *Theia* was
the chief
city, and
the seat of
the government.
* *Neapolis* was
the port, and
the seat of
commerce.
* The Island
was the
garners, and
the seat of
the army.

A verie side, that one part also of the Island, which was the strongest, was betrayed (as it were) and held out against him. But when the Embassadors called still upon him to come forth, his wife *Democritus*, daughter of King *Hiero*, puffed up still with the proud mind and naughty stomach of a Prince, and full of the vain humour and spirit of a woman put him oftentimes in mind of a saying, that *Dionis* the Tyrant had evermore in his mouth, namely, "That a man should not ride on hories, that *Dionis* the Tyrant had evermore in his mouth, namely, but beled fair and softly a foot-
back to be deposed from his royall dignity and estate of tyranny, but beled fair and softly a foot-
pace, and go to that as a bear to the stake. An eafie matter quoth she; for it is for one to yield and
"sorge the possession of high place and honour, and a thing that may be done in the cutting of an
"hand, whensoever one will: but to compels and attain thereto is a right hard matter, and of all
B "other most difficult. You were best therefore to borrow some respite of time of the Embassadors,
"for to take farther deliberation of this main point, and in the mean while, to use the advantage
"thereof, to send for the Souldiers out of the Leontine country: unto whom, no doubt, if you
"would promise a reward out of the Princes treasure, you shall be Lord of all. This perillous un-
happy counsel of a woman *Andromedorus* neither despised nor rejected: together not yet presently
accepted and embraced: supposing it a better and fairer course, if he meant to aspire unto high
dignity and great puissance, for the present to temporize and give place unto the necessity of the
time. And therefore he willed them to carry back unto the Senat this answer from him. That he
submitted himself, and would be ordered & set down by the Senat and the people. The morrow
after, so soon as it was day-light, he caused the gates of the Island to be set open, & shewed himself
C in the market-place of *Arcadia*, where he attended up unto the altar of *Concordia* from which the
day before, *Phormion* had made a speech: unto the people. He began his Oration with an excuse of
his late coming and long stay behind, and craved pardon of the people: alledging, "That he had kept
"the gates shut, not because he meant to separate his own affairs from the State, and not to take of *Andromedorus*
"such part as the City took; but when it was once drawn he feared what would be the end
"and issue of murders and massacres, and whether men would lay their hands, when there was
"assurance of liberty effected (as being contented with the death only of the Tyrant) for whether,
"as many as either in blood and kindred or in affinity and alliance, or in other offices or service,
"were toward the King, and his Court, should be counted culpable in the fault of another & so like-
"wise have their throats cut. For after that, quoth he, I understood once, that they who had de-
D "livered and set free their country were minded and willing to save & preserve it, thus enfranchi-
"sed; and that there was consulting on all hands indifferently for the good of the State, I made no
"longer doubt of the matter but to yield both mine own person and also all that ever was under
"my hand (as committed unto me upon trust and fidelity) unto my native country: now that he,
"who put all into my hand, is through his own folly & outrage overthrown and brought to con-
"fusion. Then turning to the murderers of the tyrant, and by name calling unto *Theodorus* and *Sofus*,
"A noble and memorable piece of service ye have already done, quoth he; but trust me truly,
"your glory in this behalf is begun only, and not thoroughly finished and performed: nay, a great
"danger is yet behind, unless ye see to the general concord and unity of all parts, that the com-
"mon liberty of the City, turn not into pride and insolency beyond all measure.

E After this speech ended, he laid down the keys of the gates, and of the Kings treasure, at their feet. And so for that day, when the people were dismissed from the assembly, with joy and mirth they went in procession and supplication with their wives and children, round about all the Churches & Chappels of their gods. The day following the solemn election was held for the creation of Prætors. And first, before all others, *Andromedorus* was chosen, and the rest for the most part, the very murderers of the Tyrant. They elected also two that were absent to wit, *Sopater* and *Drometes*. Who being advertized of all matters that passed at *Syracuse*, delivered up the Kings treasure which lay in the Leontine country, and was now brought unto *Syracuse*, into the hands of the Treasurers: who for the same purpose were created. Likewise that which was in the Island, and in *Arcadia* was committed over unto their custody. That part also of the wall, which divided the Island from the rest of the City, and was supposed too strong a bar between wits by common consent cast down and rased. And as their minds were thus affected and inclined to procure and maintain liberty, so all other matters forced futable and followed after accordingly.

Hippocrates and *Epidetes*, when tidings came of the Tyrants death (which *Hippocrates* would faine have had concealed and therefore slew the messenger that brought news thereof) being forsaken of the souldiers, returned to *Syracuse*: supposing for the present, that to be the safest course they could take. Where, because they would grow into no suspicion nor to be noted to seek for some opportunity and occasion of change and alteration in the State, first they presented themselves before the Prætors and Governors of the City, and so by their mediation, they had access to the Senat. They gave out, "That they had been sent from *Annibal* unto *Hieronymus* G "as unto a friend and confederate, and had yielded obedience unto him, as they were willed by "their own Generall and Commander. Now their desire was, to return again unto *Annibal*. But "forasmuch as they might not travell in safety, for the Roman forces, that ranged all over "Sicily, they craved a convoy and sufficient guard to conduct them, as far as to *Locri* in *Sicily*: "assuring them, that by this small courtesy and desert of theirs, they should reap great thanks of "Annibal, and come into high favour with him. The suit was soon obtained. For desirous they "were, that those Cavaliers that used to lead the King, and were expert and skillfull besides in war, "and therewith needy and audacious should be sent away: but they made not so good speed to
put

The Oration
of
Andromedorus.

put this their desire in execution as they should have done. For in the mean season, the young and lusty martial men, and such as ever had conversed with the soldiers, went up and down one while to them, another while to the fugitive strangers that were revolted. For who for the most part were sailors and sea men that came from the Romans; yea, and lorted themselves with the belief and most abject persons of the Commoners, spreading tales, and whispering into their ears sundry suspicious matters of crime against the Senators and great men of the Nobility, laying that they plotted and practised cloiely under hand nothing else, but that *Syracuse*, under a colour of reconciliation and accord should be reduced to the obedience of the Romans; and then, the slide and faction, and some few with them that are of council, to renew the association, might be Lords, and tyrannize over the rest. By this means there flocked multitudes, every day more than, either to *Syracuse*: whose ears were tickled, and itched still to hear his furnishes, and were capable enough to give credit thereto. And they gave not only *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, but *Andronodorus* also good hope of an alteration, and a new world. For he being at length overcome with the importunate suggestions of his wife, who ever put into his head, That now was the only time to usurp and take upon him the rule of the State, while all things were troubled, and in a confusion, upon their new and unknown liberty: while the soldiers were presented in their way, to be dealt withal, and daily maintained and led out of the Kings Exchequer; and while those captains sent from *Amibul*, by reason of their acquaintance with the soldiers, were present to let forward and further his designments: first therefore acquainted *Themistius*, who had married *Gelo* his daughter with his complot: and after a few daies (full unadvisedly) imparted his mind also, into one *Aspion* Actor of Tragedies, whom he used afor time to make privy unto his other secrets. This *Aspion* was well born, and defended of a worshipful house, a man in good place and of honest reputation: and his profession (for among the Greeks it is reputed no matter of shame to play either in Tragedies or Comedies) was no blot either to his birth, or disgrace to his calling: and therefore as one who made more reckoning of his duty to his country, than of private friendship, bewrayed & disclosed all the treason unto the Prætors. Who finding by good proofs and certain evidences that this was no forged and counterfeit information, after consultation had with the Ancients of the Council, they by warrant and direction, set a guard of armed men about the door of the Senat House, and to loom as *Themistius* and *Andronodorus* were entered in place, slew them outright. And when there began some uprore upon this fact, which in shew seemed very horrible and hainous, especially to all the rest that knew not the cause: at length they appeased the tumult, and caused silence, and brought the informer into the Council House, that had detected the intended treason: who declared all things orderly in particular: namely, that this conspiracy was devised and sprung first from the marriage of *Harmonia* the daughter of *Gelo*, who was wedded unto *Themistius*: that divers auxiliary soldiers of Africans and Spaniards were appointed and provided to massacre the Prætors, and other principal Citizens: that their goods were promised unto the murderers to be ransacked and rifled: that besides, there was a band of mercenary soldiers (such as were wont to be at beck, and ready to execute the commandment of *Andronodorus*) set in a readines to seize the Island again, and keep it to his use. And when he had laid every thing abroad in order, with all circumstances, what the practices were, and by whom they were to be performed and executed, and shewed before their eyes most plainly the whole conspiracy: & namely, what persons and what forces should have been employed. Then the whole body of the Senat were likewise verily perswaded that they had deceived in such an end, and whereas jolly murdered as *Themistius*. But without the Council House door the confused multitude, composed of all sorts of people who were doubtfull of the matter, and knew not what to make thereof, cried out. And albeit they menaced and threatened before the entry and porch of the Senat, yet at the sight of the dead bodies of the Conspirators, lying before their face, they were affrighted and soon hushed to as with great silence they followed the whole body of the Commons to the public place of Assembly. Unto whom, *Sopaters* by order from the Senat, and his fellow Prætors, was commanded to make an Oration.

He began formally to inveigh against *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, (as they that accuse men at the bar) and ripped up their former life past, charging them with all the wicked deeds and impious facts, committed since the death of *Hiero*: "For what (quoth he) did *Hieronymus*, nay, what could he do of himself, so long as he was but a child and stripling, and scarcely come all the while he lived to have any hair on his face? His officers and guardians, were they that ruled all, and managed the kingdom at their pleasures, but so, as the blame and heavy load lay upon him. Who if they had perished either before *Hieronymus*, or at least while together with him, they had been but well enough served. But they, who long ago had deserved to die, and for whom the gallows had already groined, ceased not still after the death of the tyrant, to devise and plot new mischiefs, one in the neck of another. At the first, openly in the sight of the world, *Andronodorus* by shutting the gates of the Island, entered by way of inheritance upon the kingdom, and sought to seize in his own right, and immediately their apparant, upon those things that he held under the Prince, only during his monage. Afterwards, being betrayed by them that were in the Island, & besieged round about by the whole City (which was possessed fully of the *Acradina*) seeing that in vain he had attempted to be King by a secret and open force: he sought means now to aspire thereto secretly, and by cunning sleights. Neither could he be so much as reclaimed, and won by any favours and honours done unto him: who being himself a traitor to the free-

Syracuse his speech is the preface of Syracuse.

A. dom of the state, was notwithstanding advanced to be Prætor, among other redemers of the liberty of their country. But no marvel it was (quoth he) that these men were of this haughty spirit, and longed to be Kings; for they had to their wives two princely dames, the daughters, one of King *Hiero*, and the other of his son *Gelo*.

At these words, the people from all parts of the assembly began to cry out with one voice, that neither of them both were worthy to live, nor any one besides of the Kings stock and lineage ought to remain upon the face of the earth. See the nature and disposition of the multitude: either they serve basely, or rule proudly. Liberty that is the mean between, they have neither the skill to despise with reason, or the grace to entertain in measure. Now, there wanted not (ye may be sure as at all times else) ready instruments and firebrands, to help forward and kindle more anger, such as seeing the Commons discontented already, and bloodily minded of themselves, put them forward to murder and massacre. As it appeared then: For immediately as the Prætors put up a bill, that all the Kings stock should be rooted out, and the whole line utterly extinguished: before in manner that it was all read out and published, it passed clear, and was granted. And presently there were sent out certain persons from the Prætors that murdered *Democrita* and *Harmonia* the daughters of King *Hiero*, and *Gelo*, the two wives of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*. Now there was another daughter of *Hiero*, named *Heraclea*, wife to *Sopippus*, who having been sent as Ambassador from *Hieronymus* to King *Ptolomæus*, whose life in voluntary exile, and lived not with his wife. She having an inkling given her aforhand and knowing that the murderers were coming down toward her, took her two daughters, virgins: and together, with their hair loose hanging down their shoulders, and in other most poor array and ruiul habit able to have moved pity and compassion, they were led into a privat Oratory or Chappell unto their house-gods, to save themselves. The mother seeing the murderers fell to entreating them most piously, and recommended unto them the late remembrance of her father *Hiero*, and her brother *Gelo*: "Beseeching them not to suffer her (an innocent and guiltless person) to fire the worse, and be punished upon hatred that was born unto her nephew *Hieronymus*. As for me (quoth she) I reaped no good by his Reign and Kingdom, unless it were the banishment and absence of my husband: and as by the life of *Hieronymus* my fortune was not so good as my sisters: to alter he was murdered and dead; any cause is not to bad, nor like unto hers. Moreover, and besides in case *Andronodorus* had effected his designments, my sister should have been a Queen, and reigned together with her husband: but as for me, I must have been a subject and servant with the rest. Again, if there were any messengers sent unto *Sopippus* to report the death of *Hieronymus*, and the restitution of *Syracuse* to liberty: who can make doubt, but that forthwith he would be embarked and take the seas, and return again into his country? But how much are men put besides their hope, and deceived of their expectation? And who would ever have thought to have seen in a free state his wife and children in danger to lose their lives? For wherein do we hinder the common liberty, or the course of laws? What danger can come to any person from us, one devoted lone woman, and in manner a widow, and two young maidens livings as Orphans fatherless? And if it be said again that there was indeed no fear of hurt to be imagined from us: but only the Kings blood and kindred was odious in the eyes of the people: Then, quoth she, let us be sent away far from *Syracuse* and *Sicily*, and confined over to *Alexandria*, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their own father. But when they would neither be dear to her words nor endure their hearts to pity and compassion: then because she would not spend longer time in vain (for now the law some of them drawing their swords forth) she gave out all entreating for her self, and besought them instantly to be good yet, to the young ladies, and spare their lives, unto whom being of that age, even the very enemies in their heat of anger forbore other violence, and that seeing they were to be revenged of tyrants they would not play the tyrants themselves, and commit that wickedness, which they seemed to hate in others. Amidst these words the murderers (sent from the Prætors) pulled her forth of the inward and most secret place of the chappell, and cut her throat: and when they had so done, they assailed and fell upon the maidens, besprent with the blood of their mother: who for sorrow of heart and fear together being pail themselves and out of their wits, and as it were in a furious fit of frenzy against them, and got out of the Chappell: minding, if they could have escaped forth, and recovered the street, to set the whole City on an uprore. And so flitted for themselves, poor wench by running to and fro within the house, (which was not large and spacious) that for a good while they escaped among the thickest of so many armed men, and oftentimes avoided their reaches, and caught no hurt: yea, and when they had caught hold of them, notwithstanding they were to struggle with so many hands, and those so strong, yet they wound away from them all: until at length after they had received many a wound, and filled every place with blood, they fainted and

Gund down, and yielded up their innocent spirits. This murder, no doubt, was of it self pitifull; but much more lamentable, by occasion of a present accident. For straight after came a messenger with express commendment, to spare the women, and not to kill them: for that upon a sudden the hearts of the people relented, and enclined to mercy. But when they heard there was so quick dispatch made of execution, that neither they had time to bethink themselves and repent, nor space to cool upon their heart, they fell pity and compassion into an extrem fit of anger and cholere. The multitude thereupon began to mutter and murmur, and called to have an election of Prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius* (for they were both of them Prætors:) which new

The pitifull words of dame *Heraclea*.

The tragical murder of *Laodamia* and her two daughters, young virgins.

new election was not like to fall out in the end to the good liking and contentment of the other Prætors in place. So a day was set down, and proclaimed for this election. At which time it happened that beyond all mens expectation, one from the farthest part of the assembly nominated *Epicides*: and then another from thence named *Hippocrates*. After which the same voices came thick and threefold till so as it seemed the multitude would wholly go that way. The people there assembled were a confused sort intermingled, as well with a number of souldiers, as of a company of Citizens and Commoners; yea, and many of them were strangers fugitive, thrust among, such as rather than their life desired a general change and alteration. The Prætors at first dissembled all, and would seem to take no knowledge thereof: but thought it best to put off the matter to a farther day: yet overcame at last with the common accord and consent of the people: and I fearing with all a mutiny and sedition pronounced and declared the men aforementioned for Prætors. Neither would they at first hand so soon as they were created, let that abroach which was in their mind and desire to effect: notwithstanding they were displeased and discontented much, both for that there had been Embassadors dispatched unto *Appius Claudius*, about a truce for ten daies: and also when it was obtained, that there were others addressed to treat for the renewing of the ancient league with the Romans.

At the same time (*Ap. Claudius*) the Roman General lay at *Murgantia* with an Armada of 100 galleys, waiting there to hear what was the event of the troubles which arose upon the murder of the tyrants: and how far forth men would proceed upon this their new and unwonted liberty. And much about those daies, when as the Syracusan Embassadors were sent from *Appius* unto *Marcellus* now coming into *Sicily*. *Marcellus* himself after he heard the conditions of peace, thought they would grow to some good agreement and conclusion in the end: and therefore sent other Embassadors to *Syracuse*, personally to debate and confer in the presence of the Prætors, concerning the renewing of the League aforesaid. But by that time, they found not the City in the same quiet time and peaceable state. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, alter news came that the Carthaginian Navy was arrived and rid at anchor under the bay of *Pachinus*, confidently, and without all fear, seized in the cars one while of the mercenary souldiers, another while of the fugitive traitors, many take injuries against their brethren in Office, and namely, that they went fugitive to betray *Syracuse* to the Romans. But *Appius* began to keep his Armada at anchor in the very mouth of the river, sitting to know what heart and hope they of the contrary faction had, to effect that which they intended. Much credit was given (as it should seem) unto those slander and lewd suggestions: inasmuch as at the first, the multitude ran to the waters side in a great hurry and tumultuous manner to hinder their landing, if haply they attempted it. In this troublesome confusion of all things, it was thought good, that the people should meet together to deliberate what was best to be done. In which assembly, whiles some drew one way, others haied and pulled another way and were at the point to mutine and grow to a sedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principall and chief Citizens, made a speech to very good purpose for preservation of the public peace, and thus he said: "Never was there any City nearer, either to hope of assured safety, or to fear of utter destruction than this of ours at this present. For if all would go one way together, and with one accord either encline to the Romans, or bend to the Carthaginians, there were M
not a City under the cope of heaven, whose state were more happy and fortunate than ours. But in as much we are distracted, and the Common-wealth divers waies, there would not be more bitter and cruel war between the Syracusians and the Romans, than among the Syracusians themselves: when within one and the same walls, there should be banding one against another, and each side have their foes, their armor, and their Captains of their own. And therefore we ought of all hands to endeavor what we can, that all may be of one mind and draw in the same line. As for the main point now in question, Whether society and alliance be the better and more commodious, the Romans or the Carthaginians, is a matter of far less moment and importance than to be consulted and studied long upon. Howbeit, in choosing our friends and allies, we are to be directed by the authority and act of *Hiero*, rather than of *Eueronymus*: and to prefer that amity which we have tried for fifty years in much felicity, above a friendship for the present unknown, and sometime heretofore found unfaithfull. It maketh somewhat also, to resolve upon this course, that in case we should deny peace and alliance to the Carthaginians, we need not presently go to war with them: but with the Romans we must out of hand make account either of peace, or else of hot wars. This speech of his the less that it favoured of faction, partiality and affection, the more authority and sway it carried with it. And besides the deliberation of the Prætors and choice Senators, the advice also of the martial men were taken. And therefore the Captains of all their own ensigns and companies, yea, and the great Commanders of the auxiliary forces of their allies were willing to sit in Council together with them. When the matter had been often debated, and much contention and hot words passed between, at the last, because there appeared no colourable reason or cause to make war with the Romans, they agreed that a peace should be concluded, and that together with their Embassadors, there should be others also from them to ratifie and confirm the thing.

There passed not many daies between, when out of the Leontins country there arrived certain Orators, to crave help and succour for the guard and defence of their marches. This Embassage seemed to come very fitly and in good time, for to exonerate and rid the City of the unruly and disordered multitude, & likewise to send out of the way their Captains and ringleaders.

A So *Hippocrates* the Prætor was commanded to lead thither the fugitive strangers. Many also of the mercenary souldiers, that were waged to help them in their wars, accompanied them: so as in all, the number amounted to four thousand. This expedition and journey contented greatly as well the leaders and setters of it out, as also the parties themselves that were sent forth. For these of the one side had a good occasion and opportunity now offered them, to contrive a change in State (the only thing that so long they had desired) and those of the other, were right glad, that the sink (as it were) of the City was now well floured and voided away. But this was like the palliative cure of a sore, and a lightning for the present of a sick body: whereby it might soon after by relapse fall back as it were, into a recidive, and worse disease and more dangerous than the other. For *Hippocrates* began at first to make rodes by stealth into the confines bordering upon the Roman Province, and thence to waite & spoil afterwards when *Appius* had sent a power of men to defend the frontiers of his confederates, he charged with his whole power upon that guard that was opposed against him, and slew many of them. Whereof when *Marcellus* was advertised, he dispatched Embassadors incontinently to *Syracuse*, to charge them with the breach of peace: and to give them to understand, that there would never be wanting some occasion or other of quarrell and war, unless *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were removed, and sent far enough out of the way, not only from *Syracuse*, but also quite out of *Sicily*. *Epicides* for he kept if he remained present in the City he might be charged and brought in question, for the taile and respects of his brother absent, or be wanting for his part, in the raising of new war: went himself also in person into the Leontins country: and seeing them there forward enough of themselves, and provoked already against the Romans, began also to alienate and turn their hearts from *Syracuse*. For in these terms he suggested and informed against the Syracusians, namely, "how they had capitulated with the Romans, that all the Cities and Nations which were under the Kings, should be subject unto them and within their jurisdiction: so as now they cannot be content (quoth he) with their liberty, unless they rule also like Lords and Kings. I would advise and counsel you therefore, to send word unto them and give them to understand, that the Leontins likewise deem it good reason, that they should themselves be free: in regard thereto that the tyrant was killed within the ground of their City or because the first alarm for liberty began there. For they leaving and abandoning the Captains there that followed the King ran at once from thence to *Syracuse*. And therefore they are (saith he) to raise that aforesaid article out of the instrument of the covenants, or not to accept at all of peace with that condition. Soon were the multitude persuaded hereunto. And therefore when the Embassadors of the Syracusians came to the Leontins both to make complaint for killing of the Roman *Corpus deus*, and also to command peremptorily, that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* should depart either to *Leontis*, or to what other place they would rather chuse, so they went their waies and voided clean out of *Sicily*: they returned unto them this stout answer again: "that neither the Syracusians had any commission and warrant from them, to make peace with the Romans in their name, neither would they be tied and obliged to any consideration made by others than their own selves. This answer the Syracusians made report of to the Romans, and said plainly, "That the Leontins were not under their jurisdiction, to be ordered and censured by them: and therefore, any thing comprised in the league with them notwithstanding, if the Romans might war against them without breach of any covenant: and in that war they would not for their parts fail them, but do their best upon condition that when they were once subdued, they might be reduced again under their obedience, according to the covenant comprehended in the League. Whereupon *Marcellus* with his whole power went forth against the Leontins, and sent for *Appius* also, to assist them on the other side: and so hot were his souldiers in this service, and bare themselves so resolute for anger that the guard was slain, during the time that there was treaty of peace between that at the very first assault they won the City. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, after they saw the walls failed, and the gates of the City broken open, betook themselves for their safety, with some few into the Castle, from whence by night they made a secret escape, and fled to *Herbessus*.

As the Syracusians marched from home with a power of eight thousand armed men, and were come forward as far as to the river *Isula*, they met with a messenger who told them that the City of Leontins was forced. They reported other news besides, as well lies as truths, one with another, namely, that towmen and souldiers indifferently without respect were put to the sword: that he thought verily there was not left one alive of fourteen years of age and upwards: that the City was put to the sack, and all the rich mens goods were given away. At this so fearful and horrible news, the army staid and went not forward. And when they all were greatly troubled, their Leaders *Sofis* and *Diomeces*, consulted what to do. This loud lie arose not upon nothing, but was occasioned by mistaking of a matter. For there were scourged and beheaded of fugitive traitors to the number of two thousand. But of Leontins and other souldiers, there was not one hurt after the City was lost. And every man had all his own goods restored unto him again: saving that only which in the first hurlyburly of a City newly won hapned to military and perished. Howbeit upon this bare report, they neither could be induced to go forward to the Leontins, complaining and grieving that their fellow souldiers were so betrayed and murdered nor yet to abide there still for to expect and hear more certain tidings. The Prætors perceiving their minds disposed to revolt, and yet hoping that this mutinous fit of theirs would not continue long, in case the Captains and heads of their fury and folly were once rid out of the way led the army to *Megara* and went them.

themselves in person with a few horiemen toward *Herbfus*, hoping to gain the City by treason, & whilst they all there were affrighted, But seeing that enterprise would not prevail, they minded to use forible means. The morrow after they didloged and raised their Camp from *Megara*, purposing with all their forces to assail *Herbfus*. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* supposing this to be the only way (or them, though at the first fight not the safest, considering all hopes besides were cut off) namely, to put themselves into the hands of the Iouliards, who were for the most part acquainted with them, and besides, upon the bruit of the execution and massacre of their fellow Iouliards, thoroughly chafed, went out to meet the army. The foremost ensigns in the forefront, hapned to consist of those six hundred Cretenians, who in the wars of *Hieronymus* had served under him, and received a favour and benefit at *Annil* at his hands. For being taken prisoners at *Thralfymenus*, among other auxiliaries that came to aid the Romans, they were set at large and sent away without ransom. Whom when *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* knew by their colours, habit, and fashion of their armour, they held out branches of olives and other vails and tokens of suppliants, beseeching them humbly to receive them, and being once received, to vouchsafe to protect them, and not to deliver them into the hands of the Syracusians: by whom they should soon be yielded unto the people of *Rome*, for to be murdered and cut in pieces. At this they all cried aloud with one voice, and willed them to be of good cheer, for they should fare no worse than their own selves. Upon this communication the ensigns laid, and the army stood still and marched not forward: but the general Captains wot not as yet what the cause might be of this stay. After the rumour was spread that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come, and that all the host throughout by a general applause seemed to like well of their coming: the Prætors incontinently set spurs to horse, and rode forward apace to the forefront of the vanguard, demanding of the Cretenians, what manner and fashion this was of theirs? and how they durst be so bold: as to parl and talk with enemies? and without licence of their Prætors to entertain them within their companies? And herewith they gave commandment, that *Hippocrates* should be apprehended and boundure with chains. At which word the Cretenians set up such a cry, and the rest answered it again with the like, that it was well seen, in case they had proceeded forward as they began, they should have incurred themselves no small danger. And thus in great perplexity and fear of their own lives, they commanded to turn ensigns, and retire unto *Megara*, from whence they came; and dispatched messengers piently to *Syracuse*, to signify in what terms they stood. *Hippocrates* seeing the Iouliards piven to be suspicious, and ready to believe every thing, devised a cunning shift besides, in this manner. After he had sent out certain of the Cretenians to beset the waies between them and *Syracuse*, he pretended that they had intercepted some letters from thence, which he read unto the Iouliards, and were indeed famed and indited by himself. The tenor of the letters ran in this form: "The Prætors of *Syracuse* to *M. Marcellus* their friend, greeting. After theie salutations and commendations premised, as the manner is it followed written thus: you have done well and orderly in sparing none at all of the Leontins. But all other mercenary Iouliards besides are in the same Predicament: neither will *Syracuse* be ever in quiet, so long as any forraign aid be either in the City, or in your army. And therefore our advice and counsell is, that you would endeavour to get them into your hands, who with our Prætors are encamped before *Megara*, and by execution of them to deliver and let *Syracuse* free in the end.

The contents of theie letters were not to be soon read, but with such an outcry and alarm they ran to their weapons on all hands, that the Prætors amidst this garboil were faine to ride away as fast as they could gallop toward *Syracuse*. But although they were fled, the mutiny nevertheless continued and was not appeased: for the Iouliards fell upon the Syracusians that were in the camp amongst them: and they had all drank of the same cup, and not one escaped, but that *Epicides* and *Hippocrates* came between, and opposed themselves against the multitude in their furious rage not upon any pitifull compassion that was in them, or regard of common humanity, but because they would not cut themselves from all hope of return: and besides, they were not only desirous to have the Iouliards themselves affectionate unto them and faithful, and without inditing of hostages: but also purposed, by this so great deceit, first to gain and win unto them the kinsfolk and friends of those Iouliards, and afterwards to oblige and bind them fast by so good a pawn and egg, remaining still among them. And having good experience, with how small a puff and gale of wind the common people turneth every way, they suborned a Iouliard, one of them who was besieged within the City of *Leontinus*, to carry news to *Syracuse*, suting with those false tidings that were reported at the river *Myti*: yea, and to aver the same confidently upon his own knowledge, and tell things that were doubtful, as if they were most certain, and by himself seen and known: thereby to stir up men to anger and indignation. This fellow was not only credent of the common multitude, but also being brought into the Council-House, he greatly moved the Senat: insomuch as some of them, more light of beliefe than others, gave it out openly and loud, "That it was happy, that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans was thus discovered among the Leontins. And God bleis us from them here. For if they felt foot once within *Syracuse*, they would commit the like outrages, yea, and worse too a great deal, and more horrible: as they should find there greater matter to work upon, and to satisfie their covetous and greedy appetite to the full. Whereupon they agreed in generally, to shut the gates, and to stand upon their guard, and defend the City. But they all feared not alike, nor hated the same persons. For the martiall men, in a manner every one, and a great part of the common people abhorred the name of the Romans:

A Romans: the Prætors, and some few of the principal Citizens, albeit they were in the huff, and possessed with the false report aforesaid, yet they had more regard to providor to a mischief that was more imminent and near, and ready presently to fall upon their heads. And now by this time *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come before *Hexaplos*. Within the City the kinsfolk and friends of those Citizens which were in the army, drew together in conventicles, conferred among themselves to let the gates open, and agreed to have the common country of them all, to be defended against the violence of the Romans. Now, when one only wicket of *Hexaplos* was opened, and they ready to enter in thereto, the Prætors came upon them in the manner. And first they commanded by word of mouth, and threatened them; after that, by vertue of their place and authority they seemed to fright and terrifie them: and last of all, seeing nothing could prevail, forgetting their own dignity and majesty of their calling, they fell to pray and entreat them not to betray their country to thioie, who aforesome were the instruments and supports of the Tyrant, and now the corruptors of the army. But to deaf ear gave all the multitude in this their rage and furious fit unto the Prætors, that they within, as well as without, let their hands to, by all forcible means, to burst down the gates, and so when they were all broken open, the army was led in safe, and received within the *Hexaplos*. The Prætors fled for refuge with the youth and strength of the Citizens unto *Acradina*. The mercenaries, the fugitives, and all the Iouliards that were left in *Syracuse* (of them who served the King) joyined to the army and augmented their forces. And to *Acradina* also, was upon the first assault won. All the Prætors, but thioie that escaped by flight, and saved themselves in the midst of this hurly, were slain: and the night coming upon them, laid the massacre. The day following, all bondlives were called to receive the cap, and made free: the prisons were let open, and the prisoners let go at large. And this confused rabble and multitude of all sorts carried *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* Prætors, and thus *Syracuse*, having for a short time liberty shining favourably upon it, tell again into her old servitude.

When news hereof came to the Romans, incontinently they didloged and removed the camp from *Leontinus*, and marched directly towards *Syracuse*. It hapned the same time that the Embassadors sent from *Appius* by the way of the haven, were embarked in a galleye of five banks of oars: but another galley of four banks which was sent before, was not so soon on red into the mouth of the harbour, but it was taken: and the Embassadors hardly, and with much ado escaped in the other. And now the world there was grown to this pass, that no laws of peace, no, nor to much as the very laws of arms were observed, but broken clean: at what time as the Roman army lay in camp a mile and an half from the City at *Olympus*, the Temple of *Jupiter*. For when it was thought meet to send Embassadors from thence, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* with their followers encountered them without the gate, and charged them upon their perill not to enter the City. The Roman Orator alledged, and said, "That he came not to proclaim war against the Syracusians, but to bring aid and help, as well unto thioie, who having escaped out of the midst of the slaughter fled unto the Roman Camp, as also unto them, who being kept under with fear, endured bondage and thraldom more miserable than banishment, yea, and death it self. Neither will the Romans (saith he) put up that shameful and cruell murder of their Allies without due revenge. And therefore, if those persons who were fled for succour unto them, may return home safely into their country: if the authors of that massacre above said, be delivered into their hands: and if the Syracusians may enjoy again their liberty, together with their laws, there shall not need any hostility or war. But in case these conditions be not performed they would persecute with fire and sword, all such as shall hinder and stand against the same, whosoever.

To this *Epicides* framed his words in this wise: "If (saith he) ye had any message and commission to pass with my brother and me, we would return you an answer accordingly. In the mean while ye were best be gone for this time, and return again as for the City and state of *Syracuse*: shall be under their governance, unto whom ye were sent. As when war, if the Romans think it good to deal that way, they shall find and know by experience, try when they won it, that it is one thing to assail *Syracuse*, and another to let upon *Leontinus*. And so leaving the Embassadors, he made the gates fast against them.

From this time forward the Romans laid siege unto *Syracuse*, and began to beleaguer it both by sea and land at once. On the land side at *Hexaplos*, by water at *Acradina*, upon the walls whereof the sea beareth. And like as they won the City of the Leontins, by terrifying them at the first assault, and therefore distrusted not, but that they should force and enter this also, one side or other, being so large and vast as it was, not compact, but built so scattering, one part far asunder from another, they approached with all their fabricks, engines, and ordinance of battery against the walls. Which enterprise of theirs, so resolutely begun and so hotly and forcibly followed, had sped well and taken effect: if one man at that time had not been in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* was he a singular Astronomer. A rare man for contemplation and beholding the sky with the Planets, and other stars therein fixed: but a more wonderfull engineer for devising and framing of artillery, ordnance, fabricks, and instruments of war, whereby he would with very little ado, and at ease, check and frustrate all the inventions which the enemies with so great difficulty had prepared for to give the assault. This cunning artificer and admirable workman had planted engines of all sorts upon the curtain of the wall, which stood on certain hills, and those not of even height: and having for the most part high places that yielded hard access, and some other low again, whereunto men might come on even & plain ground, he fitted and furnished every place accordingly. Now *Mar-*
cellus

cellus from out his galleies of five ranks of oars assaulted the wall of *Acra*, which (as is above said) is washed and disched upon the sea. And from the other galleies, the archers, slingers, yea, and the light armed darters (called *Velites*) whose javelins are of that fashion, that they be unhandsome to be launched back again by those that have not the cast and skill of it) to assail the defendants, that they hardly suffered any one to stand upon the walls without hurt and danger. These I lay kept their galleies at distant from the wall, because archers and darters had need of some space and compass to lance, and led drive their shot. But unto the galleies of five course of oars, there were adjoynded other two of either side: for which purpose the oars within were taken away, that they might close larboard to starboard and so be coupled one unto the other. And thus being rowed as one entire gallei, by the help of the utmost oars without, they carried upon them platforms of timber, framed with floors and lofts of planks, and other engines and instruments within them to batter and shake the walls. Against this artillery from the galleies, *Archimedes* bestowed and disposed upon the walls counter-engines of sundry sizes, some greater, some smaller. Against those galleies that were furthest off he weighed and discharged stones of exceeding main weight and those that were nearer he annoyed with lighter bullets, but those he shot farther upon them. And last of all, to the end that his own Citizens might, without taking harm, make a counter-battery against the enemies, and so annoy them, he cauled certain batavians or loop-holes almost a cubit deep to be pierced through the walls, and to stand thick from the foot thereof, to the parapet: and all to flank the enemy, through which overtures, they within shot closely against the enemies some arrows out of bows, some quarrels out of scorpions and brakes of mean and indifferent bigne. And against those galleies which approached more close and near under the walls, because they would be within the shot and that they within might carry and level over them, he devised a crane or swive to be planted aloft upon the walls, having at the one end, which hung over the sea, a drag or grappling hook of iron like an hand fastned thereto with a strong chain: which took hold upon the prow of a gallei, and when the heavy counterpoise of lead at the other end weighed it down to the ground, and therewith drew with it the prow up on high, whilst it hung thus aloft in the air, the gallei stood in a manner endlong upon the poop. And then the swive being let go again all at once suddenly with a sway, dashed the gallei tumbling as it were down from the top of the wall, with such a twinge and violence against the water (to the exceeding fear of the mariners) that if it had fallen directly down right upon the keel, yet needs it must have received good store of water into it. Thus all their provision of assault by the sea-side, was deluded and made void: and then they turned their whole forces from thence, to give assault by land. But even that part of the wall likewise, was as well furnished with all manner of engines and ordnance, provided at the great charge of *Hero*, and by his careful forecast for many years together: but devised and framed by the artificial cunning and skill only of *Archimedes*. Besides the natural situation of the ground was a great help: for that the rock, upon which the foundations of the wall stand, is for the most part so steep and bending forward, that not only the shot leveled out of an engine, but also whatsoever was but rolled & tumbled down, with the very own weight and poise, came with a great force & violence upon the enemy. Which foreaid caule made the assailants to have difficult climbing up, and as unstedfast footing and keeping of their hold. Whereupon they went to counsel. And considering well, that all their attempts and enterprises were thus deluded and mocked by the enemy: it was thought good to give over assault, and only by long and continual siege, to cut them off from all victuals both by land and sea. In the mean while *Marcellus* with one third part (well near) of the army, went forth in expedition, to recover again those Cities, which taking occasion upon these troubles, were revolted to the Carthaginians. And he gained *Pelorus* and *Herbessus*, which yielded on their own accord. As for *Megara*, which he won by assault, he raised it down to the ground, and lacked it, to the fearful example of the rest and especially of the Syracusians.

And much about that time, *Himilco* also, who had a long time rid in the Bay of the Cape *Pachynus* with his Armado, disembarked and set land at *Heraclea* (which they call *Mina*) 2000 foot-men, 3000 horsemen, and twelve Elephants. He had not all this power of men when he lay with his fleet under *Pachynus*. For after that *Hippocrates* had taken and held the possession of *Syracuse*, he went to *Carthage*, where being sent unto both by Embassadors from *Hippocrates*, and also by letters from *Annibal* (who moved him and remonstrated: That now the time was come to recover *Sicily* again with much honour and glory: and being himself there present in person no bad solicitor by word of mouth to further and follow the cause) he easily persuaded the Carthaginians and prevailed that as great a power both of horse and foot as might possibly be raised, should pass over into *Sicily*. Being arrived at *Heraclea*, within few daies after, *Agri-genum* was delivered up into his hands. And all other Cities, which had banded and taken part with the Carthaginians, were put in so good hope to drive the Romans out of *Sicily*: that even they who were besieged within *Syracuse*, to take heart unto them: and were so in their mind, that supposing part of their forces sufficient enough to descend their City, they parted between them the charge and managing of the whole war in this manner: That *Epicides* should remain behind for the guard and defence of the City, and *Hippocrates* joynt with *Himilco*, and war joyntly against the Romans. He with 10000 foot, and 500 horse, let out by night: and passed between the *Corni de guard*, where none at all watched, and encamped about the *Acra*. As they were fortifying their Camp, *Marcellus* came upon them as he retired back from *Agri-genum*, possessed now by the adverse part: whether

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he had made great haste, but in vain, in hope to prevent his enemies, and get thither afore: but little thought he (and nothing less) than in his return from thence, at that time and in that place, to meet with an army of Syracusians that should make head against him. Howbeit, for fear of *Himilco* and the Carthaginians, whom he knew to be abroad, and with whom he was not able to make his part good with that power which he had about him, he marched as circumspectly as he could, having his eye on every side, and led his army in good order of battell against all occurrences whatsoever might happen by the way. And so as good hap was, that careful foresight and diligence, which he was provided with against the Carthaginians, served him in very good stead against the Sicilians. Finding them therefore busie in pitching their tents, without order, and scattered aunder, and most of them unarmed, he environed soon all the Infantry that they had, and put them to the sword. But the Cavalry after a slight skirmish begun, fled with their leader *Hippocrates* to *Acra*. *Marcellus* after he had by his slight repressed and kept in the Sicilians, who were at hand to fall away and revolt unto the Romans, returned to *Syracuse*: and after some few daies, *Himilco* joynt with *Hippocrates* and encompassed about eight miles from thence, upon the river *Anan*.

Likewise about the same time, or very near, it hapned that 55 war-ships of the Carthaginians, under the conduct of *Bomilcar*, Admirall of the Armado put into the great haven of *Syracuse* out of the deep and main sea: and also the Roman fleet of thirty Gallies, with five ranks of oars, arrived at *Pachynus*, and landed the first Legion there: and thus the war was turned and diverted from *Italy*. So wholly seemed both nations, as well Romans as Carthaginians, amused upon nothing now but *Sicily*. *Himilco* making full account to prey upon the Roman Legion which was set a land at *Pachynus*, as they should come to *Syracuse*: misled of the right way to meet with them: for he marched and led his power far within land higher in the country, but the Legion coasted along by the sea side, accompanied as it were with the fleet which flanked them: and came to *Pachynus* unto *Appius Claudius*, who with part of his force went out to meet them on the way. But the Carthaginians made no long stay about *Syracuse*, for *Bomilcar* having small trust and confidence in his ships, considering that the Romans were coming toward him with a fleet, and were twice as many in number: and withall seeing that by sojourning there, he did no other good but with his company impoverish and eat out his friends, spread and hoisted up sail, and with a merry wind passed over into *Africke*. *Himilco* also, who had dogged and followed after *Marcellus* in vain far as *Syracuse*, to spy some good opportunity and vantage to bid him battell, before he joynt with a greater power: seeing that he was hereof disappointed and the enemy lying about *Syracuse* safe and secure, as well in regard of their fortifications, as their forces: because he would not spend any longer time to no purpose in sitting there still, to look upon their Allies who they were besieged, he dislodged and removed from thence: attending, wherefore there were any hope and likelihood of revolt from the Romans, thither to come with his army, and then himself in person, to encourage and animate by his presence those that favoured his part. And first he recovered *Murgantia*, where the Roman garrison was betrayed by the inhabitants, and delivered into his hands. Into which City the Romans had conveyed great store of corn, victual, and provision of all sorts. Upon this revolt other Cities also took heart unto them, and the Roman garrisons were either thrust and driven out of the Castles and Fortresses, or else were treacherously betrayed, surprised, and destroyed.

The City *Enna*, seated upon an high hill, and on every side inaccessible as it was by natural situation of the ground impregnable, so had a strong garrison within the Castle, and a Captain of that garrison, one that was not so easie to be compassed and over-raught by deceitfull trains. His name was *Pinaris*, a witty man, and hardy withall, who repaid more trust in his own diligence to prevent, than he might not possibly be deceived, than in the truth and faith of the Sicilians. And at this time more than ever before, he stood upon his guard, and took heedfull care of himself and his charge: by occasion that he heard of so many treacheries and treasons, so many revolts of Cities, and massacres of garrisons: and therefore as well by day as night, he looked that the Castle was well provided and furnished of good watch and ward continually: so the soldiers never departed from their armour nor their appointed place. Which when the chief Citizens of *Enna* perceived, who already had covenanted with *Himilco*, and promised to betray the fort and the garrison, and saw that the Roman Captain was so wary, that he lay not open unto the opportunity of any fraudulent and guilefull course, they relolved by apert and open means to effect their their designed enterprise. They alledged therefore unto *Pinaris*, "That the City and Castle both ought to be in their power, because that they entered into league and amity with the Romans as freemen, and were not yielded as slaves to be kept in dures and prison. Reason would therefore, and meet it was (as they thought) that all the keys of the gates were delivered unto them. With good and trusty allies, their own faith and truth is the surest bond. And no doubt, the people and Senate of Rome would con them greater thank, and esteem more dearly of them, if so be they of themselves, not by constraint but of willing mind, would abide and continue in their found allegiance and fast friendship." *Pinaris* made answer again, "That he was by his General placed there Captain of the garrison: at his hands he received the keys of the gates, and the Constableness of the Castle, and the same to hold and keep neither at his own will, nor at the pleasure of the men of *Enna*, but at his disposition, who sealed him his Commission. Now for a Captain to abandon his fort (quoth he) is a capital crime among the Romans, by virtue of

Parasiti:
Ipe, hostis
fouidiers.

"a law, which our fathers themselves have confirmed, even by the exemplary punishment & death
of their own children, who have transgressed the same. And seeing the Consul *M. Porcius* was
so far off, may it please you, send your Embassadors unto him, of whom you may be certified,
under whose power, commandment, and government I am, "Tullius say they, we will never
entertain him. But if words and reasons may not prevail, we will work some other means to re-
cover our liberty again. Then quoth *Pinarius* to them, It ye think much to address your messa-
gers to the Consul, yet do me this favour, as to call a Common Council of the people for my
sake, that I may know whether their demands proceed from some few, or from the whole
body of the City. So it was accorded and agreed, that a general assembly should be proclaimed
against the morrow. Then *Pinarius* after that he was departed from this party, returned into the
streets, and calling his soldiers together, spake unto them in this wise: "I suppose ye have heard
already (my soldiers) in what sort the Roman Garrisons have, these daies past, been betrayed
and murdered by the Sicilians. That treachery hitherto ye have avoided and escaped: first & prin-
cipally through the goodness of the gods: next and immediately by your own valour and pro-
wess; & by continual watch & ward, standing in your armor both day & night. And I would to
God ye might pass as well the time to come, without falling into this hard choice, either to en-
dure and suffer such horrible mischiefs: or to execute and commit a fearful example of cruelty.
This intended treason of theirs hath been carried and conveyed closely and cautelously all this
while: & seeing they cannot as yet meet with any advantage to surprize us, they would seem now
openly and without dissimulation, to demand for to have all the keys of the gates under their
hands. Which we should not to loose part with & render unto them, but presently *Evma* would
turn to the Carthaginians, and more cruelly should we here be murdered and hewn in pec-
ces, than the garrison was at *Margantia*. Much ado I had to obtain of them respite of this one
night to take further counsel: that I might advertise you of the present danger, wherein both I &
ye are bound. To-morrow morning by day-light, they purpose to hold a solemn assembly of the
people, and to make speech unto them, to accuse me, and to stir them up against you. And
to-morrow is the day that the City *Evma* shall overflow either with the blood of you, or of the
inhabitants. And be ye well assured, that as ye shall lose all that you have, if they surprize you:
so in case, you prevent them and begin the fray there shall no peril at all befall you. Look who
first lifteth hand on his sword and draweth it, he shall carry away the victory clear. Therefore ye
must be there preit in your armor, and attentive to expect a signal from me. I myself will be
present in the assembly, and with parling and debating, temporise and draw out the time, until
ye be all in readiness and everything in order. And so soon as I shall give you a sign with my
gown, then let me hear you put up an outcry, then let me see you fall upon the multitude: down
with them and spare not, but cut them all to the sword. See in any case there be not one other
escape your hands and remain alive, from whom ye may fear any harm, either by fraud or
force. And now I beseech thee O Dame *Ceres*, and thy daughter *Proserpina*, and all other gods
in heaven above, or in hell beneath, who inhabit this City, these holy lakes and sacred groves,
wherein ye are honoured and worshipped to vouchsafe to be propice and favourable unto us:
in case we enter into this action and enterprise, for the avoiding of treachery intended against
us, and not to offer mischief unto others: and not otherwise, I would use more words unto you
my friends and soldiers, for to animate and encourage you, if it were that you had to deal
with men in arms: but since they are naked, unarmed, & unwarned, you shall kill and slay them
at your pleasure, and satisfy yourselves with their blood. And to the end that you need not fear
any harm from *Himelo* and the Carthaginians, loe the Consul himself lieth encamped near
at hand. After this exhortation they were dismissed, to take their rest and rest. The next
day, they were bellowed in sundry parts of the City, some to beset all the streets, others to stop
the passages, and the waies against the townsmen, that they might not escape. But the most of
them stood upon and about the Theatre, and were nothing suspected as being used heretofore to
behold and see the assemblies of the people. The Roman Captain *Pinarius* was by the Magistrates
brought forth and presented before the people: where he pleaded, That it lay not in his hands, but
in the power and authority of the Consul, to dispose of that which they demanded: and heito-
rated for the most part the same allegations that he shewed the day before. At first they began
gently to move him by little and little: afterwards more and more of them, required him to deliver
up the keys; and so consequently all with one voice, charged and commanded him so to do: and
when he seemed to make some stay and defer the matter, they menaced and threatened fiercely, yet,
and seemed as they would no longer forbear, but proceed to extreme violence. Then the Captain
made a sign with his robe, according to the former agreement: and with that the soldiers who
had their eyes upon him waiting wittily for the signal and were ready for execution, set up a loud
cry and ran in from about the multitude assembled over against them: others stood thick
at every corner of the Theatre, where the people should go forth, and opposed themselves against
them. Thus the men of *Evma*, shut up and penned within the Theatre were massacred and lay
rubbied over upon others: not they only that were killed, but such also as fled one over another
head: the found all upon the wounded, the quick upon the dead, one with another, by heaps.
Then there was running from thence sundry waies, and as if the City had been taken upon assault
by the enemy there was nothing but murdering and flying away in every place. And as hot and fur-
ious were the soldiers in the execution of this unarmed multitude (whom they judged wor-
thy

thily and justly to be killed) as if like danger presented unto them, or choler raised in fer batel had
provoked them thereto. Thus *Evma* was held still for the Romans by this means: were the deed
mildly ill, or by circumstance needfull and necessary: *Marcellus* mistook not of the fact & grined
the pillage of the Citizens of *Evma* to the soldiers: supposing that the Sicilians through-
ly frightened by this fearful example would betray no more garrisons. The calamity and hard fortune
of this City, (standing, as it did, in the very heart of Sicily) was in one day divulged and noised
throughout the Island, from one end to the other. And otherwise, a famous and renowned town it
was, either for the natural situation for exceeding strong: or because all places in it were accounted
sacred and holy, in remembrance of *Proserpina*: who in times past left her footing & traces there at
B what time as the was stolen away & ravished, by *Pluto*. Now it was generally thought by the Si-
cilians, that this curious and detestable massacre had defiled and polluted not only the habitations
of men, but also the temples of the gods: whereupon even they likewise, who stood but doubtful
and indifferent before, fell now away from the Romans and turned to the Carthaginians.

Then *Hippocrates* retired to *Margantia* and *Himelo* to *Agrigentum*: who were sent for by the
conspirators and traitors within *Evma*, and approach with their forces, but to no purpose. *Mar-
cellus* returned to the Leontine country: and after he had brought into the Camp corn and other
victuals, and left there a meanguard, he presented himself to the siege that lay before *Syracuse*.
And when he had sent *Appius Claudius* to Rome to fetch for the Consul ship, he committed the
charge in his room of the Armado there, and the old leguer unto *T. Quinctius Crispinus*. Himself
crested and fortified his winning harbours five miles from *Exapolis*, at a place which men call
Leontia. And these were the affairs of Sicily unto the beginning of winter.

In the same summer the war began likewise with King *Philip*, which had long before had been sus-
pected. For there came Embassadors from *Oricum* to *M. Valerius* the Praetor, a friend of the fleet,
for the defence of *Brundisium*, and the sea-coast thereabout of *C. Iulius*, and made report that
Philip first assailed to win *Apollonia*, and was come up the river with one hundred and twenty
light galleies, or trioles with two ranks of oares against the stream: and afterwards, seeing he could
not effect his purpose, so speedily as he hoped, privily by night he approached with his army to
Oricum: and that the City, situate upon a plain, neither strongly fenced with walls, nor well man-
ned with soldiers, nor yet furnished with corn and munition, was at the first assailed, fired
and won. And as they recounted these new news, they brought him to ground all the causes and
to make head against this undoubted enemy of the Romans, either by Land or for as Sea, and
to chase him away from them: who for no other reason were by him assailed, but because they
were near neighbors to *Italy*. *M. Valerius* leaving the guard of that place to *T. Valerius* his Lieuten-
ant General with a fleet of ships well rigged furnished & appointed: and having embarked these
soldiers (which the galleies for war would not receive) in the merchants ships of burden arrived
at *Oricum* on the second day after: and finding that City kept with a small and slight garrison,
which *Philip* when he departed from thence had left there, he overtook it without much resistance,
thither repaired to him embassadors from *Apollonia*, who brought word that they were besieged,
because they refused to revolt from the Romans: and were not able to hold out any longer against
E the forcible attempts of the Macedonians, unless a garrison of Romans were sent unto them. He
promised to effect whatsoever they desired, and so shipped a thousand select and choice soldiers
in galleies, and sent them to the mouth of the river under the conduct of a Captain of *A. Navius*
Crispinus, an indolent man, and an expert soldier. He having landed his men, and sent the
galleies back to *Oricum* (from whence he came) to the rest of the Armado, on landed his soldiers
higher in the country, far from the river side, by a way that was not better known by the Kings forces:
and in the night-season, unawares to all the enemies sent to the City. The day following they
refused, only the Captain took a survey of the youth and able men of *Apollonia* of their armor and
the munitions and forces of the City. When he had seen and perused all therupon he was well
appaid and encouraged to fight, and withall he had learned by the scouts and spies, how ret, help-
less, and negligent the enemies were without. So at midnight he went forth of the City without
F any noise, and entered the Camp of the enemies so carefully guarded as it was and lying so open:
that by credible report, there were above one thousand men got within the trench and rampier,
before that any one was ware thereof: and if they had held their hands, and not fallen to killing, they
might have passed on still even as far as to the Kings Pavilion. But by reason that they slew the
wardens next the gates, the enemies were raised: whereupon they were all so frightened and terri-
fied that not only there was never a soldier took weapon in hand and went about to repulse the
enemy out of the Camp: but even the King him self, who had as he was, and newly awakened out
of his sleep, clad in simple apparel, scarce decent for a common soldier, ran himself in wor, for a
King, was fain to run toward the river side to save his ships. Thither also the other multitude fled dis-
G ordered in heaps. There were not many under three thousand either slain or taken prisoners in
the camp. Yet there were more by odds of the enemies taken than killed. In the rising of the camp
the Apollonians met with *Catapults* and *Balists*, and other engines provided for the assault of the
City, which they conveyed all to *Apollonia*, to serve for defence of their walls against the like
occasion of needfull service. All the booty besides of the camp was granted unto the Romans.

Tidings hereof being come to *Oricum*, *M. Valerius* presently set forth the Armado as far as to
the mouth of the river, that the King might not find away to escape by sea with his ships: where-
upon *Philip* distrustful his power as well by sea as shore, and doubting he was not able to march
the

the Romans, drew up some of his ships to land, set fire upon the rest, and so by land went into *Ardea*, with a great part of his soldiers diarmed and spoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at *Ostium* with *M. Valerius*.

* The *Reu*
hant.

The same year in Spain the affairs went variably on both sides. For before that the Romans passed over the river *Iberus*, *Mago* and *Asdrubal* defeated a mighty host of Spaniards, so as, all the farther part of Spain had fallen from the Romans, but that *P. Cornelius* made haste to transport his army over *Iberus*, and came in good time to settle the wavering and doubtful minds of the allies. At the first the Romans encamped at *Castro Alium*, a place memorable for the death of great *Amilcar*. The Cattle was well fortified, and thither afore they had conveyed corn. But because all those quarters thereabout were full of enemies, and sundry times their Cavalry had charged the Roman footmen, and gone clear away without any harm, whereby there had been slain at times upon two thousand of them, which either made small haste away, and laid behind, or straggled looily over the fields: the Romans departed from thence, nearer unto places of more security and peace, and fortified themselves in camp upon the mount of *Vittoria*. Thither came *Cn. Scipio* with all his forces, and likewise *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, the third Captain of the Carthaginians, with a full army. And they all encamped beyond the water, over against the fort of the Romans above said. *P. Scipio*, accompanied with certain light armed soldiers, was gone out closely to discover and take view of the places thereabout: howbeit, not so covertly, but he was espied by the enemies, and (no doubt) they had put him to a shrewd foil in the open plain champion, but that he took a little halt thereby for his vantage. Where he was environed and beset round about: but by the coming of his brother *Lucius*, he was delivered out of that danger.

Casula, a famous and strong City in Spain, and so near linked in affinity to the Carthaginians, that *Annibal* from thence married his wife, ranged to the Romans. The Carthaginians came against *Illurgium* and began to assault it because a garrison of the Romans lay there: and likethy were to be Matters of the town. by occasion especially of a great dearth and scarcity of victuals within. But *Cn. Scipio* for to relieve his friends and the garrison, went out with a legion lightly appointed with carriages, and marching between the two camps of the enemies skirmished with them, slew many of them, and entered the City. The morrow after he sallied out, joyined in fight with the enemy, and sped as well: so as in both battles there were slain of them above twelve thousand in the place, more than ten thousand taken prisoners, and 6 military ensignes carried away. Thus the siege brake up at *Illurgium*. After this the Carthaginians began to lay siege unto *Bagara* (a City also confederat with the Romans). But *Cn. Scipio* at his coming raised that siege without any conflict. Then the Carthaginians from thence went forward against *Alinda*, and the Romans followed them thither straight after. There they encountered together and fought a set battle with banners displayed, for the space well-near of four hours. And as the Romans bare themselves bravely and had got the better, and were at point of the victory, the retreat was sounded, by occasion that *Cn. Scipio* was hurt fore in his thigh with a barbed javelin, and the soldiers about him were greatly afraid that the wound was deadly. But no doubt, if it had not been for that stay and hinderance the very camp of the Carthaginians might that day have been forced. For not only the soldiers, but the Elephants also were driven already so far as the trench, and even there upon the very bank: 39 of them were flitted with darts and pikes. In this battell likewise were killed (by report) twelve thousand men almost three thousand taken prisoners, and 57 military ensignes won. Then the Carthaginians retired back to the City *Ariminum*, and the Romans followed upon them, because they would give them no time to rest and breathe themselves after their fights. Where *Scipio* being brought into the field in a litter, gave them battle the second time, and got the victory clear: but fewer of the enemies were slain by the one half than afore, because there were not so many in number left to fight. But (as they are a nation given naturally to renew war, and to ever fighting, and cannot give over they soon repaired and made up their forces. For *Asdrubal* had sent his brother *Mago* to levy and gather new soldiers: whereupon they took their heart again to try another field. This being for the most part other soldiers (new come) fought as it were in revenge, and to uphold that side which in few daies space had to oiten taken the foil, and demeaned themselves as courageously as they be afore, and sped as unto wardly. For there were slain of them above eight thousand, not many under one thousand taken captives, with military ensignes 58. In rifling of them there was found very much spoil of the Gauls, as rings of gold, carcanets, collars, and bracelets great store. Over and besides, two great Lords and Princes of the Gauls, whose names were *Municapin* and *Civismarus*, were slain outright in that conflict. Eight Elephants taken alive, and three killed.

Now when as the affairs in Spain went thus fortunately with the Romans, they began at length for very shame to thinke of *Siguntum*, a town that was the cause of all these wars, and had now five years already been in the hands and possession of the enemy. Whereupon by force of arms they recovered it, drove out of the town the garrison of the Carthaginians, and restored it again to the ancient inhabitants as many as remained alive, and had escaped these broils of war. As for the Turdetans, who were the occasion of the wars between the Saguntins and the Carthaginians, they subdued them, and brought them under their subjection, sold them in port sale, and destroyed their City utterly. These were the achievements in Spain, during the time that *Q. Fabius* and *M. Claudius* were Consuls.

At Rome, when the new Tribunes of the Commons were once centred into their office, presently

L. Metellus

A. L. Metellus one of the Tribunes afore said, arrested the Censors *P. Furius* and *M. Atilius*, peremptorily to make their appearance and answer before the people. These Censors had taken from him being Treasurer of his Tribe, deprived him of liberty to give his voice, and made him *Exuritus*, and all, for being a party with them at *Cannae*, who plotted to abandon Italy. But by the means and mediation of the other nine Tribunes, they were discharged: for they would not suffer, that the Censors should come to their answer while they were in office. And the death of one of them, namely, *P. Furius*, was the cause that they could not accomplish the sifting and numbring of the Citizens. And when *M. Atilius* surrendered up his Magistracy, *Q. Fabius* Max. held the solemn Assembly and Parliament of the people for the election of Consuls, wherein were created *Q. Fabius* Max. the Consul his son, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time both absent. For Prætors, there were elected *M. Atilius*, and with him, they who at that time were *Ædiles* of the chair to wit, *P. Sempronius Tudianus*, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *M. Emilius Lepidus*.

This year, as it appeareth in old Records, were the Stage-plays first let out by the *Ædiles* of the chair, and continued four daies. This *Ædile Tudianus* above named was he who at *Cannae* when all beides him for fear were altooped, in that wofull calamity) brake forcibly through the midst of the enemies, and escaped. When *Q. Fabius* the old Consul had finished the Election then the new Consuls Elect were sent for to repair unto Rome, and they entered their Magistracy. Then they assembled the Senat for to consult and take order for the war for the Provin. as well their own, as those that were under the Prætors: also concerning the armies, and the disposition of every charge and place of command. So the Provin. es and armies were divided in this wise: The war with *Annibal*, where soever it fell out, was committed to the managing of the Consuls, with the charge of one army, which *Sempronius* himself had before under his conduct: and of another, commanded by *Fabius* the Consul. And those were two legions, *M. Emilius* the Prætor, whole lot it was to have the jurisdiction over the foreigners, had committed his authority unto his Colleague *Atilius* the Prætor of the Citizens of Rome, that he might govern the Province about *Lucania*, and those two legions over which *Q. Fabius*, now Consul, had the command, while he was Prætor. To *Sempronius* the Prætor befall the Province of *Ariminum*. To *Cn. Fulvius* was allotted *Suessula*, with two legions likewise: so as, *Fulvius* should have the leading of the legions D of Citizens, and *Tudianus* receive his from *M. Pompeianus*. The government of the foreign Provin. es continued still in the former deputies. *M. Claudius* ruled Sicily, so far as the dominion of King Hier extended: and *Leontius* the Vice-Prætor had the charge of the old Province, *T. Octavius* was high Admiral of the Navy, without any new supply or augmentation of forces. *M. Valerius* was employed in Greece and Macedonia, with one legion, and the *Ataxado* which he had before, *Q. Mutius* was L. Deputy in *Sardinia*, having under him the old army, consisting of two legions. And *C. Terentius* had the administration of the affairs in Picenum, with that one legion which long time he had been Captain of. Moreover, it was decreed and agreed upon, that there should be mustered and enrolled two new legions of Citizens, and twenty thousand men besides levied of Allies and Associates. With these Captains and these forces above said they provided for the defence and maintenance of the State and Empire of Rome, against many wars at once, either in hand already, or suspected shortly. The Consuls having enrolled two legions of Citizens, and chosen a supply to make out there, before that they set out of the City, procured the pacification of the gods, for the fearful and prodigious tokens that were reported. For the wall and gates of Rome were blatted and smitten with lightning from heaven: and likewise the Temple of *Jupiter at Aricia*. Other vain objects and illusions also of the eyes and ears, which men imagined they saw and heard, were beleaved for truths. Namely, there appeared in the river of *Tiber* certain resemblances and shews of Gallies, whereas indeed there were none such. And in the Temple of *Jup. Vestinus*, which standeth in the Territory of *Casili*, there was heard, footsooth rustling of armor: and the river of *Aniternus* seemed to run with blood. When satisfaction was made for these strange signs, the gods pleased, and all well again, according to the direction let down by the Priests and Prelates, then the Consuls set forward in their expedition, *Sempronius* into *Lucania*, and *Fabius* into *Apulia*. Where it fell out, that *Fabius* the father repaired into the Camp at *Suessula*, as Lieutenant and assistant unto his son. And when *Fabius* the younger went forth to meet him, and his Sergeants or Ulbers marching afore, said not a word to *Fabius* the father, nor put him aside to give way, for very reverence of his person, (such majesty he carried) the old man rode forward, and passed by eleven of the said Lictors with their bundles of rods. Then the Consul commanded the Sergeant that was next himself to do his office: and with that said Ulber called upon old *Fabius*, to alight from his horie back: and alast he set foot aground: I did all this but to try, quoth he, my son, whether you knew well that you were a Consul or no.

G There came that night secretly to the Consul while the Camp lay there, one *Cassius Attimius*, an Arpinate, with his three bondslaves, promising, that if he might have a good reward for his service, he would betray *Arpin* into his hands. *Fabius* then propoised this matter unto his Council, to be debated of. Some were of opinion, that *Attimius* was to be whipped and put to death, fugitive, ruggare and false knave as he was: a common enemy, and a dangerous to either part, and playing with both hands, like a double-hearted hypocrite. Who first, after the overthrow at *Cannae* (as if he might turn with the wheel of fortune, and go from his word and faith) full promise, and change ever as the changeth) ranged himself unto *Annibal*: and by his exam-

ple drew with him *Arpi* to revolt and rebell: now after that he seeth the Roman estate to lie
again and hold up head (and that beyond his hope, & contrary to his desires) he would play the
villain and turn-coat again, and come with a new practice of a more shamefull treason than be-
fore: as if treachery and fallhood were of the nature and quality of a judgment passed in Sep-
tember court: and as if he might be allowed to carry two faces under a hood, and alter every
hour. Faithless friend, that he is not to be trusted, and slippery enemy not to be regarded. A
good deed it were, that together with that false traitor of *Ealeris*, and the other of King *Py-
rrhus*, he made a third, and were punished accordingly for exemplary justice, to reach all rogues
and ruggages hereafter how they run from their Lords and Masters. On the other side, old *Ea-
leris* (the Consuls father) replied, and said, That men now a daies had forgot how to make diffe-
rence of occasions, and in the very heat & midst of wars, reasoned and gave their opinion and con-
fidence of every thing and person as in a free time of open peace: when as indeed, we are to think,
consider, and deliberate of this point, that (if possibly it might be) no more of your allies re-
volt from the people of *Rome*, rather than invite and incite them thereto: and after one is star-
ted aside, and upon repentance returned again to the ancient amity, to fall a reviling and rebu-
king of him, and bitterly to say that he deserveth to be made an example to all others. For if it
may be lawfull for one to turn from the Romans, and held unlawful to return again unto the
Romans no man need doubt, but shortly the Roman Empire will be forsaken of all her confede-
rates and allies, and we shall see within a while all the Cities of *Italy* linked and confedered in
one league and friendship with the Carthaginians. And yet (quoth he) I am not the man that
thinketh *Altimus* worthy to be trusted in any thing for all this, but I would take a mean course
& middle way between both extremities. My opinion is therefore that for the present he should
be taken neither for enemy nor friend, but commanded to ward, and to have the liberty of a
prisoner, and only be kept forth-coming in some confederate and trusty City, not far from the
Camp during the time of the war. And when the war is once finished and ended, then I hold it
good to deliberate and consult, whether that his former revolt hath deserved more punishment
than this his present return meriteth favour and grace. Every man liked well of this advice of
old *Fabius*, and gave their assent. So he was bound with chains, and both himself and his company
delivered over and put in custody and a good room full of gold, which he then had brought with
him: was by commandment reserved for his use. At *Cales* he made his abode: where all the day
time he used to walk at liberty, with his keepers following him, but in the night they kept him
close prisoner. But at *Arpi*, where his home was, they of his own house began first to miss him,
and seek for him: afterwards, when it was noised throughout the whole City that he was out of
the way, and could not be found: the same hereof caused a tumult, for the loss of a principal per-
son as he was, thus revolted to the enemy. And for fear of an alteration in the State, presently the
news thereof was sent to *Annibal*, Who was nothing offended thereat, both because long afore
he had the party himself in jealousy and suspicion, as one neither flesh nor flesh, a man of no re-
spect, and hardly to be trusted: and also for that he found a good occasion and quarrel to seize up-
on the goods of so rich and substantiall a Citizen and to make sale thereof. But to the end that
the world might think that he was more angry against his person, than greedy of his substance, he
joyined with cruelty, a grave course also of judiciall severity, that the one might serve as a file to
give lustre to the other. For having sent for his wife and children into the Camp, first he examined
them straightly, for to know whether he was fled, and what store of silver and gold he had left
behind him at home in his house: and when he had learned enough of them touching every par-
ticular, and as much as he desired he burnt them quick to ashes.

Fabius being departed from *Succella*, purposed the first thing that he did to assail *Arpi*. Where
he lay encamped a mile from the town: and after he had well viewed by near approach, the situ-
ation of the City, and considered the wall, look where he saw it was most strong and sure, and
therefore guarded most slightly and negligently, there especially he purposed to give the hottest
assault. And when he had sufficiently provided and got together all ordnance and engines, requisite
for the battery of Cities, he made choice of the most hardy and valiant Centurions of the
whole army and let over them certain Tribunes and Marshalls, valorous and doughty good men,
and appointed unto them a Regiment of six hundred souldiers (for so many he thought sufficient
for the present service) with direction and commandment, that when the trumpet sounded the
relief of the fourth watch, they should bring scaling ladders to that place aspired. Now there
stood a gate low and narrow, answering to the street not much used and frequented, by reason
that quarter of the City was not inhabited, but flood void. That gate he gave them order first
to scale and climb over, and then to go forward on the wall, and from within-forth to break down
the bars, and level the said gate, and when they were Masters of that quarter of the City, then to
wind the horn, and give signal to the rest of the forces forth to approach and come hard to the
town, saying, That he would have all things in readines, and in good order. This direction was
performed accordingly with great diligence, and that which was thought and feared would have
been an hindrance and let unto them in the action, was the only thing which helped them most,
that they were not defied. And that was a smoking shower of rain that began after midnight,
which caused the wardens and watchmen to quit their standings, forsake the Sentinels, and to
slee into the houses for covert. The first noise of the horn pouring down with such a force, made
that the rumbling of the souldiers could not be heard, as they were breaking down the gate; and

As it grew after to rain more softly, and to keep still at one, it founded gently and sweetly in their
ears, until it brought a good many of them fast asleep. Now after they had seized the gate, the
Marshalls gave order, That the Cornettiers should be belleted in that void street asoraide, dis-
tantly equally aunder, and to wind their horns, for to waken and raise the Consul, Which being
done, according as it was before agreed, the Col, commanded the standards and ensigns to be
brought forth, and somewhat before day-light entered at the said broken gate into the City. With
that, the enemies at length began to rouse themselves, for now the shower and storm was past,
and the day approached. There was a garrison in the City at hand of five thousand of *Annibal*'s
his souldiers, armed and well appointed: and the Arpins of themselves were 3000 strong. Those
the Carthaginians put in the forefront, as a forlorn hope, and opposed them against the enemy,
for fear of some treacherous prank that they might play behind their backs. First, they began to
arraie themselves to fight in the dark, blind, and narrow lanes. For the Romans had filled and
taken up not only all the streets, but also the houses that were next the gate to the end, they might
not be guled with shot, and wounded from aloft. Some Arpins and Romans fell at length to
meet, to take knowledge and acquaintance one of another, and to begin to commune and talk to-
gether. The Romans asked what the Arpins meant to rebell: for what offence and harm given of
the Romans, and for what desert and benefit received from the Carthaginians should they (being
naturall Italians) maintain war for Aliens, strangers, and barbarous nations, against the Romans
their old friends and ancient Allies: and so to bring it by in subjection to *Africke*, to do ho-
mage and fealty, yea, and to become tributary, and to pay pension unto it? The Arpins excused
and cleared themselves, saying, that they (simple men and ignorant in all things) were bought and
sold by their great rulers and principall Citizens, and lived in manner as captives and slaves under
the command of some few persons: that might do all. Upon this beginning, more and more of
them grew to paring and conference. At length the Prator of *Arpinum* was by his own peo-
ple and Citizens brought and presented before the Consul: where after faithful promise passed
between the ensigns and the battels: the Arpins immediately bent their forces on the Romans
side against the Carthaginians. The Spaniards likewise (who were not many under a thousand
men) after they had capitulated and agreed with the Roman Consul, nothing lost this one article,
That the garrison of the Carthaginians might be set forth and pass away safe without harm:
came with their colours to the Consul. Then all the gates were set open for the Carthaginians to
depart: and being sent away upon safe conduct without any harm at all or damage unto *Annibal*,
arrived at *Salapia*. Thus *Arpi* was restored again to the Romans, without the loss and detriment
of any one man but one onely old traitor and new fugitive revolt, the Spaniards were appointed
to have double allowance of victuals: and they performed good, faithfull, and valiant service ma-
ny times after to the Common-weal.

When one of the Consuls was in *Apulia*, and the other in *Lucania*, one hundred and twelve
men of arms, Gentlemen of the Nobility of *Capua*, having licence granted by the Magistrates to
go out of the City, pretending to make a rode into the enemies country, and to fetch in booties
and prizes, came directly into the Romans Camp lying about *Succella*. And meeting with the
E. C. *E. C. de guard*, declared who they were, and that they would parli with the Lord Deputy. Now
Cn. Fulvius was the General and Commander of the army there: who being advertized and per-
suaded hereof gave order that ten onely of all that number should be brought before him unarmed.
When he heard their suit and demand, which was nothing else, but that when *Capua* was re-
covered by the Romans, they might have their goods restored unto them: he received them all into
his protection. The other Prator also *Sempronius Tuditanus*, won by force the town *Luternum*:
where there were taken prisoners above seven thousand men: and a good deal of copper and sil-
ver coin gained besides. At *Rome* there chanced a fearful and pitifull fire, which continued two
nights and one whole day. All between *S. Luca* and the gate *Carmentalis*, together with the *Equi-
milianum* and the street *Jugurinus*, were burned down, and made even with the ground. Likewise
without the gate the fire spread far all about, and in the Temples of *Fortuna* and Dame *Matria*,
and *Speres* consumed much, as well hallowed as prophane.

The same year, when all things prospered well and had good success in *Spain*, *P.* and *Cn.* both
S. P. having recovered many allies, and those of ancient league that came in again to him and
yielded themselves: and besides, gained some new confederates: conceived good hope, and took
heart to proceed farther, even into *Africke*.

Sophax King of the Numidians, on a sudden fell out with the Carthaginians, and became their
professed enemy. Unto him the *Scipios* addrest three Centurions as Embassadors, to treat with
him about a league and alliance: and so promise withall, that if he went on still to trouble and
molest the Carthaginians, by making war upon them, he should do an high favour to the Senate
and people of *Rome*: that they would endeavour and bring about, that in good time and place,
he should be well required for that kindness, and receive at their hands double recompence
with thanks. This embassage pleased the barbarous King right well. And after he had conferred
and reasoned with the Embassadors, concerning military affairs, and the knowledge of warfare:
and heard those old & experienced souldiers talk of war, he soon found his own wants, and how
unkilfull himself was in many points and feats of arms, in comparison of that methodical and
orderly discipline, whereof they had discoursed. The first thing then that he requested at their
hands, was this: That as they were good friends and faithfull Allies, two of them would go
back

back with their Embassie unto their Generals, and that the third might remain with him, to
 read unto him a lecture in the military science of warfare, Saying, that the nation of the Numi-
 dians were raw and altogether unskilful in footmen service, and only nimble and practised in
 fight on horseback. So (quoth he) from the first beginning of our nation have our ancestors used
 to war: & to have we from our childhood been enured to fight. My, an enemy I have, trusting
 and preioming much upon his Infantry, whom I would gladly be able to match every way in all
 kind of service. Footmen I am able to set out as well as another: for why? My Realm is po-
 pulous and yieldeth abundance of men: but altogether ignorant we are, how to fit them with
 armor, how to marshall them, how to order and set them in battell array: in so much as all my
 people in battell go to it pell-mell, and are as a multitude huddled and thrummed together at a
 venture without skill without discretion and adviement. The Embassadors answered and said,
 That for the present they would do according to his will and pleasure: but withal, they had his
 faithful promise & word of a Prince that he should immediately send back their companion again,
 in case their Generals approved not their deed in that behalf. *Q. Statorius* his name was, that flaid
 behind with the King. So *Siphax* sent by the two Romans his answer to the forelaide Embassage
 into *Spain*: and besides, with them other Numidians, Embassadors of his own to receive farther
 assurance and security from the Roman Generals: unto whom he gave in charge, that forthwith
 they should solicite, perfwade, and entice all the Numidians that were auxiliary fouldiers unto the
 Carthaginians, and served in any Camp City, or garrison Town of theirs, for to abandon them and
 come to him. And *Statorius* for his part, having mustered a great multitude of serviceable young
 men, choiceth out and enroled a power of footmen, to serve in the Kings wars: and when he had
 forced them into bands and companies, and ordered them in battell array, as near as possibly he
 could, to the manner of the Romans: he trained them in their running to follow their colours:
 he taught them to keep their places in their ranks, and to double their files: and likewise he ac-
 customed them to travel and do work, and so acquainted them with other military orders and
 exercises, that within short time, the King repofed as good confidence, and was as mighty in his
 new Infantry, as in his old Cavalry: and in a ter pitched field on even ground, was able to meet the
 Carthaginian with better displayed, and give him the foil in a full battell. The coming of the
 Kings Embassadors into *Spain*, was to the Romans also a matter of great consequence and im-
 portance: for upon the rumour and time that went thereof the Numidians began to fall away apace, and
 to come thither unto the Romans. Thus were the Romans joyned in amity and friendship
 with King *Siphax*.

When the Carthaginians had intelligence of this new alliance they addressed immediately their
 Embassadors to *Gala*, who reigned in another part of *Numidia*, over a nation called *Masani*. This
Gala had a son named *Masani*, of seventeen years of age, but a youth of such towardsness, and
 so forward in verue, that even then he made good and apparant shew, that he would another
 day enlarge his dominion, and make a more flourishing and mighty Kingdom than his father
 should leave it unto him. Their Embassadors declared unto *Gala*, "That forasmuch as *Siphax*
 "had entered league, and was banded with the Romans, to the end that by their alliance and so-
 "ciety, he might be more mighty and puissant against other Kings and nations of *Affrick*: it
 "were also better for him and much more commodious to joyn with the Carthaginians in all
 "convenient service before that either *Siphax* passed over into *Spain*, or the Romans into *Affrick*:
 "And *Siphax* (say they) may soon be defeated and overthrow now, while that he hath gained
 "naught, yet, but the bare name of the Roman League. *Gala* was soon perfwaded to send a power
 of men especially at the earnest instance of his son, who was very desirous of that war, and to have
 the managing thereof. He with the help of the Carthaginian legions vanquished *Siphax*, and gave
 him a great overthrow. So as at that field there were slain, by report in one day thirty thousand.
Siphax himself in person, with some few Numidian horsemen fled back to the Maurians, that in-
 habit the farthest coasts, hard upon the Ocean over-against *Gades*. But the barbarous people at
 the fame of his coming to relorded in great numbers to him out of all parts that in a short space
 he was able to arm a mighty host. And before he could with them cross over into *Spain*,
 was divided from *Affrick* with a narrow arm of the sea, *Masani* was come with his victori-
 ous Army: who in that place, of himself, without any help or aid of the Carthaginians, gave
Siphax battell to his great honour and singular glory. In *Spain* no memorable exploit was achiev-
 ed, but that the Roman Generals allured and drew to them the able and serviceable manhood of
 the Celtiberians, for the same hire and stipend that they bargained for with the Carthaginians:
 and sent from thence above three hundred Spaniards of the noblest parentage into *Italy*, to soli-
 cite their countrymen, who served under *Annibal* as auxiliaries, to follow them and take part
 with the Romans. This only, touching the affairs of *Spain* that year, is a thing worthy to be noted and
 remembered. That the Romans never waged fouldier to serve in their war before that time, when
 the Celtiberians began to be their mercenaries, and first received pay.

The five and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation
of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and twentieth Book.

Publius Cornelius Scipio, surnamed afterwards Africanus, was made *Edile*, before he was of law-
 full years. *Annibal* was the City Tarentum (all but the Castle, into which the Roman Garrison was
 retired) by means of certain young Tarentine Gentlemen, who had made semblance, that they went
 by night a hunting. The solemn plaies in the honour of Apollo, were now first instituted, upon occasion
 of certain propheticall verses of *Martius*, wherein the overthrow at Cannæ had been foretold. *Q. Fulvius*
 and *Ap. Claudius* Consul, fought fortunately against *Hanno*, a Duke or Captain of the Carthagini-
 ans. *T. Sempromius Gracchus* the Pro-Consul, was by a *Lucius* (who bestowed that gave him entertainment)
 trained into the danger of an ambush, and slain by *Mago*. *Cerentius Penna*, who had served in the
 wars as a Centurion, having made suit unto the Senat, to have the leading of an army, and promised,
 if this petition were granted, to win the victory of *Annibal* and to vanquish him, gave the charge of eight
 thousand footmen, and gave battell to *Annibal*: but he was slain himself, and his whole army defeated
 and put to the sword. *Cn. Fulvius* the Prætor fought unfortunately against *Annibal*, and left his fl-
 id: in which fight there died sixteen thousand men. Himself, with two hundred horsemen fled and cap-
 tured. *Capua* was besieged by *Q. Fulvius*, and *Appius Claudius*, the Consuls. *Claudius Marcellus* in the
 third year of the hege won *Syracuse*, and gave himself in this service like a worthy and noble Knight.
 In that tumult and busily-burly when the City was taken, *Archimedes*, whilst he was busily occupied
 about certain Geometrical figures and forms that he had drawn in the dust, was killed. The two *Sci-
 pios*, *Publius*, and *Cornelius*, after so many and so worthy exploits performed fortunately in *Spain*,
 came to a weifull and heavy end, being themselves slain thereby, with the loss well-near of their whole
 Armies, in the eighth year after that they went into *Spain*. And the main possession of that Province
 had then quite lost, but for the singular manhood and industry of *L. Martius*, a Knight of Rome,
 who having rallied and gathered together the remnants of the armies so encouraged them by their
 valiant service two several encamped holds of the enemies were won, seven and thirty thousand of the en-
 emies slain, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners, and a great rich booty obtained, whereupon he was cal-
 led Captain *Martius*.

The five and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

VVhiles these affairs thus passed in *Affrick* and in *Spain*, *Annibal* employed the sum-
 mer season in the territory of Tarentum, in hope by treason to be Master of the
 City of the Tarentine. In which mean while certain bale Cities of the Salentins,
 and towns of no importance revolted unto him. And at the same time, of those
 twelve States of the *Bruttii*, which the year before had turned, and banded with the Carthagini-
 ans, the *Consentins* and *Thurins* were rallied wholly again to the devotion of the people of
 Rome. And more of them had returned likewise, but for *L. Pomponius Viciatinus* Captain of the
 Allies: who after he had made certain rides into the country of the *Bruttii*, and sped his hand
 well with many booties, took upon him the countenance of a sufficient Colonel, and was no less
 reputed: and having gathered a power of men, suddenly in haste, without good adviement, fought
 with *Hanno*. In which conflict, a mighty multitude of his men were either slain or taken priso-
 ners. But, as good hap was, they were but a disordered unruly rabble of rustical Clowns and bond-
 slaves: and the least loss of all other, was the Captain himself, who amongst the rest was taken cap-
 tive: a man as then, the author of a rash and fool-hardy fight, and had been a foretime a Publi-
 can or farmer of the City revenues, and always (through his naughty practises and cunning fet-
 ches and shifts wherein he was become skilful) a dissolupt person and dangerous both to the pub-
 like State, and also to those private companies and societies, with whom he had commerce and
 dealing. *Sempromius* the Consul, lying in the *Lucans* country made many light skirmishes, but not
 any one worth remembrance, and won certain poor towns, and of small regard, belonging unto the
Lucans.

The longer that this war continued lingering, whilst prosperous success and adverse mishap
 interchangeably wrought much variety and alteration as well in the inward minds of men: as in
 their outward state and fortune: such religious zeal and superstition (and the same for the most
 part in soirein ceremonies) had so seized & possessed the City, that either the men or gods thereof,
 were suddenly all at once become clean altered and transfigured. In so much as now the Roman
 rites and holy observations were contemned, not only in secret, & within doors at home in their
 private

private houses, but abroad also in the open streets, yea, and in the common place and Capitol: where there stood always a sort of women that neither offered sacrifice and oblations, nor said their prayers, and did their devotions according to the use and custom of their native country and City. Certain odd Priests and Chaplains, yea, and doting wizards and blind Prophets, had inveigled the minds and consciences of men: whose number was the greater by reason first of the rural people and peasants of the country, who for need and poverty, and for fear together, were driven to quit their lands which they had not tilled and husbanded, by reason of the long wars, and many invasions and rodes that laid all waste, and so retired into the City: afterwards by the ease of occupation and ready means of gain which they found by the error of others, whom they soon seduced and abused: which trade they used and practised openly, as if it had been a lawful art and mystery. At the first divers good and honest persons began secretly to grieve and be offended herewith, yea, and to mutter and utter their griefs in private: but afterwards in process of time the matter was presented before the LL. of the Council, and brake forth to open complaint in publick places. The *Ædiles* and *Triumvirs* Capital were blamed much, and sharply rebuked of the Senate, for not redressing these disorders: and when they went in hand to rid the common place of this multitude and to cast down, overturn, and sling away the preparation and provision for their sacrifices and oblations, they had like to have been misused and mischieved by the people. When this malady and mischief seemed now to be greater than might be remedied and reformed by the meane and inferior Magistrate, *M. Æmilius*, Prator of the City for the time being received Commission by order from the Senate, to see that the people were kept and delivered from this new religion and superstition. He not only read unto them in a publick assembly the decree of the Senate in that behalf, but also made proclamation, *Imprimis*, that whosoever had any books of prophecies or prayers, or treatises written of this art and science of sacrifices, should bring in all those books and writings unto him before the Calends of *April* next ensuing. *Item*, that no person should sacrifice either in publick place, or sacred Church after any new form or foreign rights and traditions. And in that year there died certain publick Priests, to wit, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Arch. Prelate, or high Priest: and *C. Pappus Maso* the son of *Lucius*, a Decemvir deputed for holy mysteries. In place of *Lentulus* and of *Pappus* were *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Cn. Servilius*: *Cp.* substituted high Priest and Bishop. For August there was created *L. Quintus Flaminius*: and *L. Cornelius Lentulus* was chosen Decemvir over sacred ceremonies and divine service.

Now the time drew near of the solemn election of new Consuls: but because it was not thought good to call the old ways, busied as they were in the wars) *T. Sempronius* one of the Consuls nominated for Dictator, to hold that election aforesaid. *C. Claudius Nero*, who named for his General of the Cavalry *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, this Dictator, the first comital day following retired for Consuls *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* above named, his General of horsemen, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who in his Pratorship had the jurisdiction and government of the Province of *Sicily*. Then were the Prators elected *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus*, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Junius Silvanus*, and *P. Cornelius Sulla*. When the Election was ended the Dictator resigned up his place.

That year was *Ædile Curius* together with *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, one *P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose surname afterward was *Africinus*. When he died and made suit for the *Ædileship*, and the Tribunes of the Commons were against him, objecting that he was not eligible and capable of that office for that he was not of lawful age to be a competitor and to put in for it: it (quoth he) all the Quirites and Citizens of *Rome* will choose me *Ædile*, I have years enough on my back. Whereupon, in favour and furtherance of his suit, there was such running and labouring on all hands to the Tribes for their voices that the Tribunes indubitably foresaw their purpose to hinder him. And this was the largest and denotive that the *Ædiles* bestowed. The Roman Games were according to the wealth of that time exhibited and set out with great rate and magnificence: were continued one day longer than ordinary: and for every street throughout the City, was allowed: *N. Cornutus* of *Capua*, *L. P. Tappulus*, and *M. Fundanus Fuscus* *Ædiles* of the Commons, accented certain dames and wives of the City before the people, of dishonest and incontinent life: and some of them being condemned, they forced into banishment. The Games called *Plebeis*, were renewed for two daies: and by occasion of these games a solemn feast or dinner was kept for the honon of *Jupiter*.

Then *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time entered the Consulship, together with *Appius Claudius*: and the Prators call lots for their Provinces. It fell unto *P. Cornelius Sulla* his lot to have the jurisdiction both of Citizens and strangers, which before was executed by *twain*. To *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus* fell *Apulia*: to *C. Claudius Nero* was allotted *Suessula*: and *M. Junius Silvanus* his hap was to have the rule of the *Tuicans*. The Consuls were appointed by decree of the Senate to war with *Antioch*, and to have under their command two legions apiece: and that one of them should receive his legions of *Q. Fulvius*, the *Cof.* of the former year: and the other take his at the hands of *Fulvius Crinidatus*. As for the Prators, *Fulvius Flaccus* had Commission for the conduct of the legions at *Lucania*, which served under *Æmilius* Prator there: and *Nero Claudius* was to have the leading of those that were under the hand of *C. Terentius Peticum*: and that they should provide themselves of supply to make up the full number of the Companies. *M. Junius* had the charge of the legions of Citizens miltred the year before to serve in *Tuscanay*: *T. Sempronius Gracchus*,

* About a wine gallon.

Gracchus and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* continued still in the government of their Provinces, the one of *Lucania*, the other of *Gallia*, and kept their own forces. Likewise *P. Lentulus* governed the old Province in *Sicily*: *M. Marcellus* was Lord Deputy of *Syracuse*, and so far as the Realm and Dominion of King *Hiero* reached, *T. Octavius* Admiral of the Navy. Greece was governed still by *M. Valerius*, *Sardinia* by *Q. Mutius Scævola*, Spain by *P.* and *Cornelius Scipio*. To the old armies before, there were other two new legions levied and enrolled by the *Coff.* So as in all, the whole forces for that year amounted to 23 Legions.

When the Consuls should mutter the soldiers, they were hindered by occasion of a lewd prank played by one *M. Posthumus Pyrgensis*, to the great trouble and disquiet of the State and publick peace. This *Posthumus* was by his vocation and calling a Publican, who many years together for crafty and deceitful dealing, for avarice and covetousness, had not his fellow in all the City, but it were *Lupomanius Pientianus* again: the same man, whom the year before, as he foraged the territories of the *Lucans* rashly and unadvisedly, the *Carthaginians* by the conduct of *Hanno* had taken prisoner. These two (forasmuch as it was covenanted and indented before, that the transporting of those things which were for the provision of the armies beyond sea, should be warranted by the City against all danger of tempest: and that all damage and loss of goods that way mis-carrying, should not lie upon the shoulders of the Publicans, who had undertaken by great to serve the smiles, but be made good again out of the common Chest and Treasure: these publicans (I say) not only gave false information of certain shipwracks, but also if they brought word at any time truly of some ships that were perished, they were such only as were lost by their own fraud and deceit, and not call away by chance or violence of weather. For they would straight charge certain old vessels and shaken bottoms, with some few wares of small or no worth at all, and suffer them to sink for the nonce in the deep sea, and save the mariners and sailors with small pinnales and cockboats prepared aforehand for the purpose: and when they had done, lie shamefully and say, that they had lost merchandise and commodities in those ships of sundry sorts, and of great value. These cunning parts of theirs had been the year past revealed and notified to *M. Æmilius*, the Prator, and the Senate by him made acquainted therewith: howbeit there was nothing done, nor any act of Senat devised for the chastisement of the offender: because there was nothing done, nor in case would offend the company and society of these publicans and farmers, in such a time especially when there was some need of them. Then the common people took the matter into their own hands, for to proceed with more severity against this lewd and fraudulent practice. At length two of the Tribunes of the Commons, *Sp.* and *Lucius*, both *Carvili*, arose up and shewed themselves. For seeing how odious and infamous an indignity this was, and not to be suffered they brought *M. Posthumus* in question, and laid an action and set a fine upon his head, of two hundred thousand *Aſſes*. When the day of trial was come, whether the fine aforesaid should stand and be paid, or taken off and remitted: and that the Commons were assembled in so great numbers, that the great Court yard of the Capitol would scarcely hold the multitude: the defendant spake for himself and pleaded at large. But the only hope that he seemed to have was this, in case *C. Servilius Sulpicius* a Tribune of the Commons a friend and near kinsman of *Posthumus*, would by virtue of his place come between and stop the course of law for proceeding farther, before that the tribes and wards were called forth, to go together and to give their voices. The two Tribunes above named, having brought forth the witnesses to depose, and their depositions being taken, commanded the people to void and make way: And the lottery casket or sifter was brought forth to call lots in what Tribes the Latines should give their voices. All this while the Publicans were earnest with *Caſca*, to dissolve the assembly by one means or other, and put off the Court for that day. The common people on the other side, called on hard and gainfraid it. And as it fell out, *Caſca* fast most in one of the points and corners of the assembly. He wist not what to do his mind was so perplexed for shame of the one side if he did not help his friend and kinsman, and for fear on the other side, because he saw the people so eagerly bent. The Publicans seeing final hope of help in him, with full intent to make him stir, and to trouble the Court, put forward forcibly and advanced themselves through a void way, seized upon an high place, and between the Tribunes and the people, rushed in upon them, and fell to quarrell and brawled both with the people of the one side, and also with the Tribunes on the other: infomuch as they were like to go together by the ears. Whereupon *Fulvius* the Consul, "See ye not (quoth he) to the Tribunes how basely ye are accounted of and made of no better reckoning among them, than private persons? See ye not a riot and mutiny toward, unless ye make haste and break up the assembly? So the Commons were dismissed, and a Senate called: Where the Consuls made relation to the Lords of the Council, and complained how the solemn Session and Court of the Commons, was by the audacious violence of the Publicans disturbed: "That Court (I say) wherein *M. Furius Camillus*, upon whose exile ensued the destruction of the City, suffered himself to be condemned by ungrateful Citizens: wherein the Decemvirs afore him by virtue of whose laws the City is governed, and we live at this day: and wherein my principal Citizens afterwards have been content to be set down and judged by the people. Moreover, how *Posthumus Pyrgensis* by force wrested from the Commons, the liberty of their voices and suffrages: subverted and made void the judicial Session of the Commons: curbed the Tribunes and had no regard of them: came as it were in warlike manner against the people of *Rome* and got for their vantage the higher ground, to keep the Tribunes from coming unto the Commons: "and

* 3 lib. ster.

The complaints of the Consuls to the Romans.

"and to stop the tribes for being called to scrutiny and to give their voices: and nothing else it was that kept men from committing a fray, and shedding blood, but the patience of the Magistrates themselves: in that for the present, they gave place to the furious rage and malevolent fancies of a few: and for his will and pleasure brake up the assembly, before they could go together about the matter they were met for: (which the defendant himself with force of arms was ready to stop and hinder for going forward) because they might have no occasion given them to quarrel, which was the only thing that they sought for. When this matter with all the circumstances was thoroughly scanned out, and the best men there had spoken their minds, and given their opinion according to the outrageousness and indignity of the thing: and thereupon the Senate decreed, that this violence tended to the breach of common peace, and the hazard of the State (as I most dangerously precedent to be suspected) then without more ado, the two *Carvili Tribunes* of the Com. laid clean all debating about the penal fine aforesaid, and indicted *Postumius* of a capital crime: and commanded him to be attached by a principal Serjeant, and to be led to prison, unless he put in good sureties for his appearance to answer the cause, such as would be bound for him body for body. *Postumius* put in bail: and made default at his day. Then the Tribunes called the Commons together, preferred a bill unto them, which they granted to pass as an act, in this form: That if *M. Postumius* came not forth & made appearance before the *Calends of May*, and being cited and called that day, answered not to his name, and no lawful excuse alleged for his absence: they judged him to be a banished man, and therefore awarded his goods to be sold in port-sale and himself to be excommunicate, and interdicted the use of water and of fire: and to lose the benefit of a Citizen for ever. This done, they began also to entitle all those, one after another, of a capital crime, who were his abettors, and the movers and stirrers of a sedition and commotion of the people, and to call for personal pledges. At the first they committed as many of them as could find no such sureties: and afterwards, those also that were sufficient to put in bail. For the avoiding of which danger, most of them departed into voluntary exile. This was the end of the Publicans fraudulent dealing: and this was the issue of their audacious enterprise, in defence and maintenance of their guile and deceit.

After this, a solemn Court was called for the creation of the Arch-Prelate, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus* newly elected Prelate, was the President of this election. Three competitors there were, who stood for that Prelacy, and strived earnestly one against the other: namely, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, Consul for the time being, who also had before been twice Consul, and Censor besides; also *T. Manlius Torquatus*, a man of great reputation, for that he had been likewise dignified with a double Consulship, and one Censorship; and last of all, *P. Lucius Crassus*, who as yet, was to lose the Adulthood: howbeit, this young man in that fate and contention was superior, and carried it away from those grave, ancient, and honourable persons. Before him, for the space of an hundred and twenty years, there had not been created any one, the highest Priest, (save only *P. Cornelius Calpurnius*) but had sit before in the Ivory Chair and born office of State. The Consul had much ado to go through with the Levy, and to enroll the full legion of soldiers, by reason that the small number of young and able men would hardly afford both to furnish out the new legions of Citizens, and also to supply and make up the old. Howbeit the Senate would not suffer them to give over their enterprise which they were about, but agreed that there should be chosen two *Ternions of Triumvirs*: the one sort of them to be sent out, within the compass of fifty miles every way from *Rome*, the other to go farther; with commission, to take good view and survey, both within that precinct and without, in all thorough-fares and market towns: in boroughs and places of frequent assemblies; of all persons of free condition that they could set eye on: and so many as they thought able men of body to bear arms, although they were not come to the lawful age for service, to press them for soldiers. Also it was decreed, that the Tribunes of the Commons, if they pleased, should put up a bill, that all under seventeen years of age, who had bound themselves by military oath, should have as good pay, as if they had been enrolled soldiers at seventeen years or upward. By virtue of this decree, the two *Ternions* aforesaid of the *N* Triumvirs being chosen, made diligent search, and visited all the country over for free-born men accordingly.

At the same time letters came from *M. Marcellus* out of *Sicily*, concerning the demands of the soldiers, who served under *P. Lentulus*, and they were read in the Senate House. That army consisted of the residue which remained after the field lost at *Canna*, and was confined into *Italy* (as hath been said afore) with this condition, not to return back into *Italy* before the Punick war should be ended. These soldiers obtained licence of *Lentulus* to send as Embassadors unto *Marcellus* (where he lay in winter harbour) the principal men of arms, such as served on horse-foot, allowed by the City, the chiefs Centurions also, and the bravest soldiers and choice flowers of the Legions. One of these in the name of the rest, having liberty granted them for to speak, made his oration in this wise, "We had come to you into *Italy*, O *M. Marcellus*, when you were Consul: immediately upon that decree made against us (which if it were not unjust and unreasonable, yet surely it was heavy and rigorous enough: but that we hoped to be sent into this Province) (so generally troubled and out of order by the death of the King, there to be employed in some dangerous and cruel war against the Sicilians and Carthaginians both at once, and so with our bloodshed and grievous wounds to make satisfaction for our trespass unto the Magistrates and rulers of *Rome*. Like as in our fathers daies, they which were taken prisoners

by

by King *Pyrrhus* before *Heraclea*, made amends for their fault by their good service against the same *Pyrrhus*. And yet, I can not see, [my LL. of the Senat] for what ill desert of our parts, ye either have been displeased aforetime, or are offended at this present with us. For me thinks, I see both Consuls, and the whole body of the Senat of *Rome*, when I behold your face, O *Marcellus*: whom if we had had to our Consul at *Canna*, it would have gone better both with the Common-weal, and with our selves, then it did. For I beseech you, suffer us now, before I make moan, and complain of our hard fate and condition, to purge out selves of that crime for which we are blamed. Set aside, that neither the wrath of the Gods, nor destiny and fatal necessity (upon the Law and decree whereof dependeth the immutable order and infallible course and consequence of all things in the world) was the cause that we were defeated & overthrown at *Canna*, but our own selves, and our default was the occasion: let us see then, whose fault it was, the soldiers, or the Generals? For mine own part, I remember I am a soldier, and of my Captain and General I will never speak but well: of him especially, unto whom I know the Senat rendered thanks, for that he depaired not of the common-weal: and whose government ever since his flight and running away, hath been prorogued from year to year, and who hath had the conduct of armies continually. Neither will I say ought of the rest likewise, who escaped that unfortunate foil and defeat, I mean our military Tribunes and Colonels, who (as we hear say) sue for dignities, bear honourable offices in City, yea, and rule whole Provinces as LL. Presidents in foreign parts. It is so indeed my LL. do ye to easily pardon and forgive your own selves and children? and deal ye so hardly, so rigorously and cruelly, against us base objects persons, and vile wretches? And was it no shame and dishonour imputed to the Consul and other great personages of the City to flee, when there was no other hope? and were the poor soldiers sent by you into the field with this intention, to be all killed up, and none to escape? At the battail of *Alia*, the whole army in a manner fled away: All at the Straights of *Caudium* (to say nothing of other shameful foils of our armies) the host yielded up their armor to the enemy, before they joyined battel and fought one stroke. Yet, so far off it was, that those armies sustained any infamy and shameful reproach therefore, that both the City of *Rome* was recovered again by the means of those Regiments which fled from *Alia* to *Veii*, and also the Candine legions which returned to *Rome* naked, were sent again into *Sannium* well armed: who subdued and brought under the yoke of subjection the very same enemies, who had taken such pride and joy in that dishonour and ignominy of theirs. And now, for the army before *Canna*, is any man able to come forth and charge them justly, that either they fled, or for cowardly fear behaved themselves unequally, and not like soldiers? Where were slain in field above fifty thousand men: from whence the Consul fled with fifty Horsemen, and no more: and of which company thereof not one remaineth alive, but whom the enemy, weary with killing, spared and left. I remember, at what time as the prisoners taken there, were denied money to pay for their ransom, then every man commanded and praised us for saving and relieving our selves against another day, to be employed in the service of the Common-weal: for returning unto *Venusia* to the Consul, and for making a good shew of a compleat army. But now, in worse case are we, than in our fathers daies, captives have been that were taken prisoners. For they only had their armor and weapons changed for worse, their rank in the battel shifted, their place in the camp where they should quarter, altered: which notwithstanding, they recovered again all at once, by performing their good devoir to their country, and winning a victory in one fortunate battel. Not one of them was ever confined (as it were) to a place of exile: to be brief, they were let to fight with some enemy or other, where they might once for all, either lose their life, or end their dishonour. And we, against whom nothing can be objected at all, unless it be this, that we were the cause, and none but we, that some citizen of *Rome* might be said to remain alive of all those that were at the battel of *Canna*: we I say, are sent far enough off, not only from our native country, and *Italy*, but also from all enemies: where we wax old in exile, to the end, that we should have no hope, no occasion and opportunity to wipe away and cancel our disgrace, to mitigate and pacify the anger of our fellow-citizens, and finally to die with honor. But it is neither end of shame, nor reward of vertue and valour, that we desire and crave: but only that we might be permitted to make proof of our courage, and shew our prowess. Pains and perils we seek for, and to be employed in dangerous adventures, like hardy men and brave soldiers. Two years already there hath been sharp and hot war in *Sicily*. Some Cities the Carthaginians won by force, other some the Romans took likewise by assault. Whole Regiments of foot, many troops and corners of Horse encounter together, and assault one another. At *Syracuse* there are great enterprises and worthy feats of arms, both by Sea and Land. The shouts of them that fight, the clattering and ringing again of their armor and weapons, we can hear where we are, and we sit still like idle larks, and do nothing, as if we had neither hands nor weapons to fight with. *T. Sempronius* the Consul, with legions of bond-slaves, hath hidden battel to the enemies, and fought with them in plain field so oft, that they are well recovered for their labour with gaining their freedom first, and then the Burgeoisie of the City. Let us yet, in place and quality at leastwise, of bondslaves taken up and bought for money against these wars, fight with those enemies, as well as they have done, and by our fight trye, whether we can regain our en- livenment and liberty. Will you your self, O *Marcellus*, make trial of us, and of our valour, by Sea,

Q. q

by

The Oration
of one of the
Embassadors
on the consil
soldiers unto
Marcellus.

"by Land, in pitched field, and battelranged, or in giving assault and winning of walled Towns?
 "Put us to it, and spare not. The hardest adventures, the most painful and dangerous enterprises,
 "are they which we require most gladly: that we may have that betimes, and at one, which we
 "should have come unto at *Cannæ*: seeing that all the time we have lived since, hath been destined
 "to our ignominy and disgrace.

At these words they fell down prostrate at *Marcellus* his feet. *Marcellus* answered them, that
 he had neither power of himself, nor commission otherwise, to content them, and satisfy their
 request. Howbeit, write to the Senat he would: and according as the LL. should give advice and
 direction, so he would do and not fail. These letters (as I said before) were brought to the Con-
 suls, and by them read in the Senat-house. And after deliberate consultation about their con-
 tents, the Senat passed this decree: That as concerning those souldiers, who had forsaken their
 fellows fighting before *Cannæ*, the Senat saw no reason, why they should be put in trust any
 more with the affairs of the Common-wealth: but if *M. Claudius* the Proconsul thought it good
 otherwise, he might do according to that which he judged convenient, and to stand with his
 own credit, and the safety of the State. Provided always, that not one of them be dispensed with,
 and freed from service or charge of souldiery: nor rewarded with any military gift in testimony
 and token of his valour: nor yet reduced home again into *Italy*, so long as the enemy made abode
 there.

After this, the Pretor for the City, by vertue of a decree from the Senat, and an act of the
 Commons, assembled the people together. In which Session were created five Commissioners,
 called *Quinquavirs*, for the redifying and repairing of the turrets and the walls: Likewise two
 other fraternities of *Triumvirs*, the one for taking an inventory of all sacred things, and to sign
 and note all offerings and oblations: the other for redifying the Temples of *Fortune* and *dane*
Matuta, within the gate *Carmentis*, and likewise of *Spes* without the gate, which the year past
 were consumed by fire. Great and fearful tempests hapned this year. On the Alban mount it
 rained stones continually for two dayes. Many places were blasted and smitten with lightning
 from Heaven: and namely, two Chappels in the Capitol, and the Rampier about the camp and
 fort above *Suessula* in divers places thereof: and two watchmen in their Sentinels stricken stark
 dead. The wall and certain turrets thereon at *Cumes*, not only smitten but also shaken down and
 overthrowen with lightnings and thunder-bolts. At *Reate* there was seen an huge stone to flie, and
 drop in the air. The sun also appeared more red than it useth to be, and like to bleed. In re-
 gard of these prodigious sights, there was a solemn Procession and supplication all one day:
 and the Consuls for certain dayes together, attended only upon Divine service of the Gods: and the
 Novendial sacrifices were devoutly celebrated nine dayes together.

Now whereas a long time already both *Annibal* hoped, and the Romans also suspected that
 the Tarentines would revolt: there fell out between, an occurrence and outward accident, which
 hastened it the rather. There was one *Phileas* a Tarentine, who having abode long at *Rome* under
 colour of an Embassador leger, a busy headed man, and of an unquiet spirit, one that of all
 things could not away with rest and peace, in which so long as he lived he thought every day
 a year, and that now he was waxen old and aged therein found means to have access unto the ho-
 nours of the Tarentines. Kept they were in the Close belonging to the Temple of Liberty, with
 the less attendance and careful eye, because it was expedient and good neither for themselves, nor
 for their City, to make an escape, and deceive the Romans. These hostages he had oftentimes sol-
 licited and perwaded by much talk and many reasons, and at length having bribed and corrupted
 two sextons and wardens of the said Temple, he trained them forth in the evening out from the
 place where they were in safe custody: and when he had accompanied them onward on the way
 as a guide, and directed them how to pass secretly, he fled himself and they together. By day
 break the next morning they were missed, and their escape was noised throughout the City:
 Whereupon, men were sent out after them from all parts, to fetch them in again: who having
 overtaken them at *Tarracina*, laid hold of them, and brought them back to *Rome*: where in the
Comitium, they were, by the consent of the people, beaten with rods, and then thrown down
 headlong from the cliff *Tarpeia*.

The cruel rigor of this punishment, caused much anger: and provoked two of the noblest and
 most famous Grecian Cities in *Italy* to indignation, not only in publick generally, but also in pri-
 vate particularly: according as any man was either in blood joyned, or in alliance and friendship
 linked to them who were thus foully and shamefully put to death. Amongst whom there were
 about thirteen noble Gentlemen of *Tarentum*, conspired together and the chief of them were *Nico*
 and *Philomenes*. These conspirators before they would stir and enter into any action, thought best
 to speak and confer with *Annibal* first: and so having gone forth of the City, under a pretence
 as if they went to the chase a hunting, by night they came unto him. But when they drew neer unto
 the camp, the rest hid themselves within a wood neer unto the high way: *Nico* and *Philomenes*
 only went forward to the watch, and there being taken (as they requested themselves) were
 brought before *Annibal*. Who when they had delivered unto him their complaint and upon what
 occasions they entered into that designment they were highly commended, and promised great re-
 wards, and willed and charged by him, that to the intent they might bear their country-men
 in hand, how they ever went out of the City to fetch in some booties, they should drive afore them
 into the City, certain cattle of the Carthaginians, which were put out to pasture and feeding:
 and

And herewith gave them his word to do it safely, and without any impeachment and resistance
 whensoever. Thus these yong Gentlemen were seen to bring in good store of cattell: and as they
 were known to make this adventure the second time and other still, men marvelled the lesse at
 the matter, and suspected nothing. Now upon a new parling and communication with *Annibal*,
 they covenanted with him upon his faithful promise in the letters, *Imprimis*, for the Tarentines
 themselves, to enjoy freely their Lands and goods, and live under their own laws. *Item*, to pay
 no pension nor tribute unto *Annibal*, nor be forced to receive a garrison against their wills. And
 last of all, to betray the garrison souldiers of the Romans, and all their fortresses and places of
 strength deliver up into the hands of the Carthaginians. When these conditions and capitulations

Were agreed upon, then *Philomenes* used much other to go forth and come in again in the night:
 and as he was known to be a great hunter, and much delighted in that exercise, he had his hounds
 following him hard at his heels, and all other furniture about him fit for huntmen: and lightly
 ever he took some wild beaft or other with his hounds, or eleged something from the enemy,
 that of purpose lay ready for his hands: and always as he brought home ought with him, he
 would bestow it either upon the Captain of the Roman garrison, or deal it among the warders of
 gates. And they all, verily believed and were perwaded, that his going out and in thus, moztly
 by night, was only for fear of the enemies. Now, when he had used this so accomodably that he had
 made it an ordinary practice, in so much, that at what time of the night so ever he had but once
 lured or whittled the gate was straight open for him: then *Annibal* thought it time, to put the

Plot above said in execution. Three dayes journey he was off; Where because he would have men
 the lesse marvel, why he kept a standing camp so long still in one place he feigned and made him-
 self sick. The Romans also, that lay in garrison at *Tarentum* gave over to suspect his long abode
 and lingering there. But after that he was determined and resolved to advance toward *Tarentum*,
 he picked out ten thousand foot and horsemen together, whom he supplied for nimble bo-
 dies, swift footmanship, and lightness of armor, to be most meet for expedition: and with them
 at the fourth watch of the night, he marched forward with his engines. And having sent out
 afore-hand fourscore Numidian light Horses, he commanded them, to ride about and fenc out all
 the wayes on every side, and to call their eye to elpie and discover all the coasts, that no country
 people a far off might descry and view the army on foot, but they should be seen: and withal, to

bring in, as many as were gone before, and kill all them they met and encountered: to the end that
 the Peasants therein inhabiting, might think they were Theeves and Robbers, rather than the
 vanguarders and fore-riders of an army. Himself in person marching with great speed, and celerity
 pitched his camp almost 15 miles from *Tarentum*. Neither would he there, be known unto his
 men of his purpose, nor tell them whither they should go: only he called his souldiers together,
 and charged them to hold on the direct way, and not suffer any one to turn aside, nor in the march
 go out of his rank or file: and above all things, to be ready for to receive their charge and com-
 mandment from their Captains, and do nothing without their warrant and commission. As for
 himself, he would when he saw his time, let them know his mind and what the service was that he
 would have done. And about the same very hour and instant, news came as far as *Tarentum* that

Some few Numidian Horsemen foraged the country, and had put the villagers in great fright all
 about. At which tidings, the Captain of the Roman garrison was no more moved, nor made any
 other hit, but only gave order, that some of the Horsemen the next morning by day light should
 ride forth, to keep the enemy from farther excursions. In the mean time, they that had this charge,
 bore themselves so carefully in providing themselves to execute that which they were com-
 manded, that contrary-wise, they took those outdoes of the Numidians for a good argument. That
Annibal with his army was not dislodged, but abode still in leaguer where he lay first. *Annibal*
 when it was once dark and dead night, began to set forward. *Philomenes* was there ready to be
 his guide, laden with his game hunted as his manner was. The rest of his conspiracy waited their
 time to execute their several charges, as it was agreed among them. Now it was ordered between
 them afore, that *Philomenes* coming in at the usual little wicket, with his venison that he had hun-
 ted, should bring in with him some armed men: and *Annibal* on another part, come to the gate
 called *Temenis*, which looked toward the East, and stood on the Land side of the City, a good
 way within the wall, as it were in a nook. When *Annibal* approached the said gate, he made a
 frein token that he was come (as it was devised between them before) and it flamed forth and
 gave a shining light. The like did *Nico* again. Then the fires on both sides were put out, that they
 made no more blaze. And *Annibal* in great and still silence, led his army close to the gate. *Nico*
 came suddenly at unawares upon the watchmen fast asleep, killed them in their beds, and opened
 that gate. *Annibal* entered with his Regiment of footmen and commanded the cavalry to stay be-
 hind, to the end they might have liberty of open ground to ride, whithersoever there was need,
 and as occasion required. Now by this time, *Philomenes* also was come neer to that little gate on

the other side, where he used to make his egrets and ingrets to and fro. And when he had raised the
 watchman with his voyce to wel known and with his whistle wherewith now he was familiarly
 acquainted, & said withal, that he was troubled with tugging and lugging of a foul & heavy beaft:
 therewith the wicket was set open. Two lusty fellows there were carrying in the wild bore be-
 tween them, and he himself followed with one of the huntsmen, lightly & nimbly appointed, and
 whilst the watchman his eye was upon the two porters that carried the beaft, wondering at the
 bigness of the bore, and took no heed to himself, *Nico*, thrust him through with his spear. Then

trud in after them, about thirty men armed, who killed the rest of the watch, and brake down the great gates withal: and immediately there entered the companies with battens displayed: and so, forth from thence they were conducted and brought to the market place, without making any noise, and there joined themselves to *Annib.* Then *Annib.* divided two thousand fians into three Regiments, whom he sent into sundry parts of the City: and gave order to the Tarentins and the Africans, to get possession of the most principal and populous places of the City and when the cry and shout was once up, to kill all the Romans wheresoever, and to spare the Townsmen. But to the end that this might be orderly done, he gave direction to the young Gentlemen afore said of *Tarentum*, that so soon as they elyped a far off, any of their own Citizens and Country-men, they should bid them be quiet and still, to hold their peace, to be of good cheer and fear nothing. By which time, they began to set up a shout and cry, as men use to do in a City taken by assault, but what the matter should be, no man of the Town or Garrison could certainly tell. For the Tarentin inhabitants supposed verily, that the Roman founders of the garrison were risen up to sack the City: the Romans on the other side, thought that the Townsmen mutined, and they were in doubt of some traiterous practise. The Captain himself awakened and raised at the first tumult, escaped to the key, where he took a small Barge or wherry-boat, and fled to the Castle. The Trumpet also that sounded from the Theatre, made the greater terror: for it was both a Roman Trumpet, provided aforehand for the purpose by those Traitors, and a Grecian blew it, one who had no skill: and so it was doubtful, both who he was that sounded, and who they were that he gave signal unto. When day appeared, and the Romans saw the armour of the Carthaginians and Gauls then they will well in what door the wind was, and how the World went: and the Greeks seeing the Romans lying along every where slain, were soon aware that the City was taken by *Annib.* But after it was broad day light, and that the Romans who remained unkilld, were fled into the Castle, and the noise and hubbub began by little and little to slack and give over: then *Annib.* commanded the Tarentins to be called to a general assembly, and to present themselves without arms. When they were all come together, but only those who with the Romans were fled for company into the Castle, there to abide in fortune as they; *Annib.* spake kindly unto the Tarentins, gave them good and friendly words, rehearsed with great protestation what favors he had shewed to all their Citizens, whom he had taken prisoners either at *Thrasymenus*, or at *Cannae* and withal, after he had bitterly in eight days against the Lordy and proud rule of the Romans, he commanded every man to repair home to his own house, and let his own name upon his door: for so many houses as had not the name written upon them of the Master thereof, he would presently upon sound of Trumpet, command to be riled. Over and besides, that if any one should hap to write his own name, and let it on the door or lodging-house of a Roman (for he saw divers of their houses empty) he would take him for an enemy, and deal with him accordingly. After this speech ended, and the assembly dissolved, when the doors were marked with their titles and inscriptions afore said, whereby the houses of friends and enemies were known distinctly one from another: the signal was given by sound of Trumpet: and then there was running every where from all parts to ransack the lodgings of the Romans. And some pretty sprinkling of pillage they met withal. The next day after, he advanced against the Castle to assault it, which after he saw impregnable and not possible to be won, either by forcible assault, or by artificial devices of fabricks and engines, by reason that both the Sea came to it, wherewith the greater part thereof was compassed, in manner of a demy Iland, and also fortified besides on another part with exceeding high and steep rocks: and withal, fenced from the City with a strong wall and deep ditch: therefore, because he would neither let nor hinder himself from achieving greater affairs, whiles he was carefully busied only about defending the Tarentins, nor yet leave them without a strong guard, for fear lest the Romans from out of the Castle, might at their pleasure come upon them he determined to raise a rampier for a partition between the Castle and the City, for their defence against the said garrison. And he was not out of hope, but that when the Romans should offer to issue forth to hinder the said work, they might also be fought withal: and in case they adventured rashly to run on, and engage themselves too far, they might be cut off in their heat, & the forces of the garrison might be so diminished & abated by some great slaughter & execution, that the Tarentins of themselves should be able with ease to defend their City against them. The said work was not so soon begun, but the Romans all of a sudden, opened the Castle gate, sallied forth & charged upon the pioneers as they were labouring about their bulwark. The guard that attended for the defence of the workmen, and stood before their work, fell off and suffered themselves to be put back, to the end that the enemies upon their first success, should be more adventurous: supposing that the further they gave ground, the more of the other would follow after and chase them. Which being perceived, the Carthaginians whom *Annib.* had kept close for this purpose, and had in readines very well appointed, rose out of all parts, and made head again. Neither were the Romans able to abide their terrible violence, and flee they could not in multitudes by occasion that the straightness of the place would give no leave: and besides, many things lay in their way: partly the work that was begun, and partly, other provision of stuffe brought for the same, which mightily hindered and impeached them. Most of them fell headlong into the trench: and to be short, more perished in their flight, than were killed in the fight. After this the fortification were taken and again, and none durst venture to hinder it. So he cut a mighty deep ditch, & raised an high rampier within it. Also behind it, a pretty distance off, he went in hand

A to build a mure or wall to it, in the very same quarters: that they might be able even without any guard at all, or strength of men, to defend themselves against the Romans. Howbeit, he left them an indifferent band of souldiers, which might withal help out somewhat in making of the wall. Himself then departed with the rest of his army as far as the River *G. Ilesus* (five miles off from the City) and there encamped. From which standing camp, he came back once again to survey the work: and finding that it went better forward than he looked for, he began to conceive some good hope that the citadel also might be won by assault. For why it was not defended surely by intiation on high ground, as others are, but seated on a plain and divided from the City, by a wall only and a ditch. Now when as it began to be assailed with fabricks, and artillery devised of all sorts, there hapned a new supply to be sent from *Acherontum* to aid the garrison: whereby the Romans took heart unto them, in so much as in the night time of a suddain and before they were looked for, they set upon the fabricks and ordinance of the enemies planted thereupon: some they cast down and overthrew, others they fired and consumed. And there an end of *Annib.* his assault of the Castle from that side.

The only hope behind now, was in continual siege: and yet that hope promised no great effect, because they that held the Castle, had the Sea free at their command, all that side, whereas the said iote (standing as it were in an hollow) overlooked the mouth of the haven and the City contrary-wise, was wholly secluded from all entrance of passage and commodities coming in by Sea, and likewise were they that besieged the fortrels, to feel the want and scarcity of victuals, than those that were besieged within it. Then *Annib.* after he had called together the principal citizens of *Tarentum*, laid open unto them all, the present difficulties, saying: "That he neither saw any way to win by force the Castle so strong and fortified as it was, nor had any hope at all to gain it by hege, so long as the enemies were Lords of the Sea. But if they had ships onely, whereby they might hinder and stay the coming in of their victuals and other commodities, the enemies immediately would either quit the peece, or yield themselves. The Tarentins held well with that, and approved the device. But (say they) he that giveth such counsel, must also afford us means to effect the same. For the Carthaginian ships if they were sent for, and set out of *Sicily* might well do the feat: may, as for our own which lie shut up as it were within a little creek and bay, considering that the enemy keepeth the mouth and entry of the haven, how is it possible that they should get out from their harbour into the open Sea, and pass without danger? Pass (quoth he) Pass they shall, make no doubt of that. Many things, I tell you, considered in their own nature are cumbersome and difficult, but by policy and wit of man are easily welded and wrought with a sleight. Ye have a City here seated upon a plain and champaign ground, the wayes answering to every side off are even, large and broad enough, yea, and open to all quarters. I will chuse that way which crosteth the midst of the City, and passeth along to the haven and the Sea, and so will carry and transport the ships upon wains, with no great ado and trouble. And so, both the Sea shall be ours clear, which now the enemies keep, and also we shall besiege the Castle round, as well by Sea as by Land: nay, more than that, within short time we shall either enter it, being abandoned of the enemies, or else be masters both of it and them together.

These words not only put them in good hope, that the enterprize would be effected, but also set them in a wonderful good conceit and admiration of the Captain himself. Then out of hand, all the wains and carts were taken up from all places as many as could be had, and were put together, and coupled one to another. Divers cranes and other instruments were set to, for to draw up the ships to Land the way made plain and level, that the carts might go more easily, and pass away with less trouble and more expedition. After this they got together draught oxen, cart jades and other labouring beasts, yea, and men also for to draw: and thus the work was lustily begun, in so much, as within few dayes, the fleet well rigged, appointed, and dressed, was brought about the Castle, and rid at anchor even in the avenue & entry of the haven. In these terms stood *Tarentum*, when *Annib.* left it, and returned back to his wintering harbours. But authors write diversly of this revolt of *Tarentum*, whether it hapned the year past, or at this present. But the greater number of them, and those that lived neerer to that time, when the remembrance of these matters was fresh, affirm that it was this very year.

At Rome, the Consuls and Pretors both remained still, until the * fifth day before the Calends of May, by occasion of the Latin holy dayes, upon which day, when they had performed a solemn sacrifice, with all complements thereto belonging, on the *Alban Hill*, they departed every one to his severall charge and Province. After this, there crept into the minds of men a new scrupulosity of conscience upon certain propheticall verses of one *Martius*, a noble and famous Prophet in times past. Now, by reason that in the year before, there was diligent search and inquisition made, for such books of *Fortune*, according to a decree granted out of the Senat, those verses came to light, and to the hands of M. *Emilius* Pretor of the City, who sat upon that commission. And he immediately gave them to *Sulla* the new Pretor. Of two Prophecies of *Martius*, the one, which afterwards carried the greater authority with it, by reason of the event that hapned to right, and declared it so evidently, caused the other also, whereof the time was not yet come, to be of credit and believed. The former contained a Prediction of the overthrow at *Canna*, in these or such like words:

From Trojan line, O Romans once descended,
Elic Cannæ River, near to Cannæ Town:
Left strangers born, who have by death intended,
Force thee to fight on Diomedes his down,
But warning mine, thou wilt not rest upon,
Until with blood thou first do fill the plain:
And then to Sea from fruitful Lands, anon
Thy men shall down the stream by thousand slain.
Thy flesh must bait the fish in Ocean deep,
And lure the fowles that sit from high to prey,
And feed wild beasts, on earth below that keep.
Mark well my words, Jove thus me taught to say.

And they who had been souldiers, and served in those wars, knew as perfectly Diomedes his plains, and the River * Cannæ, as they did the very defeat it self, and losse at Cannæ. Then was the other Prophecy likewise read, which was the darker of the twain: not only because those things are more uncertain, than those which are past already; but also by reason of the kind of writing, which was more obscure and intricate, in these terms:

* The Game that Aulisius,

* Apollo is called in Homer Iliad, α, Εκτοβος, i. shooting afar off.

If enemies ye would expel, if both and plague fore
Sent from a far, ye would drive forth, and vexed be no more;
To Phœbus (Romans) I advise, ye vow from year to year
To set forth plays in solemn rites, with mirth and merry cheer.
From pulch'rick flock, the people must, part of the charge disburse:
The rich shall ye, for you and yours, defray with private purse.
The sovereign Pretor must procure these games to be performed,
Who sits in place, mens place to bear, and see all wrongs reform'd.
Then shall the ten Decemvirs bright, the Greekish rites observe,
In slaying beasts for sacrifice, and nothing from them swerve.
If all be done accordingly, your joy shall yet increase,
Your State shall duly grow in wealth, and fruits of blessed peace.
For God Apollo will you save, he will your foes destroy,
Who at their pleasure waste your fields, and work you much annoy.

For the explanation and expiation both, of this prophesie, they took one whole day. And the morrow after, there passed a decree from the Senate, That the Decemvirs should peruse and look into the books of *Sibylla*, about the exhibiting of those said games, in the honour of *Apollo*, and celebrating likewise of the sacrifices. And when all was perused, and relation made before the Senat: the Lords made an Act, and set down an order: First, to vow and set forth solemn games accordingly, to the honour of *Apollo*. Item, After the Games were done and finished, to allow the Pretor * twelve thousand Asles, toward the expensies of the divine service, and two greater beasts for sacrifice. There passed also another Act of the Senat, That the Decemvirs should celebrate divine service, and sacrifice after the observance and rites of the Grecians: and offer upon the Altar these beasts, to wit, an Ox with gilded horns, and two white fœmal Goats, with gilded horns likewise; for *Dona Apollo*: and a Cow with horns, in like manner gilded; for *Dona Latona*. The Pretor, when he was to represent the Games within the *Circus Maximus*, gave commandment, and made proclamation, That the people, during the time of those solemnities, should contribute money, for an offering to *Apollo*, every man according to his ability, and as he might well spare. This is the beginning of the Apollinare Games and Playes, exhibited for to obtain victory, and not for to escape some plague or pestilence, as most men suppose. And when they were celebrated, the people stood to behold and look on, adorned with garlands upon their heads, and the dames and matrons of the City went in procession, and made supplications. Every mans doore was set open, and they feasted and made good cheer generally through the City in the open street; and a high holiday this was, solemnized with all kind of ceremonies that could be devised.

But to return again to *Annibal*, who was about *Tarentum*: and both Consuls remaining in *Samnium*, but ready, as it seemed, to besiege *Capua*: it fell out, that the Campanians already were distressed with hunger and famine, (a calamity that usually followeth long and continual siege) and so the reason was, because the armies of the Romans had impeached and hindered their seedtime. Therefore they dispatched Embassadors to *Annibal*, beseeching him, that he would take order for grain to be brought into *Capua*, from all parts near adjoining, before that the Consuls were come abroad with their legions into their territory, and all the ways beset, and passages stopp'd by the guards and companies of the enemies. Whereupon, *Annibal* gave direction to *Hanno*, that he should remove out of the country of the Brutii, and passe over with his forces into *Campania*, and endeavour to, that the Campanians might be provided of sufficient store of corn. Then

Hanno

Hanno dislodged anon, and departed with all his power out of the * Brutians countrey, purposing to avoid the leaguer of his enemies, and namely the Consuls, who lay in *Samnium*: and when he approached near to * *Beneventum*, he pitched his Tents three miles from the City it self, upon a high ground. After which he commanded, that the corn should be brought to him into his camp, out of all the associat and confederat Cities therabouts, into which it had been carried in the summer afore; and allowed a good guard for the safe convey thereof. After this, he sent a messenger to the Consuls, to give them notice, upon what day they should attend, and be in readiness to receive their corn; and against the time, provide out of the countrey for the carriage, cars, wains, and draught-beasts, and pack-horses of all sorts. But the Campanians, like as they carried themselves in all things else, idly and negligently, so in this they were very thick and reticulous: for they lent little above forty carres, and some few beasts for carriage besides. For which they had a check given them, and were rebuked by *Hanno*: because that hunger, which catcht the very dumb beast to better it self and make hard shifts, was not able to prick them forward to be more careful about their own business. So there was a farther day appointed for to fetch their corn, and to come more furnished and better provided for carriage. A third being reported to the men of *Beneventum*, with the circumstances and particulars, as it was, they added with all speed ten Embassadors to the Roman Consuls, encamped then about *Beneventum*. Upon which intelligence given of the affairs at *Capua*, they took order, and agreed between themselves, that one of them should conduct an army into *Campania*. And *Æmilius*, who undertook that charge, marched by night to *Beneventum*, and put himself within the walls of the Town. And there he was advertised by them that dwelt neer hand: That *Hanno* was gone out with part of his forces, for to purvey corn: that there were 2000 cars come, with a rude and disorderly multitude besides of people, without armor: that all that they did was in hurry, in haste, and great fear; and finally, that the camp was out of form and fashion, and all good military order cleane gone; by reason of a rabble & multitude of country clowns come out of those quarters, and entremingled amongst them. The Consul, I say, being enforced for certain by credible persons of the things, gave his souldiers warning to make ready against the next night ensuing, nothing but their engines and weapons, for that they were to charge upon the camp of the Carthaginians. And so they set forward at the relief of the fourth watch, leaving their packs and trusses with all their baggage behind them at *Beneventum*: and presenting themselves before the camp, somewhat before day, they put them into such a bodily fear, and so terrified them, that if it had been pitched upon a plain ground, no doubt, it had been won at the first assault. But the height of the place, and their rampiers and fortifications besides, which could not possibly be entered upon, without climbing upon the steep hill with much difficulty, were a defence unto it. By day light there was a lusty assault given, and a hot skirmish begun, but the Carthaginians not only defended and kept their rampier, but also (as having the vantage of the ground) they chased and thrust the enemies back, as they mounted up the hill. Howbeit, resolute hardiness overcame all hardness and difficulties whatsoever: For in diverse places at once they advanced as far as the banks and trenches; but it cost bloody blows first, and the death of many a souldier. The Consul therefore calling the Coronels and Marshals together, said, it were not amiss to give over that rash and heady attempt, and as he thought, it were the safer course, for that day to retire the army to *Beneventum*, and on the morrow to encamp themselves against the enemy, to the end that neither the Campanians might get forth, nor *Hanno* return and enter into the Town again. And that this might be the sooner effected, and with a great deal more ease, he would lend his Colleague aid with his army, and both of them jointly beat their forces that way. But these devices of the Capitain general were soon dashed. For as he was about to sound the retreat, the souldiers with a loud voice cried out, that they could not away with such faint Capitains: they scorned to be commanded in to cold and slothful service: they would none of that: and so put the Consul out of his bent. It hapned, that next unto the gate entering into the enemies camp, there served a cohort or company of the Peligni, led by Captain *Plinius*, who caught the banner out of the bearer his hand, and slung it over the rampier, and with that self cutting himself and his company both, wishing a plague light upon him and them too, if the enemies went away with that banner: and therewith led himself the way, and brake first through the trench, and over the paliado into their camp. Now by this time the Peligni fought within the rampier: and then *Valerius Flaccus* a Colonel of the third legion, from another side fell to upbraid the Romans, and lie them in the teeth with their beastly cowardice, for suffering their allies to have the honor of entering and taking the camp. Whereupon *T. Pedanius* (a centurion of the Regiment called *Principes*, and serving in the first place thereof) took likewise an ensign from him that carried it, and withal, Now shall, quoth he, this ensign, and this Centurion (meaning himself) presently be within the rampier of the enemies: let me see who dare follow, and save it from being taken by the enemy. At first, his own band and company followed him hard at heels, as he clambered to get over the rampier, and then the whole legion came after likewise. By this time, the Consul also seeing his souldiers climbing over the rampier, changed his purpose, and was of a clean other mind: and from calling and reclaiming his souldiers back, fell to exhort and encourage them, shewing in how great hazard and danger a right hardy and valiant cohort of allies were, and the whole Legion of Citizens besides. They all therefore set to, and every man did his best: and notwithstanding there was many a dart driven and javelin lanced, notwithstanding the enemies opposed

Alvarez

* *Beneventum*, or *Corcordia* *Capitonia*.

* 17 lib. 10 stb. 12 lb.

posed their armor and bodies full against them yet they never stinted to assay every place, as well high as low, until they were broken through, and gotten in. Many a man was hurt (ye may be sure) but yet even they that bled until they fainted, and were not able to fight any longer, carried this mind and threw withal, to die yet within the rampier of their enemies. Thus in the turning of an hand the camp was won, as easily as if it had been pitched upon a plain and even ground, and not fortified at all with trench and rampier. From this time now, there was no more fighting, but killing on all hands in that tumult and confusion of pell mell within the camp. slain there were of enemies more than six thousand, and above seven thousand taken prisoners, together with the Campan paviors for corn, and all the provision of wains, carts, and labouring beasts. Besides another huge booty was taken, which *Hasdrubal* when he went a foraging all abroad, had raised out of the country of the associates of the people of *Rome*. Then the Consul after he had cast down all the fortifications of the camp, returned from thence to *Beneventum*. And there both the Consuls together (for *Sp. Claudius* also thither came after a few days) made sale of all the prizes and pillage, and divided the same. *Vibius* the Pelignian, and *T. Pedanius* a principal centurion of the third legion, by whose forward and singular good service, the camp of the enemies was forced, were rewarded especially above the rest. *Hanno* then together with some few forerogers whom by chance he had with him returned from *Cominium Ceritum* (whither the news came of the loss of the camp) into the *Bruttians* country, more like one that fled in rout, than marched in warlike order.

The Campans also having heard, as well of their own losses as of their allies, sent Embassadors unto *Annibal*, to certify him; "That both the Consuls were at *Beneventum*, that the war was within a dayes journey of *Capua*, and but a step from the very gates and walls of the City: and unless he made good halt to succour and rescue them, *Capua* would looner come under the obedience and subjection of the enemies than *Arpi* did. And he was not to make such a reckoning of all *Tarentum* (much less then of the *Castle* alone) as in regard thereof to leave *Capua* undefended, and yield it to the people of *Rome*, *Capua* I say, which he was wont to compare and make equal with the City of *Rome*. *Annibal* promised that he would take care for the good estate of the Campans: and for the present he sent two thousand Horsemen with the Embassadors, as a guard to keep the country and territory from invasion and spoil.

The Romans in this mean time, among other their affairs, neglected not the safety of the *Castle of Tarentum*, and the garrison there besieged. For *C. Scordilius*, Lieutenant, by order and authority of the Senat, was sent by *P. Cornelius* the Pretor into *Hieronia*, to purvey for corn, and to buy store: who with certain ships laden therewith, arrived in the haven of *Tarentum* passing even through the guards of the enemies. At whose coming, they that before whiles they had but small hope, were oftentimes by way of partly moved by the enemies to go to the contrary side, now themselves began to periurade and solicit the enemy to come unto them. And the garrison freely was strong enough, considering that the souldiers which lay at *Metapontum*, were drawn from thence to the defence and keeping of the *Castle of Tarentum*. And therefore the *Metapontines* so soon as they were delivered of the fear, whereby they were kept and held in as with a bit, revolted unto *Annibal*. Semblably did the *Thurins* also, who inhabited the same tract by the Sea side. They were moved and periuraded thereto, not so much by the rebellion of the *Tarentines* and *Metapontines*, with whom they were linked in kindred, and joynd neer in blood (over and besides that they were defended as well as they out of *Achaia*) as by anger toward the Romans for the hostages lately by them killed. Their friends therefore and kinsfolk dispatched letters and messengers unto *Hanno* and *Mago* (who were in the country of the *Bruttii* neer at hand) offering to deliver the City into their hands if they brought their power and presented it before their walls. Now was there one *M. Atinius*, Captain there over a small garrison, whom they supposed might be easily drawn forth of the Town to make some rash and inconsiderate skirmish, presuming not so much upon his own souldiers (who were but an handful) as upon the youth and force of the *Thurians*, whom he had of purpose enrolled into bands and companies, and furnished with armor against the like occasions of service. The Carthaginian Captains afore named, had divided all their forces between them in two parts, and were entered into the territory of *Thuri*: and *Hanno* with his Regiment of footmen, advanced with banners displayed before the City: *Mago* with the Horsemen, laid behind close among the Hills, over-against the Town, and there lay secretly in ambush. *Atinius* then, who by his epitals was enforced only of the squadrons of footmen, came forth with his forces into the field, ignorant (God wot) both of the falsehood and treason of the Townsmen, and also of the covert trains and ambushment of the enemies. The skirmish of footmen was exceeding faint and cold, whiles the Romans being but few, fought in the vanguard: and the *Thurins* looked rather when the skirmish should end, than made any halt to fight themselves and help: and withal, the squadrons of the Carthaginians gave ground for the nonce, to train the enemy as far as the side of the Hill, under which, on the other side the Horsemen lay in wait and were ambushed. And thither they were not so soon come, but the Horsemen made haste to shew themselves, with a great outcry, and presently put to flight the raw and disordered company and multitude of the *Thurins*: who were not very fast and found in heart to them on whose side they fought. The Romans albeit they were environed round, whiles the footmen lay still at them on the one side, and the Horsemen charged them a-fresh on the other side, yet they maintained fight, and held out a long while: but at last, they likewise turned their back

A back and fled to the City. There the traitors and conspirators being gathered together on heaps, so soon as they had let in at the gates (standing wide open, the companies of their own citizens: when they lay on the Romans running apace in diarray toward the City, made a tall alarm, crying aloud that the Carthaginians were at hand, and that both enemies and friends together intermingled, would enter the City, unless they made better halt to shut the gates. So they excluded the Romans out, and gave them as a prey to be hewn in peeces by their enemies. Howbeit, *Atinius* with some few, was received within the Town first. After this, there was some mutiny and dissension between the citizens themselves, for a little while. Some were of mind to stand upon their guard and defend the Town: others were of opinion, to yield unto fortune of the time, and deliver it up to the victors hands. But in conclusion, fortune and bad counsel together, (as for the most part it falleth out) prevailed. And so, after they had brought *Atinius* and his souldiers to the haven side, unto their ships for to be embarked, more upon good will that they bare to him for his mild and just government, and therefore were ready to leave him, than for any regard at all they had of the Romans, they received the Carthaginians into the City.

The Consuls then led the legions from *Beneventum* into the territory of *Capua* not only to make spoil and marre the corn, that was laid up already in trespers Towns against winter, but also to assail *Capua*: supposing they should make their Consilship renowned unto posterity, by the destruction of so rich and wealthy a City: and besides, do away that great dishonour and shameful blemish of the Empire of *Rome*, in suffering a City so neer unto them to continue now three years in rebellion, without revenge and condign punishment. But to the end that *Beneventum* should not be without a guard, and that against all inordinant accidents and occurrences of war, in case *Annibal* should come to *Capua*, for to rescue and aid his allies, (which they made no doubt but he would do) there might be Horsemen to withstand his violence: they commanded *T. Gracchus* to come out of *Lucania*, with the cavalry and light armed footmen: and to take order and leave some other to govern the legions and the standing camp, for the guard and defence of those parts there.

Gracchus before he dislodged out of the *Lucans* country, hapned to have a fearful and prodigious token, as he offered sacrifice. For after the sacrifice was performed and accomplished, two Snakes came gliding out of a blind hole, no man knew how, to the entrails of the beast, and fell to eat the Liver: and so soon as they were espied, suddenly hid out of sight and were no more seen. Now, when as the bowl-priyers had given advice to kill a new sacrifice, and so soon as the inward were opened and laid forth, to tend and look unto them more heedfully, the Snakes came again, as it is reported, the second and third time: and when they had once given as it were an assay, and tasted the Liver, they went clear away without hurt and untouched. And albeit the Soothsayers aforesaid, had given an *Item*, and foretold, that this prodigious sight pertained properly unto the chief Captain and General, and warned him to take heed of some close persons and secret practices: yet his fatal destiny of death that hung over his head, could by no foresight and providence be altered and avoided. Now there was one *Flavius* a *Lucane*, the principal head of that bend and side of the *Lucans*, which when the other faction revolted unto *Annibal*, took the Romans part: and having been by them chosen the Pretor, had continued in that place of Magistracy a year already: this man all on a sudden changed his mind and affection, and seeking to wind and enter into the favour of *Annibal*, could not be content to revolt himself, and to draw with him the *Lucans* to rebellion: unless he made a league also and covenant with the enemies, and sealed it with the murder and blood of his General: of him (I say) who being entertained and lodged in his house, he purposed villanously to betray. He entered therefore into secret speech and conference with *Mago*, Governor over the *Bruttii*, and having capitulated with him, under his faithful word and promise. That if he delivered the Roman General into his hands: the *Lucans* might live in freedom under their own Laws, in league and amity with the Carthaginians: he told him of a place into which he would bring *Gracchus*, with a small company and guard about him: willing *Mago* to put his foot and horse in arms, and in such a place aforehand where he might bestow closely and secretly a mighty number of men. When the place was well viewed and considered all about, they agreed upon a day, for putting this plot in practice. This done, *Flavius* cometh to the Roman General *Gracchus*, and enformeth him that he had begun an enterprise of great consequence: for the accomplishment and full perfecting whereof, he needed the helping hand of *Gracchus* himself: "Namely, he had periuraded with all the Pretors and Governors, who in that universal and general trouble of all *Italy*, had revolted unto *Annibal*, for to return again into the league and friendship of the Romans: seeing that the Roman state and their Dominion, which by the overthrow at *Canus* was come in a manner to the lowest ebb, and fallen into extremest despair, flowed now again, and grew every day more than other, greater and mightier: whereas contrary-wile, the puissance of *Annibal* decayed much, and was well-neer come to nothing: besides, the Romans were men that might be appeased and reconciled again, especially the trespasss being so long ago done and past: for never was there nation under the sun, more tractable, more exorable and ready to pardon a fault: and how often have they (to go no further for examples) forgiven the open Rebellion even of their fore-fathers and ancestors? These (quoth he) were my words unto them, and indeed, but my words. Mary they had rather hear *Gracchus* himself speak, and hear the same from out of his own mouth: "they

"they would more gladly talk with him in person, and take hold of his right hand, which as they assured pawn of his faithful promise, he carried alwayes with him wheresoever he goeth, and they desire no more, I have therefore (saith he) appointed a convenient place of interview and conference: lying out of the way and forth of sight, yet not far from the Romans camp. There the matter may be dispatched in few words, and all the name and notion of the Lucans, reduced under the obedience and alliance of the people of Rome. *Gracchus* suspecting no fraud nor harm, neither in his words nor deeds, founding all to a great likelihood of simplicity and truth in his conceit, departed out of the camp attended upon with his Sergeants, and guarded only with a cornet of Horsemen: and so by the guidance of his own host, in whose house he lodged, was plunged headlong within the danger of the ambush of his enemies: Who suddenly arose; and *Flavius* because he would put it out of doubt that he was a traitor, went to their side and joyned with them. Then they let lie arrows, and shot darts against *Gracchus* and his Horsemen on every side. Whereupon *Gracchus* alight from horseback, and commanded the rest to do the same, exhorting them, that the only thing which fortune now had left unto them, they would grace and honour with vertue. For what remaineth else for us? (a small handful unto them) environed as we are with a multitude of them, within a valley compassed about with hills and woods, but present death? This only we are to relye upon. Whether in this present amazement and heartlesse fear, we will as beasts suffer our throats to be cut without revenge again; or turning wholly our timorous expectation and suffering of death, into choler and courage, fight adventurously and manfully, and bathing our hands in the blood of our enemies, lose our lives, and fall down dead, upon the weapons and bodies of them, lying gasping themselves under us. Ah! that Lucan, that fugitive rogue and rebel, that treacherous and false traitor, see ye all lay him. Which hap it will be, ere he die, to be his Priest, to sacrifice and send him to the Devil, he shall win an honourable prize, and find no small solace and comfort in his own death.

With these words, he wrapped his rich coat of arms about his left arme. (for they had not brought forth with them so much as their shields) and charged with exceeding force upon the enemies. The fight was far greater on their part than for the proportion and number of the men. The bodies of the Romans lay open most unto the flur, And thus overcharged on all sides by the higher places: as being in the valley subject to the volley of their darts, they were soon pierced through. When *Gracchus* was left naked alone, and his guard dead at his feet, the Carthaginians did what they could to take him alive: but he having eluded among the enemies his good host and friend, that Lucan, ran among the thickest place: where he was to fully bent to mischief him, that they could not will nor choose but kill him outright, without they would have lost the lives of many other. He was not so soon dead, but *Mago* sent him straight wayes unto *Annibal*, and commanded that his body together with the knitches of rods (belonging to his Magistracy) should be presented and shewed before the Tribunal seat of the General. And this is the true report of the end of *Gracchus*: to wit, that he let his life in the Lucan Land, about the plains which are called *Vetereis campi*. There be some that tell it otherwise, how he being accompanied with his Sergeants, and three serving men his bondslaves, went out from the camp within the territory of *Beneventum*, near unto the River * *Calore*, for to wash himself: where there chanced his enemies to lurk, and lye in wait among the willows and salows that grew by the bank sides, and so being unarmed and naked too, he was assaulted, where he defended himself as well as he could, with flinging at them pile bones such as the River afforded and carried down with the stream, and so was slain. Others write that by advice of the Bowel-priests, he went out of the camp half a mile off, for to purge and expiate in some pure and clean place, whose prodigious tokens afore rehearsed: and there was beset and environed round about with two troops of Numidian Horsemen, who happened there to lie in ambush. See how variable and uncertain the same goeth, both in what place, and after what manner, this so noble and famous person came by his death. Nay, the very funeral and sepulture also of *Gracchus*, is diversely delivered. Some say he was entered by his own soldiers within the Roman camp. Others give out and say (and that is the more common report) that by the appointment of *Annibal* he was buried in the very entrance of the Carthaginian leaguer; that there was a funeral fire made in solemn wise to burn his corpse: that the whole army justed and ran at tilt and torment in their compleat armor: that the Spaniards leaped and danced Morrice: and each nation according to their guise and manner performed sundry motions and exercises as well of their weapons, as of their bodies: yea, and that *Annibal* himself in proper person, with all honor of funeral pomp that might be devised, both in word and deed, solemnized the obsequies in the best manner. This say they that affirm the thing to have hapned in the Lucans country. But if a man should believe them, who record how he was slain at the River *Calore*, then the enemies cast nothing of him but only his head. Which being presented unto *Annibal*, he sent *Carthalo* immediately with it into the Roman camp, unto *Cn. Cornelius* the Treasurer or Quæstor: who there within the very camp performed the funerals of the General, and both army and citizens of *Beneventum* together solemnized the same right honourably.

The Consuls being entered into the territory of *Campania*, as they foraged all abroad, dragging one from another, were by the Townsmen of *Capua* which fell out, and by the Horsemen of *Mago*, put in fear; whereupon in great fright and hast, they rallied the soldiers: to their colours, that

Gracchus killed his host, a Lucan.

* *Calore*.

that were ranged over the Country: but before they could well embattle them, and set them in array, they were discomfited, and lost above a thousand and five hundred men. Upon which good success, the enemies (as they are a nation by nature proud) began to be very ugly and exceeding audacious, insomuch, as they offered to skirmish sundry times with the Romans, and ever challenged them to fight. But that one battail, so unadvisedly and inconsiderately achieved, made the Consuls more circumspect and wary afterward. Howbeit, one small occurrence hapned, which, as it encouraged and animated them again, so it abated the hearts, and daunted the boldness of the other. For in war there is nothing (be it never so little) but one time or other, it is the occasion of some great consequence and importance. There was in the camp one *T. Quintus Crispinus*, linked in special friendship and familiarity with *Badius*, a Citizen of *Capua*. Their acquaintance grew and increased upon this occasion: This *Badius* upon a time, before the revolt of *Capua*, fell sick at Rome, and lying in *Crispinus*'s house, was liberally and kindly used, yea, and tenderly seen unto by him, during his sickness. This *Badius* having put himself forward before the standing guards, that watched at the gate of the Roman camp, willed, that *Crispinus* should be called out unto him. Which being told unto *Crispinus*, he lapped no otherwise of it, but that he should talk friendly and familiarly with him. For albeit both nations generally were in enmity, in regard of the publick State, yet the private right and band of hospitality, remained still in force, and was not forgotten, and therefore he went out somewhat apart from the rest of his fellows. Now, when they were come in sight and interview one of the other, I challenge thee, *O Crispine* (quoth *Badius*) to combat: let us mount on Horseback, and trye it out between us two, without any other companion, whether of us is the better man at arms. To this *Crispinus* made answer again and said, We want no enemies, neither you nor I, upon whom we may make proof of our manhood: as for me, if I met and encountered you in the very battail, yet I would decline, avoid, and shift from you, lest I should defile and stain my hand in the murder and bloodshed of my guest and friend. And with this he turned from him and went his way. But the Campanian contrary-wise, upon these words, was the more eager with him, railing and railing at him for his effeminate cowardice and dastardiness, letting lie at the harmless and innocent man, all spitefull terms and reproachfull language: which himself I wot (if he had his due) was well worthy of: calling him a friendly foe, and a kind enemy indeed, and finally charged him, that he made his excuse of sparing him, for friendship sake, whom he knew he was not able to match in manhood and valour. But it (quoth he) thou thinkest, that by the breach of publick league and covenant, our private bands of amity and hospitality, are not yet enough broken in sunder, then here I pronounce openly, in the hearing of two armies, that I *Badius* a Campanian, renounce all hospitality with thee *T. Quintus Crispinus* a Roman, and so farewell all friendship for ever: I will, I say, have no more to do by way of acquaintance with thee, no society, no alliance, no hospitality will the guest have with that host, who in hostile manner is come to invade his native country, and to make assault upon the publick buildings and private houses thereof. And therefore, if thou be a man, meet me in the field. *Crispinus* drew back a long time, and was loath to enter into the action, but at last his fellow Horsemen, serving in the same troop and cornet with him, forced and perswaded him, not to suffer that bragging Campanian, thus to insult over him without revenge. Whereupon he made no more ado, nor any longer delay, but whiles he went unto the *L. Generals* to know their pleasure, whether they would permit and license him, out of his order and rank, to fight with an enemy that challenged him, and gave him defiance. And having obtained leave, he buckled his armor about him, took his weapon, mounted on Horseback, and calling upon *Badius* by name, bad him come forth if he durst to fight. The Campanian made no stay, and so with spear in rest, set upon him, and ran their Horses till carrier one at the other. *Crispinus* with his lance pierced *Badius* above his shield, through the left shoulder, and therewith unhorsed him, and when he was fallen to the earth with the push, he alight himself from his horse, minding on foot to fall upon him as he lay along, and so to dispatch him outright. But *Badius*, before his enemy leaped upon him, left his target behind and his horse, and by good footmanship recovered his own fellows. *Crispinus* then all goodly to be seen with the spoils of his enemy, made shew of the horse and armor that he had won, and bearing up withal the bloody point of his lance, was with much praise and great gratulation of the fondlers, brought honourably to the Consuls, and presented before them. At whose hands he was both highly commended, and also liberally rewarded.

Annibal having dislodged out of the territory of *Beneventum*, and removed into *Capua*, within three dayes after he was come thither, brought forth his forces into the field, making no doubt at all, but that, considering the Campanians in his absence, had but few dayes before fought fortuously, the Romans now would be so much lesse able to abide his royal army so often used to victory. And verily when the conflict was once begun, the Roman battalions of the Infantry were much troubled and distressed, especially with the fierce assault of the Horsemen, who overcharged and pelted them mightily with their darts and javelins, until the signal was given to their own Cavalry also, to set hard to, and charge the enemies with their horse. Now whiles the men of arms were busy in fight on both sides, it hapned that the Regiment of *Sempronius* [Gracchus lately slain] were delisted marching a far off under the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius* the Treasurer, which put both parts in like fear, lest they were some new and fresh enemies that advanced against them. So they sounded the retreat on either side, as if they had been agreed to

to do, departed out of the field (as a man would say) on even hand, and retired themselves unto their several holds: howbeit, the greater number was slain of Romans, upon the first violent charge given by the Horleimen. From thence, the Consuls intending to draw *Annibal* away from *Capua*, departed sundry ways. *Fulvius* into the territory of *Cumes*, and *Claudius* into the Lucans Country. The next day, when *Annibal* was advertised, that the Romans had abandoned their camp, and that they were gone into divers parts with their several armies, being at first uncertain whom to pursue, relieved at length to make after *Appius*, and so began to do. But after he had once trained the enemy about to the place that he desired, he returned himself another way to *Capua*. And *Annibal* hapned also upon a new occasion presented to have a good hand of his enemies in those parts.

There was one *M. Centenius*, surnamed *Penula*, one of the chief Centurions of the *Pilani*, a singular good Captain in that kind, as well in regard of his mighty and goodly body, as also of his bravemind, and valiant courage. This man having served out his ordinary time required by Law, was by the means of *P. Cornelius Sulla* the Pretor, brought into the Senat-house, and became a Petitioner unto the LL. of the Concel, that he might have the leading of five thousand footmen: promising that within short time, by reason he was so well acquainted with the nature and qualities of the enemy, and withal so much beaten in coasting those quarters, he would do some great deed, and atchieve a piece of notable service: and look by what cunning devices and stratagems, both our leaders and our armies had been until that day, entrapped and over-raught, the very same would he use and practise against the enemy. He was not so vain and unadvised in making this offer, but they were as foolish and foolish again in taking him at his word, and trusting him: as who would say, A good Leader and Commander, and a stout and hardy souldier were all one. And so where as he demanded but five thousand, he had the charge given of eight thousand: whereof the one half were citizens, the other allies and confederates: and besides them, he himself also gathered together out of the country as he marched, a good Company of Voluntaries: in so much as his power was doubled, by that time he came into the Lucans Country, where *Annibal* abode, might that he had followed *Claudius* in vain, and to no effect. But a man that had but half an eye, might see what the sequel and event would be of the conflict between General *Annibal*, and Centenius *Centenius*: between both armies also, the one of old beaten souldiers used ever to victories, the other of raw novices and young beginners, yea, many of them taken up suddenly in haste, and slenderly armed by the halves. For so soon as both hosts had confronted one another, and that on neither side they dallied and shifted off, but minded presently to go to it, sight soon were they on both parts arranged in order of battail. And albeit the Romans had many disadvantages, yet they maintained skirmish more than two hours: and that so hotly and courageously, that they thrunk not one jot, so long as their leader stood on foot. But after that he once was stricken down and slain, who not only in regard and remembrance of the former name (that he had won) of valour and prowess: but also for fear of future shame and dishonor, in case he should remain alive after the defeat of his forces, whereof he was the only cause through his fool-hardy rashness, presented himself desperately upon the pikes of his enemies, where he might be sure of nothing but present death: and incontinently the Roman battail was difcomfited and put to flight. And so hard beset they were, in seeking ways and means to escape (all the avenues were so laid and beset with the Horleimen) that of a great multitude, there were hardly one thousand saved, all the rest miscarried here and there, and came by their death one way or other.

In this mean time, *Capua* was sorely beleaguered by the Consuls, and they began to assault in most forcible manner: great preparation there was of all things needful unto such an exploit, and with great diligence every thing provided and brought accordingly. Corn was conveyed to *Castellum*, and laid up there for store: at the mouth of the River *Fulturnus* (where now the City standeth) was the force and castle fortified (which *Fabius* before had built) and a strong garrison therein planted, to the end that both the Sea so near, and the whole River also might be at their command. Into those two fortresses standing on the Sea side, as well the corn which lately was sent out of *Sardinia*, as also that which *Matius* the Pretor had bought out of *Hebrum*, was transported from the Port of *Clusia*, whereby the army might be served plentifully all winter season. Or, and besides that lose received in the Lucans country, the army likewise of the *Voluntaries*, voluntary souldiers (which during the life of *Craffus*, had served truly and faithfully) now abandoned their colours: as if by the death of their Captain they had taken themselves fully discharged from warfare.

Annibal made no small account of *Capua*: for willing enough he was, that his allies and friends there should not be forsaken and left in so great peril wherein they stood; and yet upon that fortunate success which hapned unto him through the rashness of one Roman Captain, his fingers itched to be doing with another of them, and hoped to find some good opportunity and advantage to surprise and overthrow both Captain and army. Whereas therefore certain Apulian Embassadors advertised him, that *Cn. Fulvius* the Pretor, (who at the first in assaulting certain Cities in *Apulia*, which had revolted unto *Annibal*, bare himself like a wife and prudent Captain: now afterwards, upon his good fortune and happy speed in those affairs, whereby himself and his souldiers had made up their mouths and filled their hands well with booties and pillage) both himself and his men were grown so idle and so dissolute, that no good government nor military

discipline remained among them: hereupon *Annibal* having good experience, (as often heretofore, so in this late instance but few days past) in how ill stead an army lieth, when it is directed by an unskillful Leader removed his horces into *Apulia*. Now lay the Roman legions and *Fulvius* the Pretor, encamped about *Herdonia*. And when the news came thither that the enemies were on their journey coming toward them, hardly might the souldiers be restrained and stayed, but they would in all haste pack up standards, and ensigns, and straight ways go into the field and bid them battail, without commission and commandment of their Pretor. And no one thing more held them back, than the assured hope they had, to do it at their pleasure whenever they would. *Annibal* the night following, having certain intelligence, that there was a tumult in the camp, and that most of the souldiers mightily importuned their General to put forth unto them the signal of battail, and called earnestly unto him for to lead them out into the field, made full account to meet with good opportunity and occasion, to have a fair day of his enemies: and therefore he bestowed three thousand men mightily appointed, in divers villages thereabout, among the thick groves and bushes, and within the woods: who at a sign given to them, should all at once upon a sudden, start up and leap forth of their lurking corners: and withal, he gave order to *Mages*, with two thousand Horleimen or thereabout to keep all the ways whereas he supposed they were most like to flee and make escape. Having thus ordered all things beforehand in the night time: at the break of day he entered the field with his army, and embattailed himself in warlike manner. *Fulvius* for his part, was not behind: nor induced so much upon any hope or conceit he had of good speed as drawn and halted thereto through the rash enforcement and compulsion of his souldiers. And therefore as they came forth to battail upon a head and heat, inconsiderately they were set in array as disorderly: even at the pleasure of the souldiers, according as they came forth and took up their ranks and files, as they list themselves: and then again as the toy took them in the head left the same, either upon wilfulness or fear. The first legion together with the left wing or corner of Horleimen were hit withal: and the quadrals drawn and stretched out in a great length: notwithstanding all the Knight Marshals and Coronels cried out: that within, there was no strength nor power at all: and that the enemies wherever they should hap to charge, would break in upon them and go through. But now who, whose counsel for their own good might be taken and considered upon: nay they would not so much as lend their ear, and give them the hearing. And by this time *Annibal* was in place, with another manner of army (you may be sure) and otherwise ordered and arranged. And therefore the Romans were not able to abide so much as the first shout and shock of the onset. The Captain himself (as foolish and heady as *Centenius*, but in courage and resolution far above him) seeing how the world went the field like to be lost, his souldiers in fear and great perplexity: recovered his horse in great haste, and with some two hundred horleimen fled away and escaped: all the army besides beaten back affrighted, beset behind flanked on the sides, and environed round, were so killed and hewn in pieces, that of eighteen thousand, there were not past two thousand saved. And the enemies besides were masters of the camp.

When these losses one in the neck of another were reported at *Rome*, the City was set in a great fit of sorrow and fear for the while: but so long as the Consuls, in whom rested the main chance, had hitherto prospered and sped well, they were the less troubled at these by-blows and crosses misfortunes. Whereupon they addressed *C. Laetorius* and *M. Matius* as messengers unto the Consuls, willing them to gather together with good care and diligence, those dispersed reliques and reminders of the two armies: also to have an eye and heedful regard unto them that upon fear and desperation they yielded not themselves to the enemy (as it hapned after the Cannian overthrow): and last of all, to make diligent search and seek out those *Voluntaries*, or voluntary souldiers, that had abandoned their ensigns and called themselves. The like charge was laid upon *P. Cornelius*, who had commission besides to levy more men. And he made proclamation throughout all market Towns, lairs and places of frequent resort, That those *Voluntaries* should be found out and brought again to their own colours, to serve as aforesaid. All these directions were executed and accomplished with exceeding great care and diligence.

Appius Clivus the Consul, after he had made *D. Junius* Captain of the scone erected upon the mouth of the River *Fulturnus*, and *M. Aurelius* Cotta Governour of *Puteoli*, with commission, that as any ships [with corn] from out of *Hebrum* or *Sardinia* arrived there, they should immediately send the corn to the camp: went back himself to *Capua*: where he found *Q. Fabius* his Colleague, transporting thither all provision from *Castellum*, and making preparation for the assault of *Capua*. Then both Consuls, jointly together besegged the City: and sent unto *Claudius Nero* the Pretor, for to come unto them from *Suesula* out of the old camp of *Claudius*. Who likewise leaving a small garrison there to defend the peace, with all his power and forces, descended into the plains before *Capua*. So there were three royal pavilions pitched for three LL. Generals about *Capua*: and three full armies in three sundry places began to fortifie: erecting bastions and forts in places not far distant: yea, and to cast a trench and raise a rampier round about the City. And in divers quarters at once, they skirmished with the men of *Capua*: whenever they came to hinder their fortifications, with so good success, that the Townsmen were driven at last to keep within their gates and walls. But before that those rampiers and trenches above said were fully finished and all ends brought together, there were Embassadors dispatched unto *Annibal*, to complain in the name of the Capuans, as finding themselves grie-

* 15 of March.

ved, that he had forsaken *Capua*, and in a manner delivered it into the Romans hands: and withal, to beleeve him earnestly, that now or never, he would rescue and succor them, being not only besieged, but also shut up and almost trench'd about, as within a prison. *P. Cornelius* likewise the Pretor of the City of *Rome*, sent his letters unto the Consuls, advising them before they had fully inveiled *Capua* round about, to make offer unto the Capuans of this liberty. That as many as would, might depart with bag and baggage out of *Capua*: and whoe'er went forth before the day, that day, either departed or tarried there still behind, should be reckoned no better than very enemies. These intimations were made known unto the Campains, but so light they set by them, that they fell a railing, reviling, and menacing the Romans, with most reproachful taunts and spitefull terms. *Annilus* was departed from *Herdonia* with his legions unto *Tarentum*, hoping either by force or fraud to gain the Castle. And seeing he little prevailed, he turned from thence and took his way to *Brundisium*, supposing that Town would be betrayed into his hands. Whiles he lay there also and lost his time in doing nothing, the Embassadors of the Campains arrived and came unto him, with complaints and humble requests both at once. Unto whom *Annilus* made this glorious and lordlike answer with a Majesty: Once already have I raised the siege, and never will the Consuls, I throw, abide my second coming. The Embassadors having received their dispatch, departed with this hope: but much ado they had, to put themselves within *Capua*, so enclosed round was it (by this time) with a double trench and a rampier.

It furnished at the very same instant, when *Capua* was thus treightely beleagu'd, that the siege also and Assault of *Syracuse* came to an end: helped forward and hastned by intestine treachery and treason withal, as well as by force of army and valour of Captain abroad. For *Marcellus* in the beginning of the spring, doubtful in himself and hanging in suspense, whether to bend his whole forces toward *Agriuntum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*, or still proceed to besiege *Syracuse*: albeit he saw the City might not possibly be won either by forcible assault, (considering it was by situation both by Sea and Land invincible) or pining famine, by reason the passage in manner lay open to and fro between it and *Carthage*, for safe transporting of all sort of victuals: yet because he would have no stone unrolled, but try all ways that could be devised: he commanded certain revolts from the *Syracusians* (for there sided with the Romans some of the noblest persons of the City, who at the time of the first backsliding from the Romans, because they misliked and aborted all rebellion and change in the state, were driven out and banished the City) to deal with their bend and faction by way of conference, to found the hearts (I say) of such as were their followers, and to solicit them to their part: and withal to assure them (upon their warrant) that if by their means *Syracuse* were betrayed, they should live in freedom, and enjoy their own Laws as they would themselves. But no opportunity could they elope for to partly talk with them. For by reason that there were many suspected to encline and draw that way, every man had a careful eye and regard unto them, that there could be no treachery practised, but soon it would be found out and detected. Yet a bond-servant toward one of the banished persons above said, hapned to be let into the City, pretending that he was run away from the adverse part unto them: who hapning to meet with some few, began to move and broach such a matter. After which certain others lying close hidden under the nets in a fisher boat, came about by water to the camp of the Romans, and had conference and communication with those former fugitives and exiled men. And thus from time to time, this was practised in the same manner, by divers and sundry persons, until at length they were a crew of four score in all. Now when all things were concluded for the betraying of the City, next upon the point of execution, it chanced that one *istatus* (a false brother among them, who took snuff that he was not especially trusted in the matter) disclosed the conspiracy unto *Epicles*, and appeached the parties: whereupon they were all put to extrem torture, and suffered death every one. When this plot would speed no better, they conceived hope another way by a new occasion and occurrence that presently offered it self. There chanced one *Damasippus* a Lacedemonian, sent from *Syracuse*, as a messenger to King *Philip* for to be taken prisoner by the Roman armada. Now both *Epicles* was very desirous and exceeding careful how to ransom him, and also *Marcellus* was not unwilling for his part to grant the same. For even then, the Romans began to affect the friendship of the *Aetolians*, with which Nation the Lacedemonians were confederate, and in league. So, when there should be commissioners and delegates sent on both sides to parley and treat about his redemption, the most indifferent place for them to meet in, was at the key or wharf of *Trogilus*, fast by a turret which they call *Galegrus*, as being just in the midst between, and most convenient for both parties. It hapned now, that as they had recourse oftentimes thither about this business, one of the Romans well viewed the wall near by, he counted the stones that appeared in the forefront of the wall, and made estimate to himself of their quadrature and proportion: and withal, giving a guess as near as he could of what height (by his reckoning) and measure, the wall might be: and supposing it was a good deal lower than either he himself or others had always before taken it to be, and easily to be scaled with ladders, even of a mean size and middle sort, he related the matter, and his conceit of it to *Marcellus*. And in his opinion it was a thing not to be neglected, but to be thought upon. But forasmuch as there was no access unto that place by reason, that for the lowliness thereof it was the more carefully guarded and defended, it was thought good to wait for some opportunity and advantage to help that difficulty. Which, as good hap was, offered it self presently unto them by means

* Scindino,
* Scala Gracia.

A means of a fugitive: who gave them intelligence, that they held a solemn feast of *Diana* at that time within the City, and the same continued three days together: also he said, that for want of other things, during this siege to make good cheer withal, they spared for no wine, but made merry therewith in great plenty and abundance. For why? not only *Epicles* had bountifully bestowed wine upon the whole Commons, but also the great men of the City had in every ward and parish where they dwelt, allowed a proportion besides, of their own charges. When *Marcellus* heard this, he called unto him some few of his Colonels and knight Marshals, and conferred with them: and when they had sorted out certain choice and elect Centurions and soldiers, fit and sufficient men to adventure and execute so great a piece of service, and withal provided ladders secretly: to all the rest he commanded a watchword and warning to be given. That they should betimes take their refection of meat and repose of sleep, for that in the night they were to be employed in an expedition and action of service. After this, when he thought it was about the time, that they (as having feasted all day long, and well filled their bellies with meat, and their heads with wine) were gone to rest, and newly fallen down asleep, he commanded one ensign or company of soldiers, to carry ladders: and besides them, there were upon a thousand well armed and appointed, marching with silence and in thin ranks, brought thither to the place. When the foremost without any stir or noise at all had scaled the top of the wall, others followed in their course. For the forward and resolute boldness of the former, was able to animate and encourage the rest, if they had been false-hearted. By this time now, the thousand armed soldiers had seized the part, when the rest of the ladders were set to: and upon more ladders still, they gat up to the wall in diverse places, upon a signal given them from the gate *Hexapolis*. Unto which places the Romans were now come, and found no stirring at all, but exceeding silence and desolation, forasmuch as a great sort of them had made good cheer within the turrets, and either were fast asleep with drinking wine already, or else were bibbing fill, notwithstanding their eyes were heavy, and their hearts asleep. And yet, some few of them they took in their beds, and killed. Neer unto *Hexapolis* there is a little wicket, which with great violence they began withal, to break it open. So as now, both from the wall (as was before appointed) they gave signal by found of trumpet: and also from all parts they went not to work any more by stealth, but plainly and openly without dissimulation. For they were come already as far as *Epipola*, a place full of watchmen and warders. And the enemies were to be terrified now and stricken unto fear, and no longer to be dealt with by craft and guile. And it fell out so indeed, that they were mightily scared. For they heard not so soon the sounding of the trumpets, and the shouting and outcry of them that were possessed of the walls and one part of the City, but the warders, thinking all was gone, some ran along upon the wall, others leapt from the walls, or else were born down headlong, with the press of others that were affrighted. And yet many there were, who were not ware at all of this misery and extremity, both because generally they were all dead asleep, and also by reason that the City was so wide and large, that a thing felt and seen in some remote parts, reached not straightwayes throughout, to all the rest. The gate *Hexapolis* was broken down somewhat before day, at which *Marcellus* with all his power entered the City. He awakened them all, and let them to their business: he made them take weapon in hand, and to help (what they could) a City in a manner wholly surpris'd and taken. *Epicles* made halt from the Island (which they themselves call *Naxos*) with a company of soldiers about him, making full account to drive them out again: as supposing, that they were but some few, who through the negligence of the watchmen and warders were got over the wall: and ever as he met with any that were scared and in fear, he said unto them estoons, that they themselves made more ado, and every thing worse than there was cause, reporting all in greater measure and more fearful manner than need was in very truth. But when he saw all places about *Epipola* full of armed men after some small volley of shot, and little skirmish with the enemy, (whereby he provoked them, rather than did any good else) he turned back again with his companies, and retired into *Acradina*, not fearing to moue the violence and multitude of the enemies, as lest some intestine mischief by this occasion might arise, and that he should find in this tumult and hubbub, the gates of *Acradina*, and the Island that against him. *Marcellus*, being entered within the walls, took his prospect from the higher places, and when he beheld under his eyes the most goodly and beautiful City of all others in those days, (by report) he wept and shed tears abundantly, partly for joy that he had brought his purpose to good a pass, and partly in compassion and remembrance of the ancient glory and renown of that City. He called to mind the navies of the Athenians by them sunk and drowned: he thought upon the utter overthrow of two puissant armies, together with the loss of two most noble and famous Captains of theirs: moreover, there came into his memory so many wars fought against the Carthaginians, with so great peril and hazard: so many and so mighty Tyrants and Kings that gained and kept their seat and royal court there, and amongst the rest, he could not chuse but think of King *Hiero*, of fresh and famous memory, a Prince, who above all other gifts which his own virtue and fortune had graced and endued him withal, was recommended especially for his many favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*. When all these things presented themselves to his remembrance, with this cogitation besides, how all that beauty and glory within one hours space was ready to burn on a light fire, and to be consumed into ashes: before that he advanced his engines against *Acradina*, he sent before, those *Syracusians* who had conversed (as is afore said) amongst the guards and garrison of the Romans, to persuade the enemies with mild and gentle

* Some make
it the fifth part
of *Syracusa*.

de speech, yet, to yeeld the City. It so fell out, that the most part of them that warded the gates and walls both, of *Acradina*, were certain fugitive revolts fled from the Romans, who had no hope at all, upon any condition whatsoever to be pardoned. These would infer more, either to approach the walls, or to parle and speak with any. And therefore *Marcellus*, after he saw that enterprise frustrate and disappointed, commanded to retire with the ensignes unto *Euryalus*. This *Euryalus* is a little mount and fort, situate in the utmost quarter of the City remote from the sea, and commanding the high way that leadeth into the fields, and the middle parts and very heart of the whole Island: a place very commodious for the taking up and receipt of all victuals. The Captain of this hold was *Philodemus* an Argive, placed there by *Epicides*. Unto whom there was sent from *Marcellus*, *Sofis*, one of them that murdered the tyrant: and after long communication, *Sofis* with crafty words abused by him, and colourably put off until another time, made relation unto *Marcellus*, that *Philodemus* had taken a farther day of respite and deliberation. But he put off still from day to day, trifling out the time of purpose, until *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* might come with their forces and legions, making no doubt, but if he might receive them into his fortres, the whole army of the Romans being now enclosed within the walls, should be overthrowen, and utterly defeated. *Marcellus* seeing that *Euryalus* was not delivered up, (and forced possibly it could not be) encamped himself between *Neapolis* and *Tyche* (so are two parts of the City named, and may for their bigness go well enough for two entire cities of themselves:) for fear lest if he were once entred into the populous and most inhabited places of the City, his fouldiers greedy of pillage, would not be kept together, but run loosely up and down to rife. Thither came unto him from *Tyche* and *Neapolis*, Embassadors and Orators, with olive branches adorned with laced veils and insules, humbly beseeching him to hold his hand from effusion of blood, and firing the City, *Marcellus* calling his Concel about these their petitions, rather than demands, after mature deliberation, by general consent of all, gave expresse and straight commandment to the fouldiers, that no man should offer abuse or violence to the body of any free-born person whatsoever: as for all besides, his will and pleasure was it should be their booty. Now was the camp of *Marcellus* defended on both sides with housing in stead of a wall, and he bestowed a good corps de gendarmerie the gates thereof, lying open over against the streets: lest when the fouldiers ran to and fro in the City, the camp in the mean while might be assailed. Then upon the sound of Trumpet the fouldiers fell to their business, ran into all parts, brake open doores, set all on a fearful hurry, but spilled no blood: and they never gave over ransacking and rifling, until they had cut out and carried away all the riches and goods, that had been gathering a long time, during their wealth and prosperous estate. Amid these stirrs, *Philodemus* also seeing no hope of succours and rescue, after he had covenanted for his security, to return safe and without harm to *Epicides*, withdrew his garrison away with him out of the fort, and rendered it up to the Romans.

Now whilst every man was turned another way, and busied in that part of the City which was forced, *Bomilcar* taking the advantage of one night, wherein the Roman fleet by reason of a violent tempest could not ride at anchor in the main Sea, got forth of the haven of *Syracuse* with 35 ships, and having Sea-room, hoisted up sails, and away he went with a mery gale of wind, leaving 4th behind for *Epicides* and the *Syracusans*: and after he had informed the Carthaginians in what danger the State of *Syracuse* stood, returned within few dayes with a fleet of a hundred sail, rewarded for his labor (as the report went) by *Epicides*, with many rich gifts, which the treasure of King *Hiero* paid for. *Marcellus* possessed now of the fortres *Euryalus*, and having planted there a garrison, was well rid of one care yet: for he doubted, lest if a new power of enemies had been received behind his back into that fort, they would greatly have annoyed his men, enclosed now as they were, and encumbered within the walls.

After this he besieged *Acradina*, and invested it round about, and fortified three several camps (in meet and convenient places) against it, hoping to shut them up into such streights, that they should be driven to extrem scarcity and want of all things. Now when as for certain dayes the guards of the one side and the other had rested quiet, suddenly upon the arrival of *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, they within began from all parts to set freshly upon the Romans. For, first *Hippocrates* (after he had encamped and well fortified himself fast by the great Key, and given a signal to them that kept *Acradina*) assaulted the old camp of the Romans, where *Crispinus* lay with his guard for the defence thereof: then *Epicides* also sallied forth, and brake upon the Corps de guard of *Marcellus*: and withal, the Carthaginian fleet approached close to the strand that lieth between the City and the Roman camp, to hinder that *Crispinus* might have no aid sent unto him from *Marcellus*. And yet for all this ado, the enemies made a greater stir and tumultuous alarm, than any skirmish to speak of: for *Crispinus* not only gave *Hippocrates* the repulse, and drove him from the defences of his own camp, but also followed him in chase, as he fled fearfully in haste away: and *Marcellus* torred *Epicides* to take the City again, and get it over his head. So as now they seemed very sufficiently provided and appointed against all dangers from thence forth, of their sudden sallies and irruptions.

Over and besides all these troubles, there happened a common calamity unto both, the plague and pestilence: in such manner, as it might soon have withdrawn the minds, as well of the one part as of the other, from thinking any more of war. For, besides that it fell out to be the Autumn or harvest season of the year, the place it self by nature unwholesome, stinking and corrupt (but much more without the City than within) the extrem and intolerable heat of the weather

A weather mightily disordered all their bodies generally, in the camps both the one and the other. At the first, by occasion of the disemperature of the season, and corruption of the place, they both fell sick and died: but afterward by visiting and tending one another that were infected, the disease grew catching and contagious, and so spread and increased more and more: in such manner, as either they that were slain sick perished for want of looking to and diligent attendance: or if any came about them, to keep them and minister unto them, they were infected and endangered also as deeply as the other: so as every day a man could go now where, but either death, or corpses carried forth to their graves, were presented to his eyes: night and day in all places there was nothing heard but weeping, wailing, and piteous lamentation. In the end their hearts were so hardened and made savage again, by continual usage to this misery, that not only they gave over to weep over the dead, and to accompany them unto their sepulchres with due mourning and doleful plaints, but also to carry them forth and to inter them: so that the breathless bodies lay scattered all abroad on the ground in the sight of them, that looked every hour for the like miserable death themselves. The dead killed the sick: the sick infected the found, partly with fear, and partly with the corruption and piteous stench that came from their bodies. And because they would die rather upon the sword's point, than of this malady, some of them made offer to go alone among the armed guards of their very enemies, to be killed out of hand, and rid out of their misery. Howbeit, the plague was hotter by far in the Carthaginian camp, than among the Romans: by reason of corrupt water, and much slaughter committed there, and so long siege about *Syracuse*. For of the enemies army, the Sicilians at the first, so soon as they saw the sickness to spread commonly, and increase by reason of the corruption of the place, got themselves away, and stole every man home to the Cities neer adjoining. But the Carthaginians were fain to stick by it still, as having no place to retire themselves unto, and so, they together with their Generals themselves *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, died all of them, and not one escaped. *Marcellus* when he saw this mortality grow thus hot, brought his people into the City, where the houses and shadowy places yielded some good refreshing to the sick and weak bodies: howbeit, many also of the Roman army went off, and turned up their heels. Thus when the Land-fouldiers of the Carthaginians were all gone and consumed of the plague, the Sicilians who had served under *Hippocrates*, withdrew themselves into certain Towns, which were not dangerous, yet sure and strong, both by natural situation, and also by strength of walls and other defences: the one of them three miles from *Syracuse*, the other fifteen miles distant from the haven mouth: and thither they conveyed from out of their own cities adjoining, all manner of victuals, and sent abroad for aids of men.

In the mean while *Bomilcar* set sail once again with his fleet for *Carthage*, where he made relation of the state of their confederats in such terms, that still he fed them with some hope, that not only by their help they might be saved, but also that the Romans (notwithstanding they had in some sort forced and taken the City) might be surpris'd and taken there themselves: and in conclusion perswaded and prevailed so with them, that they granted not only to send him with a great number of hulks and caricks, laden with store of all things, but also to furnish him with 5 more ships of war, to encrease his Armado. Whereupon he departed from *Carthage* with 130 Gallies, and 70 ships of burden, and had forewinds good enough to set him over into *Sicily*. But those winds kept him from doubling the point of the Cape *Pachynus*.

The fame and rumor first of *Bomilcar*'s coming, and then his delay above mens expectation, that checked it again, wrought diversly in the minds of the Romans and *Syracusans*, ministering that while fear, another while joy unto them both. Whereupon *Epicides* fearing lest if the same Easterly winds which then held, and were settled in that corner, should continue many dayes more, the Carthaginian navy would return again unto *Africk*, leaving the guard of *Acradina* to the Captains of the waged and mercenary fouldiers, sailed to *Bomilcar*, riding still with his fleet in the road that looketh toward *Africk*, and leaving a consist of Sea-men so much as he was inferior to the enemies either in force or number of ships (for he had many more than the Romans) but for that the winds stood more favourably to help the Roman Armado than his: howbeit, in the end he perswaded him to try the fortune of a battail at Sea. And *Bomilcar* for his part, seeing both the Sicilian forces gather and assemble together from all parts of the Island, and understanding that the Carthaginian fleet was coming with great store of victuals: for fear lest at any time whilst he was shut up within the enemies City, he should be assailed both by Sea and Land: albeit he was short of them in number of ships, yet determined to hinder *Bomilcar* for arriving at *Syracuse*. Thus rid two armades of enemies affronting one another, about the head of *Pachynus*, ready to joyn battail, so soon as the calmnes of the weather would give them leave to advance into the main and open Sea. Therefore when the East wind began to lie, which for certain dayes had blustered and ragged first *Bomilcar* weighed anchor: and the vanguard of his Armado seemed to gather still into the deep, only because he might more easily gain the Cape and promontory aforesaid. But so soon as he saw the Romans ships make way toward him, (I wot not what sudden accident it was that affrighted him) he set up all his sails and fell off, into the main Sea: and after he had sent certain messengers to *Heraclea*, willing them to set again their hulks home into *Africk*, himself coasted all along *Sicily*, and shaped his course for *Tarentum*. *Epicides* disappointed thus on a sudden, of so great hopes that he had, because he would not return again to the siege of a City, whereof a great part was lost already, saileth to

Agrirentum, there to abide and expect the event and small issues, rather than to stir himself and try any more, how to help them with any succour from thence.

These things being reported in the camp of the Sicilians, to wit, that *Epicides* had quit *Syracuse*: that the Carthaginians had abandoned the whole Iland of *Sicily*, and in manner yielded it again into the hands of the Romans: after they had founded first their minds who were besieged, by talk and conference with them, they sent Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, to treat about conditions of surrendering the City. When they were grown in a manner to this point, without any squaring or difference at all, that the Romans should have the signory all and wholly which belonged unto the Kings: and that, all the rest the Sicilians should enjoy, with liberty and their own proper Laws: the Embassadors aforesaid called forth to a parley, those unto whom *Epicides* at his departure had committed the government of the affairs, and declared unto them, that as they were addrest Orators unto *Marcellus*, so they were from him sent unto the army of the Sicilians: that generally all, as well the besieged, as those who were without the danger of the siege, should be comprized within the treaty, and abide one and the same fortune: and that neither the one side nor the other should capitulate or enter into any covenant for themselves apart, without all the rest. Who being received and admitted, for to salute and speak unto their kinsfolks and friends, made them acquainted with the agreement and composition between *Marcellus* and them: and so after they had presented unto them some good hope of their safety, they perswaded with them so far forth, as to join with them, and all together, for to let upon and assault the bodies of the Captains deputed by *Epicides*, namely, *Polyxenus*, *Philostratus*, and one *Epicides* surnamed *Spinus*. When they were once made away and killed, they called the multitude together unto a general assembly: where they complained greatly of their poverty, and penury of all things (for which they were wont to murmur secretly among themselves:) "And albeit we are distressed (say they) with so many calamities and calamities, yet are ye not to blame for this, because so long as it was in your own power and choice, either to be delivered from them, or to endure them longer. As for the Romans (said they) it was not hatred, but mere love and charity, that moved them to come against *Syracuse* for to assault it. For when they heard that the government of the state was usurped by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the ministers first belonging to *Amibal*, and after to *Hieronymus*) then they began to lay siege into it intending not the overthrow and destruction of the City it self, but to put downward and depose the cruel tyrant that ruled the state. Seeing then, that now *Hippocrates* is dead, *Epicides* excluded from *Syracuse*, his Deputies and Captains killed, and the Carthaginians driven out of all their hold and possession of *Sicily*, both by Land and Sea, what reason have the Romans, but to be willing and well content, that *Syracuse* should continue in safety now as well as it *Hiero* himself were living, the only maintainer and observant upholder of the Roman amity? And therefore, if ought but well should happen, either to the City, or to the Citizens, ye may thank yourselves, and none else, for letting slip opportunity now offered, of reconciliation and amonement with the Romans. Never look to have the like occasion hereafter, to that, which at this instant is presented: if ye had the grace to see what a door is opened for you, to be delivered from the yoke of most insolent and proud tyrants. This speech they gave ear unto with exceeding accord and general applause. But before that any Embassadors were nominated to be sent unto *Marcellus*, it was thought good that new Pretors should be created. Out of the number of which Pretors, there were Orators addrest unto *Marcellus*. And the principal man among them, spake in this wise. "Neither we Syracusians (quoth he) O *Marcellus*, it is first yielded from you Romans, but *Hieronymus*, impious and wicked Prince as he was: yet nothing so much hurtful to you as to us: nor afterwards, when peace was knit again upon the murder of the tyrant, was it any citizen of *Syracuse*, but *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* (the Kings right hands and ministers, who oppressed and kept us under, with fear of one side, and with deceitful sleights on another side) that made the brack, and were the troublers and disturbers of this peace. Nor yet can any man come forth and say truly, that ever we were at our own liberty: and entertained not peace and amity with you. And now also I assure you, so soon as by the massacre of these, that held *Syracuse* in such oppression and bondage, we began again to be our own men, and to have the law in our own hands: the first thing you see that we do, is this, to come and present our selves unto you, to deliver up our armor and weapons, to yield our bodies, our City, the walls, and all the strength thereof, and to refuse no condition, that it shall please you Romans to impose upon us. As to your self, O noble *Marcellus*, the Gods have given you the honour of conquest, over the most noble and beautiful city of all other in *Greece*. Behold, now, what memorable acts forever that we have at any time achieved, either by Land or Sea, all makes to the advancement of the glorious title and dignity of your triumph. See you then, that another day it be not known by bare hear-say and the trump of fame, how great and mighty a City you have won, but rather that it may stand still and remain for all posterity: for a mark and worthy spectacle to behold: to the end, that who ever hereafter, shall resort thither by Land, who ever shall arrive there by Sea, it may present unto them, both our Trophies and worthy victories over the Athenians and Carthaginians: and also this of yours over us, the bravest conquest of all the rest. See (I say) that you leave for your house and family, the City of *Syracuse* whole and sound, to do homage and fealty ever hereafter, to the name and lineage of the *Marcelli*, and to hold of them as of their sovereign LL, in chief and in vasselage. That

"That all the World may see, that the late remembrance of *Hieronymus*, beareth no greater broke with the Romans, than the ancient name of King *Hiero*, a noble Prince of famous memory. Much longer was he a friend, than the other an enemy. His good deeds and many favours ye have tasted and felt with great contentment: the folly and madness of *Hieronymus*, hurt none of you, but wrought his own confusion and overthrow. There was nothing but they might have obtained at the Romans hands: all was clear there, and no danger from thence. But among their own selves they were at more war: there was the peril, there was all the mischief. For the Roman rebels, who were run from them, doubting that they should be delivered over into their hands, and not comprized within the terms of the composition and protection, drove the auxiliaries also that were waged soldiers into the same trouble and fear. They hastily therefore took arms, and first killed the Pretors: and afterwards, ran all about to massacre the Syracusians. Look whom they hapned to meet, them they murdered in this furious fit of choicer. Whatsoever came next to their hands, and lay handie for them, they rifled. And because forsooth, they would not be without their leaders, they created six Provosts or Captains, that three should govern *Acradina*, and other three *Naso*. At the last, after the uprore was appeased, the mercenary soldiers aforesaid, followed the matter thoroughly by search and diligent inquiry, what were the capitulations indeed agreed upon with the Romans: and then began the very truth to appear, namely, that their condition and the fugitives were far different.

"These Embassadors in very good time returned from *Marcellus*, and certified them that they were carried away with a wrong surmise and false suspicion, and the Romans had no just cause to punish them. Now there was one of those three Provosts of *Acradina*, a Spaniard named *Mercurius*. Unto him there was sent for the non-compliance among those of the retinue and train of the Embassadors aforesaid, one of the Spaniards, who were auxiliary soldiers, serving under the Romans: who finding *Mercurius* alone without other company, gave him to understand especially above all things, in what terms he had left *Spain* (and from thence he was newly come) namely, how the Romans there were grown mighty, and held a great hand over them with their forces. And that himself, in case he had a mind to do some worthy deed, might soon rise, and be a great man in his country: chose whether he list to serve under the Romans, or return again into his own home. Contrary-wise, if he went on still in this course he had begun, and minded still to be besieged, what long abiding place could he have there, shut up as he was from sea and Land? *Mercurius* pondered well these reasons: and when it was agreed, that there should be addrest new Embassadors unto *Marcellus*, sent his own brother with them, who by the self same Spaniard was brought apart from all the rest unto *Marcellus*: and after he had a protestation granted, he laid the plot, and ordered all the matter how it should be done, and so returned to *Acradina*. Then *Mercurius* because he would withdraw mens minds from all suspicion of treason, and that he intended nothing less, than to betray *Acradina*, gave it out. That he liked not, and would admire of this recourse, ever and anon, of Embassadors between: and therefore as he would admit of none to come from *Marcellus*, so he would send no more to him. And to the end, that all the guards should be kept more diligently, he thought it good to divide conveniently among the Provosts, the quarters of the City, and assign to every one his ward by himself, and that each one should be bound to answer for the safe keeping of his own division, and for no more. Then all gave their consent to part accordingly, and to himself be left the charge of that quarter which reacheth from the fountain or well *Archebus*, unto the mouth or entry of the great key or haven. And hereof he gave notice and intelligence to the Romans. Whereupon *Marcellus* called a great Halk, laden with armed soldiers, to be satiated by an halting Trowp unto a Gally of four coure of oars, and so in the night by strength of oars to be rowed and drawn up after it into *Acradina*, and under the soldiers over against the gate, that is next to the fountain *Archebus*. This being done about the relief of the fourth watch, *Mercurius* received the soldiers that were first ashore at the gate, according as before it was agreed, and *Marcellus* by the dawning of the day, with all his forces gave a Camifado upon the walls of *Acradina*, in such manner, that not only he turned thither unto his assault all those that kept *Acradina*, but also from *Naso* there came running whole squadrons and companies of armed men (leaving their own wards) for to repel and put back the violence and assault of the Romans. In this tumult and trouble, certain Barges appointed and furnished thereto aforehand, were brought about to *Naso*, &c. there let other soldiers aland: who coming at unwares upon the corps de garnison that were left half naked and very weak, by reason of the departure of their fellows, and finding the gates wide open, at which erewhile the soldiers ran out, with small ado were masters of *Naso*, left, as it was, forlorn of warders, who in fear made haste to run away and escape. And none of them had less means to defend themselves, or smaller mind to carry still, than the fugitive rebels, for they durst not well trust their own fellows, and so in the hottest of the skirmish made an escape. *Marcellus* so soon as he understood, that *Naso* was won, and likewise that one quarter of *Acradina* was held and kept for him, and that *Mercurius* with his guard had joyined to his soldiers, founded the retreat: for fear, that the Kings treasure, which was more in name than in deed, should be rifled and spoiled.

Thus by suppressing the violence of the soldiers, both the rebel fugitives that were in *Acradina*, had good time and place to shift for themselves and get away, and also the Syracusians delivered

livered now at last from fear, opened the gates of *Acradina*, and sent Orators unto *Marcellus*, craving nothing but life for themselves and their children. *Marcellus* called his Council together, and those Syracusians likewise, who in the time of civil dissention, were driven to forsake their houses, and remained among the garrisons of the Romans: and then he made the Embassadors this answer. "There have not been (quoth he) more benefices and good turns for the space of fifty years received at King *Hiero* his hands by the people of *Rome*, than detriments and mischiefs intended against them within these few years, by them that have seized and possessed the City of *Syracusa*. But most of those mischiefs in the end, have lightened upon their heads right justly, who duly deserved the same: and for the breach of league and covenants, they themselves have suffered at their own hands more grievous punishment by far, than the people of *Rome* would willingly ever have required. As for me, this is the third year that I lie in siege before *Syracusa*; not, I assure you, with this intent, that the City should not be relieved, and found for the natural people thereof to keep and inhabit, but that the Captains and ring-leaders of fugitives and rebels might not seize it, and to hold it in captivity and oppression. How much the Syracusians might have done with me at first, may be easily seen by the example of other of those Syracusians who converted among the guards of the Romans, or of the Spanish Captain *Mericus*, who yielded up his garrison. Yea, and the hardy and resolute course in the end taken (although it were with the latest) by the Syracusians themselves, may sufficiently testify the same. Whereby also it may appear, that for all my travel and pain which I have undergone, for all the perils which I have adventured and passed through, about the walls of *Syracusa*, both by Land and Water, thus long; I have gathered no fruit so sweet and pleasant as this, that it may be said, how I was able, yet at last, to win and conquer *Syracusa*.

Syracusa won
and ransacked

Archimedes
killed.

Then the Quæstor was sent, attended with a guard, unto *Naxos*, for to enter upon the Kings treasure there, and to keep the same in safety. The pillage of the City was given to the soldiers: but there were appointed certain warders over every house of theirs, who were among the garrisons of the Romans, for to save the same. Amids many cruel, spiteful, and foul examples of anger, malice, and covetousness, which happened to be committed during the time of this siege, it is reported, That in so great hubbub as possibly might be, when a City is newly taken, and hungry soldiers run to rifling, *Archimedes* was brutally occupied, and studying upon certain Geometrical figures that he had drawn out in the dust, and happened to be slain by a soldier, that knew not who he was. Whereat *Marcellus* was much offended and displeased: and thereupon gave especial order, that he should be honourably enterr'd: yea, and caused his kinsfolks to be fought out: and all they in remembrance of him, and for his name sake, were not only saved, but also well accounted of, and had in good reputation. Thus you see in what sort, and by what means especially *Syracusa* was won. A City wherein was found such store of wealth and riches, as hardly would have been gotten in *Carthage*, if it had been forced thence: notwithstanding it was able to hold out with *Rome*, and maintain war with equal force and power.

Some few days before the winning of *Syracusa*, *T. Octavius* with fourscore Gallies, of five ranks of oars, crossed the Seas from *Lilybæum* to *Africa*, and being entered the gate before day light, chanced to take by the way certain Caricks charged with corn. After he was disembarked and set on Land, he wasted grievously part of the territory about *Africa*, and returned to the City with booty and prizes of all sorts. And the third day after he went from *Lilybæum* he returned thither again with 120 caricks full of corn and other booty: and that corn he lent forthwith to *Syracusa*: which if it had not come as it did in good time to help the present necessity, the conquerors as well as the conquered had felt the smart of most extremest and grievous famine.

In the same summer, the Roman Generals in *Spain* (who almost for two years had done no memorable act there, but warred by policy and stratagems, more than by force of arms) dislodged from their forts and winter harbors, and joyned their armies together. Then they called a Council, where they jumped with one general accord in this opinion. That considering all this while they had effected this much only, as to encompass and stay *Asdrubal* from all means of passing over into *Italy*, it was now high time to make an end at once of the war in *Spain*. And to effect and bring this to passe, they supposed verily that their strength was well amended and sufficient, by reason that in the winter time they had levied and put in arms thirty thousand Celtiberians. Now the Carthaginians had in *Spain* then, no fewer than three armies. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gilgo*, and *Mago*, were encamped with all their forces together, distant from the Romans almost five days journey: *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*, an ancient warrior, and an old Captain in *Spain*, was somewhat nearer with his whole power, before a City named *Antiorgis*. Him the Roman Generals were desirous to defeat and vanquish first: and in good hope they were, that they had strength enough and to spare, for to accomplish that: many, this was their only doubt and fear, lest upon the discomfite of him, the other *Asdrubal* and *Mago* would for fear retire themselves into the unpassable woods, and take the wilds and mountains, and so maintain a long war. They supposed therefore it was the best course to divide their power between them in two parts, and at once to compass the whole war of *Spain*. And thus they agreed to part their forces: namely, That *P. Cornelius* should lead two third parts of the army, consisting of Romans and allies, against *Mago* and *Asdrubal*: and that *C. Cornelius* with the other third part of that old army should joyn with the Celtiberians, and war again *Asdrubal* the Barchine [i. son of *Amilcar* above-said.] Both these Captains with their hosts set out together in their journey, putting the Cel-

iberians

berians before in the vanguard, and encamped near the City *Antiorgis* in the sight of their enemies, having but the river running between. And there *C. Scipio* laid behind, and made his abode with the power aforesaid: but *P. Scipio* went onward to perform that part of the war which he purposed and intended. *Asdrubal* after he perceived that there lay in camp but a small power of Romans, and that their whole hope relied upon the aids of the Celtiberians: as one that could well skill of the falshood and treachery of the barbarous people, but especially of all those nations, among whom he had been so long a soldier: by reason that both camps, as well his own as the other of the Romans, were full of Spaniards, he used by the means of reciprocal commerce of their language, for to have secret speech and conference with the principal heads of the Celtiberians, and so treated with them, that in consideration of a great sum of money, they were persuaded and yielded in the end to withdraw all their forces from thence, and give the Romans the slip. And this they supposed was not so heinous and odious a fact. For why? they were not dealt withal to turn their swords upon the Romans, and to war against them: again, they were to have as good pay and wages to sit still, and not to serve, as was sufficient to bind them for to bear arms and fight: and last of all, rest it self, and sleeping in a whole skin, together with their return home to their own, and the joy and pleasure of visiting their friends, and seeing their goods and lands, were plausible and pleasing inducements to every man. And therefore the Captains themselves were no sooner drawn thereto, than the very multitude. Over and besides, to strike it dead sure, they stood in no fear of the Romans (being so few as they were) that they could possibly keep them in force. And lastly, this might well serve, to be a caveat for Roman Captains ever hereafter, and such precedent examples and instances as this, may stand in stead of good lessons indeed, to teach them how they trust again the aids of foreigners: and never to rely themselves so much upon them, but that they always have in their camp the greater part of their own forces, and the more number of their natural soldiers. All on a sudden therefore the Celtiberians dislodged, plucked up standards, and departed from them, and never had them farewell. And when the Romans demanded the cause of this change, yea, and besought and importuned them to tarry, they made them no other answer but this, That they were called and sent for home by occasion of wars in their own country. *Scipio* seeing that these Allies of his were so slippery, and could neither be intreated nor enforced to stay: and that himself alone without them was not able to make his part good with the enemy: and to joyn again with his brother, was a thing impossible: for want of all other good means, for the present, when he saw no remedy else, determined to retire himself as far backward as he could: having this especial care above all things, not to encounter and joyn battail with the enemy in plain field, without some advantage, who now was passed over the river, and traced him hard at heels in his dimarch.

About the same time *P. Scipio* stood in the like terms of fear, but in more danger by the coming of a new enemy, and that was *Masaniassa* the young Prince, who then was a friend and pensionary soldier of the Carthaginians: but afterwards mighty and renowned for his amity with the Romans. He with his Numidian Horlemen first encountered *P. Scipio*, as he marched on his journey, and afterwards both day and night molested and troubled him very shrewdly: in such sort, that not only he would intercept and catch up those that were gone out wandering and stragling far from the camp, a fuelling or foraging, and send them short of home: but also ride bravely even before the camp. Many a time would he venture, yea, and enter upon the thickest of the standing camp de guard, and make foul work and trouble among them. By night also he used oft to make many flurys upon a sudden, and assail the gates of the camp and the sumpier, and put them in exceeding great frights. So as the Romans at no time, nor in no place could be at rest and quiet for him, but ever in fear and doubt of some shrewd turn or other by him: so as they were driven to keep within their rampier, cut off from the use of all commodities abroad, and in a manner as good as besieged: and more strictly yet were they like to be beleaguered, in case *Indibilis*, who was coming (as the rumor went) with 7500 Sueffetans, were once joyned with the Carthaginians. Whereupon *Scipio* a wary warrior and prudent Captain otherwise, driven to these hard extremities and forced to make shifts, entered into a rash and inconsiderate designment, even to go on and meet (forsooth) *Indibilis* in the night, and in what place soever it should be his hap to encounter him, there to bid him battail, and fight with him. Leaving therefore a mean guard to keep the camp, and *F. Ponticus* his Lieutenant, as Provost and Captain, he set out at midnight, and meeting with his enemies, joyned battail with them: but they skirmished rather by loose companies in their march, than with their united forces in set and pight field. Howbeit, the Romans had the better hand so much as it was, considering what a confused and disorderly conflict there might be. But the Numidian Cavalry, whom *Scipio* thought he was secured of, and that they were not aware of him, all on a sudden flanked the sides of the Romans, and mightily terrified them. Against these Numidians, whiles *Scipio* made head again afresh, beheld a third sort of enemies also charged upon his back: even the Carthaginian Captains, who by this time while the other were in fight, had overtaken their allies and were come thither. So as the Romans were to maintain battail on all hands and were at a stand and in doubt with themselves against which enemy to turn first or what way with a close couched squadron to give the venture for to break through. As the General was thus manfully fighting, and encouraging his soldiers, presenting and opposing himself forward, where was most need and danger, his chance was to be run through the right side of his body with a Lance: and that massive band of the enemies which had charged upon the thick

P. Scipio slain
battalion,

battalions, which environed their Captain, seeing *Scipio* falling from his Horse ready to die, in great joy asd mirth let up a cheerful shout, and ran all over the army, and caried glad tidings that the Roman General was slain. This voice being once spread all abroad, caused both the enemies to take themselves undoubtedly for victors, and the Romans to make no other account but they were vanquished. Whereupon they having lost their Leader, began forthwith to flee out of the field. But as it was no hard matter for them to make a lane and break through among the Numidians, and other auxiliary souldiers lightly armed; so to escape and go clear away from so many Horse, and Footmen also, who were as swift on foot as the horsemen, it was almost impossible. Thus they were more in manner slain in their flight now, then in their fight before. And there had not one remained alive, but that the day being far spent already, and toward evening, the night came on apace and overtook them. The Carthaginian Captains, and those also of *Africk*, taking the full benefit of this their good fortune, slept not their business, nor made delay: but presently after the battail, scarcely allowing their souldiers so much sleep as would content nature, marched in great haist toward *Ashdubal* the son of *Amilcar*: making account assuredly, that when they had joyned their power with his, they should break the neck of this war, and end it once for all. When they were come to him, great joy and gratulation there was between the Captains and the hosts of both sides, for this fresh victory newly achieved: and seeing they had already defeated so brave a warrior and great commander, together with his whole army, they made no doubt but expected certainly to have another hand as good as this.

The news verily of this so great a foil and overthrow, was not yet come unto the Romans: but yet they were stricken into a sad dump and deep silence, and more than that, into a secret preface and fore-deeming of some unlucky tidings: as commonly mens minds use to fore-give and tell beforehand, when there is some mischief and ill toward them. The General himself, besides that he saw he was abandoned and forsaken of his associates, and knew the forces of the enemies so mightily reinforced; by good conjectures and guesses, yea, and by very reason, was induced to suspect some loss and calamity received already, rather than inclined to hope after any good success and happy speed. For thus he discoursed with himself: How is it possible that *Ashdubal* and *Mago* should bring their armies together without conflict, unless my brother be slain in fight, or have forgotten to be a warrior? how cometh it that he withstood them not? or how hapneth it that my brother followed not hard after them fast upon their backs? At leastwise, if he had not been able to keep them asunder, but that both Captains and armies must needs meet and joyn in one, yet he him self thinks, at leastwise would have come by this time to his brother, and brought his own power to his. In this perplexity and anguish of spirit, he thought yet, for the present time, that the only good course he could take, was to withdraw himself back from thence as far as he could: and to all that one night unwares to his enemies (who so long only were quiet) he marched a great way, and won much ground of them. The next morning so soon as the enemies perceived that the Romans were dislodged and gone, they sent out the Numidian light Horsemen, and began to follow after them apace, and pursued them as fast as possibly they could: and before night the Numidian Cavalry had overtaken them, and skirmished one while with the tail of their march, another whiles at their sides and flanks, and gave them no rest: whereas the Romans made as it were a stand, and began to defend and save their army as well as they could: yet with great wariness and regard of security, *Scipio* encouraged them to fight, as they might march on still and gain ground, before the Infantry overtook them. But as one while the army was one foot, and another while stood still, in long time they rid but a little ground. And *Scipio* seeing the night draw on apace, reclaimed his souldiers from farther skirmishes: and after he had rallied them together, he retired with them up to a little mount, so sufficient place (God wot) of safe retreat for an army, especially so troubled and afflicted already, yet higher than any other place all about. There the first thing that he did, was to bestow the baggage and cavalry in the midst within his forces: and at first the infantry ranged round about in a ring, made no difficult matter of it to put by the violent charge of the Numidian Horsemen. But afterwards when the three Generals marching with three full armies approached, their Captain *Scipio* perceiving that he was never able to keep that place without some fortification, began to call his eye about, and to bethink with himself, by what means possible he might empale himself round about as it were with a rampier: but the hill was so naked of wood, and the soil of the ground besides so stony and craggy, that he could neither finde any underwood fit to cut out stakes for a pallisado nor earth meet to make turfs for a bank, or minable for a trench: and in one word, all things untoward and unhandy for a mound, and to fortifie withal. Neither was there any place there, to speak of, so steep and upright, but the enemy might at ease mount up and climb it. All the hill on every side, had a gentle rising and ascent up to the top. Howbeit, to represent some show and resemblance yet of a rampier, they were forced to take their pack saddles, with their packs tied fast unto them, and so round about to pile them and raise them to the usual height of a mure: And where where wanted pack saddles to make up the work, there they were fain to heap together, all sorts of fardels, trusses, and other carriages, and to put them between the enemies and them. The Carthaginian armies when they were come, marched very easily up against the Hill. But the new fashion and manner of their defences and fortifications, was very strange unto them, so as at the first the souldiers marvelled much

And were attonied thereat, and stood still. But their Captains on all sides cried out upon them. And why stand ye gaping (say they) so; and do not pull in peeces and pluck away that foolish babble there, good to make sport with? A very toy, that women and children would scarce stand about thus long? Why, the enemy is taken already in a pinfold, and lieth lurking and hiding himself behind the trusses and other carriages. After this manner (I say) the leaders rated at the souldiers. But it was not so easy a matter, either to get over that Barricado of the packs, or to remove and rid them out of the way, as they lay piled close against them; nor yet to unfold and unwrap the pack-saddles, lying overwhelmed as they did, under the packs, and entangled together with them. Thus they were kindred and staid a long time: and when at length they had put this bag and baggage aside that was let in their way, and made passage and entrance for the armed men, and that in divers places, the camp and tents were soon taken on all sides, ere a man could turn about: and so being few to many, and trighted men to late conquerors, no marvel if they were killed and hewn in pieces in every place. Howbeit, many of the souldiers having fled for refuge into the forests near by, escaped into the camp of *P. Scipio*, whereof *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant had the charge. As for *Cn. Scipio* some write that he was slain upon that mount, at the first on-set and assault made by the enemies: others report that with a few others he fled into a Tower hard by the camp: and that there was a fire made round about it, and so when the gates thereof were burned, which by no violent means otherwise they could break open, the enemies entered and took it, and they within were killed every one. Captain and all.

Thus *Cn. Scipio* came to his end, in the seventh year after that he went into *Spain*, and on the nine and twentieth day after that his brother lost his life. Their death was bewailed and lamented no less over all *Spain* than at *Rome*. For among the citizens at home one part of their sorrow they took for the loss of the armies, another part went for the distraction and alienation of the Province, and a third again was spent in the cogitation of the public calamity: but *Spain* from one end to the other, mourned only for their Governors and Captains, and had a great misse of them. And *Cneus* of the twain, was more bewailed, because he had been longer time their ruler, and had won the favour and affection of men, and possessed their hearts before the other: and was the first that ever gave them in those parts a proof and taste of the Romans just and temperate government.

When the army was thus defeated and brought to nothing, so as *Spain* seemed utterly lost, there arose one man yet, that recovered all again, and brought the decayed state to the former perfection. There was in the army one *L. Martius*, the son of *Septimius*, a Gentleman and Knight of *Rome*, a forward young man for courage and wit, far above the degree and condition wherein he was born. Besides this excellent and most toward disposition of his by nature, he had great helps by the discipline and instruction of *Cn. Scipio*: under whom, for so many years he was trained and had learned all military knowledge and skill meet for a souldier. This *Martius*, what by rallying the dispersed souldiers who were fled, and what by drawing others out of sundry garrisons had raised and assembled together a reasonable good power, and joyned with *T. Fonteius*, the Lieutenant afore said of *P. Scipio*. But the Roman Knight, above all others, grew to so great credit and reputation among all the souldiers, that when they had fortified their camp within the River *Iberus*, and were determined among themselves, to chuse one General over the armies, in a solemn assembly of souldiers, even by their own military election: they went one by one in course one after another, unto the main corps de guard that defended the rampier, and to the other wards belonging unto the camp, until they had all given their voices: and so by general consent created him their General. All the time which they had after, (and that was but small) they employed in fortifying their hold, and conveying thither corn and victuals: and what charge soever was imposed by him upon the souldiers, the same they executed readily and willingly, and without any shew that their hearts were dismayed, and cast down any jot at all. But after that news was brought, that *Ashdubal* the son of *Gigo*, was coming against them, to dispatch clean the reliques of the war: that he had passed over *Iberus* and approached near: and the souldiers lean on the reliques of the battel put forth unto them by this new General: calling to mind, what noble warriors they had served under but a while before; what worthy leaders they were wont to have, and with how puissant armies they had heretofore to go to the field: they fell a weeping every one, shaking and beating their heads: some lit up and stretched out their hands to heaven, blaming and accusing the Gods: others lay along upon the ground, calling every one upon his own Captain by special name. Neither could they their piteous moans and plaints be staid notwithstanding the Centurions encouraged what they could, the souldiers of their companies: notwithstanding (I say) that *Martius* himself sometimes spake them fair, sometimes rebuked them, for giving themselves to such foolish and vain pining, like women: and not rather resolve to raise up their hearts, and with him to quicken and whet their stomacks in defence of themselves and of the common weal: and not to suffer their former Captains and Leaders to lie dead and unrevenged. By this time now all on a sudden, the shout of the enemies was desired, and the sound of the trumpets were within hearing being come close under the rampier. Whereupon all at once, turning their sorrow and weeping into anger and indignation, they ran every man to his arm and weapon: and as if they had been horn and they hastened from all parts to the gates and entries of the camp and charged upon the enemies as they came carelessly and without order and array. Immediately this unexpected and sudden object, stroke an exceeding fear into the Carthaginians.

as wondering from whence so many enemies should start up so soon, considering the armies were so lately clean in a manner destroyed; and how it came to passe, that being newly vanquished and put to flight, they should be so stout, so bold and confident of their own selves; who a Gods name, should be their General, after the two *Scipios* were slain; what Captain and Governor had they over the camp; and who gave out the signal of battail: marveling (I say) at these premises, and so many particulars, that they once imagined not afore, at first hand they will not what to do, but as amazed men, began to give ground and retire; but afterwards, being still fiercely followed upon with a violent charge, they were plainly beaten back and put to flight. And verily, either there had been a foul havoc and slaughter of them that fled, or a rash and dangerous enterprise for them who would have followed the chase: but that *Martius* bethought to found the retreat, and opposing himself against the foremost ensigns of the vanguard, yea, and taking hold of some of them himself, staid the main battail and repressed their violence, who were upon the point already to pursue them with heat. And so he reduced them back again into the camp, as greedy as they were still of murder, and thirsty of bloudshed. The Carthaginians, who at the first were driven from the rampier, and for fear hastened away; after that they saw none to follow them, supposed they had been afraid, and therefore staid still: whereupon they departed to their camp again in reckless manner, fair and softly. And as careless as they were in their retire they remembered and thought again, that they were but the tail and reliques of two armies, vanquished and defeated a few days before. Upon this resolute perswasion of theirs, and base conceit of the enemies, they were very negligent every way within their camp: whereof *Martius* having by his espial, certain intelligence, resolved upon a designment, which at the first light seemed more like a project of hazard, than an enterprise of hardiness; and it was no more, but even upon a bravery to set upon the enemy in his own camp, and give him a camifado. For as he thought it an easier enterprise, to force the hold and pavilions of *Afrubal*, being but one, than to defend and keep his own; in case three armies and three Captains should joyn together: so he considered withal, that either if he sped well in this exploit, he should restore and set upright again unto the Romans, the decayed and prostrate State of *Spain*: or if he were discomfited and put back, yet by giving the adventure first upon the enemies, he should not be altogether condemned, and also reputation. But lest this attempt so suddain, and the terror and error which may fall out in the night-time, should happen to trouble this his designed plot, and the course of his good fortune: he thought it not amiss, to make a speech unto his souldiers, and to exhort and encourage them afore-hand. And therefore calling them together to a general audience, in this manner he discoursed unto them of his intent and purpose.

The Oration
of *Martius* to
his souldiers.

"My valorous and loyal souldiers, either the reverence and affectionate love of mine, toward our chief Captains during their life, and after their death; or the very present condition and state wherein we all now stand; may be a sufficient testimony and proof to any man whole ever, that this charge and government of mine, as it is in regard of your judgement of me right honourable, so it is in truth, and in very deed, to me most weighty, and full of care and trouble. For at what time as (but that fear took away all sense of sorrow) I was not so much milled by my self, as to seek out and find some comfort and solace for mine own pensive soul and heavy spirit: I was forced being but one, (which is a most hard matter for a man to do in time of grief) to minister consolation unto the common misfortune and calamity of you all. And surely I have no lit at all (the harder is my case) to avert my mind from continual grief of heart, nor so much as even then, when as I am to study and devise, by what means I may be able to preserve (for the behoof of my country) these small remnants of two armies. For whythe grievous and bitter remembrance of calamities past, is ever before me. The two *Scipios* trouble me all the day time with careful thoughts, they disquiet me in the night season with fearful dreams; they make me oftentimes to start out of my sleep, willing and charging me, to suffer neither them nor their souldiers (who were your fellows and companions, and for the space of eight years in those parts where they served, never received foil) nor yet the Common-wealth, to continue unrevenge: warning me withal, to follow their discipline, their precepts, rules, & good instructions. And like as, while they lived here among us, there was no man more obedient than myself to their directions and commandments: even so after their decease, whatsoever in my conceit, I judge they would have had especially done in all occurrences, the same my desire is, that you also (my souldiers) would like of and approve for the very best. I would not have you to weep, wail, and lament still for them, as if they were extinct and gone for ever; (for they live still, and shall, so long as the world endureth, and continue immortal in renown and fame) their worthy and noble acts) but rather so often as you remember and think of them, to go like hardy and valiant men to a field, even as if you heard them speaking unto you, or saw them giving out the signal of battel. Neither was it (I assure you) any other object but that, presented yesterday unto your eyes and minds, which effected so memorable a piece of service as it was: by which ye have made good proof unto your enemies, and given them to understand, that the Roman name died not together with the *Scipios*; and that the vigour and virtue of that people which was for extinct and buried, by the overthrow at *Canna*, will ever live again (ye may be sure) out of all adversities, let cruel fortune storm and rage as much as ever she can. And now, since ye have shewed such valour and hardiness already of your own accord, I have a mind, and

"and would gladly see, how bravely ye will bear your selves upon the direction and commandment of your Captain. For yesterday, when I founded the retreat unto you, at what time as you followed so freely upon the enemy, being troubled and dishearted; my desire and meaning, was not to repress and abate your bold courage but to defer and reserve it against some greater opportunity of advantage, and for a more honourable and glorious exploits that anon upon the first occasion, you being prepared and provided, might surprize them at unawares, and not standing upon their guard, armed and well appointed, assail them disarmed & naked; and that which more is, while they are in their beds fast and found asleep. And the hope that I conceive of this good opportunity and effect thereof (my souldiers) ariseth not upon some fantastical imagination of mine own brain by hap-hazard, and upon vain presumption, but grounded upon good reason and present experience. For verily, if a man should demand even of you your own selves, what the reason was, that being but few in number, and lately discomfited, ye were able to defend your camp, against many more than your selves, and those heartened with fresh victories; ye would make no other answer but this, That you, fearing that which followed, had both fortified your camp in every respect with strong munitions, and were your selves well appointed and furnished, yea, and ready to receive them whensoever they came. And surely, so it is, and we find it true by experience: Men are least sure and secured against that which fortune faith is fearless, and need not to be prevented, because that which we neglect is ever more open and exposed to all dangers. Now the enemies doubt nothing less at this time, than that we, who were so lately our selves besieged and assailed by them, will now come to give an assault upon them in their hold. Let us adventure to do that which no man would believe that ever we durst enterprise, and the self-same cause which seemeth to make the thing most difficult, shall effect it (soebeit of all others. At the change of the third watch I will lead you forth without any noise at all in great silence. Well informed and assured I am, that in their camp the Sentinels are not relieved in due course and order, neither yet the ordinary *corps de guard* kept as they ought to be. Your shout and outcry shall not so soon be heard at the gates, nor your first charge and assault given, but ye shall surely be masters of the camp. Then let me see you perform that slaughter and execution among them heavy and dead asleep, affrighted with an unexpected alarm, and taken on a sudden unarmed, and in their beds; from which yesterday ye thought much, that ye were called away and reclaimed. I wot well, that this seemeth unto you an audacious enterprise and full of hazard, but when things go crofs and stand in doubtful terms, and when others seem fail the hardest attempts, yea, and the most venturous and desperate courses, are ever safest and speediest. For if a man stay never so little at the very instant when a thing is to be done (whereof the opportunity passeth and sleeth away ere one would think) immediately when it is once gone, he may fling his cap after well enough, and complain thereof and fay, had I wist, but never the nearer. One Army they have hard at hand, and two more are not far off: now if we venture of them here, our opportunity and advantage is as good as theirs. And once already ye have made trial of their forces and your own: put we it off another day, contenting our selves with the bare name of yesterday's rally, and give over so, it will be great doubt and danger, lest all the Generals with all their armies be rallied and re-united. And shall we then be able to hold our own against three Generals and three hosts, whom *Cn. Scipio* having about him his whole puissance, fresh and in good plight, could not withstand nor abide? Our Captains by dividing their forces, and dismembering one compleat army, were defeated and overthrow: I fearably may our enemies, parted while they be, and severed asunder, be discomfited and brought to nought. Lo, this is the only way for us to war, and none other. And therefore let us wait no longer than the commodious opportunity of the next night. Go ye then a gods blessing, make much of your selves, take your repose, that ye may be fresh and lusty to break into your enemies hold with the same resolute courage, wherewith ere while ye defended your own. The souldiers, as they gladly gave ear to this new counsel of their new captain, so the more audacious and adventurous that it was, the better it pleased them. The rest of the day behind they spent in furnishing and making ready their harness and weapons, and in cherishing their bodies, yea, and abate the better part of the night they slept quietly. And so at the relief of the fourth watch they set forward.

Now were there other companies also of Carthaginians, beyond this next camp above laid, about six miles distant from thence. A hollow way and valley there lay between, standing thick of trees. In the midst of this wood, for a furlong space well near, he bestowed closely a cohort of footmen, yea, and certain horsemen of Romans: but by his leave this was but a crafty and sly trick, borrowed of the Carthaginians. Thus the midday way being intercepted and taken up, the Carthagean forces were conducted in a still march toward the enemies in the next camp. And finding no guards before the gates, no Sentinels upon the rampier, they entered in as it had been into their own hold, and no man made resistance: then they sounded trumpets, and gave the alarm. Some fell to killing of the enemies half asleep: others fling dry litter and straw for to kindle fire upon their huts and pavilions; other some again keep the gates, that none should issue forth. So the fire, the outcry, and massacre all together, put them out of their right wits, and made them as it were, blind themselves: that neither hear they could, nor yet make any shift for themselves. Unarmed and naked men fell among the bands of armed souldiers. Some run in haste to the gates, others finding the waies and passages beset, run up to the rampier: and look as any escaped and got away

from thence by that means he flieth straightwaies directly toward the other camp. Where they H were caught up by the cohort of footmen, and the corner of horsemen, which rose up suddenly out of their Ambuscado: and being encloied on every side, were killed to the last man. And yet, if it had been any ones good hap to have escaped from thence with life, to livelily, and with to great expedition, the Romans after they had got the nearer camp, sped themselves to the other, that he could not have recovered it before them, to bring news of the defeat. And even there likewise, the farther they were off from their enemy, the more negligent they were: and became soon also a little before day were slip away a foraging, fuelling, and plundering, the Romans found every thing more loose and out of order, than in the other camp. Their weapons only stood reared up in their *corps de guard*, the souldiers themselves were unarmed, either sitting and lying all along on the ground, or walking up and down before the gates and under the rampter. With these souldiers to secure, to retcheis, to distarmed and disordered (the Romans being yet in their hot blood, and not cooled upon their fresh massacre, and more than that, lusty and brag for their new victory) began to make a fray, and to skirmish. But the Carthaginians were not able to keep them out of the gates. And to within the Camp there was a hot and cruel fight: for, from all parts thereof, they ran together upon the first alarm that arose in the very beginning of the tumult and fuelling. And long had that skirmish continued, but that the Romans bucklers and targets seen all bloody were a pattern unto the Carthaginians of a former execution; and thereupon draw them into a mighty fear. This fearful fight caused them all to turn back and take their heels: and thus as many of them as escaped killing got out by heaps wherefoever they could make shift to find way, and were clean turned out of their camp, and all that they had. So in the compass of one day and night, by the conduct and direction of *L. Martius*, there were two encamped holds forced and won from the enemies: in which there were 37000 of the enemies slain, with *Claudius* who translated the Annals of *Acidius* out of the Greek tongue into the Latine, and 830 taken prisoners besides the gain of a mighty rich booty. In which pillage there was found a shield of silver weighing 138 pound, with the image and portraiture of *Asdrubal* the Barchine, *Valerius Antias* records that the camp only of *Mago* was taken, and seven thousand men slain, and that in another battell with *Asdrubal*, upon a fallly forth, there died ten thousand, and 4330 were taken prisoners. *Piso* writeth that when *Mago* followed after our men in an hot and disorderly chase (for they seemed to give back and retreat) there were five thousand men killed by the train of an ambush, but all writers do blazon the great honour and fame of *Duke Martius*, and besides the very truth of his glorious name, they make mention also and speak of some miracles: namely that as he made his Oration unto his souldiers, there was seen a flaming fire burning from his head, without any sent and feeling of his to the great wonder and fear of the souldiers that stood about him: and that in the memorial of his brave victory over the Carthaginians, there remained in the temple of *Jup.* until the Capitoll was burned that foresaid shield, with the Image of *Asdrubal*, and it was called *Martius* his shield. After this, *Spain* was quiet for a long time, whilst both sides after so many overthrowes given and taken between them, were loath to hazard the main chance in one battell.

In the time that these affairs passed in *Spain*, *Marcellus* upon the winning of *Syracuse*, having set all other things in order throughout *Sicily*, with such faithfulness and upright integrity, that not only he greatly augmented his own glory but also enlarged the majesty of the people of *Rome*, brought over to *Rome* all the goodly and beautiful ornaments of that City, their graven and molten images, their pictures and painted tables, whereof there was great store in *Syracuse*. These braveries (no doubt) at the first were no more but the spoils of enemies, and lawfully acquired in right of war and conquest. But from thence began our great love and liking to the cunning workmanship of Grecian Artificers: and from hence came afterwards our licentiousness and outgaing spoiling and robbing, so commonly & ordinarily, all sacred and profane places, where these things were to be had: which flaid not so, but proceeded and turned at length to the spoiling of the Roman gods themselves, and to that very first Temple which by *Marcellus* was beautified and adorned principally above the rest. For strangers and forrein travellers used in pilgrimage to visit the Temples which were dedicated by *Marcellus* at the gate *Capena*, in regard only of the most rare and singular workmanship of the ornaments in that kind, of which at this day there is very little or nothing to be seen.

Now from all City well-near of *Sicily*, there resorted Embassies unto him: as their causes were divers and unlike so their conditions were not all one. As many as before the winning of *Syracuse* had either not rebelled at all or became reconciled and in favour again they were accepted in the quality of faithful Allies, and made much of: those who for fear after the loss of *Syracuse*, yielded were reputed as conquered, and received laws and conditions at the will and pleasure of the Conqueror. There remained yet no small reliques of war about *Aggrigentum* for the Romans to dispatch namely, *Epicles* and *Hanno*, the Captains of the former war: and a third, sent new from *Annibal* in the room of *Hippocrates*, a Citizen of *Hippo* (his countrymen name him *Murines*) descended from the *Libyphoenices*, a man of Action, and one who under *Annibal* had been brought up and taught all sorts of arms and skill of warfare. Unto his charge were committed by *Epicles* and *Hanno* the Numidian Auxiliaries, with whom he over-ran all the countries belonging to the enemies: he went unto all the Confederates, and so wrought with them to continue fast in their allegiance, and to send aids to every one in due time accordingly: in such sort, that within

A within short time he got himself a great name throughout all *Sicily* so as the favorites and faction of the Carthaginians had no greater hope in any than in him. And therefore both Captains, as well *Hanno* the Carthaginian, as *Epicles* the Syracusan, who for a time had been pent up within the walls of *Aggrigentum*, bearing themselves as well upon the fidelity as policy of *Murines*, boldly adventured to come forth of the walls of *Aggrigentum*, and upon the river *Himera* encamped themselves. Whereof *Marcellus* having intelligence, forthwith removed with all his power, and stretch down encamped, almost four miles from the enemy, minding to wait and expect what they did or went about. But *Murines* gave him neither opportunity of place to rest him long, nor respite of time to take counsell in, but crossed the river, and with exceeding terror, and tumultuous noise assailed the standing guards of his enemies: yes, and the morrow after gave them battell as it were in a pitchy field, and drove them within their holds and fortifications. But being called from thence by occasion of a mutiny of Numidians within the Camp (who to the number almost of three hundred were departed to *Heraclea Minora*) he went to appease their moods, and to reclaim them to due obedience: but he gave the rest of the Captains (by report) a great charge and express warning, not to fight with the enemy, howsoever they did in his absence. But both the Captains were greatly offended thereat, and *Hanno* especially, who was already male-content, and repined at his glory: What? saith he, thinketh *Murines*, a base Affrican, and not of the right stamp neither to gage and rule me a Carthaginian General, sent with Commission from the Senat and people? He privadly therefore *Epicles* effectually to pass over the river, and to strike *Catullus* for whom he if we should lay for him, and then hap to have a fortunate day of it and win the victory, all the honour no doubt shall redound to *Murines*.

Bye sure, *Marcellus* thought this a great indignity, that he who had repulsed at *Nola* *Annibal*, even when he bare himself bravely upon his fresh victory at *Can.*, should give one foot to the enemy enemies, vanquished already by him both by sea and land: whereupon he commanded his souldiers to arm in all haste, and to bring forth the standards and ensigs. But as he was arranging his men in battell array, there came riding unto him all on the spur, with bridle on the horse neck ten Numidians from out of the army of the enemies, with these tidings and intelligence, assuring them, "That their countrymen, who first were offended and discontented by occasion of that mutiny aforesaid, wherein three hundred of their company departed and went away to *Heraclea*:" and then afterwards, because they saw their own head and leader, by the practice of those other Captain, who malignd and envied his glory, lent far enough out of the way, even against the very day when the battell should be fought; were not disposed at all to fight, but would sit still and not stir. A kind of people these were, deceitfull otherwise, and used to break promise: howbeit now, they were just and true of their word. Upon this, as the Romans took better heart unto them, (for there was a speedy purveyor or courier sent throughout the battalions from company to company, for to signify unto them, that the enemy was disappointed and abandoned of his Cavalry, whom they feared most of all other) for the enemies were mightily dismayed and put in fear: for over and besides, that they had no help from them: who were the greatest strength of their army, they were in a deep fear lest their own horsemen would desert upon them. By which occasion the conflict was not great, for at the first shout and shock given, well it was seen which way the game would go, and the matter was soon determined. The Numidians, who at the first encounter, and during the conflict, had stood quiet in both points of the battell, seeing their own fellows turn back and flee, bare them only company for a while as they fled: but after that they perceived them all to make haste forsook to *Aggrigentum*: fearing also themselves there to be besieged among them, slip away every one to their own Cities. Many thousands were there slain and taken prisoners: and eight elephants besides taken alive. This was the last field fought by *Marcellus* in *Sicily*: upon this victory he returned to *Syracuse*. By this time now was the year almost come about and growing to an end. And therefore at *Rome* the Senate decreed, that *P. Cornelius* the Praetor should send letters to the Consuls, lying before *Capua*, purporting this tenour: That so far as much as *Annibal* was far from them, and no great matter of consequence like to be performed the while at *Capua*: the one of them (if they thought fit) should repair to *Rome*, for to create new Magistrates in the room of the old. The Consuls having received the letters, agreed between themselves and took order, that *Claudius* should go to hold and accomplish the solemn election of Magistrates: and *Fulvius* remain still at *Capua*. So *Claudius* increased new Cons. *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *P. Sulpicius Galba* the son of *Servius*: a man that had not born any curule office of state before. After these were Praetors chosen, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *C. Sulpicius*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*. Unto *Piso* befall the jurisdiction within the City. *Sulpicius* had the government of the Province *Sicily*. *Cethegus* of *Apulia*: and *Lentulus* of *Sardinia*. The Consuls had the government of their Provinces prorogued for to continue Gode year longer.

The fix and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fix and twentieth Book,

Annibal encamped himselfe at three miles end from Rome, fast upon the river Anio. Himselfe accompanied with two thousand men of arms, rode to the gate Capena, for to view the site of the City. And notwithstanding that for three daies space the armies of both sides were come into the field ready embattell'd, yet they never joyned in conflict, by reason of the tempestuous and stormy weather: But ever as they were returned again into their Camps, presently it proved fair. Capua was won by Q. Fulvius, and Appius Claudius the Pro-Consuls. The Nobles and principall Citizens of Capua punished themselves. When as their Senators stood bound to stakes (for to be whipped) and whilst they lost their heads, there came letters from the Senate of Rome unto the Pro-Consul Q. Fulvius, with direction to spare their lives: but if ore that he would read them, he put them up into his bosome, and willed the ministers or executioners to let the Law have the course, and to do their offices, and so he went through with the execution. It hapned that in a solemn assembly of the people there was much debate and question, who should govern at L. Deputy the Province of Spain: and when no man was willing to undertake that charge, P. Scipio, the son of that Publius who was slain in Spain, made offer to go that voyage, and by the voices generally of the people, and with one accord of all he was thither sent. In one day he assaulted and also forced New-Carthage, being a young man, not fully 24 year old. And there was opinion of him, that he was descended of some heavenly race: both for that himselfe, after he was come to seventeen years of age, and had put on his mans robe, conversed within the Capitoll, and also because there was a statue or figure seen oftentimes in his mothers bedchamber. This book containeth besides the affairs in Sicily: the amity concluded with the Etruscians: and the war against the Acarnanians and Philip King of the Macedonians.

The fix and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

Cneus Fulvius Centumalus, and P. Sulpicius Galba the Consuls, when they had entred into their Magistracy upon the Ides of March, assembled the Senators into the Capitoll, where they consulted with the LL about the state of the Common-weal, concerning the administration of the wars, and as touching the Provinces and the Armies. Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius, the Consuls of the former year, continued till their rule and full command, with the charge of the same forces which they had before under their hands. And over and besides, they were expressly commanded, not to depart from Capua (before which they lay at siege) until they had forced and won the City. For at that time the Romans among all their other affairs were most amused upon it: not so much for anger and malice, (whereof they had never against any one City greater and juster cause) as in this regard, that being a state so noble and mighty, like as by revolving first it had drawn and induced certain other Cities to do the same: so if it were recovered and regained, like it was to reduce their affections again, to look back and return unto their old allegiance and obedience to their wonted signory of Rome. The Prætors also of the former year, M. Junius in Tuscany, and P. Sempronius in Gaul, continued in their places of regiment, with two legions a piece under their conduct, the same which they had before. And so M. Marcellus remained as Pro-Consul behind in Sicily, for to finish and dispatch the reliques of the war there, with the power of that army which he had already: and had commission (if need were of new supply) to make up the number of his companies, out of those legions which were commanded by P. Cornelius the Vice-Prætor in Sicily: provided alwaies, that he chose no soldier out of those bands, unto whom the Senat had lately denied, either licence to be discharged, or passport to return home into their country, before the war was fully ended. Unto C. Sulpicius, whose lot it was to govern the Province of Sicily, were assigned those two legions, which P. Cornelius had before with a fresh supply out of the army of Cneus Fulvius, which the last year was shamefully defeated, beaten and put to flight in Apulia. These soldiers, all the sort of them, had the same limitation of service and no other, appointed and set down by the Senat, as those former who remained after the overthrow at Cannæ. And this disgrace they had besides, as well the one company as the other, that they might not winter within any town, nor build them any standing camp for winning harbours, within ten miles of a City. L. Cornelius the Lord Deputy in Sardiny, was allowed to have the conduct of those two legions which were under the leading of Q. Mutius. And order was given unto the Consuls, to levy and enroll a new supply thereto, if need required. T. Otacilius and M. Valerius were appointed to guard and defend all the sea-coasts of Sicily and Greece, with the

the help of those Legions and Armadoes which they had already. The Greeks had fifty fail in their fleet, and were manned with one Legion. The Sicilians had one hundred ships, and two Legions to furnish them. So that in this year the Romans maintained three and twenty Legions, to wage war both by sea and land.

In the beginning of the year, when the letters of L. Martius were read and scanned in the Senat-house, the LL there assembled, liked well of the contents, and spake highly in the praise of his worthy acts: but many of them were offended at the superscription, because he took upon him the honourable title of a Pro-Prætor in his title, and wrote thus, [L. Martius the Pro-Prætor to the Senat] considering, that his command was neither granted by the people, nor allowed and confirmed by the Senat. An ill precedent (say they) it is, and of bad consequence, that Generals of the field should be chosen by armies, and that the solemnity of Elections, so devoutly begun in the name of the gods, and with the religious observance of the Bird-flight, should now be transferred into the Camps and Provinces far from Laws and Magistrates, and committed to the inconsiderate wills of rash affectionate souldiers. And when some there in place were of opinion, that the matter should be put in question at the Council Table, it was thought better to defer that consultation, until those gentlemen of service, that brought the Letters from Martius, were gone and departed. As concerning corn and apparel for the army, they agreed to write back unto him, that the Senat would take order and provide for both: but they would not allow in any case to give him this addition, and to write [T. Martius the Pro-Prætor] left that they might seem to approve the very same thing by their prejudice and doom beforehand, which they had left for to be decided and determined afterwards. When the Gentlemen aforesaid had their dispatch, and were dismissed, the first thing that the Consuls propounded was it, and no other: and generally they jumped in this one point, for to deal with the Tribunes of the peoples, that with all speed possible they would move the Commons, and propound unto them, for to know, who their will and pleasure was should be sent L. Deputy into Spain, for to have the government of that army, whereof Cn. Scipio, L. General, had the conduct.

This matter, I say, was treated of with the Tribunes, and a bill preferred thereof unto the Commons: but there was another greater contention in terms, that had possessed their minds already. For C. Sempronius Blaesus had commenced a criminal action against Cn. Fulvius, accusing him for the loss of the Army in Apulia, and ceased not in all the assemblies of the people to make invectives against him, charging him, "That being Captain General, through his much folly, ignorance, and rashness, he had brought his army into a place of danger: reproving him more over, and saying, That never any Captain but Cn. Fulvius had corrupted, marred, and infected his legions with all kind of vices before that he betrayed them to the enemies: in such wife, that it might be well and truly said, that they were altogether spoiled and defeated before they had a fight of their enemies: and were not vanquished by Annibal, but by their own Colonel and Commander. See (quoth he) the disorder that is in Elections, and how no man, when he is to give his voice doth well weigh and consider, who it is that he choiceth a General, & unto whom he committeth the charge of an Army. Behold the difference between Cneus Fulvius, and E. T. Sempronius. This man having the leading of an army of bondslaves, by discipline, good order and government, within short time brought his souldiers to that good pass, that there was not one of them all throughout the army remembered and regarded how basely he was born, and of what parentage descended, but all in general bare themselves so, that they were to their friends a sure defence, and to their enemies a fearful terror: and after that he had recovered them at Beneventum, & other Cities, (as it were, out of the claws of Annibal) he reformed and delivered them safe & found to the people of Rome. Whereas contrariwise Cn. Fulvius having received an army of Roman Citizens, well and worthily born, liberally and honestly brought up, had taught them servile vices fit for slaves, and so trained them, that with their friends and allies they were stout, proud, and unruly: and among their enemies were cowards & very daftards: & so far forth they were to beare off the violence of the Carthaginians that they were not able to abide so much as their first cry and shout. And no marvel I assure you, that the souldiers could not stick to it in the battell, and hold out manfully: when the General himself was the first that ran away. Truly, I rather wonder at it, that any of them stood to it and died in the field, and were not all of them as fearful as Cn. Fulvius, and took not heels with him for company. Yet C. Flaminius, L. Paulus, L. Posthumus, both Scipios, as well Cn. as Pub, chose rather to lose their lives in battell, than to forsake their armies when they were environed round with enemies. But Cn. Fulvius, he was in manner the only man that returned to Rome with news of the army defeated and overthrowen. Now verily a great indignity it is, and a shameful manner of proceeding, that the residue of the army, after the overthrow at Cannæ, because they fled out of the field, were confined and transported over into Sicily, with express condition, not to return again from thence, before that the enemy were clean gone and departed out of Italy: & that the very same rigorous and heavy decree passed likewise, and was executed against the Legions of Cn. Fulvius, and Cn. Fulvius himself, who fled out of the battell, which was through his own folly and rashness begun, should go away clear, and escape without all punishment: that himselfe I say, should lead his old age in taverns, stews, and brothel-houses, where already he hath spent his youthful daies: while his poor souldiers (who had faulted in nothing, but that they were like unto their Captain) be sent far enough off, and packed away (as it were) into exile, and endure shame."

The Oration of T. Sempronius Blaesus against Cn. Fulvius.

"full and ignominious soldiery. Lo, how unequally at Rome the freedom of the City is parted H
"between the rich and the poor; between men of nobility and high calling, and those that are of
"mean parentage and low degree.

The answer of
Cn. Fulvius.

Thus much spake the plaintiff C. Sempronius Blaesus. The defendant on the other side, shifted all the blame from himself, and laid the whole fault upon his soldiers, alleging and pleading thus: "That when they called upon him hastily, and with great willfulness for to give battle, he brought them forth into the field not on that day which they would themselves (for it was late in the evening) but the morrow after, when both time and place were meet and convenient for the purpose: and notwithstanding they were well appointed and orderly embattled, yet were they not able to sustain either the fame, or the fury of the enemies, I know not whether, And when they fled away again, he also was carried away in the throng of the rout: like as Varro the Consul, at the battell before Cannæ, and as many other Generals elsewhere. And what good could he have done to the Common-weal, in case he had stood behind alone? unless peradventure his death might have cured and remedied the publick forces and maladies, or made amends for the common losses. Neither was it for want of victuals, nor for that he light at unawares upon places of disadvantage and danger: nor yet, because he was entrapped within the trains of an ambush, marching on end forward, without sending his epialls before, that he was overcome; but even by mere force, by dint of sword, in open field, and in a pight battell. And it was not he could do withall, if his own men were fearful and timorous, and the enemies hardly and venturous, he had not the rule of their hearts. It is long of every one his own nature to be either bold or heartless.

Two severall daies was he judicially accused, and at both times a fine of money only set upon his head in case the matter should go against him. At the third Session the witnesses were produced, to be depofed at give evidence: and after that he had been shamefully reviled, and charged with all manner of reproaches, there were very many upon their oath testified, That the first beginning of the fright and flight both, was occasioned by the Prætor himself: and that the soldiers seeing themselves forsaken by him, and supposing verily that their Captain and Leader was not afraid of his own shadow, but had great reason to fear, they likewise turned their backs and fled. Upon which evidence, the whole Court was so incensed against him with anger, that they cried all with one voice, to commence a capital action, for that he was worthy to die. Whereupon arose a new debate and controversy: for whereas the Tribune had twice before laid a penal action upon him of money, and now at the third time said that he would have a jury of life and death go upon him: then he called upon the other Tribunes for their helping hand to mitigate this rigour of the Tribune. But when those his Colleagues made answer again and said, that they would not oppose themselves nor hinder his course, but that he might proceed in the suit at his own good pleasure, *more injuriam, i. e.* according to the ancient manner used by their forefathers, [either by order of law, or rule of custome, and bring him being but a private person to the trial either of a capital crime, or penal trespass: then Sempronius spake and said flatly, that he laid upon him a criminal action of treason against the State: and requested of C. Calpurnius the LL. chief Justice of the City, for to have a day of hearing and judicial trial by the people. Then the defendant cast about to help himself by another remedy, namely, in case he could compass that M. Q. Fulvius his brother might possibly be present at the Session when he should be judged: who at that time was a man of great credit and reputation, in regard both of the name that went on him for his noble acts, and of that great hope which men had of him, that he was like presently to be Master of Capua. But when this said Q. Fulvius had requested so much by letters, ended to that purpose as effectually as he could devise, and to move commiseration and pity in behalf of the life of his brother, the LL. of the Senat returned this answer unto him again, That it was not for the good of the State that he should depart from Capua: thereupon, before the Sessions day was come, Cn. Fulvius departed of his own accord into exile to Tarquinii, and the Commons made an act and confirmed that banishment of his to be a just, due, and sufficient punishment for his offence.

During these businesses at Rome, the whole strength and force of war was bent against Capua, and yet the City was rather straightly beleaguered than forcibly assaulted: insomuch as neither the servants or bondmen, nor the common people were able to endure the famine any longer: and send unto Annibal any messengers, they possibly could not, by reason of the straight watch and ward that the Romans kept, so near one unto the other. At length there was a certain Numidian offered to go and to escape clear away, who having taken letters unto Annibal to put him in mind to be as good as his promise, departed in the night, and passed through the midst of the Roman camp, and put the Campains in very good hope, to issue forth at all the gates, and to make a sally upon the enemy, whilst their power and strength served them. And verily in many scufflings and skirmishes which they made, they got the better for the most part in horse-fight: O but lightly their footmen had ever the worse. The Romans for their parts were nothing so much pleased when they had the upperhand at any time, as they were discontented and ill apaid, to receive a foil in any kind of service of them, who were not only besieged, but in manner overcome already and conquered. So they devised a means in the end, to make up and supply by industry and policy the defect they had in strength and force. They chose out of all the Legions certain lusty young men, such as for clean strength of body, and lightness withall, were most nimble and swift,

A swift. These had every one of them, a light buckler or target, shorter than commonly horsemen have, and seven javelins or darts apiece, four foot long, with iron heads at one end, like as those javelins have, which they use to lance that are lightly armed, and begin skirmishes. And every horseman took up one of these behind him on horseback, and used them, both to fit the horse and ride, and also to leap down on foot, with great activity and agility, at the signal and token given them. Now, when as, after daily practice and exercise, they were able to do it drible enough, and without fear, they advanced forth into the plain, lying between their camp, and the wall of the City, and affronted the horsemen of the Campains as they stood arranged in battell array: and so soon as they were come within a darts cast, the light javelotters, aforesaid, dismounted from their horses, at a sign given them: and behold, all of a sudden, out of the Cavalry there was a battaillon of footmen arranged, who charged the men of arms of the enemies, and let fire their shot with great force, dart after dart, which they lanced so thick, that they galled many a horse, and wounded also many horsemen: howbeit, their fear was much greater, by reason of the strange and unexpected manner of fight. The Roman horsemen seeing their enemies thus affrighted, set too hard, and charged them upon lustily, chased them and beat them down even to the City gates. After this, the Romans were the better in horse-service also, and hereupon began the manner from henceforth to entertain such light armed javelotters, called *velites*, even among the Legions. The first deviser of this mingling of footmen among the horsemen they say was one Q. Navius a Centurion, and that he was highly honoured by the General for this invention.

Whiles thus stood thus at Capua, Annibal was greatly distracted in mind, and possessed with two contrary cogitations, whether he should go to gain the Cattle of *Tarentum*, or to rescue and save the City of *Capua*. At last the regard of *Capua* prevailed with him: for he saw that as well friends as enemies depended thereupon, and had their mind and eye wholly bent that way; as being a City like to give the very trial and proof, what would the issue be generally of all the revolt and rebellion from the Romans. Leaving therefore behind him a great part of his carriage in the Brutians country, and all his soldiers heavily armed, he made haste into *Campania*, with an elect power of foot and horse, such as he supplied most meet and best appointed for expedition and riddance of way: yet as fast as he marched, there followed after him three and thirty Elephants, and so he fate him down closely in a secret valley behind the mountain *Tifissus*, which overlooketh the City *Capua*. At the first coming he forced the fort called *Galatia*, and compelled the garrison there to quit the place, and then he turned and opposed himself against the enemies who besieged *Capua*. But he dispatched certain couriers afore unto *Capua* to signify unto them at what time he minded to set upon the camp of the Romans: that they also at the very instant might be ready to issue forth at every gate of the City to do the like. The Romans having no fore-knowledge by their epialls of this occurrence, were mightily terrified: for Annibal himself assailed them one way, and all the Campains as well foot as horsemen (together with the garrison soldiers of the Carthaginians under the leading of *Hofar* and *Hanno* their captains) sallied out another way. The Romans therefore being driven to their shifts, as well as they might in so sudden and fearful a case, had an eye to this, not to make head altogether one way, and so to leave the rest quite without defence: therefore they divided their forces in this manner among themselves: *Appian* Claudius opposed himself against the Campains: and *Fulvius* against *Annibal*. *Claudius Nero* the Vice-Prætor, with the horsemen belonging to the sixth legion, quartered upon the way that leadeth to *Suessula*: and C. *Fulvius Flaccus* the Lieutenant with the horsemen of Allies, took up his standing, and planted himself over against the river *Vulturturnus*. The battell began not after the usual manner, only with shouts and outcries, but besides all other clamours of men neighing of horses, and rustling of armour, there was a multitude of Campains good for no other service of war, placed upon the walls, who together with ringing and sounding of basons and rattles of brass (as the manner is in the still dead time of the night, when the moon is in the Eclipse) made such an hideous noise, that it caused even them that were in fight to be amused thereupon, and to listen after it. *Appius* with small ado repulsed the Campains from the trench and rampier. But *Fulvius* on the other part had more trouble to deal with *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, who charged so fiercely upon him, that the sixth legion there gave ground and retreated: which being once beat back, a Squadron of Spaniards and three Elephants passed forwards as far as the rampier, and had already broken through the main battell of the Romans: but they were in suspense between doubtful hope and present danger, thinking one while to break through and pass into the Camp: and doubtful another while to be excluded from the rest of their companies. *Fulvius* seeing this fear of the Legion and peril where-in the Camp stood, encountered and exhorted Q. *Navius* and other principall Centurions, to assault valiantly, to kill and hew in pieces that one company of the enemies which were fighting under the counter-scarp. "For all now lieth a bleeding, quoth he, and in extrem hazard: for either you must give the enemies way, and then will they more easily enter into the camp, then they had already pierced through the thick squadrons of the battell: or else ye must defeat and slay them in the place, even under the trench. And that (quoth he) were no difficult piece of service, considering they are but few in number, levered and shut out clean from the succour of their fellows: and the same Roman battaillon which seemeth now disbanded and open, whilst it is affrighted, if so be it would make head and turn both sides upon the enemy, were able to com-

The singular
valour of Na-
vius.

compels round and environ them, and put them to a doubtful hazard, yea, and cut them in pie-
ces within the midst. Navius had no sooner heard the General speak these words, but he caught
the ensign of the second band of *Hastati* from the ensign-bearer, and displayed it in the faces of the
enemies, threatening to fling it among the midst of them, unless his souldiers made the better haste
to follow him, and settle themselves to fight. He was a goodly tall and personable man of body,
his brave armor befitted for him out and beautified his person: and withall, the advancing of his
ensign on high, drew every mans eye upon him, as well enemies as friends. But when he was ap-
proached once to the banners of the Spaniards, then from all hands they spared him not, but clun-
dred at him their barbed javelins, and the whole battell in manner was bent only against him. But
yielther the multitude of enemies, nor the volley of their shot, was able to repress and rebut the
violence of that one man. Likewise *M. Annius* a Lieutenant, caused the ensign-bearer of the first
band of the *Principes*, belonging to the same Legion to enter with his ensign upon the cohort and
troop of the Spaniards. The Lieutenants also *L. Porcius Licinius* and *T. Popilius*, who had the
guarding of the camp, fought valiantly upon the rampier in defence thereof, and killed the Ele-
phants upon the very counterfarp, as they were passing over and entering the camp. And by oc-
casion that their bodies filled up the ditch, the enemies had a passage made them into the camp, as
it were over a causey or bridge raised of purpose to give them way: and there over the very car-
cases of the Elephants, there was a cruel slaughter committed. But on the other side of the camp,
the Campains and the garrison of the Carthaginians had the repulse already: and under the very
gate of *Capua* which openeth upon the river *Vultururns*, there was another skirmish, wherethe *R*
Romans striving to enter the town, were not so much put back and withstood by force of armed
men, as by brakes, scorpions, and other engines of ordnance, which being mounted and planted
upon the very gate, discharged shot so violently, that they drove the enemies farther off. Over and
besides, the forcible and furious assault of the Romans was dented and suppressed, by reason that
their General himself, *Ap. Claudius*, was hurt; who as he was encouraging his men to fight in the
very forefront of the vanguard, hapned to be wounded with a dart above in his breast under the left
shoulder: yet there were an exceeding number of enemies there slain before the gate, and the
rest were driven for fear to make haste and get the City over their heads. *Annibal* also perceiving
the Cohort of the Spaniards lying along dead, and the camp of the enemies so manfully defended
even to the death: gave over their assault, and began to retire his ensigns, and to turn backward
all his footmen, interposing his horsemen behind them, for fear the enemy should charge them
on the tail. The legions were exceeding eager to pursue after the enemies: but *Flaccus* com-
manded to sound the retreat, supposing they had done well enough already, and effected two things,
to wit, that both the Campains law in how little stead *Annibal* served them; and also *Annibal*
himself knew and perceived no less. Some writers that have recorded this battell, set down that
of *Annibal* his Army there were slain that day eight thousand men, and of Campains three thou-
sand: that the Carthaginians lost fifteen ensigns, and the Campains eighteen. But in others,
I find that the conflict was not so great, and that the fight was much more than the skirmish:
for when as the Numidians and Spaniards together with the Elephants brake at unawares in the
Roman Camp, those Elephants as they passed through the midst thereof, overthrow and
laid along many of the tents and pavilions: and the Sumpter-horses and other beasts there
for carriage, with great noise brake their halters, and collars, fled for fear, and bare down
before them as they went. And that besides this tumultuous fright and confusion, *Annibal* dealt
fraudulently, by sending in among the rest certain that could speak the Latine tongue (for some
such he had about him) who in the Consuls name gave commandment (since that the Camp
was lost) that every souldier should make shift for himself, and flee to the next mountains.
But this deceit was soon elyped and prevented with the loss and slaughter of a number of
enemies: and the Elephants were coufed out of the Camp with fire. But howsoever this battell
was either begun or ended, the last it was fought there, before that *Capua* was yielded up and
surrendered.

The *Mediftricitus* (for so they call the head Magistrate and Governor of the City of *Capua*)
for that year, was one *Seppius Lelius*, a man of base parentage and mean calling. The report goeth,
that his mother upon a time as she made satisfaction in the name of him (being then fatherless and
under age) by a purgatory sacrifice, for a prodigious domestical portent, that hapned in her house,
was told by the Soothsaier out of his learnings, that one day the chief government of *Capua*
should befall to that child: whereat, seeing no likelihood nor hope at all of any such matter,
said thus again, You talk of a poor City of *Capua*, when that day comes; and God save all, when
my son shall be advanced to the highest place and government thereof. But these words spoken at
random and in jest, proved afterwards good earnest, and true indeed. For when as the Citizens
were driven to great straits, through word and famine, and were past all hope of recovery: in
such sort, as they that were of quality and born for honour, refused to be in place of authority,
this *Lelius* complaining that *Capua* was forlorn, betrayed, and abandoned by her own nobility, took
upon him the chief Magistracy, and was the last of all the Campains that bare sovereign rule in
that City.

Annibal perceiving that neither his enemies would be drawn forth any more to fight: nor pos-
sibly he could break through their camp for to come unto *Capua*: for fear lest the new Con-
suls should stop all the passages, and intercept his purveyance of victuals, determined to dilodge
without

A without effecting his purpose, and to remove from *Capua*. And as he cast and tossed to and fro in
his mind what course to take, and whither to go; it came into his head to make no more ado, but
to march directly to *Rome*, the very head and seat-City of the whole war. This was the upshot of
all, and the emprise that he most desired. Howbeit as all others much grieved and greatly blamed
him, that he had over-slipped the opportunity when it was, even presently upon the battell at *Canna*:
so himself acknowledged no less that he was mightily overseen. And yet the thing was not so far
past (he thought) that he should despair, but upon some sudden fright and unexpected tumult, he
might seize of some quarter of the City or other. And if *Rome* were one in that hazard, then ei-
ther both the Roman Generals, or one at the least, would immediately leave the siege of *Capua*.
B Who if they had once divided their forces, both of them would be the weaker, and minister
either unto him, or to the Campains, some occasion of good fortune. The only thing that troubled
his mind was this, for fear lest that as soon as his back were turned, the Campains would yield
themselves unto the Romans. He therefore with large and liberal rewards induceth a certain
Numidian (an audacious and adventurous fellow, one that cared not what dangers he undertook)
to be the carrier of certain letters, and to enter into the camp of the Romans, counterfeiting him-
self to be a fugitive, from the adverse part unto them: and so when he spared his time, to slip secre-
tly from the other side of the camp to *Capua*. The letters were very comfortable, importing unto
them, "That his remove and departure from thence was for their good and safety, whereby he
meant to withdraw the Roman Captains and their forces from *Capua* to the defence of their
own City of *Rome*: willing them not to let fall their hearts and be discouraged; for by patient
abiding some few daies they should be wholly freed and delivered of the siege. Then he made
stay of all the shipping and vessels that he could find upon the river *Vultururns*, and commanded
them to be brought to *Castellum*, which he had fortified aforesaid with a pile or Cattle to guard
and keep the place with a garrison. And having intelligence that there was such store of barges
and bottoms upon the river, as would serve to transport in one night his whole army: he made
provision of victuals for ten daies, brought down his army by night to the river side, and crossed
the water with all his power before the next day-light. But this was not carried so secretly, but be-
fore that it was effected, intelligence was given thereof by certain runnagate fugitives: where-
upon *Fulvius Flaccus* addressed his letters unto the Senate of *Rome*, and gave notice thereof. At
which tidings men according to their sundry fancies and humours were diversely affected: and as
to fearful an occurrence required, incontinently the Senate assembled.

P. Cornelius, surnamed *Asina*, was of opinion, that all the Captains and Armies whatsoever
should be called home out of all parts of *Italy*, without regard of *Capua* or any other exploit be-
sides, save only the defence of the City. *Fabius Maximus* thought it was a dishonest, lewd, and a
shamefull part, to depart from the siege of *Capua*, and to be feared to turn here and there, and to be
carried away with every copy of *Annibal* his countenance, and with his vain threats and mena-
ces. He that won a victory at *Canna*, and durst not then go forward to the City, hath he con-
ceived any hope now to win *Rome*, being already repelled from *Capua*? No, he marcheth to-
ward *Rome*, not minding to besiege it, but hoping to raise the siege from *Capua*. And however it
be, I am assured (quoth he) that *Jupiter* (the witness of covenants broken by *Annibal*) and o-
ther gods besides, will defend us with the help of that army which we shall find at home in the
City. Between these two opinions *P. Valerius Flaccus* held the mean, and prevailed: for he having
a regard and due consideration, both of the one and the other: thought good to write unto the
Colonels that lay before *Capua*, and to certify them what strength they had of able men to de-
fend the City: as for the forces of *Annibal*, and what power was needfull to maintain the siege
at *Capua*, they themselves knew best. Therefore in case that one of the Pro-Consuls there, and
part of the army might be spared from thence and sent to *Rome*, and nevertheless, the siege conti-
nue with the conduct of the other Pro-Consul, and the rest of the army: then *Claudius* and *Ful-
vius* should to order the matter between themselves, that the one of them might remain still be-
fore *Capua* at siege, and the other repair to *Rome*, for to defend and keep their native country from
the same danger. Hereupon the Senate agreed, and made an Act: which being brought unto *Ca-
pua*, *Q. Fulvius* the vice-Consul who was to go to *Rome*, by reason that his Colleague was sick of
his hurt, chose out of the three armies certain companies of souldiers, and with fifteen thousand
footmen, and one thousand horsemen, passed over the river *Vultururns*. Then having certain intel-
ligence, that *Annibal* minded to march along the Latine street way: he took his journey through
the towns and burroughs situate upon the way *Appia*, and sent his courriers before unto *Seia*, *So-
ran*, and *Lavinium*, which are seated near unto it, not only for to lay provision of victuals ready for
him in their Cities and towns, but also from the country villages farther out of the way, to bring
their provision to that port through-fare: and to draw forces into their towns for their own de-
fence, and every one to stand upon their good guard, and to look unto their state, as well publike
as private.

Annibal the same day that he had crossed *Vultururns* encamped not far from the river. And the
morrow after entered into the territory of the Sidicines, and led his host near unto *Cales*. There,
after he had staid one day, foraging and spoiling the country, he marched by *Suessula*, into the
territories of *Alifus* and *Casertum*, by the way of the Latine street. Under the town *Casertum* he
abode in camp two daies, and raised booties here and there in every place. From thence leaving
Interramna and *Agninum*, he came into the country about *Fregelle*, as far as to the river *Liris*,
where

where he found the bridge cut down by the Fregellans for to impeach and let his journey. *Fulvius* as his life was it laid at the river *Vulturnus*, by reason that the barges and bottoms were burnt by *Annibal*: and much ado he had, for the great scarcity of timber and wood, to make punts and boats for to set over his army. But *Fulvius*, after he had once transported his men in such boats and planks as he made shift withal, had afterwards no hindrance in his journey: but found not only store of victuals in the Towns and Cities as he travelled, but also plenty thereof brought ready for him to the waies side right conveniently. Then the soldiers as they marched on foot cheered and encouraged one another to mend their pace and make speed, considering they were to the defence of their naturall country. Now there was a post sent from *Fregella*, whorode night and day and never made stay, and he put the City in exceeding fear. The running together besides of the people, that ceased not to make every thing more than it was, and to invent somewhat of their own fingers ends, and put it to the news that they heard, made a greater hurry than the messenger himself, and let the City in an uprore. And not only the women were heard to weep and wail in their own private houses: but also from all parts the Dames of the City came flocking into the streets, running about to all the Churches and Chappels of their gods and goddesses, sweeping the Altars with the tresses of their hair hanging down, kneeling upon the bare ground and stretching out their hands up toward heaven unto the gods, pouring out their prayers and supplications. That they would vouchsafe to preserve the City of *Rome* out of the hands of the enemies, and to save the Roman wives and their little children from harm and all abuse. The body of the Senat gave attendance upon the Magistrates in the common place, ready to take them their advice and counsell. Some receive of them direction, and departed every man to execute his charge: others offer themselves to the Magistrates, to be employed in any service whatsoever. Sundry guards were bestowed in the Cattle, in the Capitoll, and upon the walls: all places about the City were well manned. The Alban mountain also and the Cattle of *Tusculum* were furnished with good garrisons. Amidst this alarm tidings came, that *Q. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul, was departed from *Capua*, and onward on his journey to *Rome* with an army. And because he should not be abridged of his power and authority, after he was come into the City, there was a decree granted out of the Senat-House, that *Q. Fulvius* should have as large a commission of rule and command as the Consuls themselves. *Annibal*, after he had made fouler work and havoc in the territory of *Fregella*, than in other places, for anger that they had cut down the bridges against his coming, led his army through the *Prusina*, *Ferentinat*, and *Anagnine* countries, and came forwards into the territory *Luvicis*: and so by *Algidum* he marched toward *Tusculum*. And when he could not be let in there within the walls, he defended beneth *Tusculum*, on the right hand to *Gabii*: from whence he conducted his army into *Pupinia*, and eight miles from *Rome* encamped. The nearer the enemy approached to the City, the greater slaughter was made of the peasants that fled from him, by his vanquishers, the Numidian light-horsemen whom he sent afore to make riddance. And many there were of all conditions and ages that were taken captive.

In this tumultuous trouble, *Fulvius Flaccus* with his army entered *Rome* at the gate *Capena*: from whence he went through the midst of the City, along the street *Carina* into the *Exquilie*, and from thence he went forth, and between the gates *Exquilina* and *Collina* pitched his tents. Thither the *Ædiles* of the Commons brought victuals: the Consul and the Senat referred to him into the camp, where they fate in Council about the State of the Common-wealth. And agreed it was, That the Consuls should lie encamped likewise about the gates *Collina* and *Exquilina*: that *C. Calpurnius*, Prætor of the City, should have the keeping of the Capitoll and the Cattle with a guard, and that the Senators keep residence continually in good number within the compass of the *Forum*, what needesoever there should be of their counsell and advice, against all sudden accidents. By this time *Annibal* was come forward as far as to the river *Anio*, and within three miles of the City lay encamped, where he kept a standing Leaguer. But himself in person with 2000 horsemen advanced forward toward the gate *Collina*, even as far as to *Hercules* his Temple, and rode all about as near as he well could, to view the walls, and the situation of the City. *Flaccus* took foul disdain thereat, and thought it a shameful indignity, that he should brave it at his pleasure so scornfully without revenge, whereupon he sent out certain of his own Cavalry, and gave commandment, That they should set the enemies horsemen farther off, and chase them back into their Camp. Whiles they were in skirmish together, the Consuls gave orders, that the Numidian horsemen, such as were fled from the enemy, and turned to the Roman (who were at that time to the number of twelve hundred upon the *Aventine* hill) should pass through the midst of the City to the *Exquilie*: supposing that there were none more near than they, for to fight among the valleys, the garden houses, the sepulchres and hollow waies on every side. Whom, when some from the Cattle and the Capitoll, espied riding down the descent of the hill, called *Cleutus Pupinius*, they ran crying about the City, The *Aventine* is taken, The *Aventine* is taken, Which alarm caused a tumult, and gave such an occasion of fear, and running away, that if the Camp of *Annibal* had not been without the walls, the fearful multitude doubtless would have abandoned and quit the City. But they took their houses, and got every man up to the terraces and leads thereof: from whence they pelted with stones and other shot, their own friends instead of enemies, as they rode scattering one from another in the streets. This tumult could not be repressed, nor the error appeased, by reason that the waies were so pestered with

A with a number of the country peasants, and of cattell besides, whom sudden fear had driven into the City. Howbeit, the horsemen fought fortunately, and the enemies were removed and set back. And because it was necessary to stay and disorders and uprores that chanced upon small occasions to arise, it was thought good and agreed upon, that all those who had been either Dictators, or borne the office of Consuls, should have their full power and authority until such time as the enemy was clean departed from about the walls. And that was to good purpose: for all the rest of that day, and the night following there were dictators and sundry garbories, without any cause or occasion raised, and the same failed and appeaked by that means.

The next day *Annibal* pulled over *Anio*, and brought forth all his whole power into the field. Neither were *Flaccus* and the Consuls behind hand for their parts, but ready for battell. When both armies flood arranged in order on both sides, amused upon the issue and event of that one fight, which was for no less a prize and reward to the victorious part, than the very City of *Rome*: there fell such a mighty storm of rain and hail together, and so troubled both hosts, that they could scarce hold their weapons in hand, but were driven to retire themselves for safety into their several Camps, fearing nothing less than their own enemies. The morrow after likewise, when they stood in the same place in battell array, the likemettell parted them alinder. And they were not to soon retired into their Camp, but the day was wonderful fair, and the weather calm again.

The Carthaginians took this for an ominous presage to them of ill luck. And *Annibal* was Cherd (by report) to say, That one while his mind another while his fortune, would not give him leave to win the City of *Rome*. There were other occurrences besides, as well final as great that discouraged him and abated his hope. Of more importance was this, that whiles he lay with his host in arms before the walls of *Rome*, he understood there were certain companies with banners displayed sent into *Spuria* for to supply the armies there. Of this reckoning was this: that he was advertised by a certain captive, how the very same plot of ground whereon he was encamped, happened at the same time to be sold: not underfoot, but at the full price, and nothing abated. This he took to be so presumptuous a part, and such a scornful indignity, namely, that there should be a champion found at *Rome* to make purchase of that piece of land, which he was possessed of and held in right of arms, that presently he called for the public crier and trumpeter, and gave commandment unto him, to proclaim port-sale of all the shops of Bankes and money changers at that time about the *Forum* in *Rome*. Nevertheless, before he was moved to dilodge and retired his camp backwards from the City to the river *Tiberis* six miles from *Rome*. From whence he took his way to the grove of *Feronia*, where stood a Temple, in those daies much renowned for wealth and riches. The inhabitants thereof were certain Capenates, who used to bring thither the fruit of their corn and revenues yea and many other oblations besides, according to their store: by means whereof they had adorned and garnished it with much gold and silver. Of all those gifts and offerings was this Temple then robbed and spoiled. But after the departure of *Annibal* from thence there were found great heaps of brass, by reason that the soldiers upon touch and remorse of conscience had cast in many brazen pieces. The lacking and pilage of this Temple, all writers do agree upon, and make no doubt thereof. *Cælius* saith, That *Annibal* as he went toward *Rome* from *Erutun*, turned thither, and he set forth the beginning of his journey from *Rome* Cattle and from *Amisernum*. And that out of *Campania*, he came into *Sabinum* and from thence into the country of *Polignis*, and so passed beside the City *Sulmo* to the Marcinus, and then by the territory of the *Albanes* into the *Martians* land, and from thence he marched to *Amisernum*, and so forward to the town *Fornli*. Neither is there any error or doubt in all this, because the marks and tokens of the voyage of so great an army could not within the memory and compass of so small an age be confounded and worn out. For certain it is, that he passed that way. The only difference lieth herein, whether he came to the City of *Rome*, or returned from thence into *Campania*, by that way or aloof.

Now was not *Annibal* to retolue to defend *Capua*, but the Romans were as fully bent, and more eager to continue the siege and assault thereof, for he sped himself so fast another way in his voyage back first out of the Lucans country to the Bruttians, and so on still to the streight of *Sicily* and to *Rhegium*, that with his sudden coming thither, he surprised them at unawares, even before they heard of his arrival. As for *Capua*, albeit in the time of *Fulvius* his absence it was no less straightly beleaguered, yet it felt the coming again of *Flaccus*: and besides, there was much marvel there, why *Annibal* returned not back as well as he. Afterwards, they understood, by conference with some that were without, how they were forsaken and forlorn of *Annibal*, and that the Carthaginians were still all hope to keep and hold *Capua* still to their own use. There was an Edict moreover of the Pro-Consul, passed by order from the Senat, and the same published and divulged among the enemies, That what Citizen soever of *Capua* would turn to the Romans before such a certain day he should have a general pardon. But there was no coming in, nor ranging to the Romans side; for fear of punishment at the Romans hands, more than for any regard of their allegiance to the Carthaginians: because their transgression and trespass in their former revolt was so great, that it might not be abandoned. And as no one man at all privately on his own head came over to the camp of the Romans, so there was no good order taken by public council for the benefit and safety of the whole City. The Noblemen had given over managing of state-matters and could not be brought by any means to assemble in the Senat.

And in chief place of government was he, who had not won to himself any honour thereby, but his unworthiness was derogatory to the authority and power of that Magistracy which he bore. For now there was not one of the chief Citizens and Noblemen that would be so much as seen in the Market place or Common Hall of assemblies: but shutting themselves within doors in their privat houses, they expected every day for the destruction of their country, together with their own undoing and overthrow. The whole charge and care lay upon *Bustar* and *Hanno* Captains of the garison in the fort there of the Carthaginians, and more careful were they of their own welfare, than fearful for the jeopardy of their friends and Allies. These two were letters unto *Annibal*, sent not only in plain terms and frankly, but also sharply and bitterly: wherein they laid unto his charge, "That he had not only betrayed *Capua* into the hands of the enemies, but also *I* delivered and exposed them and the garison to the cruel clutches of the Romans to be massacred and executed. That he was gone his waies, and departed into the country of the *Bruttii*, as one that turned away his face of purpose, because he would not see with his own eyes the loss of *Capua*. But, I wot the Romans contrariwise could not be withdrawn from the siege of *Capua*, no, not by the assaulting of the City of *Rome*: so much more were the Romans resolute enemies, than the Carthaginians constant friends. But if he would return again to *Capua*, and bend the full force of his war thither, both they and the Citizens also of *Capua* would be ready to supply forth and encounter the enemies. For why, they passed not over the Alps with intent to war with the *Rhegians* and *Tarentines*; no but where the Roman Legions were, there ought the armies of the Carthaginians to be. Thus at *Cannæ*, thus at *Therapyneum* were the victories. X. chieft, by affronting and meeting the enemy, by joyning camp to camp, and by hazarding the fortune of the battell. To this effect were the letters penned, and given to certain Numidians; who for a good reward had offered their service before, for the safe carriage and delivery of them. These fellows presented themselves before *Filiculus* in the Camp, in habit and quality of fugitives unto his side: hoping to spy out some convenient time when they might give him the slip and be gone. Now by occasion of the famine which had continued long in *Capua*, there was none but might pretend a good and reasonable cause to depart from thence to the adverse part. But behold, there happened a Capuan wench to come into the leaguer (a naughty pack and an harlot, that one of the supposed counterfeit fugitives aforesaid kept.) She enforced the Generall of the Romans, that those Numidians fraudulently and by covin pretended to flee unto his part, and had letters about them unto *Annibal*. This would the stand to, and be ready to aver to the very last one of them, who bewrayed & disclosed the plot unto her. At first, when he was brought forth before her, he let a joily countenance of the matter & made it very strange & pretending foolishly that he knew not the woman; but by little and little he was convicted by manifest truths, and especially when he saw that they called for the rack, and that he was upon the point to be put to torture: and so in the end confessed that all was true, and therewith brought forth the letters. Over and besides, another thing was now revealed, which before was kept close and secret: to wit that there were other Numidians besides, who under the colour of fugitives had gone up and down in the Roman camp: of these there were apprehended not so few as three score and ten, and they together with the new were whipped with rods, had their hands cut off, and sent back again to *Capua*. This piteous spectacle and sight of so fearful execution killed their courage, and brake the very heart of the Campans. Whereupon the people ran together unto the Council-House, and compelled *Leptus* to assemble a Senat, and openly threatened the Nobles (who a long time had absented themselves from publicke consultations) that unless they would now repair into the Senat, they would go home to their very houses, and pluck them out by the ears into the street. For a while hereof the chief Magistrats had a frequent and full assembly of Senators. Whiles all the rest were of opinion to send Embassadors to the Roman Generals, *Vibius Virius* (who had been the chief cause and principall author of their first revolt from the Romans) being demanded his advice, spake to the point in this manner.

The Oration
of *Vibius Virius*
in the Senat
of *Capua*.

"They that talk of Embassadors of peace, and of yielding, little consider and remember either that what they would have done. In case the Romans had been at their devotion and mercy, or that themselves must endure and suffer. For what think ye will become (quoth he) of this present surrender of ours, in comparison of that whereby in times past we freely gave unto the Romans our selves, and all that we had, for to obtain their aid and succour against the Samnites? And have we so soon forgot, at what time, and in what condition and state we were when we forsok and abandoned the people of *Rome*? Alas, after our revolt, how we most cruelly and shamefully killed their garison, who we might have dismissed and sent away with their lives? Moreover, how often we have issued forth against them lying at siege, and how much heavily minded we were unto them, yea, and how we have fallen upon them in their camp? Over and besides, call ye not to remembrance, how we called for *Annibal* to surpris and defeat them? and that which of all other is most fresh in memory) how we sent him from hence to give assault to *Rome*? On the contrary side mark well and call to mind, how maliciously they have attempted and practised all hostility against us: by which ye may well know what account to make of them and what ye are to trust unto. For when they had a stranger and forrain enemy in *Vulturnus*, yea, when they had *Annibal* their enemy: when the wars were so hot, that all was on a light fire: they passed by all other affairs, yea they let *Annibal* himself alone, and sent both their Consuls with two compleat Consular armies to besedge and force *Capua*. This is the

"second

"second year that they keep us enriched round about, penning us up, and pinning us with extreme famine and hunger: during which time they themselves as well as we, have endured the utmost extremities and dangers that are, and sustained most grievous and infinite travells: of enemies being killed and cut in pieces about their rampiers, trenches, and ditches, and finally driven almost out of their Camp and hold. But to let pass and speak no more of these ordinary matters, seeing it is an old and usuall case for them to abide painful toll, and incur many perils: who besedge and assault any Cities or towns of their enemies: See a manifest sign of their deadly feud, and execrable hatred against us. *Annibal* with a puissant power of foot and horsemen both, assailed their Camp, yea, and in some part was Master of it. Think ye that in so great danger of theirs they were one jot withdrawn from the siege? He passed over the river *Fulturnus*, and burnt the territory of *Calatia*: yet for all that calamity and loss, which their allies received, stirred not they one whit, nor gave over their enterprise. He commanded to march forward with banner displayed against the very City of *Rome*: they made as little account of that dangerous tempest toward, as of all the rest. After he had passed over the river *Anio*, he pitched his tents within three miles of the City: nay, he approached at length the walls, and made a bravo even under the gates: to be short, he presented unto their eye his resolution, and menaced to make *Rometo* hot for them unless they levied the siege before *Capua*; and yet they gave not over but beleaguered us still. The very wild and savage beasts be they never so fell, be they made never so much with blind rage and woodness against one, yet if another go to their dens, and offer to take away their whelps, they will turn again to succour and help their young ones: but the Romans, notwithstanding *Rome* was beseged, their wives and children in danger; whose piteous cries and lamentable plaints were heard almost even thither; notwithstanding their altars, their sacred fires, the temples of their gods the monuments and sepulchers of their Ancestors, were profaned, abused, and polluted, could not be drawn away from *Capua*. So eager, so hungry are they to be revenged of us; so thirstily are they to drink out blood. And good reason, happily, they have so to do. For would not we also have done the semblable, if fortune had given us the opportunity? But seeing the will of the immortal gods is otherwise: and considering that I owe nature a death: in my power it is (whiles I am at liberty, whiles I am mine own man, and master of myself) to avoid torments; to shun shamefull ignominies and reproaches (whereof the enemy hopeth I shall feel the smart) and that by one kind of death, which as it is honest, so it is also easie and gentle? Never will I endure to be *Ap. Claudius* and *Q. Fabius* proudly and insolently bearing themselves upon their conquest over us: never will I be led and haled bound with chains through the City of *Rome*; to make a shew, and to serve for a spectacle and gazing stock in their Triumph: and afterwards either in dark prison, or tied openly to a stake, yield my back and side to be rewarded, whipped, and mangled: and then lay my neck upon the block, to have my head chopt off with the bloody axe of the Romans. Never will I behold my native country laked, spoiled, and put to fire and sword, nor the chaste married dames of *Capua* to be forcibly ravished the fair and beautiful maidens shamefully defouled, and the well-favoured young boies and freeborn, unnaturally abused. They rased *Alba* in times past from the top to the very foundation, and left neither stick nor stone thereof, *Alba* lay from whence they had their off-spring, and were first descended to the end that there might remain no memory at all of their stock and first original. And shall I ever beleve they will spare *Capua*; receive into mercy, against which they are more hatefully and mortally bent than against *Carthage*? Therefore, my masters and friends, as many of you as are minded and resolved to die before ye see these so many miseries and wooll calamities, I have at home a supper this night well furnished and provided for you all: and when ye have eat meat your fill, and drunk wine to it liberally, the same wastell cup that first will be presented unto me, shall go round about to you all: and that one draught shall deliver your bodies from torments, preserve your spirits from anguish and contumelious disgrace: keep your eyes from beholding all cruel acts, your ears from hearing all shamefull indignities which follow and attend upon conquered perions. There shall be also in readines certain servitors of purpose to make a mighty great fire within the base court-yard of mine house and to cast our dead bodies thereinto. This is the only honest way to death, and beleeving us who are free born and gentlemen indeed. In which doing, our enemies will wonder at our vertue: and valour: yea, and *Annibal* himself shall well know that he hath forsaken and betrayed his trust and magnanimous allies.

This Oration of *Virius*, there were more men present that heard with applause and good liking than could find in their hearts to put that in execution which they to well allowed & approved. The greater part of the Senat, not despairing, but that the clemency of the people of *Rome*, which had been tried and seen oftentimes in many wars, might be gained and extended also unto them: concluded, to send Embassadors with commission to yield *Capua* into the Romans hands. Some seven and twenty Senators there were that accompanied *Vibius Virius* home to his house, and lapped with him: and after they had done what they could to drink themselves drunk, and to intoxicate their brains with freely taking in their wine, (thereby to withdraw their minds from the fence and apprehension of their imminent harm and misery) drank all of the poysoned cup above said. This done, and the banquet ended, they rose from the table, took one another by the hand embraced each other, taking their last leave, bidding a final adieu and farewell, and bewailing together with pteuous tears their own misfortune, and the miserable state

Vibius Virius
and divers Senators
of *Capua* poyson themselves.

ring, as touching the ready and delivery of the fortresses in every City, and likewise of prefixing some day, by which time the garrisons should be removed and displaced, and the Carthaginians have away all their bag and baggage without fraud and covin. *Asdrubal* having obtained his request, presently commanded, that in the very evening, and at night long the heaviest and most cumbersome part of his whole army should escape what way soever they could out of the gullet of the forest. But he gave especial direction, that they should not over many of them that might go forth, because their small number was not only fitter to deceive the enemy, and not so soon to be discovered, but also might more easily pass through those narrow and difficult passages. So the morrow they came to an interview and parl: where the time was spent of purpose in much needless talk, and drawing of books, more than cause was: whereupon the day being far gone, the business was put off unto the next day. And the night ensuing between, *Asdrubal* more time to fend others away. And yet could not they make an end that day neither. Thus there passed certain daies, employed in open shew about dispute and reasoning of the articles and conditions of agreement, and the nights were bestowed in letting out the Carthaginians closely out of their Camp. Now, after that the greater part of his host was gone away clear, then he began to wrangle and jar, yea, and to go from some offers that he had voluntarily made, and ever they were further and further off from agreement. For *Asdrubal* the less that he feared, the less also was to be trusted. And by this time in manner all his Infantry were got out of the forest, and the next morning, not only the forest, but all the plains about were overcast, and covered with a thick and foggy mist. Which *Asdrubal* perceiving, he sent a messenger to *Nero*, requesting to defer their farther conference and communication to the morrow: pretending, that the present day was a festival holy-day among the Carthaginians, and therefore they made it scruple upon it, to follow any other business but serve God. All this while there was no fraud so much as once suspected. *Asdrubal* had no sooner obtained respite for that day, but forthwith he and all his Cavalry, together with his Elephants, dislodged, and without any noise or stir recovered without any harm a place of security. By the fourth hour of the day the sun had dispatched and scattered the mist, and cleared the sky, and then the Romans might discover the Camp of their enemies empty, and no creature left therein. Then at length, *Claudius* perceiving that *Asdrubal* had shewed him a Carthaginian trick, and that he was at length thus over-raught by his falsehood and cunning practice, began to make out after him, minding to bid him battle. But the enemy would none of that, and fell off. Howbeit these passed some small skirmishes between the reward of the Carthaginians, and the forlorn hope and van-couriers of the Romans. Amidst these affairs (the States of *Spain*) neither they who revolted after the overthrow of the Romans, returned again unto them; nor any new fell away, more than before.

At *Rome*, the Senate and people after the recovery of *Capua*, took as great care for *Spain* now, as for *Italy* it self. And agreed they were in general, that the army there should be strengthened with new forces, and a General there sent: but who should be the man was not yet concluded. Forasmuch as they were to take some extraordinary care in the chusing of one to be sent thither, where two singular and renowned warriors were slain within the compass of thirty daies, and to succeed in the room of those twain. Whiles some nominated one, and some another, at length they grew to this point, that the people should hold a solemn assembly (as it were, purchased) for election of a Pro-Consul to go over into *Spain*. And the Consuls accordingly proclaimed a set day for the said assembly. At first there was great expectation that those persons who took themselves worthy of so great command should put forth themselves: and prefer their own names beforehand. But when this expectation failed and came to nothing, every man began afresh to retrace and renew the former grief, and mourn again for the losses received, and to find the want and misfortune of so valorous Captains whom they had lost. Whereupon the whole City being sad and penive, and in manner destitute of all good counsell, and not resolved what to do in this hard case, came yet down into *Mars* field upon the day appointed for the election. Every mans eye was upon the Magistrates, and beheld the countenances of their great men and Rulers, how they looked one upon another, grieving and grumbling, that the State was at so low an ebb, and the Common-wealth grown to so desperate a case, that no man durst be seen to take upon him the government and Province of *Spain*. Then all of a sudden, *P. Cornelius* (his son that was slain in *Spain*, a young Gentleman, not fully four and twenty years old) shewed himself, and said, That he would undertake that charge upon him: and therewith stepped up into an higher place, from whence he might be seen and there he stood. Upon whom, when all men had cast their eyes, and viewed him well, in a general accord and favourable affection unto the man, they wished unto him straightwaies a happy and fortunate government. And when the assembly was willing to give their suffrages, and go to a scrutiny, there was not one Century from the first to the last, nor one person from the highest to the lowest, but gave their voice with *P. Scipio*, for to take a voyage As Deputy into *Spain*. But after the thing was passed, and their passionate heat of affection once allayed, they were on a sudden driven into a still silence and deep dump, to think what a strange and new deed they had done. And that which they be thought themselves most of, was this, that favour had carried them away in this action more than the due consideration and regard of his age. Some there were that had in dread and horror the ominous fortune also of that family: and the name of him that out of two mournfull houses was to

As go into those Provinces where he must fight amongst the Sepulchres both of father and uncle. When *Scipio* perceived, that presently upon the election passed in to halcy a fit, the people grew to be heavy and penive: he called them to an open audience, and there before them all discoursed of his young age, of the government committed unto him, and of the future war that he was to manage: and that with so noble courage and haughty spirit, that he renewed afresh and kindled again the former zeal, and hear that was so cooled: and possessed mens minds with more assured hope than usually mans faithfull promise, or reason grounded upon the confidence of precedents pith, or any earthly thing is wont to afford and warrant. For *Scipio* was a rare and wonderfull man, not only in regard of those true virtues inherent in him: but also for that he had framed himself even from his young and tender years, by artificial means, to the better letting out of those inbred parts and qualities of his own: making shew and semblant before the multitude, of the most things which he did, were either represented unto him by night-visions and apparitions, or else suggested, as it were, by revelation from the gods above: were it he was imperitiously given, and his mind wholly possessed therewith, or that by his policy he might effect his designments, and have his commandments performed with more expedition, as if they were directions delivered from the Oracles and the very mouth of the gods. Over and besides that, he made this overture to credit and reputation, and prepared mens minds in this sort from his very first beginning. From the very time that he came up on his mans gown there was no day went over his head, but before he began his own private business, or entered any publick affairs, he would go into the Capitoll: and so soon as he was entered into the Temple, there it him down, and alone by himself below a good time in some secret Ile and corner thereof. This ordinary manner of his, which he continued all his life long, (were it of purpose considerably or by chance unadvisedly) made divers men believe verily, that it was a truth indeed, which was commonly supposed and reported, That the man had a god to his father. Which deep and settled imagination of the people, resembled and renewed again the like fame (in all the world) to that which went before and was bruited abroad of *Alexander* the great, and for the vanity and fabulous speech of folk, was the very same and all one in every respect: namely, that his mother conceived him by a mighty great serpent: for that very often in her bed-chamber there was seen some such prodigious and wonderfull thing, and ever as any body came in, it would wind away of a sudden, and vanish out of sight. These strange and miraculous conceits he would never himself elevate and discredit as coies and vanities, but rather cherish and increase the opinion thereof, by a certain cunning cast of his own, in that he would neither deny and disavow any such matter, nor yet affirm plainly and verifie the same. Many other devices he had of like sort, partly true indeed partly leigned and counterfeit, which caused men beyond all measure to have this young man in wonderfull admiration. Upon the strong and grounded presumption whereof, the City at that time conferred upon him (far unmeet, I wot, in regard of his unripe years) so great a government, and a world withall of weighty and important affairs.

Besides the forces which remained in *Spain* of the old army, and those which were transported over from *Pateoli* with *Claudius Nero*, he had a supplement also of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horsemen: and to assist in the conduct of his wars, he had as coadjutors appointed unto him *M. Junius Syllanus* the Pro-Prator. Thus with a fleet of thirty ships, (and Gallies there were all of five banks of oars) he took the seas, and set sail from the mouth of *Tyber*, and coasting along the Tuscan seas under the *Alpi*, and through the gulph of *Gallia*, he doubled at length the point and cape of *Pyrene*, and disembarked at *Emporia* a City of Greeks: (for defended they are also from *Phocæa*) and there he set his people a land. From thence, having taken order that his ships should follow after, he marched by land to *Taracón*, which he appointed for the *Rendezvous*, where all his allies and confederates (for at the wonder and fame of his landing, there flocked Embassadors unto him from all parts of the Province) should meet together at a general Diet. There he commanded that the ships should be bestowed in their docks, gave only three Gallies (of three ranks) which came from *Massila*, and upon curtesie and kindness accompanied him from home, and those were sent back again. Then he gave audience to the Embassadors, who hung in doubtfull suspense by reason of the variety and of sundry changes and chances that lately had happened, and to them he began to return answer, and give them their severall dispatches: but with such a spirit and boldness (upon confidence that he had in his own rare virtues) that he let not fall in all his speech one word that might move quarrell, and favoured of rigour, and yet whatsoever he spoke it carried an exceeding majesty with it, and a singular credit. Being departed from *Taracón*, he visited both the States of the Allies, and also the standing wintering camps of the army: where he highly commended the soldiers, for that notwithstanding they had received two shrewd blows, upon two so great defeats one in the neck of another, yet they held the Province still, and kept the field; and nor suffering the enemies to reap and taste the fruit of their fortunate victories, and kept them out of all the countries lying within *Ibernia*, and defended faithfully all their confederates according to the trust reposed in them. *Marius* he had in his train alwaies about him: whom he so highly honoured, that it was very well seen, he feared nothing less than that any other man should eclipse or shadow his glory. Then *Syllanus* succeeded in place of *Nero*, and the new soldiers were brought into the standing winter leaguers, and *Scipio* having reviewed all the Cities and the States that he was to survey, and performed all other affairs that were then to be done, retired and withdrew himself to *Taracón*.

The fame of *Scipio* was no less bruited among the enemies, than it was with his own Citizens and loving allies: and a certain preface went withall of the future event, which carried (as good hap was) the greater fear and dread with it, as there was less reason that could be rendered and given thereof. They had betaken themselves into their winning harbours far distant and remote afinder. *Afrubal* the son of *Gisgo* even as far as to the Ocean sea side unto *Gades*: *Mago* into the midland parts, and especially above the forest and chafe of *Casula*. And *Afrubal* the son of *Amilcar* wintered nearest unto *Iberus* about *Saguntum*.

In the very end of that summer, when *Capua* was won, and *Scipio* come into *Spain*, the Carthaginian Armado which was sent for out of *Sicily* to *Tarentum*, for to intercept the victuals, and empeach the same for coming to the Roman garrison that held the Castle of *Tarentum*, had verily stopped all the passages from the sea to the said Castle: but by their long abode in those parts, and keeping the seas so fearfully, they had caused a greater dearth and scarcity of victuals among their own friends than their enemies: for there could not by the help of those Carthaginian ships so much corn be along the river that was possessed by friends, nor from the open ports, for to furnish the townsmen of *Tarentum*, as the navy it self consumed and spent in maintenance of that rabble of sea-men, sailors, and mariners, mingled of all sorts of people. So as the garrison of the Castle being but few in number there was able to be sustained by the provision they had aforehand, without the help of any new brought in unto them: whereas the *Tarentins* and the Navy could not have sufficient conveyed unto them: by reason whereof, at length the Armado had leave to depart thence with more thanks of the City, than they had for their first *hundred* victuals. And yet victuals were not much cheaper, because when the help by sea was gone, there could be no corn at all be brought from other parts abroad.

At the end of the very same summer, when *M. Marcellus* was come to the City out of *Sicily*, his own Province, *C. Calphurnius* the Prator assembled the Senat for his sake in the Temple of *Bellona*. Where, after he had discoursed of the acts by him achieved, and complained after a mild and modest sort, laying open his griefs, not to much in the behalf of himself, as of his soldiers: in that when he had performed and accomplished his charge and commission in his Province, he could not have been able to bring home his army with; he demanded that he might be allowed to ride in triumph into the City: but he could not obtain it. This matter was much canvassed and debated, *pro & contra*. Whether it were less meet and convenient, to deny him triumph being now present, in whose name whilst he was absent, for the fortunate success and good speed of all affairs under his conduct and government, there was a solemn procession decreed, and sacrifices done to the honour of the immortal gods: or to grant him triumph (as if the war were fully finished) whom the Senate had commanded to make over his army to his successor: which surely they would never have decreed, but that the war remained still within the Province: and especially seeing the army it self was away, the best witness simply, whether he had deserved a triumph or no. At length, a middle and indifferent course between both was agreed upon, namely, that he should enter the City ovant in a petty triumph. And the Tribunes of the Commons, by the approbation first of the Senate, propoled unto the people, that *M. Marcellus* should the same day that he came ovant into the City retain still his full authority and government. The day before he entered the City, he rode in triumph upon the mount *Albanus*, and from thence, in ovant whilst he sent a rich booty before him into the City. There was carried in this pomp the counterfeit of the City *Syracuse* won, crowsbows, brakes, standing slings, and all other warlike instrument: besides, the ornaments testifying long and continual peace, and the great wealth and treasure of the Kings: as divers vessels of silver and brass curiously wrought: other household furniture all rich hangings of tapistry, and garments of great price, many goodly images and right noble statues, wherewith *Syracuse* was adorned and beautified, even with the best and principal Cities of *Greece*. In token also of a victory over the Carthaginians, there were eight Elephants brought in a shew. And that which was not the least sight and spectacle to behold, *Sofis* the Syracusan, and *Mericius* the Spaniard went avor with crowns of gold upon their heads. The one of them was the guide when *Syracuse* was entered in the night before: and the other betrayed *Nafos*, and the garrison there. Both these were enfranchised Citizens of *Rome*, and had fifty acres of land a piece granted unto them for ever. *Sofis* had his land let out in the territory of *Syracuse*, which either belonged to the Kings, or to the enemies of the people of *Rome*, and a dwelling house (chuse where he would in *Syracuse* of all those that were seized upon by right of conquest.) As for *Mericius* and the Spaniards that with him fled from the enemies, and sided unto the Romans, they had assigned unto them a City to inhabit, and land to occupy in *Sicily*, which sometime belonged to them that had revolted from the people of *Rome*. And order was given to *M. Cornelius* for to appoint them the said City and land wherefore he thought good. And in the same territory there were allotted and set out four hundred acres of land unto *Belligens*, by whose means *Mericius* was allured and induced to leave the adverse part and turn to the Romans.

After that *Marcellus* was departed out of *Sicily*, the Navy of the Carthaginians disbarked eight thousand footmen, and three thousand Numidian horsemen, unto them revolted the Murgantine land, and *Hybla*, together with *Magella* and other small piles of base account, took example by them and followed after. The Numidians with their Captain *Mutinus*, ranged over all *Sicily*, and fired the towns and villages belonging to the associates of the people of *Rome*. Over and besides all this, the Roman army there, being discontented and angry, partly, for that together with their General,

And all, they were not licenced to go out of the Province: and partly, for that they were forbidden and debarr'd, for wintering in any good towns: demeaned themselves slackly and lazily in their military service: in such sort, as if there had been a head to lead them, as they had a heart to move them, they would have mutined and rebelled. Among these troubles and difficulties, *M. Cornelius* the Prator, both appeased and mitigated the stomacks of the souldiers, as well by comfortable words as by rebukes and checks: and also brought under his obedience and subjection, all those Cities which had revolted. Of which he according to the former act of the Senate, allotted *Murgantia* to the Spaniards, unto whom both a City and land to it was by order afore said. Both the Consuls who had the government of the Province *Apulias*, seeing there was less cause of fear and terror now from the Carthaginians and *Ambal*, were commanded to callstos between them for the Provinces of *Apul* and *Macedonia*. So *Macedonia* besell unto *Sulpius*, and he succeeded there instead of *Levinus*. *Fulvius* was sent for home to *Rome*, about the election of the Consuls. And when he held the solemn assembly of the people, for the choice and creation of the Consuls, the Century of the younger Citizens, which had the prerogative to give their first voice, declared *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *T. Otacilius* for Consuls. *Manlius* being there present in place, when the multitude came about him to congratulate with God give you joy, &c. (for that there was no doubt, but the whole body of the people would approve this choice of the first Century) came with a great company about him to the tribunal seat of estate where the Consul sat: and made request unto him, that he would give him the hearing of some few words, and command that prerogative century which had given their voices to be called back again to a new scrutiny. And when every man was attentive, and expected what he should demand, he alledged for his excuse a pair of ill eyes. "For a shameless Pilot of a ship is he, and as impudent a General of an army (quoth he) who having to do all by other mens eyes, would require to have the goods and lives of other men to be put into their hands. And therefore may it please your honour to command this Century of the younger sort to give their voices anew, and in creating Consuls, to remember the war that is in *Italy*, to consider of the troublesome state of the Commonwealth, and to think of this, That scarcely yet mens ears have had any rest, since they resounded and rung again with the noises and alarms, that the enemies raised within these few months, when they lay in siege neer unto the walls of *Rome*. But after these words, when the said Century cried With one accord, that they were of the same mind still, and would nominate the same Consuls again, and none other: then *Torquatus*, "Neither (quoth he) shall I be able, if I were Consul to bear with your fashions and conditions, nor you again endure my rule and commandment. To the scrutiny therefore once again, and think how the Carthaginians war within *Italy*, and *Annibal* is the General of the enemies. Then the Century moved as well by the authority and reverence of the mans person, as by the applause and admiration of the people, who wondered at his virtue, besought the Consul to call forth and cite a Century of the elder band: for that they would willingly confer with more ancient men than themselves, and by their sage advice and good direction nominate the Consuls. When those elders were called to this Century, there was some time allowed for to commune apart secretly with them, within the place called *Comitia*. These ancient laid unto them, that they were to consult of three persons, whereof two already were full of honourable dignities, which they had born, to wit *Q. Fabius* and *M. Marcellus*. But verily, (say they) in case ye would have some new sort, to be choic'd, for to be opposed against the Carthaginians, ye have *M. Valerius Maximus*, a notable man, one who hath performed singular good service, and achieved many noble deeds, both by sea and land against King *Philip*. So when they had three propounded unto them, the elder were dismissed, and the younger entered into a second scrutiny: and declared for Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* (glittering then in the prime of his glory, for the late subduing and conquest of *Sicily*) and *M. Valerius*, who was absent. This freedom and choice of the prerogative Century, all the rest followed after, and by their suffrages confirmed. "Let them mock on now and scoff hereat all they that have nothing in admiration but antiquity and things done in elder time. For mine own part, if there be any such City and Commonwealth at all, consisting of wife men and Philosophers, as some great Clarks have rather imagined in their fancies, than found in effects: I dare be bold to think & say, that in it there could not possibly be either rulers and Magistrates more grave and temperate in their desire of dignity, and government, or a people better mannered, nurtured, and instructed. But that it should be thought an unlikely matter and scarce credible, that a Century of younger persons were willing to consult with the elder, and be advised by them, to whom they should give their voices, for to be created the chief Magistrates: it is the corruption of this our age that is the cause: wherein we see how small reverence and authority even parents themselves have, and of how slender and base account they be amongst their own natural children.

After this followed the Election of Prators, wherein were created *P. Manlius Volsus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, *C. Lestorius*, and *L. Cincius Alimentus*. When this Election was finished, it was reported that news came, how *T. Otacilius* (whom the people, as it seemed, would have choic'd in his absence to match *T. Manlius* in the Consulship, but that the ordinary course of the election was disturbed and stopped) departed this life in *Sicily*. The Apollinare games in the former year had been exhibited: and when *Calphurnius* the Prator put up a bill, and moved the Senate, that they might be celebrated again that year also, there passed a decree, That they should be vowed to continue from time to time for ever.

The Oration
of T. Manlius
to the Consul.

" many Sicilians in the towns and villages near unto the City, backbiters and slanderers of him; who for his own part he was far off from hindring, but that they might freely for all him, divulgate and publish abroad in *Rome* all those crimes which were devised and spoken against him by his adversaries, that were it not that they pretended some fear forsooth, to charge the Consul with any matters, in the absence of his Collegue, he would straightwaies give them audience in the Senate: but so soon verily as my brother *Consul* is come home, I will not quoth he, I assure you, suffer any one matter to be debated here, before that those Sicilians be sent for into the Senate house, And I understand that *M. Cornilius* hath taken general leave like a mutter over all *Sicily*, to the end there might come a number to *Rome* with complaints of me: he also with letters full of untruths hath buzzed into all mens ears, and born the whole City in hand, that the war continueth still in *Sicily*, and all to diminish and abridge my glory. The Consul having that day won the commendation and name of one that knew how to rule and govern his affections diminished the Senat: and it seemed that there would be a general vacation not allow matters only, but of all other things & as it were holiday till, until the other Consul came unto the City. This rest and idleness (as the wonted manner is) let the Commons having nothing else to do, a talking: and now their tongues walked apace, ceasing not to spread rumours, That by this long and continuall war, not only the lands and territory about the City of *Rome* (especially where *Annibal* had marched with his cruel army) were wasted, but also *Italy* was in a manner dispeopled and laid desolate, by reason of so many multiers and levies: complaining, that whole armies were defeated and put to the sword at *Canna* in defence of the Common-wealth: and that there were two Consuls created, both martial men, and warriors, over-free and eager of fight, in as time of peace and quietness were able to find occasions of war: solitude was it to be looked for at their hands, that in time of war they would seek for peace, and suffer the City to have any breathing time and intermission. These speeches rumoured among the common people were interrupted and staid by occasion of a Scarfe fire that began in sundry places together about the Forum, in the night of that day, which was immediately before the festival daies of *Minerva*, called *Quinquaginta*. At one and the selfe same time the seven merchants shops and ware-houses, which afterwards were turned into five, and the shops of the Bankers and money changers which now are called *Nove*, (or the new-shops) were on fire. Divers private mens houses also the fire caught; for as then there were no stately Halls and Palaces of the City there built. Likewise the fire took hold of the common prison, called *Lavinia* the Fifth market hall likewise, and the royal gallery or walking-place. Hardly could the Chappell of *Vesta* be saved, and that by the good help and pains-taking especially of thirteen bondslaves; whose bondage was bought out at the Cities charges, and they made freemen. The fire continued one night and a day: and no man made doubt, but it came by mans hand, and was the practice of some lewd persons; for that the first began in many places at once, and those far distant asunder. Whereupon the Consul by the advice and direction of the Senat, made proclamation in a solemn assembly of the people, that whoever would come forth and give notice by whose means that fire was procured, he should be well rewarded: if he were a free-man, with a piece of money; if bond, with freedom. In hope of which recompence, a certain slave belonging to the *Calpurnii* the Campans, (his name was *Manius*) was induced to bewray the matters whom he served, and five other young Gentlemen of *Capua*, whose fathers had lost their heads by the commandment of *Q. Fulvius*. Those he appeached to have made the said fires: and he gave them a warning besides, that they intended to do more mischief about the City, if they were let alone, and not apprehended: so they were attached, and their household servants. At the first, these persons made light account both of the informer, and the information they made, and elevated the credit that was given thereto: alledging that the day before the party himself being chastised and scourged by his Masters, ran away, and so upon an anger and pique did devise (by occasion of this misfortune which was meer casual) to frame an accusation against his masters. But when the matter was overred to their teeth in open place, and that they, by whose ministry the feat was done, were in the midst of the Forum put to the rack for to utter a truth, then they all made confession of the fact. So as well the Masters that were the setters thereof, as the servants that were privy and accellary thereto, had their defenses, and suffered for it. The informer who disclosed the villany, was made free, and had 20000 siles for his labour.

As the Consul *Levinus* passed by *Capua* in his journey [homeward,] there flocked about him a number of Campans, and besought him with tears, that they might have leave to go to *Rome*, and present themselves before the Senate, there to make suit (if it haply there were any pity and commiseration in them) not to destroy them utterly, nor suffer *Q. Flaccus* to consume the name and generation of the Campans from off the face of the earth. " Now *Flaccus* for his part denied flatly that he bare them any private grudge by malice: but only hated the Campans as those common enemies to the state, and so he would do ever so long as he knew them to ill affect: as they were to the people of *Rome*; for there was not a nation upon earth, nor a people under heaven more spitefully & deadly bent against the Roman name than they were. And that was the cause (saith he) that he penny them up within their walls. For whoever of them changed any way to make an escape, they ranged about the country like brute and savage beasts, running, scaring and killing whoever came in their way. Some of them are fled to the adverse side unto *Annibal*: others are gone to *Rome* to set fire on the City, and there (quoth he) shall the Con-

will find the market place half burned, and the very points and tokens remaining fresh of the Campans mischievous practices. There should he see that they minded to have done violence upon the Chappell of *Vesta* and to have put out those eternal fires, and utterly defaced the fardle of the Roman Empire, bestowed and laid up there in the most secret place of the Chappell. Neither thought he it was safe for the City to permit the Campans to come within the walls thereof. Then *Levinus* having called the Campans to take a corporall oath, and swear unto *Fulvius* that they would make return to *Capua* before five daies were expired, after they had their answer and dispatch from the Senate, he commanded them to come after him to *Rome*. Attended thus as he was with his company, he encountered the Sicilians also, who came forth to meet him, and with this multitude he entered the City, accompanied (as say) with the Campans and Sicilians, both vanquished and subdued by war, and victors of two most famous persons, *Marcellus* and *Fulvius*, who had conquered two most noble and renowned Cities, *Syracusa*, and *Capua*.

But both the Coll created and consulted first with the Senate about the state of the Common-wealth, and the government of the Provinces: There *Levinus* related in what terms *Road Macedonia* and *Greece*: the Aetolians also, with the Acarnanians and Locrians; likewise what acts he had achieved in those parts both by sea and land; and how he had repulsed *Philip* back into *Macedonia*, when he began to make war upon the Aetolians, who now was retired and gone into the utmost parts of his Kingdom: so as the Aetolians might be withdrawn from thence; for that the Armado was sufficient to keep the King forth of *Italy*. Thus much spake he of himself, and of the Province whereof he had been governor. Then both Consuls in common, propoied unto the Senat, concerning the Province. And the LL. decreed that one of the Consuls should take the charge of *Italy*, and of the war with *Annibal*; and the other should have under his hand the Armado, whereof *L. Octavius* was the Admiral; and together with *L. Cincius* the Prator govern the Province of *Sicily*. They were allowed the two armies which were in *Tuscan* and in *France*, consisting of four legions: whereof two of the former year, that were of Citizens should be sent into *Tuscan*; and those two which the Consul *Sulpicius* had conducted, should be led into *France*. Moreover that he should have the government of *France*; and the leading of the Legions there, whom that Col. would appoint. whole lot it was to have *Italy* for his Province. Into *Tuscan* was *C. Calpurnius* sent, with Commission after the term of the Pratorship expired, to have his full jurisdiction to continue for a year. Likewise to *Q. Fulvius* was assigned the keeping of *Capua*, and his rule prorogued for another year. The armies, as well of Citizens as of Allies, were by commandment of the Senat abridged and made less, so that for two legions there should be but one, and that consisting of five thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen: that they should be discharged of soldiery who had served longest: that of Allies there should be let seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse: with the same respect and consideration of service in dismissing the old soldiery. As for *Cn. Fulvius* the Consul of the former year, he took the same Province of *Apulia* still, without any alteration of his forces: only his government was continued unto him another year. And *P. Sulpicius* his Collegue, was commanded to send away all his army, only the mariners and sailors excepted. Likewise order was given that so soon as the new Consul was arrived and landed in the Province of *Sicily*, the army there, which was commanded by *M. Cornilius*, should be sent out of *Sicily*. Unto *L. Cincius* the Prator were assigned the soldiery that remained after the defeat at *Canna*, for to keep *Sicily* in order, and those arose to two legions. And as many legions were appointed for *P. Manlius Vols* the Prator, for to go into *Sardinia*, even those whereof *L. Cornilius* had the leading in the same Province the former year. As for the legions of Citizens, the Consuls were enjoined to levy and enroll them so, as they entertained no soldier of all those who had served in the army, either of *M. Claudius*, or *M. Valerius*, or *Fulvius*: nor exceeded the number that year of one and twenty legions of the Romans. When these Acts were passed in the senate-house, the Consuls cast lots for their severall Provinces, *Sicily* and the Armado fell to *Marcellus*: *Italy* and the war against *Annibal*, to *Levinus*.

This lot that fell to *Marcellus* so struck the Sicilians dead, (who stood in the presence of the Consuls, looking for the event of the lottery) as if *Syracusa* had been lost again: in such sort, as their pitifull lamentations, and their wofull plaints, for the present turned all mens eyes upon them, and none after ministred cause of much speech and talk. For they went about to alledge Senators from one to another in poor and vile array, protesting, " That if *Marcellus* came amongst them again as L. Deputy, they would not only forsake every man his own country where he was born, but also abandon the whole Island of *Sicily*: complaining that without any desert of their parts, heretofore he had been cruelly bent against them, and his hatred was irreconcilable: and what would he now do in his choler, and knowing that the Sicilians came to *Rome* of purpose to make complaints of him? The Island were better (say they) to be on a light fire to burn with *Etna*; or to be all a very ice, than thus to be exposed as a prey unto a mortal enemy, for to be devoured. These grievous moans and piteous complaints of the Sicilians fast carried to the houses of the Nobles and great men of the City, and there taken up and much talked of by many, whiles some pitied the Sicilians, others envied *Marcellus*, spread abroad at length for, until they came to the Council-Table. And the Consuls were dealt withal, to Propoie unto the Senat, that they might exchange their Provinces one for another. Then *Mar-*

45 *cellus* the Conful, and fake in this wife.
 46 I am not fo far overleen, and forgetfull, my Lords, either of the majesty of the people of
 47 *Rome*, or of this place of command which I now hold, that I would plead mine own cause.
 48 Conful as I am, againſt theſe Grecians, my accuſers, in caſe the queſtion were of any crime or
 49 fault of mine own. But all the controverſie to be diſcufſed handeth not upon theſe terms, to
 50 examine what I have done, whom the right of war will juſtifie and bear out, howſoever I have
 51 proceeded

E The other Consul in the mean time, put to question the demands of the Sicilians before the LL. Much canvassing a long while, and discussing there was of the matter, and divers opinions paid. Many of the Senators following T. Manlius Torquatus the head and principal man, that maintained a free, were of this mind, "That they should have made war against the tyrants; the continued enemies as well to the Syracusans, as to the State of Rome. And as for the City, it was (say they) rather recovered and received, than won by force: and being so received, it was to be re-established in her own ancient laws and freedom, and not after it was so wearied with "miserable servitude, to be scourged and afflicted with war upon it. But between the warring of "the tyrants of the one side, and the Roman General of the other, a most beautiful and noble City, "standing in the midst (as a prize and reward for the winner) is undone by the means; even that City which (sometime had been the garner (as it were) and the Treasure-houle of the people of Rome: by the munificent liberality and bounty whereof, by whose rich presents and goodly gifts "our City many a time and oft, yes, and but of late dayes in this Punick war, hath been relieved and adorned. If King Hiero should arise again from the dead and come among us, Hiero (I say) the most faithful maintainer of the Roman Empire, with what care could we thew unto him, either Syracuse or Rome? When he should seee of one side, his own native country, half railed and wholly "spoiled: and on the other side, coming to Rome, in the very entring of the City, and hard at the "gate, should behold the spoils of his own City? Notwithstanding these and such like speeches call out among them, to procure ill will and hatred to the Consul, and to move pity and compassion to the Sicilians; yet the LL. of the Senat in favour of Marcellus, agreed upon a milder decree, and so enacted, That whatsoever he had done, either during the war, or after conquest, should be justified and allowed for good: Item, for the time to come, the Senat would take order and provide for the good of the Syracusans, and give the Consul Lavinus a special charge, to have regard of the welfare of that City, to far forth, as might not be prejudicial to the State of Rome. Then were two Senators sent into the Capitol to the Consul, to request him to repair again unto the assembly of the Senate: and after the Sicilians also had admited into the place, their act and decree aforesaid was openly read. The Embassadors had good words given them, and were dismissed: whereupon they fell down prostrate at the feet of Marcellus the Consul, beseeching

him to pardon that which they had spoken, either to bewail, or to ease their calamity; and to receive both them in particular, and the City of *Syracusa* in general, unto his merciful protection. After this, the Consul with gracious words licensed them to depart.

When the Sicilians had their dispatch, the Campanians had audience given them in the Senate and as their speech was more lamentable, so the cause was heavier, and harder to be digested; for neither could they themselves deny, but that they deserved condign punishment: nor Tyrants had they any, upon whom they might lay the blame. But they thought they had suffered enough for their sins already, in that so many of their Senators died by poison, and so many lost their heads. Some few of their nobility and but a few remained yet alive, who as they were not touched in conscience, nor so faulty, as to lay violent hands upon themselves, so the Conqueror in his furious wrath, adjudged them not worthy of death: they therefore made humble suit for themselves, their wives and children, to obtain freedom, and to enjoy some part of their own goods, being as they were, mere citizens of *Rome*, and most of them by affinity and near kindred, upon mutual and cross marriages, linked in alliance and blood to the Romans. After that they also were willing to void out of the Senat house: for a while, there grew some question and doubt, whether *Q. Fulvius* should be sent for from *Capua* (for presently upon the taking of the City, *Claudius* the Consul died) that this matter might be argued and discussed in presence of the General himself, like to the other had been reasoned of and debated between *Marcellus* and the Sicilians. But afterwards when they saw in the Senat house *M. Arilius*, and *C. Fulvius*, the brother of *Flaccus*, both his Lieutenants: likewise *Q. Minucius*, and *L. Veturius Philo*, Lieutenants unto *Claudius*, who had been present in all actions, and were eye-witnesses of every thing; and besides, were unwilling that either *Fulvius* should be called away from *Capua*, or the Campanians longer delayed: *M. Arilius Regulus*, who of all them that had been at the service of *Capua*, was of greatest authority and reputation, being demanded his opinion, spake in this wise.

"I take it (quoth he) when *Capua* was newly won, I was one of Counsel with the Consuls there, when question was asked, and enquiry made, Whether any one Campanian had deserved well of us and our Common-wealth. And found it was, that two women only, to wit, *Vespa Oppia*, born in *Atella*, but dwelling then at *Capua*, and *Fanula Clodia*, sometime a common strumpet and courtesan, were well willers unto us. The former of these twain daily sacrificed for the welfare, life, and victory of the Romans; she other, secretly sustained the poor and needy Roman captives with food and victuals. As for all other Campanians, from the highest to the lowest, they were no better affected unto us, than the Carthaginians. And even those, who were beheaded by *Quintus Fulvius*, suffered death, not because they were more faulty than others, but for that they were of greater mark and calling than the rest. Now, that the Senate should decide the cause of any Campanians, who are enfranchised denizens of *Rome*, without a grant from the people, I see not how it can be. For in our fore-fathers time the like case was of the Satrians that rebelled: and then *M. Anisius*, a Tribune of the Commons, first put up a bill, and the Commons afterwards passed it, namely, That the Senat might have power and authority to give their opinion, and determine of the Satrians. Therefore I am of mind, that we deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, that one or more of them, prefer a bill unto the Commons, by vertue whereof we may be authorized to set down some order for the Campanians. Then *L. Arilius*, a Tribune of the Commons, by leave and advice of the Senate, propoied unto the Commons a bill in this form and manner. Whereas the Campanians, *Atellans*, *Calatins*, and *Sabellans*, who have yielded themselves unto *Fulvius* the Pro-consul, to be at the pleasure and devotion of the people of *Rome*: all that also, which they have surrendered together with themselves, as well their territory as their City, as all men, both sacred and profane, and their necessary implements, and all other things whatsoever, I demand your will and pleasure. *O. Quirix*, what shall be done with the premises? The Commons after deliberation, gave their voices to the said bill in this form. Our will and pleasure is, that whatsoever ye the Senators, who now are set in Council, or the most part of you think good and determine, shall stand for first and last. Upon this grant or Act of the Commons, the Senat by a decree awarded unto *Oppia* and *Lucia*, first their own goods and liberty: and moreover if they were desirous to crave farther reward at the Senates hand, they were left to repair unto *Rome*. For every family and several house of the Campanians, there were special acts and decrees made, all which to repeat and rehearse, would not quit the labour. Some had their goods confiscated: their wives, their Children and Wives were to be sold, excepting those their Daughters which were wedded, before that they came under the subjection of the people of *Rome*. Others were to be kept up in Prison, until farther order were taken for them hereafter. Moreover, of some Campanians they made distinction by valuation of their wealth, whether their goods were to be confiscated or no. All their beasts and cattail which were taken, save Horses; all their bond-slaves, but males fourteen years of age and upward, all moveable goods also which were not annexed to and salted to the soil, they awarded for to be restored to the true owners. All Campanians, *Atellans*, *Calatins*, *Sabellans*, excepting those, who either themselves, or whose parents took part and sided with the enemies, they judged to be free: provided always, that none of them were either Free-denizens of *Rome*, or of *Latium*. Item, it was enacted, that none of all them who had been at *Capua* whilst the gates were shut, should remain either in the City or territory of *Capua*, within a certain day prefixed: but should have a place set out unto them for to dwell in, on the farther side of *Tyberis*, so it were not upon the very bank close unto *Tyber*.

A *Tyber*. As for those that during the time of war had been neither at *Capua* nor in any other City of *Campania*, which revolted from the people of *Rome*, they should be removed to inhabit on this side the River *Lyris* between it and *Rome*: but (such as were turned and passed to the Romans side, before that *Annibal* came unto *Capua*, they should be transplanted on the hither side of *Volturnus* the River: provided, that none of them should possess either house or Land within fifteen miles of the Sea. As concerning them who were displaced and confined to inhabit beyond the *Tyber*, neither they nor their heirs and successors for ever, should purchase and hold house or Land in any place, but in the territory either of *Veii*, *Surium*, or *Nepesinum*: but so, as they exceeded not the limit of five hundred Acres of ground. As touching the goods and chattels of all the Senators, of such as had born Magistracy in *Capua*, *Atella*, or *Calatia*, they awarded that sale should be made thereof in *Capua*. As for those that were free born, and whole bodies were to be sold, they should be sent to *Rome*, and there set at sale. Finally, the Images and Statues of bras, which were said to have been won and taken from the enemies, whether they were sacred or profane, they referred to the College of the Priests and Prelates, to determine thereof at their discretion. Thus they gave the Campanians their dispatch, and sent them away much more afraid for their decrees, than they were when they came first to *Rome*. And now they complained no more of the cruel proceedings of *Q. Fulvius* against them, but blamed the iniquity and unjust dealing of the very Gods, and their own cruel fortune together.

After the Sicilians and Campanians were dismissed, there was a muster taken: and when an army was levied and enrolled, there began some question and reasoning about the mariners and Rowers to furnish the Gallies. For the accomplishment whereof, when the Consuls could neither raise men enough, nor yet find money at that time in the Chamber of the City, for to presse and hire them, and pay their wages withal: they published an edict, that private men according to the rate and proportion in the Subsidy book, out of all orders, degrees, and companies, should as aforesaid find Rowers at their own charges, and maintain them with meat and money for thirty dayes. Upon which Edict and Proclamation, all men so grumbled and muttered, and were so highly discontented and angered, that they wanted an head and Captain, rather then matter and occasion of a mutiny and insurrection: giving out, "That the Consuls had taken a course, and were in the very train to plague, undo, and destroy the Commons of *Rome*, like as they had already the Sicilians and the Campanians. For thus many years they have been pulled, polled, clean spent and consumed with exaction of tributes, and had nothing left them but the bare ground, and the same lying wait and untilld. As for their Houses upon their Lands, the enemies had burned: their servants and bonds, such as should husband and till their grounds, the Commons-wealth had bereaved them of: one whilst buying them up to the war, for some small piece of money: other whilst levying and pressing them to the Seas to be Gally-slaves, for a thing of nothing. A man could not so soon get one bras farthing, or single silver denier before-hand, but it went by and by either for Gally-pay, or for yearly Tribute. And to give that now which they had not, they might never be brought by any force or for any mans commandment whatsoever. Let them sell and make an hand of their goods, imprison and punish their bodies too, when all is gone besides: seeing there is nothing left them to ransom and redeem the same again. These and such like words were not only muttered in huggenugger, but uttered aloud and given out in broad terms even in the market-place and before the Consuls, by the multitude that flocked and gathered together in exceeding great numbers: in such sort, as the Consuls were not able with all that ever they could do, to appease the mutiny, neither by sharp rebukes, nor fair words and comfortable speeches. Then they said, that they would give and allow them three dayes respite for to think and consider of these matters: which they themselves bestowed wholly and employed in taking a view and survey of their goods, and making dispatch and ridance thereof out of the way. The next day the Consuls called the Senat together to consult about the supply of Rowers and Gally-slaves: where, after much debating and arguing, that the Commons had good reason to make denial; at length the drift of all their speech was this, "That whether it were right or wrong, the burden mult lie on privat mens shoulders, there was no remedy: forseeing there was no money in the common chest, how should Mariners and Rowers else be gotten and levied? And without Arraunces, how possibly should either Sicily be held (still in possession, or Philip be kept out of Italy? or the Sea coasts of Italy remain in safety and security? In these distresses and difficulties the Council being perplexed, and to seek for remedy; and whilst every mans wits were in the wan and so confused, as if they were benumbed and stone cold: Then *Livius* the Consul, as the Magistrate (quoth he) goeth before the Senat in place of honor, and the Senat likewise before the common people in worth and dignity: so they ought in all difficulties and hard occurrences to undergo the weightiest burdens first, and be the Foremen and Leaders in all dangerous adventures whatsoever. For if a man would enjoy his interiors to bear some grievous and heavy load, let him first take it up himself, yea and impose the same upon his own train and company: all the rest then, will be more willing and obedient to follow after, and do the semblable. And never will they grutch at any cost or charges, when they see their Leaders and Rulers take more upon themselves, than they are well able to wield and sustain. To the end therefore that the people of *Rome* may be provided and furnished of a fleet rigged and trimmed, as our desire is, and that private persons may not think much, nor refuse to find Rowers thereunto; let us first that we here command our own selves: let us,

The speech of
Livius the
Consul.

"I say, that be Senators, bring abroad in common all the gold, all the silver, all the brazen coin
 "that we have, so as every man relieverings only for himself, his wife and children; and a little
 "tablet or Jewel for his son, as a pendant to hang about his neck. Also let all them that have wives
 "or daughters, retain still one ounce weight of * gold, and * one pound of silver: And as many as
 "have born office of State, and sitten in the Ivory Chair, keep still the trappings and caparison of
 "their Horse, and two pound weight a piece, the one of gold, the other of silver: for to have a
 "Salt-seller, and a little boll or cup, to sacrifice and offer unto the Gods withal. As for the rest of
 "the Senators, let us leave them but one pound weight of silver, and no gold at all, and five thou-
 "sand * Asses in coin, to every household a piece. "All other gold, silver, and brazen money be-
 "sides, let us forthwith bring abroad and present unto the Triumvirs or publick bankers, before
 "that we make or enact any decree of Senat: to the end, that our good example in this volum-
 "ary benevolence and contribution, and our earnest endeavour to help the Common-weal, may
 "sit up and provoke the hearts and affections, first of those that are by calling Gentlemen, and
 "Knights of *Rome*, and then forward the rest of the commons, to imitate and follow us with
 "some emulation. This is the only means which we that are Consuls have thought upon and de-
 "vised, after much talk and conference together. Set to therefore, my masters, in the name of
 "God, and lead the way: God will bleis your good beginnings. So long as the City standeth
 "on foot, and holdeth up the head, no man need to fear his private State; but it shall do well
 "enough. Go the weak publick to wreck once, and decay, let no man ever think to save his
 "own. All the whole house liked so well of these motions, that not only they gave their accord
 "and consent thereto, but over and besides, yielded hearty thanks unto the Consuls for their good
 "advice and counsel. When the Senat was dismissed, every man for himself brought forth his gold,
 "his silver, and braise money, and laid all together in common: and that with such speed, striving
 "a vie who could go before another, and have his name entered first in the publike Rolles and Regis-
 "ters: as neither the foresaid Triumvirs were able to receive it fast enough, as it was tendered un-
 "to them: nor the ordinary Clerks and Notaries to let it down in writing, and take note thereof
 "accordingly. This consent and agreement of the Senators, the Knights and Gentlemen of *Rome* in
 "their place and calling seconded; and the commons for their parts were not behind. So without
 "any constraint of law, without edict, without any exhortation made by the Magistrate, the com-
 "mon-weal waited neither Rowers for to furnish the armadoes, nor money to pay the Rowers.
 "And thus when all things were provided necessary for the wars, the Consuls went forth to their
 "several Provinces.

"Never was there any time of this war, wherein Carthaginians and Romans together, had
 "more trial of the alternative and variable change of fortune: never hung they more in equilib-
 "rantes, between fair hope and fearful danger. The Romans, in their Provinces talked both of
 "sweet and sour. In *Spain* on the one side, they sped ill and lost: in *Sicily* on the other side, they
 "sped well and won: so as their sorrow was interlaced still and mingled with joy. Also in *Sicily*,
 "the losse of *Tarentum* turned to their woe and damage: but the keeping of the Castle there with
 "the garrison, beyond all their hope and expectation, brought them joy and comfort for their sor-
 "row. Also, their suddain fright and fear, for the siege and assault of the City of *Rome*, was raised
 "and cured again within a few dayes after, by the forcing and winning of *Capua*: and all that be-
 "wines and mourning turned into mirth and gladness. The affairs also beyond Sea, were checked
 "with interchangeable turns and courtes. *Philip* became their enemy in all time, and when
 "they had little need thereof. Contrary-wise, the *Ætolians* and *Attalians* the King of *Asia* the less,
 "proved to be their new friends and loving allies: whereby even then fortune, seemed to smile on
 "the Romans, and by that overtur, promised as it were, unto them the Empire of the East.
 "Sensibly the Carthaginians, as they lost *Capua*, so they won *Tarentum*, and made a saving
 "game of it. In like manner, as they took no small pride and glory, in coming to the walls of *Rome*
 "without resistance; so they were danted and dismayed again, that this their enterprize took no bet-
 "ter effect in the end: and held themselves much disgraced and dishonoured, that whilst they
 "sat themselves before one gate of *Rome*, there was an army of Romans led forth at another, and N
 "sent into *Spain*. And even in *Spain* also, the greater hope men had there, that upon the death
 "of two so noble and valiant Generals, and the des... of two as puissant armies, the war was
 "come to a final end, and the Romans driven from thence for ever: the more spight it was, and
 "the greater grief and vexation they conceived again, when by the valour of *L. Marcius* a tumultu-
 "ary Captain, chosen in halt they knew not how, those former victories turned to vanities, and
 "chance to just nothing. Thus fortune was indifferent, and all things doubtful and wavering in in-
 "sufficiency, both on the one side; and the other. Their hope all one as it was at first; their fear, the same
 "still, neither more nor less: So as between hope and fear, they taried, as if the war at this time
 "were new to begin.

"*Annibal* above all other things, was vexed to the heart, that *Capua*, being more hotly and
 "eagerly assaulted by the Romans, than manfully and faithfully defended by him, had diverged
 "and turned away the hearts of many States of *Italy* from him. For neither was he able to hold
 "them all with sufficient garrisons, unless he would dismember into many small portings, and mangle
 "by piece-meal his army: which to do then, was no good policy: nor he thought it stand good,
 "to withdraw his garrisons from thence, & leave the fidelity of his allies at liberty, either to depend
 "upon sickle hope, or to sway with suddain fear. And (as he was by nature covetous and cruel-
 "ly

ly minded) he resolved at length upon this course, to make spoil of those Cities which he was not
 "able to keep, and to leave them wast and empty for the enemy. This designment was not dis-
 "honest and shameful in the first enterprize, but it proved as bad and hurtful to himself in the
 "effect and conclusion. For he lost the hearts clean, not only of those that were the parties grieved,
 "and suffered these indignities, but also of all others besides. The present calamity and losse touched
 "but some few: but the precedent and example reached to many more. Neither was the Roman
 "Consul behind hand for his part, to sollicite and sound those Cities, from whence he saw some
 "light appear, and any hope to gain them unto him.

"There were in *Salapia* two noble men above the rest, *Dafnus* and *Blafus*. *Dafnus* was friend to
 "Anibal, *Blafus* (so far as he might with safety) affected and favoured the Romans. And by enter-
 "B course of secret messengers, had put *Marcellus* in some good hope of betraying the City; but
 "without the help of *Dafnus* the plot could not be compassed and effected. Wherefore, after much
 "musing and long deliberation, after many stayes and delays, at length he resolved (for want rather
 "of better counsel, than upon any hope to speed) to address himself to *Dafnus*, and acquaint him
 "with the matter. But *Dafnus* not only misliking utterly and abhorring the thing, but also carrying a
 "secret enmity to the party himself, the only eye-sore and concurrent that he had, striving to be
 "greater than he, disclosed all to *Anibal*. Whereupon, both were sent for, and convened pec-
 "remptorily before him. As *Anibal* was sitting upon the Tribunal seat, giving audience and dis-
 "patch to certain other matters; and that he might anon the better attend unto *Blafus* and the at-
 "tention intended against him: whilst the plaintive and defendant stood apart by themselves from the
 "C rest of the people a good way, *Blafus* went in hand again with *Dafnus*, and solicited him for to
 "deliver the City to the Romans. With that *Dafnus* (as if the matter had been too too apparant) cried
 "out and said, I that he bashed not to break unto him and move him, even in the presence and sight
 "of *Anibal*, for to practise treason and betray the City. *Anibal* and all they that were there pre-
 "sented, gave little credit unto *Dafnus*: and the more audacious the thing it felt was, the less likely-
 "hood it carried with it of a truth. Every man supposed verily, it was nothing but emulation, envy,
 "and enkindled malice, that caused *Dafnus* to charge upon him that crime, which because there was
 "no witness to the contrary, he might untruly devile and more freely endeavour against him. And so
 "for that time they were both discharged the court. But *Blafus* never gave over to follow till this
 "bold enterprize, but beat still upon this one point, shewing how good and commodious the thing
 "D would be, both to themselves in private, and to their country in common, until he had wrought
 "him to, and won him to grant, that the Carthaginian garrison, (and those were Numidians) to-
 "gether with the City *Salapia*, should be rendered unto *Marcellus*. But without much bloodshed they
 "could not possibly be thus betrayed and delivered: for they were the most hardy and valiant horse-
 "men by far, of all the Carthaginian army. Wherefore, albeit they were taken on a suddain unpro-
 "vided, and had no use of Horses within the City, yet with such weapons, as in such a suddain tu-
 "mult and upurce they could catch and come by, first they assayed and gave the venture to break
 "through and escape a way: and when they saw that they could by no means save themselves and
 "get forth, they fought it out to the last manfully, even unto death: so as there were not of them a-
 "bove fifty left alive, and came into the hands of the enemies. And surely, the losse of this corner of
 "B *Horreum*, was a greater damage unto *Anibal*, than the forgoing of *Salapia*: for never from
 "that day forward, had *Anibal* the upper hand in cavalry, which was the only service whereby
 "ever before he most prevailed.

"Much about the same time the Castle of *Tarentum* was streightly distressed for want of victu-
 "als, and hardly could endure and hold out any longer. The only hope that the Roman garrison
 "had, which lay there, and the Captain thereof *M. Livius* the Constable of the Castle, was in the
 "provision sent out of *Sicily*. For the safe convoy whereof, along the coast of *Italy*, there rid at
 "anchor a fleet welnear of twenty sail before *Rhegium*. The Admiral of this fleet appointed to
 "wait these victuals from time to time, was one *Decimus Quinius*, a man of old time birth and bala-
 "perance, howbeit, for many worthy acts and feats of arms, much renowned in martial
 "plogy.

"At the first he had the charge but of five ships, whereof two of the greatest, which were three-
 "banked Gallies, were allowed him by *Marcellus*: afterwards, upon his good service, when he had
 "burn himself bravely in many conflicts, he had three more committed unto him, and those were
 "of five banks of oars, until at last himself, by calling upon the confederat Cities, as *Rhegium*,
 "Q *Velia*, and *Patium*, for the ships due by covenant unto the people of *Rome*, he had made a pretty
 "Armado, as is above said, of twenty sail. As this fleet had disanchored and was gone from *Rhegi-
 "um*, *Dimocrates* with the like Armado for number of Tarentin ships, encountered almost two
 "legues from the City of *Tarentum*, at a port called *Sacratorium*. It fortuned at that time, that the
 "Roman Admiral, little looking for any battle, came forth under sail only, but about *Croton* and
 "Q *Sibarie*, he had furnished his ships with Rowers also, and so his fleet for the bigness and talness
 "of the Vessels, was well appointed, and sufficiently armed and manned. And even then it hap-
 "ned at once, that both the docterous wind lay, and the enemies also were within kenning,
 "so they had scarce time enough to fix their tackling, to make ready their Rowers, and to let in
 "under their fighting men, against a skirmish that was to next toward. There was not lightly seen
 "a greater conflict, fought more hotly and fiercely between two royal Armadoes that affronted
 "one another, than between these small fleets. For why, the battle was for a greater matter, than all
 "their

their ships came to. The Tarentins maintained the fight more eagerly, because they were desirous to recover their Cattle out of the Romans hands, as they had done their City, almost two years almost, during which time, they had been out of the possession thereof: hoping thereby, if they could be masters of the Sea once by some fortunate and victorious battle, to cut off and intercept all hope of victuals from the enemies. The Romans on the other side belittled themselves as lustily by keeping the possession of the Cattle, all the world might see, that *Tarentum* was not lost by force, clean strength and valour, but betrayed by stealth and treachery. So they founded the battle from both parts, and ran affront one at another, with the beaks and stems of their prows, and neither staid rowing main forward, nor suffered their enemy to part or go aside from them, until they clofed and grap'd their ships together, by the means of iron hooks like hands. And to neerer they buckled, in hot and furious fight, that not only they discharged shot aloof one against another, but also they coped together (as it were) foot to foot, at hand strokes with sword and spear. Their prows and fore-ships stuck graped together, while the poops and hind-decks were driven about with contrary oars of the adverse part. So neerer and so thicker withal flood the ships and within so narrow a room, that scarce one dart light into the water in vain, and did no harm. With their beak-heads they assailed one another, as it had been on land fight, and so close they were, that the soldiers might pass out of one ship into another, as they fought. Howbeit, two ships there were above all the rest, that maintained a notable fight, and in the vanguard and forefront of the battle, invetted one another most furiously. In that of the Romans was *Quintius* himself in person, and in the other of the Tarentins, was *Nico*, surnamed *Perce*, a man not only odious unto the Romans, for the publick quarrel between both states, but also maliciously bent, upon a private spite and rancour, as banishing with that faction, which had betrayed *Tarentum* to *Anibal*. This *Nico* elysing *Quintius* both fighting and also encouraging his men withal, charged him at unawares, and ran him quite through with a pike: who was not so soon slain forward headlong upon the fore-deck, armour and all, but the Tarentin following the train of his victory, and seeing the ship disorderly to defend and keep the poop and hind deck: with that, another gally of the enemies appeared on a sudden, and charged the hind-part. So the Roman ship in the midst between both, was boarded on every side, and taken. Whereupon all the rest were greatly terrified, seeing the Admiral-ship was won by the enemy; and they fled on all hands. Some were sunk in the deep sea, some made halt with their oars, and scudded to the land, but anon were a prize and prey to the Thurins and Metapontins. But of the Huls and Caricks, which were fraught with victual, and followed after, very few there were that fell into the hands of the enemies: the rest shiking and turning their sails cross, this wayes and that wayes, according to the inconstancy of the wind, recovered the main Sea.

But about *Tarentum* at the same time, their fortune was nothing so good. For whereas there went out of the Town upon a four thousand men a foraging, for to purvey corn, *Livius*, Constable of the Cattle and Captain of the Army, spying his time (as he waited ever for all opportunities) made out of the said Cattle a thousand soldiers, under the leading of *C. Perius* a valorous and industrious man: who let upon the Tarentins stragling out of order, and dispersed in wandering wife over the fields: and after he had followed a long time the execution, killing them here and there as he encountered them; the rest, which were but few left of so many, he chased to the Tower: for they made halt in great fear thither, and were let in at the gates standing half shut, for fear lest at the same random the Town should have been lost. So the Tarentins and Romans, when they had made the reckoning, put up all on even hand. For the Romans were winners by land, the Tarentins at Sea: and both of them disappointed alike of their hope of corn, which was presented to their eyes, but they never tasted thereof.

At the same time *Levinus* the Consul, after a good part of the year was gone about, arrived in *Sicily*, greatly expected and looked for, as well by the old allies as the new: and the first thing of all other and most important, he supposed, was together with this new peace, to settle and compose the State of *Syracusa*, so much disordered and out of frame. After that, he led his legions to *Aggrigentum*, where only there remained the reliques of war: which City was kept by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. There fortune favoured his first designs. *Hanno* chanced to be the General over the Carthaginians, but he wholly relied and reposed all his hope in *Mutius* and the Numidians. This *Mutius* had ranged all over *Sicily* at his pleasure, and raised booties out of the territories and Lands of the Roman associates, and by no force or policy could he be intercepted of his passage back to *Aggrigentum*, nor yet be pinned within the City, but that he would issue forth whenever he listed. This glory of his, because now it checked (as it were) the fame and honour of the General, turned the man at length to displeasure and danger: so as, what good service soever was achieved, it was never well taken by *Hanno*, nor joyously accepted, in regard of the person, who was a prick always in his eye. Whereupon in the end he gave away the Captainship of *Mutius* from himself, and bestowed it upon his own Son: thinking, that together with his government and command, he should lose all his authority and reputation also among the Numidians. But it fell out far otherwise. For the more that he was in disgrace and disfavour with *Hanno*, the greater grew the old favour and love of the Numidians toward him.

Neither

Neither could he himself endure any longer the unworthy wrong and indignity offered unto him: and therefore in revenge he presently dispatched certain secret messengers unto *Levinus*, with credence, that he would betray and deliver *Aggrigentum* into his hands. By the mediation of these intercouriers, there passed sufficient security and assurance between them: and the matter being concluded, the manner also of contriving the plot, was agreed upon. Whereas therefore the Numidians were possessed, and had the guard of that gate that openeth toward the Sea: after they had either driven out the old warders from thence, or killed them, they let in the Romans at the same gate into the City, who were sent of purpose, according to the former agreement. And when they marched up into the midst of the City, even to the market place, with banner displayed, and with great tumult and noise; *Hanno* supposing it was nothing else, but a tedious uprising of the Numidians (like as they had done sometimes before) came forth as to appease and stay a mutiny and commotion. But discovering a greater multitude afar off than the Numidians were: and hearing withal the Romans to shout, with the manner whereof his ears had been well acquainted before time, he took him to his heels ere he came within the dart-shot. And being let out at a back postern gate, taking with him *Epicides*, he recovered with some few other the Sea side, where, as good hap was, they light upon a small bark or pinnace: and so leaving *Sicily* to the enemies, for which there had been much strife so many years together, they passed over into *Africa*. The multitude besides both of Carthaginians and Sicilians, without any skirmish either began or intended, fled like blind men they wist not whither: and finding all ways made up, and no passage forth, they were miserably slain and hewn in pieces about the gates. *Levinus* being possessed of the City, caused all the chief men and rulers of the City, to be beaten with rods, and to lose their heads: all the rest together with the pillage he sold in port-sale, and the money that was raised thereof, he sent to *Rome*.

When the news of this misfortune of the Agrigentins was blown over *Sicily* all at once, turned Roman, and *Anibal* lost all. For in short space there were 40 Towns betrayed and yielded, six forced by assault, and to the number of 40 voluntarily surrendered to the devotion and protection of the Romans. The principal noble men of which States, after that the Consuls had either rewarded or punished according to their several demerits, and compelled the Sicilians generally to lay by arms and weapons, and to take themselves to the plough, for to cultivate and sow their grounds; to be that the land might bring forth fruit, not only to sustain and maintain the natural inhabitants thereof, but also to ease the price of corn and victuals in the City of *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*, like as it had done many times before: he transported over with him into *Italy* a rabble and damned crew of unruly people from *Aggrigna*. Some four thousand there were of them, a confused multitude of all sorts, a very multimash and sink, dunglily of vile and wretched persons, most of them Outlaws, Bankrupts, and notorious malefactors, in danger of death by the laws of their Cities where they lived. And being led their countries, some for one law, some for another, they chanced all upon like fortune to lose themselves (as commonly birds of a feather will fly together,) and at *Aggrigna*, they made choise like outlaws, to live by robbing and spoiling: and this was their only profession and trade. *Levinus* thought it no good policy to leave behind him these good fellows in an Island, which began out how upon new peace to knit and unite again: for fear lest they would minister matter of innovation and change; and besides, there was some good use of them among the *Italgians*, for to forage and rove about the Brutians country: for such they stood in need of, and had laid for a company which were acquainted with theevings an *Italgian*. And so this year made an end of the war in *Sicily*.

P. Scipio L. Deputy and General in *Spain*, having in the prime and beginning of Spring put his ships to Sea and set them afloat, and by an edict summoned all the allies at the allies to repair to the Rendezvous at *Taracum*; gave order and commandment, that as well the ships of war as of charge and burden, should from thence set forward, and shew themselves at the mouth of the River *Iberum*. And after he had given direction and charge, that the legions from out of their winter harbours, should there meet together, himself accompanied with five thousand of his sives put himself on his journey to his main army. Being thither come, he thought it good to make some speech to the old soldiers especially, as many as remained alive after so great defeats and overthrowes, and when he had attended them all together to an audience, in this wise he spake unto them. "Never was there new General before my self, that could by good right, and in regard of desert, render thanks unto his soldiers before he had employed them, and made trial of their good service. But as for me, before I ever came within sight of this Province, before I entered my government and saw the camp, fortune hath obliged me, and made me beholden unto you. First, for your kindness and zealous affection to my father and to mine uncle, both while they lived, and when they were dead. Secondly, in that when the possession of this Province was lost; after so great toils and overthrowes, ye have by your virtue and valour recovered the same again, and kept it entire to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, and my self, the next successor in place of sovereign rule and command. But forasmuch as myself purpose and present resolution is, by the leave, favour, and power of the Gods, not so much to hold the possession our selves and abide in *Spain*, but to dispose the Carthaginians that they may have no footing nor abode at all there: and since the thing that we go about, is not to stand keeping the bank of *Iberum*, for to stop the passage of the enemy; but to give the attempt o pass over our selves by force: yes, and therewithal to transport the war over with

The Oration
of P. Scipio
to his soldiers,

"us into his own country, and to come home unto him. I fear me greatly, lest this will seem
 "unto some of you a greater deſignment, and more auſpicious enterprise of mine, than may ex-
 "pect ſuit and ſort with the freſh remembrance of thoſe late defeats, or ſtand well with my young
 "and unripe age. The foils and unfortunate foughten fields in Spain, can be of no man in the
 "World forgotten later than of my ſelf, whole father, whole Uncle, were within the ſpace of
 "30 dayes there ſlain, to the end that ſorrow upon ſorrow, funeral upon funeral, one mournful
 "death after another, ſhould unfortunately be heaped upon our houſe and family. But as this de-
 "ſolate eſtate and deſect almoſt of all my houſe and name (wherein I only, in manner, am left alive
 "of my race) wounderh my heart and makes it bleed, as often as I think of it: To the publick ſor-
 "tune and virtue of the Common-weal, reviveth my ſpirit again, and will not ſuffer me to de-
 "ſpair totally of the ſtate of this Empire: conſidering the deſtiny and Providence of the Gods,
 "whereby it is a thing given unto us, and our luck hath ever been, that howſoever we have receiv-
 "ed overthrow in all great wars and dangerous battails, yet in the end, we have gone away
 "with the victory. I omit to ſpeak of old examples, of *Perſena*, of the Gauls, and Samnites; and
 "I will begin at the Punick wars. How many armados and fleets, how many brave Captains,
 "how many valiant and puſſant armies were there loſt and murthered, during the former? And
 "what ſhould I ſay of this in our dayes? In all the defeats and overthrows, I was either preſent
 "my ſelf in perſon: or if I were not in any of them, yet I am ſure, I was he that felt the ſmart of
 "them, more than any man elſe whatſoever. The River *Trebia*, the mere *Thraſymenus*, the Town
 "*Cannæ*, what are they elſe, but the very ſepulchres and tombs of the Roman armies there been
 "in pieces, and of their Conſuls ſlain. And thereto, the general revolt of *Italy*, the rebellion of
 "*Sicily*, the falling away of the greater part of *Sardinia*. Moreover and beſides, this laſt alſright
 "and terror; namely, the Carthaginians camp pitched between *Anno* and the walls of *Rome*, and
 "*Annibal* ſeen well near, as conqueror at the very gates of our City. In theſe ſo great ruins and
 "adverſe diſtreſſes of our ſtate, yet the virtue alone and valour of the people of *Rome* hath ſhown
 "upright, ſound, and immutable; yea, and hath raiſed up again and ſet on foot, all that which lay
 "along on the ground. You only, my valorous ſouldiers, were the firſt, that after the diſcomſure
 "of *Cannæ*, under the leading and good fortune of my father, withſtood *Aſdrubal* in his journey and
 "expedition toward the *Alps*, purpoſing to go down into *Italy*; who if he had joyned with his
 "brother *Annibal*, certainly by this day, there had remained no memory of the Roman name.
 "And in very truth, theſe affairs falling out ſo proſperouſly, made amends and recompence for all
 "the former loſſes. But now through the goodneſſe of the Gods, all things proſper and go well
 "forward: and the affairs of *Italy* and *Sicily* both, mend daily, and are every day better than
 "other. In *Sicily*, *Syracuſe* and *Argentine* are won and wholly ours: the enemies be driven
 "out of all the land, and the ſtate is reduced into the form of a Province, ſubject to the people of
 "*Rome*, and under their obedience. In *Italy*, the Town of *Arpi* is recovered by ſurrender, the
 "City of *Capua* is forced by aſſault. *Annibal* himſelf, having meaſured all the way, (but inſer-
 "full halt and in manner of a ſlight) as long as it is from *Rome* to the Brutians country (in high
 "*Calabria*) is there driven up into the furtheſt angle and corner thereof, nothing moe willing
 "and praying for at Gods hands now, than to be able to retire and get away ſafe out of his ene-
 "mies Land. What thing then were leſſe beſeeming, my hardy ſouldiers, than ths. If you who
 "have ſuſtained and upheld the decaying and down-falling eſtate of the Roman Empire in this
 "Province, you (I ſay) together with my two parents (whom for the reverence that I owe to
 "them, give me leave to make equal, and to honour with that name) at what time as calamities
 "and loſſes, hapned ſuddenly one in the neck of another, and the Gods themſelves ſeemed to ſake
 "part and ſtand with *Annibal*: ſhould now let fall your courages and be faint-hearted, becauſe in
 "theſe Provinces aforeſaid, all things go well to our hearts deſire and great contentment. As for
 "the late miſfortunes and adverſities which have hapned here, would to God they had paſſed over
 "without ſorrow, as well of my part, as of yours. But for the preſent, the immortal Gods, Prote-
 "ctors and Governors of the Roman Empire, who inſpired into the minds and hearts of all the
 "Centuries, to wiſh and chule me to this place of foreign honor, even the ſame Gods by augu-
 "ries and ſuſpices, by all tokens of the birds either by flight or ſight, yea, and by viſions alſo in the
 "night ſeaſon, do portend, ſignifie and promiſe unto me, all good ſpeed and happy ſucceſſe: yea
 "and mine own mind giveth me, (which ever hitherto, hath been to me the trueſt prope-
 "and never deceived me) that all Spain is ours; and that within ſhort time the whole Punick name
 "nation, being expelled and driven out from hence, ſhall fill all Seas and Lands with their flame-
 "full and diſhonorable flight. That which my ſpirit and ſoul of it ſelf preſageth, the ſame doth bear-
 "ſon alſo conclude by moſt certain and infallible demonſtration. The allies and ſubjects here of
 "the Carthaginians, oppreſſed and wronged by them, have humbly by their Embaſſadors craved
 "our aid and ſuccour, The Captains General of their forces, being at difference and odds all three
 "among themſelves, inſomuch as they had like to have departed and revolted oneſt from the other,
 "have diſtracted and diſmembred their forces into three parts, and beſetwined them in three ſeveral
 "all countries, moſt removed and diſtant aſunder. And no doubt, the like fortune is ready to fall
 "upon their heads, which lately was our undoing and overthrow, upon the ſame occaſion. For
 "even as we before were forſaken of the Celtiberians, ſo are they now abandoned of their allies.
 "Beſides, they parted and divided their armies aſunder: which was the only cauſe, that brought
 "the utter ruin and deſtruction upon my father and uncle. And be ye ſure, that their intestine
 "diſcord

A "diſcord and diſſention, will never ſuffer them to joyn friendly and unite again in one. And thus
 "ſingled as they are, they cannot poſſibly withſtand our puſſance. Now my ſouldiers, for your
 "part, do but favour the name of the *Scipios*: do but affect and love me, the iſſue and off-ſpring of
 "your noble Generals, budding forth again (as it were) out of the old ſtock, cut down to the root.
 "Go to, old ſouldiers, and redoubted ſervitors, with bold couraſe ſet over the River *Iberus* a new
 "army and a new Captain: paſs over with them into thoſe Lands, which ye have often conquered,
 "and wherein ye have achieved many valiant and memorable acts. And for my ſelf, I will ſo
 "endeavour and effect, that as ye now agnize in me, the reſemblance of my fathers and uncles vi-
 "ſage and countenance, the ſame feature, proportion, and lineaments of the body: ſo I will ſhew
 "and repreſent unto you, the true picture and portraiture of their ſpirit, wit, faithfullneſs, and ver-
 "tue, even as the expreſs and lively image taken and drawn from their own ſelves is juſt ſuch, as
 "every man may ſay, That Captain *Scipio* is either riſen from the dead, or new born again. Hav-
 "ing by this Oration, incited and inflamed the courages of his ſouldiers, and left *Syllanus* with a
 "guard of three thouſand foot, and three hundred Horſe, for the defence of that coaſt; he tranſpor-
 "ted over the River *Iberus*, all the reſt of his forces, amounting to the number of five and twenty
 "thouſand foot, and 25 hundred Horſemen. There he was adviſed by ſome about him, ſeeing the
 "Punick armies were departed into three countries ſo far remote and diſtate aſunder, to ſet upon
 "and aſſail that which was next: but he doubting and fearing leſt by that means he ſhould draw
 "them altogether, and knowing that he was not able alone, to match and make his part good with ſo
 "many hoſts at once, determined in the mean while, to be doing with new *Carthage*, and to beſiege
 "C and aſſault it. This City, as it was rich and wealthy in it ſelf, ſo it was full of all the enemies furniture
 "and provision for war. There was their armour kept, there was their money laid up, there re-
 "mained the hoſtages of all Spain. Beſides, as it was leaſed commodiouſly to croſs over from thence
 "into *Aſſyria*: ſo it flood upon a convenient and large haven, able to receive and harbour the greateſt
 "navy on Sea. and the only haven (if I be not deceived) of all that coaſt and tract of Spain, which
 "boundeth next upon our Sea. But no man was made privy to his determination, or knew whither
 "they ſhould take their journey, ſave only *Lalium*. He being ſent about with the armado, had di-
 "rection ſo to temporize and guide his courſe by ſail and oar, that at one and the ſelf ſame inſtant,
 "both *Scipio* might preſent his Land forces in the view of *Carthage*, and the fleet enter the haven.
 "So they departed from *Iberus*, and within ſeven dayes came before the City of *Carthage*, both by Sea
 "and Land. His camp he pitched on the north ſide of the City: which he entrenched and fortified
 "on that outward back-part, that flood fartheſt from the City: as for the forefront, it was by natural
 "ſituation of the ground, defended ſufficiently enough. For the ſtreit of *Carthage* is in this ſort. There is a
 "gulf or creek of the Sea, in the middle coaſt and river well neer of Spain, oppoſite moſt to the
 "South-weſt wind, running & retiring in length within the Land half a mile, out lying out in breadth
 "ſomewhat more. In the very mouth of this creek, there is a little Iſland from the open Sea; which
 "ſerveth ſheltereth, and defendeth the haven from all other winds, but only the Southweſt. From the
 "innermoſt nook of this bay, there beareth out a promontory like a demy Iſland, which is the very Hill or
 "Cape whereupon the City is built. The ſame on the Eaſt ſide and the South is compaſſed with the
 "Sea: from the Weſt, it is enſealed with a lake or ſtanding mear, which alſo ſpreadeth ſomewhat
 "toward the North, of an uncertain depth: which altereth according to the tide, and as the Sea ei-
 "ther ebbereth or floweth. Now, there is an elbow or bank of firm ground, ſomewhat leſſe than a quar-
 "ter of a mile over, that joyneth the City with the main or continent. To that ſide (notwithſtand-
 "ing it had been no great piece of work there to fortiſie) the Roman General caſt no trench, nor
 "traiſed any rampier: either upon a brave and haughty mind, to ſhew the enemy how confidently he
 "ruled in his own ſtrength; or becauſe, whenſoever he advanced to the walls of the City (as
 "often times he took occaſion ſo to do) he might have open recourſe and regrets again into the camp.
 "But when the utter ſide, which required fortifications, was finiſhed, he let the ſhips in order with-
 "in the haven, making a ſlew, as if he would beſiege them alſo on the water ſide. And when he had
 "gone through all his armado, and given the Captains of the ſhips in charge, to look well to their
 "Centinels and watches in the night (for that commonly enemies at their firſt beſieging, make what
 "attempts and adventures they can in every place) he returned into his camp. And becauſe he
 "would not only yield his ſouldiers good reaſon of his diſſignment, in that he began war firſt
 "and principally with the beſieging of that City: but alſo encourage them, and put them in good
 "hope of the winning and conquelt thereof, he aſſembled them together, and diſcourſed before
 "them in this manner,

"My valiant ſouldiers and truſty friends, If any man here thinketh, that ye are brought hither
 "to aſſail a City only, and there an end: he rather maketh reckoning of your preſent pain and
 "travel, than caſteth the profit and commodity thereof enſuing. For ye ſhall in very truth give
 "the aſſault to the walls but of one City: but in that one City ye ſhall be matters and conque-
 "rors of all Spain. Here lie the hoſtages of all their Nobles, their Princes, and States. And no
 "ſooner ſhall ye be Lords of them, and have them in your rule and cuſtody, but preſently, all that
 "now is under the hands of the Carthaginians in Spain, will be ſurrendered unto you, and as
 "your devotion. Here is all the money that the enemies have: without which, like as they are not
 "able to maintain war, (as who wage and entertain all their armies for pay) ſo it will mightily
 "aſſeſs us (if we light upon it) in gaining the hearts of the barbarous people. Here are their engines
 "and artillery, here is their armour, here is their tackling and provision for their navy, and all
 "other

The ſituation
 of New Car-
 thage.

The Oration
 of Scipio to his
 ſouldiers.

was a mighty mass brought unto the General. Golden cups or bowls there were 270; every one weighing almost one pound. Of silver-tyers, wrought, and coyned, 18300 pound weight: and much plate and vessels of silver. All this *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer, received either by weight or tale. Of wheat there was 40000 Modii, of barley 29000. Of barks and ships of burden, there were in the haven by force, and taken, 123. Some were fraught with corn, armour, brails, beads, and iron, sail-cloth, and hemp, or part for cables and ropes, also with timber for ship-weights. Carriage the Town it self, in so great store of wealth and warlike provision, was the least of all other.

That day *Scipio*, having committed the charge of guarding and keeping the City unto *Laelius* and the mariners, brought back the legions into the camp, and commanded the soldiers to refresh their bodies with food and rest, wearied as they were, and over-laboured in one day with all manner of toil and work that belongeth to war-service: as who, had both fought a battle in the field, and also taken to great pains, and undergone so much hazard and danger, in assaulting and forcing the City, yea, and after it was won, had fought with disadvantage of ground, with those that were fled into the Castle.

"The next day, after he had called both soldiers and mariners together, first he rendered laud and praise, yea, and thanks unto the immortal Gods, who in one day had not only made him Lord of the most mighty and wealthy City in all Spain, but also had laid up for him there against his coming, all the riches well-near of *Africk* and *Spain*: whereby as the enemies now had nothing left them, so he and his had all things plentiful. Then he commended the virtue and valour of his soldiers, whom neither the falling out of the enemies could fright, nor the mighty height of the walls scare, nor the blind and untired foorde of the lake could once dismay, nor the situation of the Castle seated upon an high cliff terrific, nor yet the Castle it self most strongly built and fortified, was able to daunt and make afraid, but that they would pass over all and break through all. And therefore albeit every one of them deserved at his hands all rewards, yet the principal honour of a mural crown and garland, belonged properly unto him that first scaled and mounted over the wall. Come he forth therefore (quoth he) and shew himself, who taketh himself worthy of that gift, and let him claim his due. Whereupon there were two that put in for it, and demanded the same, *Q. Trebellius*, a Centurion of the fourth Legion, and *Sex. Digius*, a Servitor at the Sea. Neither stirred these parties themselves so hotly about the matter, as the love and favour of them set all the whole army divided into legionary soldiers, and servitors at *Scipio*, in heat of contention, to labour for him that belonged to their side, and was a member as it were of their body. *C. Laelius* Admiral of the fleet, went with the Sailors and Seamen. *M. Sempronius Tudianus* was altogether for the legionary Land-soldiers. This debate was like to breed a schism, and to raise a very mutiny in the host. Whereupon *Scipio* pronounced that he would appoint Delegates three Commissioners, to sit upon the cause who should take the deposition of witnesses, and give their verdict accordingly, whether of these two persons entered over the wall first into the Town. Now because *C. Laelius* and *M. Sempronius* were Advocates to the one party and the other, he therefore adjoynd unto them a third person, one *P. Cornelius Caninius*, to go as an indifferent Mediator between them two: and gave order and commandment, that those other three commissioners above said should sit together, and hear and determine the controversy. When the matter grew to a greater heat of contention, by reason that men of such mark and worth, were acquainted with the action, and had their hand in it, who were not so much Advocates to plead, but moderators and judges to bear down a side; *C. Laelius*, rising out from the court, came to the Tribunal seat unto *Scipio*: and informed him that the manner of proceeding in this matter in question, was without all good order, modestly and reverence; and so handled, that they were like to go together by the ears, and try it out by knocks. But, be it, quoth he, that no blows be dealt, yet it is a most shameful example and detestable precedent, that the honour and guard due to virtue, should be carried by fraudulent cover and ungodly perjury. For, quoth he, the legionary soldiers stand of the one hand, the Sea-servitors on the other, and ready they be to swear on both sides all the oaths of God, and to that rather which their will and affection carrieth them N to, than which in their conscience they know to be true. By which guilt of forswearing and perjury, they will not only bring a curse and vengeance upon themselves and their own lives, but also upon the ensignes, standards, and very Eagles, yea, and their religious military Oath and Sacrament. Thus much I thought good to give you advertisement of afore-hand, and that by the advice of *P. Cornelius*, and *M. Sempronius*. *Scipio* after he had highly praised *Laelius*, called the soldiers to an assembly, and there with a loud voice pronounced, and said thus: I am sufficiently informed upon certain relation, that *Q. Trebellius*, and *Sex. Digius* scaled the wall both together, and therefore I award as well to the one as to the other a mural garland, in token and testimony of their singular virtue. Then he rewarded the rest also, according to every mans desert and valorous service. But above all other, he honoured *C. Laelius* Admiral of the fleet, not only in matching him equally with himself in all commendable parts and qualities, but also in presenting him with a coronet of beaten gold, and thirty Oxen. Then he gave commandment that the hostages of the Cities and States of Spain should be called forth. What a number were of them, I am amazed and loth to set down in writing: for almost as I find in some Chronicles, that they were upon some three hundred, in others 725. The like variety there is of other matters: amongst sundry writers; One writeth that the Punick garrison were ten thousand: another 7000, and

A and a third comes with his two thousand, and no more. I meet with one record which reporteth, that there were 10000 taken prisoners: and another, that there were above 25000. Of Scorpions or Crossbows, great and small, I should say there were gained some 60, if I would talk for mine author *Silenus*, a greek writer: but if I follow *Valerius Antias* and go by him I should tell you a tale of six thousand of the greater sort, and thirteen thousand of the smaller. See how little rule they had of their tongues to over-reach, or flay of their pens to set down so loud lies upon record. Nay, they are not well agreed so much as upon this point, who were the great Captains and Commanders. Most of them say, that *Laelius* was L. Admiral: there be again that would have *M. Junius Syllanus* to be the man, and *Armet* was Captain of the Punick garrison, and yielded to the Romans, if ye list to believe *Valerius Antias*: but by the testimony and credit of others, it was *M. Ige*. Moreover, the records accord not about the number of ships that were taken, nor of the weight of gold and silver, nor yet of the sum of money that was raised of the pillage. To conclude, if we must needs believe some one or other the mean between is the best, and carrieth most likelihood of the truth.

But to return again to *Scipio*: "When he had called forth the hostages into his presence, first he "bad them all in general to be of good cheer: for why? they were now in the hands of the people of Rome, who ever desired to bind men unto them by favours and good turns more than to "awe them with fear and dread: and to have forraign nations knit and joyned in faithful amity, "rather than held in subjection by heavy servitude. Then after he had taken the names in writing of their several Cities, he also reviewed the number of the prisoners, and counted just how many belonged to every State. Which done, he dispatched messengers home into their countries, willing their parents and friends to come and receive every man their own, lithely any Embassadors of their Cities were present, he restored unto them their own hostages without delay: for all the rest, he gave express charge to *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer to see into them in all kind, courteous, and liberal usage. Whiles he was busie in taking this order, there hapned to come from among the hostages, even out of the midst of the company, an aged gentleman, the wife of *Mandanius*, brother to *Indibilis*, a Prince and great Lord of the Illegretes. "She shed tears, and "fell down prostrate at the feet of the L. General: and withall began to beseech him most instant-ly, to give a more special charge, concerning the custody of the women-folk: and to recommend "them to their keepers, for to be guarded with a careful eye, and to be kept and attended on "more tenderly. Why? quoth *Scipio*, I warrant thee good woman, they shall want for nothing "that is meet for them. Then replied this Dame again, We stand not so much (quoth she) upon "these terms: for a little thing God wot, may serve and content them in this poor estate and low "condition: my care is for another matter, when I consider and behold the young and tender "age of these maidens here, as for my self, I am now past date, and without danger of that injury, "which our sex is subject and exposed unto. Now there stood about her the daughters of *Indibilis*, virgins in the fresh prime and flower of their age, and passing fair and beautiful withall: besides some other Ladies as nobly born as they: who all honoured her as their natural mother that brethem. Then *Scipio*, "I would (quoth he) in the ordinary course as well of mine own discipline "as of that which is established by the people of Rome, have a respective consideration, that no "one thing among us should suffer abuse, which elsewhere in any place of the world is held inviolable: this would I do, I say, for mine own credit, and for the honour of Rome: but to have a "more special eye that way, your own virtue also and worthiness bindeth me: who in the midst "of these your calamities and miseries have not forgot your womanly carriage and the honour of "your sex. And thereupon he delivered them over to the custody of a man of approved honesty and integrity, commanding him to guard them with no less reverence, modesty, and continency, than if they were the wives or mothers of their nearest friends that gave them entertainment. After this, there was presented unto him by his soldiers a damsel and virgin of ripe years, taken also prisoner: but so well favoured and surpassing in beauty, that whereforever she went every mans eye was upon her, in admiration of so rare and perfect a creature. *Scipio* having enquired of her country where she was born, and likewise of what parents she was descended: among other things learned, that she was espoused and affianced to a young Prince of the Celtiberians, whose name was *Alucius*. Forthwith he sent home to her parents and forefathers, for to repair unto him: and in the mean time he understood that her husband that should be was wonderfully enamoured of her and ready to die for her love. So soon as the young Gentleman was come, *Scipio* entered into a more familiar speech with him, than he did either with the father or mother of the maiden, and in these terms he entertained him: "I am a young man (quoth he) as well as your self. Come therefore, let us young men both devise and commune together more freely, and "be not too nice, coy, and bashful one to the other. After that your espoused wife taken captive "by my soldiers, was brought unto me, and that I heard of the exceeding fame and affection "that you cast upon her, I believed it full well: for her singular beauty deserveth no less. Now for- "asmuch as my self, if I might be allowed to use the pastimes of youth, (I mean no otherwise than "in honest and lawful love) and were not called away by the Common-weal, & employed wholly "in other affairs of state, I would think to be pardoned and held excused, if I had an extraordinary liking to a spouse of mine own, and loved her extremely. Inmut therefore needs favour and "tender your love, which is the thing I can, considering that I may not the other in any wise. Your "sweet-heart and best beloved I have entertained as well, and as respectfully, as she should have

The rare continence and courtly of *Scipio*.

"been with your father and mother in law, who are her own kind and natural parents. Reserved she hath been, and kept for you alone, that you might receive her at my hands, unspoiled and untouched, and a present becoming me and you both. In lieu and recompence therefore of this boon and gift which I now bestow upon you, I require at your hands again this only promise and faithfull covenant, that you will be a friend and well-willer to the State of Rome. And if you take me indeed to be a good and honest man, such as these nations and people here have known my father and uncle to have been before me: know you thus much, that in the City of Rome there are many more like unto us: and that there cannot at this day a nation in the world be named, which you would with less to be an enemy to you and yours, or desire more to entertain as your friend. The young Gentleman being abashed for very modesty, and yet right glad and joyfull withall, held Scipio by the hand, called upon all the gods, and bestowed them in his behalf to thank and recompence him therefore, since it lay not in his own proper power, in any proportion or measure to be thankful and make requital, either as himself could wish, or as Scipio had deserved. Then were the parents and kinsfolk of the maid called for: who seeing the damo-sell freely rendered and given them again, for whole ranome and redemption they had brought with them a sufficient sum of gold, fell to entreating and requesting Scipio to vouchsafe for to accept the same at their hands, as a gift and token of their good will: assuring him, that in so doing, they should take themselves no less bound and beholden unto him, than for the restoring and delivering of the virgin untouched and undefiled: Scipio seeing them so earnest and importunate, promised for to receive it, and withall, commanded that it should be laid down at his feet: and calling Alucius unto him, "Here (quoth he) over and besides all your other dowry which you father in law must pay you, have from me thus much more money to mend your marriage with, take this gold therefore to your self, and keep it for your own use. And to alter this rich reward given, and great honour done unto him, he was dismissed and departed home with much joy and hearty content: where he made report unto his countrymen and people of the praise-worthy virtues of Scipio, and the favours from him received; saying moreover, there was come into Spain a young man resembling the immortal gods in all respects: who as well by bounty, liberality, and bestowing benefits, as by martial prowess and force of arms, is in the very way to win and conquer all. So when he had assembled and mustered all his vassals and tenants, he returned within few daies, accompanied with a train of fourteen hundred of the best and most choice horsemen of his country.

Scipio keeping Lælius still with him, until by his advice and counsel he had disposed of the captives, hostages, and other prizes and pillage: after he had feiled all in good order, appointed a Gallace of five banks of oars, wherein he embarked the prisoners, with *Adongo* and some fifteen Senators besides, who together with him were taken, and sent them to Rome with a messenger, to carry tidings of this victory. Himself determined to journey a few daies in Carthage, which time he spent in training and exercising his souldiers, as well of land service as at sea. The first day he caused the Legions to run to and fro in their armour four miles out in length. The second day he commanded them to scour and furnish their harness and weapons before their tents. Upon the third day they joyined and encountered in battel-wise, and practised to fight with blunt wasters and battons: yea, and lanced one at another darts and javelins, rounded at the point end with m-bals in manner of foils. The fourth day they rested and repoied themselves. On the fifth day again they ran at tournament as before armed. This order they kept, exercising, labouring, and reining by turns, so long as they abode at Carthage. And thus much for the Legionary souldiers. The sea-servitors and mariners used in calm water and still weather to row up into the sea, and there to make trial of the nimbleness and agility of their ships, representing shews of sea-fight and skirmish. Thus without the City, they endured their bodies, and quickened their spirits and courages both on land and water. Within the town there was nothing heard but preparation of war-furniture. All the publique shops and work-houses full of smiths, engineers, and all other artificers for the purpose, plying their work, and never going from it. The General himself, as supervisor, with equal and indifferent care oversee all. One while he would be with the Armado in the harbour: another while, he conversed among the Legions, and turneyed with them. At time he would set for to visit the works about the walls, and see how they went forward. Otherwhiles he would be in the shops aforesaid, among the multitude of the Carpenters, and Smiths, and other Artizans, viewing what they did there: and in the srenal and ship-docks, observing and marking how much they went forward day by day, striving by way of emulation as they did, who could do most and quit himself best. Having thus set them a work, repaired the walls which he had battered and shaken, and placed certain guards there, for the defence of the City: he took his journey to Tarcon: and all the way he was vined and plied with sundry embassages. Some of them he answered and dispatched as he was in his journey: others he put off, to give their attendance at Tarcon: for thither he had summoned all the allies and confederates, both new and old, to meet him. And in manner, all the Cities and States on this side Iccrus, and many also of the farther Province of Spain there assembled.

The Carthaginian Captains and Commanders at the first of set purpose, suppressed and stopped the rumour of the winning of Carthage. But when the thing was too too apparent, & could not be hidden, and smothered, they used all the words they could to elevate it, and make the matter less than it was. To wit, "That by a sudden invasion and expedition of the Romans in one day

(as it were) by stealth, it chanced that one of the Cities of Spain was surprized: that the insolent and foolish young man bearing himself prodigally proud, and jocund beyond all measure, would seem to make up the measure: so to small a catch that he had got, with a great shew of a brave victory: but when he shall hear once that there are three Generals coming toward him, and three victorious armies of enemies, he will soon pull in his horns: he will then tell us another tale, when presently he shall call to remembrance with grief of every vain in his heart, the death of father, of uncle, and other progenitors. These and such like speeches they gave out among the people and common sort, knowing in their own conscience what a blow they had caught, and how much their strength was decayed by the loss of new Carthage.

The seven and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the seven and twentieth Book.

C NENT Fulvius the Pro-Cos. was slain, and with his army utterly d. feared by Annibal at Herdonea. But Cl. Marcellus, the Cos. had better fortune in a battell against him before Numidia. From whence Annibal dislodged and departed by night. Marcellus pursued after him, and over as he fell off, followed him hard still, until he gave him battell. In the former fight Annibal had the better; but Marcellus in the later, Fab. Max. the father being Consul, had the Tarentine yield up unto him by treason. In Spain, Scipio fought a battell with Adrubal the son of Amilcar, at Betula, and won the field. Among others there was a boy taken prisoner of royal blood, and of incomparable beauty: whom he sent with rich gifts unto Mafanida his uncle by the mother. Claudius Marcellus and T. Quintius Crispinus the Consuls, who chanced to go out of their Camp to discover, as usually, the country, were foretold by an ambush of Annibal, and entraped. Where Marcellus was slain: Crispinus fled. This book containeth also the wars and exploits achieved by P. Sulpitius the Prætor, against Philip and the Achæans. The Consuls held a solemn survey and numbering of the Citizens, and purged the City. In which survey there were found of Roman Citizens 137,108. By which Account it was seen, how many the people of Rome had lost, by the adverse fortune of so many battells. Alidrubal, who with an army had passed over the Alps for to join with Annibal, was slain, and with him 56000 men besides, by the conduct of M. Livius the Consul, but not without the equally good service of Cl. Nero the other Consul: who being appointed to make head against Annibal, left the Camp so, as the enemy was not ware thereof, and with an elect power of hardy men, environed and enclosed Alidrubal about, and so defeated him.

The seven and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

THIS stood the affairs in Spain. In Italy the Consul Marcellus having recovered Salapia by composition, won by force two towns from the Samnites, *Maronea* and *Mela*. Where there were slain three thousand of Annibal his souldiers, who had been left there in garrison. Some good portion of the pillage was shared among the souldiers. Of what besides there was found there 240000 measures called *Modii*, and of barley 100000. But the joy from hence was not so great as the loss and damage received within few daies after, nor fat from the City *Herdonea*. Cn. Fulvius the Pro-Consul lay there entangled upon hope to regain that City, which after the defeat at Cannâ, had revolted from the Romans: a town neither feared in a place of safety, nor yet well furnished and manned for defence. The Captain thereof (Cn. Fulvius aforesaid) was by nature ever negligent, but grown much more reckless now, presuming upon a vain hope that he had of them within, in that he perceived how the townsmen already began to fail in their devotion and faithfull allegiance to the Carthaginians, especially, after they heard, that upon the loss of Salapia, Annibal was departed out of those parts into the Brutian country. Annibal had intelligence of all this brought unto him from *Herdonea* by secret messengers, which, as it caused him to have a careful eye into the saving and keeping of a friend City, so it ministered good hope unto him for to surprize his enemy at unawares and unprovided. Whereupon with his army lightly appointed, he took long journeyes and made haste to *Herdonea*, so as he prevented almost the same and bruit of his coming. And to strike the more terror into his enemy, he thither marched in battell array. The Roman Generall, as adventurous and bold as he every way, but footing at all by politick, nor so strong, brought his forces forth in more haste than good speed, and gave him battell. His fifth legion, and the left wing, or corner of Cavalry began the skirmish, and charged hotly. But Annibal had given his horsemen direction that when the Infantry was in the midst of skirmish, with mind & eye wholly occupied that way, they should wheel about and fetch a compass, and whiles some of them assailed

the Camp, the rest should play upon the back of their enemies: himself iterating discourses unto his men the name of *Cn. Fulvius* for likeness sake, because two years before in the very same quarters, he had vanquished another *Cn. Fulvius* who was Praetor also, assured them of the like success now in this conflict. And verily this conceit and hope of his proved not vain and frustrate. For when as in close fight and skirmish of the footmen many of the Romans were slain down and slain, but so, as yet the ranks stood unbroke, and the ensigns upright, behold a sudden secta charge of the horsemen on their back, and a great shout of the enemies withall decried and heard from the camp, first discomfited the first legion, which being marshalled in the second battailon had been put in disarray before by the Numidians, & then the fifth, & so consequently even those that fought in the forefront of the vanguard before the ensigns. Some fled mainly, others were killed in the midst between, where *Cn. Fulvius* himself with twelve Tribunes of Knight marshals were left dead in the place. Of Romans and Allies how many died in that conflict, who is able to set down for certain: seeing in some records I find the number fifteen thousand, and in others not above ten thousand?

The conqueror *Annibal* was Master likewise of the Camp and all the pillage there. As for the town *Herdonea*, because he understood for truth, that it minded to have revolted unto the Romans, and would not continue fast in their fidelity, if his back were once turned: after he had conveyed away the multitude of the inhabitants to *Metapontum* and the Thurians, he set it on fire and burnt it quite. The Nobles and principal Citizens, who were known to have had secret talk and conference with *Fulvius* he put to death. The Romans, who out of so great an overthrow escaped, made shift by divers and sundry waies to flee, half naked as they were, to *Marcellus* the Consul, *Sammium*. But *Marcellus* nothing dismayed and affrighted at this so great defeat, addresth his letters to the Senat at *Rome*, with advertisement of the loss of the Captain General, and the army at *Herdonea*: giving them yet to understand how himself even he who after the Cannian field had tamed and damed *Annibal*, as luty and proud as he was upon that victory, was minded presently to encounter him, and make him take no long joy and pleasure, wherein he now lay vained and exalted himself.

And at *Rome* verily, as they mourned much for the loss past, so they feared as greatly the future dangers. The Consul having passed out of *Sammium* into the Lucans country, late downed *Numistro*, in the very sight of *Annibal*, and there in a plain encamped himself, notwithstanding the enemy was possessed before of the hill, and had the vantage of the ground. And for to make more show of his own confidence, and how little he feared, he first brought forth his men, and marshalled them in order ready to bid battell. *Annibal* so soon as he saw the ensigns advanced forth of the gates, staid not behind. And they arranged their battels in such manner, as that the Carthaginians with the right wing took up part of the hill, and the Romans displayed their left wing in length, to the very walls of the town. After they had continued fight from the third hour of the day unto night, and that the vanguards on both sides were weary with maintaining of skirmish so long: then the first legion of the Romans, with the right wing of their horsemen the Spanish soldiers also of *Annibal* his part, the Balearian slingers likewise, together with the Elephants, began the fight, whilst the rest were already in hot conflict, and close together. For a long time the fight thrunk nor of any hand. The first legion of the Romans was seconded with the coming in of the third: and among the enemies likewise there came in new soldiers that were lusty in place of the soiled and wearied. Whereby of a lingring and long skirmish there began all on a sudden a new, hot, and cruel battell, by reason that their courages were fresh, and their bodies in heart. But the night parted the fray, and left the victory doubtful in the midst. The morrow after, the Romans from sun-rising stood arranged in the field untill it was far day: and seeing none of the enemies appear and shew themselves, they fell to gather up the spoils by leisure, and heaped up in one place all the bodies of their own men that were slain, and made one great fire, and burnt them to ashes. The night ensuing *Annibal* dislodged secretly without any noise, and departed unto *Apulia*. And *Marcellus*, so soon as day-light discovered the flight of his enemy, leaving his hurt and wounded people at *Numistro* with a small guard, and *L. Furius Purpurio* a Colonel to be their Captain, followed him by his steps, and at *Penusia* overtook him. There for certain daies passed some sallies from the guards of both armies, whilst both horse and foot one with another rather made slight skirmishes, than any set battels: and lightly the Romans had always the better hand. From thence the armies were conducted through *Apulia*, seeking some memorable fight at all, by reason that *Annibal* in the night season ever set forward, leaving some opportunity of forelaying and entrapping his enemy: and *Marcellus* never followed but in broad day light, and sent out his espials before to clear the coasts.

In this mean while *Flaccus* spending the time at *Capua*, in making port-sale of the noblemen's goods, and in setting and letting out to farm the land which was confiscated and forfeit to the common wealth of *Rome* (and all for a rent of corn) there happened a new complex and practice which lay hidden for the time, to be detected and come to light, to the end that he might never want any matter or other to take occasion for to plague and torment the Campanians. He had taken order that his soldiers should remove out of the houses within the town, partly for that as well the remembrance of the laid town within as the lauds without should be renewed forth: and partly for as much left the exceeding pleasant and delectable seat of that City should esteem his army, as it had done the host of *Annibal* before time: and commanded them to build themselves

about the gates and along the walls; cottages and sheds in warlike fashion, and only to serve for soldiers. These were most of them made of hurdles and boards, some walled and wined with reeds, and all of them thatched with straw and stubble, as it were of purpose to minister fuel for fire. Now there were some hundred and seventy Camps had conspired at one certain hour of the night, to set all a fire: and the principal heads and Captains were certain brethren of the *Bluffs*: and it turned that by some of the same house and family the conspiracy was disclosed. Whereupon at once the gates were made fast by the commandment of the Pro-Consul: and the alarm being stricken up and sounded all the soldiers ran together. All those that were party or privy to the intended treason were apprehended, and after rigorous examination had by torture, they were condemned and executed: the informers were made free, and had each one a reward of a thousand pieces of brals called *Astres*.

When the Numidians and Aferians made moan that they wanted place of habitation, forasmuch as *Asura* was in part burnt, and *Nuceria* utterly razed and destroyed: *Marcellus* relieved them over to the Senat of *Rome*, and sent them thither. The men of *Asura* had leave granted to re-edify against their own edifices which were burned: But they of *Nuceria*, according to their own design, were translated to *Atella*, and the Atellians commanded to remove unto *Caldina*, there to dwell.

Amidst the managing of many and weighty affairs, which falling out variably, one while well, another while ill, buried and amused the minds of men: yet the Romans forgot not the Castle of *Tarentum*: for *M. Octavius* and *P. Aquilius*, went as Embassadors into *Asia*, for to buy up Corn, to be conveyed: and brought to *Tarentum*: and a thousand soldiers out of the City army, whereof the number of Romans and Allies was all one, were sent with the said corn thither to lie in garrison.

Now was the summer at an end, and the time drew near of the Consuls election. But the letters of *Marcellus* unto the Senat (wherein he signified that it was not for the good of the Commonwealth to depart one foot from *Annibal*, whom he himself pursued till at heels, and so much the more lively, because he fell off and forbore to fight): set the LL. of the Senat into a great perplexity, for fear either to call away the Consul from the wars, especially now in the midst of his best service, or go by without Consuls the next year. But it was thought in the end the best course, that *Valerius* the Consul, although he were, not in *Italy*, but beyond sea, should rather be sent for, and called forth of *Sicily*. So by order from the Senat, there were letters dispatched unto him, from *L. Manlius* the Praetor of the City, together with those other letters of *M. Marcellus* the Consul: to give him to understand what the reason was, why the LL. called him rather out of his Province than his Collegue and companion in government.

At the same time there fortune Embassadors to come unto *Rome* from King *Syphax*, a "Re- counting what prosperous wars their King had fought with the Carthaginians, assuring the Senat, that their Lord and Master, as he was not a greater enemy to any nation: than to the Carthaginians: so he was not more ready to friend any State, than the Romans: saying moreover, that he had intent to foretime his Embassadors into *Spain* unto the Roman Generals *Cna.* and *P. Scipio*, and now was most willing to seek forth the amity and friendship of the Romans even at the very fountain and well head. The Senat not only returned answer to those Embassadors in most gracious and courteous terms, but also addressed Embassadors of their own with rich gifts unto the King, and by name, *L. Genucius*, *P. Petellius*, and *P. Popilius*. The presents which they carried were a hide robe, and a kirtle of purple, an Ivory chair, a bowl or cup of beaten gold, weighing five pound. These Embassadors had in commendation and charge, presently after they had dispatched with the King, to visit other Princes and great Lords of *Affrick*: and for to bestow on them also, they carried robes purified and embroidered with purple, and golden bowls of three pound weight. Likewise there were sent as far as *Alexandria* (in *Egypt*) unto King *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* the Queen, *M. Antullius* and *M. Atilius* as Embassadors, for to call to remembrance, and renew the old friendship: and to them also they presented gifts, namely, unto the King a long robe and a kirtle of purple, with an ivory chair: unto the Queen a rich mantle of Baidkin, wrought with sundry colours, with a veil of purple.

In this summer time, whilst these forelaid matters passed, there were from out of the Cities and country towns adjoining many prodigious lights, and fearful tokens reported. At *Tusculum*, there fell a Lamb, having an udder yielding milk: the lower and lantern of the Temple of *Jupiter* was stricken with lightning, and in manner all the roof uncovered. And much about those daies at *Anagnia*, the very soil and ground before the gate thereof caught fire with lightning, and for one day and night burned (so, without any matter of fuel): and the souls and birds of the air forsook their nests which they had built in the trees of the grove consecrated to *Diana* near unto the carriage of a cross way of *Anagnia*. Near unto *Tarracina* there were seen in the sea, not far from the haven, serpents of an huge and wonderful bigness to leap up above the water, and to disport and play like fishes. At *Tarracina* a swine farrowed a pig with a mans face. Also in the territory of *Capena*, about the grove and temple of *Feronia* there were four Statues (wearing bloud a day and a night. These fearful tokens were by a device of the Prelats purged and expiated by greater sacrifices. And a solemn Supplication proclaimed one day at *Rome* in every Church and Chappell before all the shrines of the gods: and another day in the territory of *Capena*, at the said grove and chappell of *Feronia*.

M. Valerius the Consul, called by the foresaid letters of the Senate, after he had recommended the charge of the Province and the Army unto *Cincius* the Prætor; and sent *M. Valerius Messala* the Admiral of the Navy, with a certain number of ships into *Africk*, as well to fetch in prizes, as to espy and learn what the people of *Carthage* did and went about: himself with ten sail took the seas, and having a prosperous fore-wind arrived at *Rome*. And being come, presently he assembled the Senat, where he declared what acts and deeds he had performed in his Province, namely, "Whereas for the space almost of threcore years there had been war in *Sicily* both by land and sea, and the same oftentimes fought with great losses and many defeats: that he now had brought those troubles to an happy end, and set the Province in quiet. That there was not in all *Sicily* one Carthaginian left: nor one Sicilian, of all them that for fear had been chased and driven out from thence, but was returned and there replanted: that they were all brought home again to their own Cities to inhabit, to their own lands, to plough and sow; that now at last the fore-let and waste ground was husbanded again, and made fruitful, not only for the profit and commodity of the occupiers and tenants thereof, but also for the most assured relief and renovation of the people of *Rome*, both in war and peace. After this, *Mutines*, and the rest who had deserved any thing well of the City of *Rome*, were brought into the Senat: unto whom, both all and some (for the credit of the Consul, and to disgrace him of his promise unto them) there were rendered all sorts of honourable recompence. *Mutines* also was enfranchised Citizen of *Rome*, and a Bill was preferred in that behalf to the people, by the Tribune of the Commons, and with the grant and authority of the Senat.

During the affairs at *Rome*, *M. Valerius Messala* arrived in *Africk* with a fleet of 50 sail, and being landed one morning before day, suddenly and unawares to the people of the country, made a rode into the territory about *Thica*: and having foraged it far and near, taken many men and women prisoners, and raised a great booty of all sorts of things besides, returned to the Amado, and crossed the seas back for *Sicily*, and arrived again at *Lilybæum* upon the thirteenth day after he loosed from thence, and took the seas first. Of the Captives (after straight examination) he learned thus much (which also he set down orderly in writing, and sent unto the Consul *Levinius*, that he might be acquainted likewise with the state of the affairs in *Africk*): namely, "that there were in *Carthage* five thousand Numidians, under the conduct of *Masaniassa* the son of *Gadus*, most forward young man, and a right valiant warrior: that there were other soldiers also throughout all *Africk* waged and levied for money, ready to be transported and sent over into *Spain* unto *Asdrubal*, to the end that he with a most puissant power might with all speed pass over into *Italy*, and joyn his forces with *Annibal*: that in the effecting of this designment, the Carthaginians were assuredly perswaded of the victory. Moreover, that there was a mighty navy by a fugging and decking for to recover *Sicily* again, and as they verily thought, it should pass the seas very shortly.

These news being read by the Consul, so troubled and disquieted the Senat, that they thought there was no tarrying for the ordinary election of Magistrates, summoned and called by the Consul, but that they should nominate a Dictator of purpose to assemble that solemn Session, and the Consul immediately to return again to his Province. But hereupon grew some debate and question for a time, while the Consul said, that he would nominate and create Dictator *M. Valerius Messala*, who was then in *Sicily*, Admiral of the fleet: but the LL. replied again and said, that a Dictator might not be elected or declared without the Territories of *Rome*, and those were all within the limits and marches of *Italy*. But after that *M. Lucretius* (a Tribune of the Commons) had put this controvertic to question before the Senat for to be cast and decided by their opinions: then the Senat granted out a decree, That the Consul before he departed from the City, should put up a bill or supplication unto the body of the people, that it would please them to elect a Dictator; and whomsoever they by their suffrages chose, him should he pronounce and declare for the Dictator: and in case the Consul refused to do so, then the Prætor of the City should propose the same unto the people: and if not he neither, then the Tribunes should propound it unto the Commons. But when the Consul denied flatly to put it unto the people, being a thing merely belonging to his authority and place, and likewise expressly forbade the Prætor to do it, then the Tribunes of the Commons took the matter upon them, whereupon the Commons granted, that *Q. Fulvius*, who then was in *Capua*, should be nominated Dictator. But the night before that very day that this assembly of the Commons was to be holden, the Consul departed privily, and took his journey toward *Sicily*. The Nobles thus being disappointed and destitute, thought good to send letters unto *Marcellus*, for to lend his helping hand now unto the Common-weal, thus forsaken and abandoned by his Colleague, and to declare him for Dictator, whom the people had by their voices elected. So *Q. Fulvius* was pronounced Dictator by *Marcellus* the Consul: and by virtue of the said act of the Commons, *P. Licinius Crassus* the Arch-Priest, was by *Q. Fulvius* nominated General of the Cavalry.

The Dictator after he was come to *Rome*, sent *Cn. Sempronius Blaesus* his Lieutenant, whom he had at *Capua*, to the Army into the Province of *Hærruria*, in stead of *C. Calpurnius* the Prætor: whom by his letters he moved to take the government of *Capua*, and his army there. And himself sent out precepts for the solemn elections of Consuls, against the first Comitial day that he might by Law. But by reason of a contention that grew between the Tribunes of the Commons and the Dictator, it could not pass and be performed. For the Century *Galeria* of the younger sort,

sort, which by lot had the prerogative of giving their first voices, elected for Consul *Q. Fulvius*, and *Q. Fabius*: unto whose election no doubt, the rest of the Tribes called forth in right course and lawful order would have inclined, but that *C. and L. Arianus*, the Tribunes of the Commons came between with their negative voice: who said, it stood not well with civility, that one man should continue ever still in Magistracy, and besides, that it was a more shamefull example and foul precedent, that himself should be created Consul, who assembled the election: and therefore, if the Dictator would admit of his own name, and allow himself eligible, they would not suffer the assembly to continue any longer: but if there might be some other propounded besides him, they would not hinder the proceedings thereof until all was finished. "The Dictator allegeded in the behalf of the election, and maintained the cause by the authority of the Senat, by the grant and act of the Commons, and by sundry examples of former times. For when *Cn. Servilius* was Consul, at what time as *Flaminius* the other Consul was slain at *Thrasymenus*: by order granted out of the Senat, there was a bill preferred to the Commons, and the same passed by their voices. That so long as the war continued in *Italy*, it might be lawful for the people to chuse and create Consuls again, as often as they pleased, whosoever they would, out of the number of them that had been Consuls. And as for examples (quoth he) in this case, I can allege both old and new: to wit, long ago *L. Posthumus Megillus*, being Interrex, was even in that very election which he called and held, created Consul himself, with *Cn. Jun. Bubulcus*: and of latter daies *Q. Fabius* likewise, who verily would never have accepted of the Consulship, and suffered it to be hung upon him so continually, if he had deemed it to be against the good of the common-weal. After much debate and long alteration, entertained with sundry like speeches, at length the Dictator and the Tribunes agreed to this point, and agreed of this issue, That they would stand to the award and judgment of the Senat. The LL. of the Senat were all of this mind, that the present condition of the common-weal required no less, but that the state and the affairs thereof should be managed by old and experienced Captains and Generals, and such as were skillful in feats of arms. And therefore they utterly disliked that the election should be hindered and disturbed. Thus the Tribunes relented, and the election went forward and was finished. So there were declared Consuls, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fifth time, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time. Then were created Prætors, *L. Veturius Philo*, *T. Quintius Crispinus*, *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, and *C. Aufidius*. When the Magistrates were once elected for the year, *Q. Fulvius* resigned up his Dictator's room.

In the very end of this summer, a Carthaginian fleet of forty sail, under the conduct of *Amilcar* the Admiral, passed over into *Sardinia*, and at first invaded and wasted the territory of *Olbia*: then, after that *P. Manlius Vulso* the Prætor there, shewed himself with an army, they yet a compass about, and sailed to the other side of the Island, and foraged the lands about *Caradina*: and returned again into *Africk*, enriched with prizes and booties of all sorts.

In that year divers Priests died at *Rome*, and new substituted in their rooms. *C. Servilius* the Prætor or Pontifex was invested and installed instead of *T. Otacilius Crassus*. In like manner *T. Sempronius Longus*, the son of *Caius*, was chosen Decemvir, deputed for holy ceremonies, in place of *T. Sempronius Longus*, the son of *Titus*. *M. Marius* the King of Sacrificers departed this life: and *M. Aemilius Pappus* likewise the grand-Curio or Priest of the Curia: but to succeed them, were no Priests deputed that year. In this year also were Censors created, to wit, *L. Veturius Philo* and *P. Licinius Crassus* the High-Priest. As for *Crassus Licinius*, had neither been Consul nor Prætor, before he was made Censor, but stepped straight from his Ediles room into the place of Censor. But these Censors neither made choice of new Senators, nor yet did any public act: the reason was, because *L. Veturius* died, whereupon *Licinius* also gave over the Censorship. The Ediles of the Chair *L. Veturius*, and *P. Licinius Varus*, exhibited the Roman games, and renewed them again one day more than ordinary. The Ediles of the Commons, *Q. Catius*, and *L. Portius Licinius*, set up in the Temple of *Ceres*, the molten images of brass, which were made of the money taken for fines and amercements: and represented the plaies and pastimes to their office belonging, right stately and with great furniture and preparation, as the wealth and plenty of those times would afford.

In the end of this year *C. Lælius* the Lieutenant of *Scipio* arrived at *Rome*, the four and thirtieth day after that he loosed and took sea at *Taracoon*. And as he entered the City with a mighty train of Captives, he set the people on running out of all parts to see that sight. The morrow after he was admitted into the Senat-house: where he related, that new *Carthage*, the head City of *Spain*, was forced and won in one day: that divers Cities which had revolted were received upon surrender: and other new entered into society and friendship with the people of *Rome*. And by enquiry of the Captives they found their intelligences to agree in manner with the advertisements and tidings contained in the letters of *M. Valerius Messala*. But the thing that troubled the Lords most, was the voyage of *Asdrubal* into *Italy*, which hardly was able to withstand the forces of him and *Annibal* together. *Lælius* being brought into the general assembly of the people, discoursed of the same points which he had related in the Senat-house. And the Senat, in regard of the happy succels of *P. Scipio*, granted by a decree, a solemn procession for one day: and gave order that *C. Lælius* with all convenient speed should make haste again, and repair into *Spain* with the very same ships that he brought from thence.

The winning of *Carthage* I have set down in this year, having the warrant of many writers: and yet

yet I am not ignorant, that some there be, who have affirmed that it hapned the next year following. But me seems, it was an unlikely matter; that *Scipio* should spend one whole year in *Spain* doing just nothing.

Now when *Q. Fabius Max.* was Consul the fifth time, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time on that very day upon which they entered their office (which was in the Ides of *March* both of them by decree of the Senat, had the government of the Province *Italy*: but so, as their jurisdiction was set out by the countries: so as *Fabius* should war about *Tarentum*; and *Fulvius* in the *Lucas* and *Bruttians* countries. *M. Claudius* continued till ingovernment one year longer. The *Pretors* had their Provinces parted between them by lot: unto *Caius Hostilius Tullius* fell the jurisdiction over the Citizens, but to *L. Veturius Philo*, over foreigners, together with *Gallia*, *Tinus Quintius* *Criminus* ruled *Capua*, and *C. Aurunculeius* governed *Sardinia*. The armies were divided among the Provinces in this wise: Unto *Fulvius* were assigned the two legions which *M. Valerius Levis* had in *Sicily*: Unto *Q. Fabius*, those in *Heitruia*, which were commanded by *C. Calpurnius*. The City army was appointed to succed those Legions in *Heitruia*: and *C. Calpurnius* was ordained to sit in the government of that Province, and to have the leading of that army which *Q. Fabius* had. It was agreed moreover, that *T. Quintius* should be Lord President of *Capua*, and have the charge of the army there. And that *C. Hostilius* should receive the jurisdiction of *C. Lestorius* the Pro-Pretor, over the province at *Ariminum*, and likewise his army. Unto *M. Marcellus* the same legions were allowed; wherewith he had waited so fortunately when he was Consul. Unto *M. Valerius* and *L. Cincius* (for they also continued one year more governors in *Sicily*) was the army remaining after the battell at *Canna* granted: and they were commanded to supply and make up all the companies thereof, out of those soldiers that were left of the legions of *Cn. Fulvius*. For the Consuls caused them to be sought out and gathered together, and sent them into *Sicily*: and disgraced them with the very same kind of ignominious soldiery, in which the Cannians served: as also those who remaining of the army of *Cn. Fulvius* the Pretor had been thither sent by order from the Senat, for anger and despite that they fled like as the other. Unto *C. Aurunculeius*, the same legions were given by decree in *Sardinia*, wherewith *P. Manlius Vulso* had ruled and governed that Province. And *P. Sulpicius* having his government prorogued for one year longer, was commanded to rule *Macedonia* with the same legion and Armed still. Thirty Gallies of five banks of oars were appointed to be sent out of *Sicily*, unto *Tarentum*, to *Q. Fabius* the Consul. With the rest of the navy, it was agreed and order set down, that *M. Valerius Levis* should either him self pass over into *Affrick*, for to forrage and spoil the country; or send *L. Cincius* or *M. Valerius Messapus*, whether of them he would. For the government of *Spain* there was no alteration, save only this that *Scipio* and *Syllanus* had their commission continued, not for a year as the rest, but till such time as they should be called from thence by order from the Senat. This were the Provinces divided and thus were the forces bestowed for this year.

Among other affairs of greater importance, the Election of the high *Curio*, or chief parish-Priest who was to be elected in the room of *M. Enylius* late deceased, renewed and set on foot again in old contention between Commons and Nobles. For the *Patres* denied, that *C. Manlius Atilius* (who was the only man of the Commons that stood for it) was eligible, and therefore not to be picked; forasmuch as never any before him obtained that sacerdotal dignity, but one of Senators calling. The Tribunes being called unto for their assistance referred the matter to the Senat. And the Senat put it unto the people, for to be decided by them. So *C. Manlius Atilius* was the first Commoner that ever was created *Maximus Curio*, [i. e. the grand-superintendent over all the *Cure* in matters of Religion.] And *P. Licinius* the Arch-bishop constrained *C. Valerius Flaccus* to be initiated, and inaugurate the Flamine of *Jupiter* against his will. And *C. Lestorius* was created Decemvir for holy rites and ceremonies, and for sacrifices instead of *Q. Mutius Scævola* late deceased. The cause and occasion of inaugurating that Flamine by constraint and compulsion I would willingly have concealed and smothered in silence, but that the ill name, wherewith he was, turned afterwards to good fame and reputation. This *Flaccus* for his careless, loose and riotous demeanour in his youth, in regard of which vicious course of life he was odious to his own natural brother *L. Flaccus*, and other his kindred, was for the same cause chosen Flamine by *P. Licinius* the said Arch-bishop. This man, so soon as his mind was employed about Church-matters and religious ceremonies, so suddenly all at once altered his life, and cast off his old behaviors, that there was not one of all the young men in *Rome* in more account and credit, nor better liked of the chief of the Nobility and LL. of the Senat, as well those of his own house and lineage, as others that were strangers unto him. And when he saw himself grown generally into this good opinion and reputation among men, he began to have a very good conceit of his own powers and worthiness: inasmuch, as he brought up an old custom again, and was so bold as to take his place in the Senat-house: a thing, that for many years space had been intermitted and discontinued in regard of the base unworthiness and insufficiency of the former Flamines. When he was entered into the Senat-chamber, *C. Licinius* the Pretor willed him to go forth, as being no place for him, and therewith drew him out: whereupon the Flamine called for help of the Tribunes of the Commons pleading the ancient right and prebeminence of that Priestly dignity, and alleging, that *Q. Manlius* in times past enjoyed that place, together with the pall, or embroidered rich robes, and the Ivory hair. The Pretor on the other side came upon him again, and said, That right was not grounded upon old examples past all date, fetch out of *Chronicles* time out of mind: but

A but he would needs have it to be carried by the most fresh practice of the newest and latest custom, affirming, That by prescription of the time, either of our fathers or grandfathers daies, there was no Flamine of *Jupiter* usurped that privilege. The Tribunes, who were to moderate this question, gave their judgment thus, That if a thing were foretold, and discontinued through the supine negligence of some Flamines, it was worth for themselves, and they deemed it no reason, that it should hurt or prejudice the whole priesthood. Whereupon, the Pretor himself forced not greatly upon the point, nor stood much with him, and so they admitted the Flamine into the house with great content of the Nobles, as well as of the Commons. And all men thus conceived of it, That the Flamine had obtained the thing, rather in regard of his sanctimony and holiness of life than in the right of his sacerdotal dignity.

The Consuls before that they went into their Provinces, enrolled two legions of Citizens, for to supply and make up sufficiently the defect of all the other forces. The old City army *Fulvius* the Consul committed unto *C. Fulvius Flaccus* his Lieutenant. (and brother he was besides to the Consul) for to be led into *Heitruia*: with direction, that the Legions already in *Heitruia* should be brought to *Rome*. And *Fabius* the Consul caused the residue of the army of *Fulvius* to be sought up and rallied, which arold to the number of 3360: and commanded his son *Q. Maximus* to lead them into *Sicily*, unto *M. Valerius* the Pro-Consul, and of him to receive the charge of two Legions, and the thirty gallies aforesaid, bearing five ranks of oars. The withdrawing of these Legions out of the Island, nothing diminished nor abridged the garrisons of that Province, either in strength or shew. For besides the two old legions, well and sufficiently filled and furnished, he had a great power, as well horse as foot, of Numidians, such as were fled from the adverse part unto the Romans: and took up and levied besides for new soldiers, even those *Sicilians* also, who had been of the army of *Epicides* and the Carthaginians, men of approved valor, and skillful warriors. These forrain aids, when he had put to each of the Roman legions, he kept till the form of two compleat armies. With the one he gave order to *L. Cincius* to defend that part of the Island which had been the Realm of King *Hiero*: with the other he maintained the rest of the Island, divided sometimes by the confines of the Roman and Punick dominions. There was a fleet also rigged and trimmed, consisting of seventy ships, for to guard and defend all the maritime coasts, along the tract of the sea side. Himself in person, with the horsemen of *Mutius*, rode about all the Province, for to visit the lands and grounds, and to take note which were tilled and well husbanded, which lay forelet and untilled, and to commend or chastise and rebuke the landlords and owners thereof accordingly. The care and regard of corn, thus far forth did good, that the Province was able both to send good store to *Rome*, and also to convey unto *Canna* sufficient to maintain the army that was to lie in standing Camp that summer about *Tarentum*.

But the soldiery who were transported over into *Sicily* (and for the better part they were Latines and other Associates) were like to cause a great rising and commotion: whereby we may see, that of small occasions and beginnings oftentimes arise great matters of important consequence. For the Latines and Allies in all their Diets and Councils at home, began to mutter and Egmble, "That now for ten years space they were with continual murtherings and payments of soldiery wages consumed and spent, that there was not a year in manner went over their heads, but it cost them some great loss and overthrow in battell. Many were slain in the wars, other died of diseases. So that a Citizen of theirs, if he were taken and pressed once by the Romans, for to be a soldier, was more like to perish, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians: for the enemy sent their captives back again, *ransomed*, and without ransom, home into their country: the Romans posted and packed them away out of *Italy*, as confined to a place of banishment (to speak truly) rather than appointed to serve in warfare. For see how the soldiery, reasoning after the field of *Canna*, have continued there, and wakened old their eight years already, and no doubt these were they like to lay their bones before that the enemy (who never so flourishing, nor was so strong as now) would depart from thence. In case then that old soldiery be returned not into their country, and new still be chosen, within a while there would be none left behind. And therefore best it were for them, before they were come to extremum poverty and desolation, presently to deny the people of *Rome* that, whilst some what is left, which shortly they must be driven to do of very necessity when all is gone. And if the Romans see their Allies once agree together, and make this comie, they will then verily bethink themselves, and grow to some terms of making peace with the Carthaginians. For otherwise be sure, as long as *Annus* had such a day to live *Italy* will never be clear of wars. These and such like speeches passed in their Diets above said. There were at that time thirty Colonies of the people of *Rome*: and whilst the Embassages from them all were at *Rome*, swathe of them denied the Consul *Italy*, and said they were not able any longer to find either men or money. And those were the *Ardeans*, *Neptis*, *Surinians*, *Circetis*, *Alba*, *Castellis*, *Stessis*, *Sora*, *Seis*, *Calis*, *Narnis*, *Interamn*, &c. The Consuls amazed at this strange and unexpected accident, being desirous to drive them out of that mind, and to scare them from so despicable a resolution, supposed they should prevail more by chastising and rebuking, than by fair and gentle dealing: and therefore told them again, "That they had presumed to speak that unto the Consuls, which they again were ashamed, and could not find in their hearts to deliver and relate in the Senat-house. For surely (say they) this is not a cessall of soldiery and war service, but a very meet revolting from the people."

of Rome, and no better than an open rebellion. Therefore they were best to return again speedily into their several Colonies, and to consult with their neighbors & countrien, whilst the matter remained yet all whole, as men who had rather let fall some words rashly at adventure, than resolved indeed to attempt and commit to hainous an act; yea, and to tell them, and put them in mind, that they themselves were neither Campans nor Tarentines, but meer Romans, from them deicended, and of their race; from thence sent as Colonies into the lands that were won by conquest, for to breed, increase, and multiply; and to admonish them, That whatsoever duties children owe to their parents, the same they owed unto the Romans, if there remained in them any kind and natural affection, any remembrance of their ancient native country; and to exhort them to consider better of the matter, and to lay their heads together anew. Forasmuch as those designments of theirs tended to betray the State and Empire of Rome, and to deliver the victory of all unto *Annibal*. When the Consuls one after another had dealt and been in hand with them a long time in this manner: and the Embassadors nothing moved with their words, made answer again, That neither they knew what other message to bring home; nor their Senate what new counsell to take; since that they had not any more men to be mulctured for soldiers, nor money to be paid for wages: the Consuls seeing them to be stiffly and obstinately bent, made relation thereof before the Senat, whereupon every man was stricken into to great fear and trouble of mind, that many of them gave out, that the Empire of Rome was come to an end. The like they, will the rest of the Colonies do, and surely all our confederates and allies are combined and agreed to betray the City of Rome unto *Annibal*. But the Consuls comforted the Senat, and bad them be of good cheer, saying, That all the other Colonies besides would continue loyall and fast in their duty and allegiance: and even those also which had failed in their obedience, if there might be Embassadors sent amongst them, to rebuke and chastise them, and not to speak them fair and entreat them by way of prayer, would no doubt have a respective reverence of the majesty of the Roman Empire. Now when the LL. of the Senat had committed the ordering of this matter wholly unto them for to manage and handle, according as they should think good for the weal-publique: after they had thoroughly founded the hearts and minds of all the rest of the Colonies, they called and cited all the Embassadors, and demanded of them whether their soldiers were in readines, according to the capitulations of the covenant. Then *M. Sextilius of Fregis* made answer in the behalf of eighteen of them, That not only their soldiers were ready according to the form of the covenant, but also if more were needful, more they would allow, and whatsoever else the people of Rome imposed upon them, and wished them to perform, the same would they strain themselves to do to the utmost: for, as yet they had people, force, and a purse good enough: and as for their hearts, it was much better than their ability. The Consuls after they had made a short speech unto them by way of a preamble, saying, that they thought it not sufficient for their desert to be commended from their mouths only, unless all the LL. generally in the Senat-house gave them condigna thanks with one voice and common accord, wished them to follow after them thither. The Senat having thanked them in as honourable terms as they could possibly devise, and entertained them with most gracious words, gave order to the Consuls, to bring them forth also in the face of the whole people of the City: and before them, among other singular favors and kindnesses which they had shewed both unto them and also unto their ancestors, to make rehearsal of this late good desert of others, which they afforded unto the Common-wealth: to the end, that now also, after so many ages and lives of men past they should not be forgotten and buried in silence, nor defrauded of their just praise and due commendation. And these were they that remained true hearted and fast unto the City of Rome: The *Signins*, *Nolans*, and *Norbanis*; the *Saturnians*, *Brundisins*, and *Fregellans*; the *Lucernis*, *Venusins*, and *Adrians*; the *Firmins* and inhabitants of *Ariminum*. And from the other sea-side the *Pontians*, *Pellans*, and *Cossans*: and of mid-landers, the *Beneventans*, *Efferonsis*, *Spoleitins*, *Placentins*, and the inhabitants of *Cyrennoia*. Upon the aid and succour of these Colonies, the Roman state at this time rested and stood maintained: and these all were highly thanked both in the Senat: and in the assembly of the people. As for the other twelve Colonies, which had refused to do their obedience; the LL. of the Senat gave express commandment, that they should not be so much as once minded or named; and that the Consuls should neither give them their dispatch, nor retain them still, nor so much as speak unto them. This silent kind of rebuke without word giving, seemed to stand most with the majesty and grandeur of the people of Rome.

Whilst the Consuls were diligent in providing and making ready all other things requisite and meet for the wars, it was thought good to bring abroad the vicissinary gold: to wit, the twentieth part of all their tributes and revenues, which had been laid up and reserved apart in a more secret closet of the City-chamber, against an hard winter (as they lay) to serve for what needsoever the Common-wealth should stand in. So there was taken forth four thousand pound weight of gold, whereof three hundred pound was given to the two Consuls apiece, and likewise to *M. Marcellus* and *P. Sulpicius* the Pro-Consuls: and to *L. Veturius* the Praetor; unto whose lot the Province of France befell, and *Fabius* the Consul had an addition besides himself above the rest of one hundred pound weight of gold for to be carried into the Castle of *Tarentum*. The rest of the gold they disbursed for to make ready payment down upon the nail unto them that undertook to provide apparel for the army in Spain, which to their own fame, and the honour of their General, served therein in the wars.

Moreover, it was thought good, that before the Consuls departed into their Provinces the prodigious tokens should be purged and expiate. On the Alban mount there were smitten with fire from heaven the Image of *Jupiter*, and a tree standing here unto the Temple: likewise the lake at *Hoffia*, the wall at *Capua*, and the Church of *Fortuna*: and at *Siniffa* the wall and gate of the town. These, I say were, blasted with lightning, and smitten with thunderbolts. There were some also brought out, that the water at *Alia* ran bloud, And at Rome within the sanctuary of the chapel of *Pari Fortuna*, a little image that stood upon her coronet, fell of its own accord from the head of the goddess into her hands. And at *Priverium* it was for certain reported and known of a truth, that an Oxe spake, and that a Vulture or Gripe flew into a shop in the market place, when it was full of people. And at *Siniffa* there was an Infant born of doubtful sex, both male and female, (which the common sort call *Androgynos*, as for the most part Greek names, admit more easie composition of two words than the Latine) and there it rained milk, and a man-child was born with an Elephants head. These strange and fearful signs were expiate, and satisfaction made for them with greater sacrifices: and a solemn procession in all the Churches and Chapels, with prayers and supplications was proclaimed for one day. Besides a decree was granted, that *C. Hostilius* the Praetor should vow and let out the games and plaies of *Apollo*, in such manner as of late years they had been vowed and let forth.

About the same time *Q. Fulvius* the Consul held an assembly for the creation of Censors, and elected Censors were *M. Cicerilius*, *Cethegus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, who neither of them had ever had been Cbf. And by the grant or creation of the Senat, there was a bill preferred unto the Comitions, and the same passed, that these Censors should let, and to farm let the territory of *Capua*. The review of the Senat and choice of new Senators was hindered and laid by, reason of a contention between the two Censors, who should be the president of the Senat. Now the choosing of him lay in *Sempronius* his hand. Howbeit *Cornelius* alleged, that the custome and tradition of fore-fathers should be followed, namely, to elect him for President, who of all them that were now living, had born first the office of Censor. And that was *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *Sempronius* replied again, and said, that as the gods had given him by lot the first place, so they had granted him free liberty to choose whom he would. And therefore he would elect *Q. Fabius Max.* whom at that time he was able to prove to be the principall man of all the City, without exception, and take *Annibal* himself for the Judge. After much variance and contending of words, at length *Sempronius* by relenting and permission of his Collegue elected *Q. Fabius Max.* the chief Senator. Then the Senat was charged, and new Senators chosen, and eight were overpassed and left out, among whom was *L. Caelius Metellus*, he that gave the infamous and shameful counsell, to abandon Italy after the defeat at *Canna*. In noting likewise and disgracing the Knights and Gentlemen, the same cause was considered of, and took effect, but very few there were of them that were touched with that infamy: but all those horsemen belonged to the Cannian legions who were in Sicily (and no small number there was of them) had their horses taken from them: And to aggravate this sharp punishment and note of disgrace, they were plagued also with time of long warfare: for so many of them as had served with horse allowed by the City, should not reckon upon the years passed already, but were to follow warfare ten years forward, and find themselves horses. Moreover, these Censors after diligent search and survey found out and met with a great number of those that ought to have served on horseback: and look how many of them were sixteen years old and upward at the beginning of the war, and had not been employed in the wars, those all they disfranchised, and made *Atrii* or contributaries. After this, they bargained by the great for the repairing and re-edifying again of the edifices which had been consumed by fire about the *Forum*, or market place, namely, the seven shops, the fish shambles, and the Kings Hall, or royall gallery.

Thus when all things were finished which were to be done at Rome, the Consuls set forward to the wars. And first *Fulvius* went before to *Capua*: and some few daies after *Fabius* followed, who brought both his own Collegue by word of mouth most earnestly, and also *Marcellus* by effectual letters, to make sharp war upon *Annibal*, and to keep him occupied, while he assailed *Tarentum*: which City, if it were once taken from the enemy, he were then driven out of all & having no place to put his head in, nor which he might make account to stand fast and truly unto him, he should have no reason at all once to stay in Italy. He dispatched also a messenger to *Rhegium* unto the Captain of the fort and garrison, which by *Leanius* the Consul was there placed against the *Bruttis*: and those were eight thousand men. The greatest part of them were of these good fellows, and that damned crew, wherof we spake before, who used to live by robbing and stealing, and were brought thither from *Agrigina* out of Sicily. Unto whom there were adjoynd many of the *Bruttis* also fugitives from thence, and as good as themselves every way, both for audaciousness, and also for needfulness to set upon any bold adventure whatsoever. This power of men he commended should be lead to waste and spoil the Brutians country first, and then to lie against the City *Castellum*, and to assault it. They having performed this service, not only willingly & cheerfully, but also with greediness: having all chased away and rifled the husbandmen and peasants of the country, assailed the City with all forcible means. *Marcellus* stirred up and provoked by those letters of the Consul: and having a good opinion of his own, that of all the Roman Captains there was not one so able to match *Annibal* as himself, left his wintering standing Camp, loosed every where was forage and graze in the country, took the field, and encountered *Annibal*

at Cannas. Now was *Annibal* in hand with the Cannans, and solicited them to revolt. But he hearing once that *Marcellus* approached, he dilogged from thence. The country thereabout was plain and open, without any covert places to bestow an ambush, and to lay trains in, therefore he began to retire himself from thence into the woodland parts. *Marcellus* tracked him still, and followed him hard at heels, and encamped close unto him: and ever as he had fortified and entrenched himself, he brought forth his men into the field, ready for battle. *Annibal* entertaining small skirmishes with certain Cornets and troops of horsemen, and with light appointed footmen, that lanced darts and javelins, thought it not necessary yet to come unto a pight fight, and venture all upon one throw. Howbeit he was drawn to a fight, maugre his head, howsoever he laboured to avoid it. For being gone afore one night, *Marcellus* overtook him upon a plain and open ground: and as he was pitching his tents he kept him from fortifying, by charging his pioneers and labourers on every side. Whereupon they came to a very battle, and fought with all the forces they had on both sides: and when it grew toward night, they departed alunder on even hand: but before it was dark they had encamped not far one from another, and in great haste made shift to fortify themselves. The next morning by daylight *Marcellus* came forth into the field with all his power: neither refused *Annibal* the challenge, "having with many words comforted and encouraged his souldiers to remember *Thrasymenus* and *Cannas*, to cut the comb and beat down and tame this fell stomach and lusty courage of the enemy: who preseth still (quoth he) and seeketh upon us, not suffering us to march on quietly in our journey, nor to pitch our tents: giving us no leave to breath our selves, nor time to look about us. There is not a morning, but so soon as the sun is up in the horizon to give light to the world, the Roman army is out in the field to give us battle. If we could draw blood of him once, and set him out of the field with blood about his ears, he would for ever after fight more quietly, and take better leisure with him. With these and such like comfortable words and effectual remonstrances they were well animated: as also provoked seeing themselves thus molested by the enemy, who day by day never ceased to challenge and brave them still: whereupon they began a fierce and cruel battle. They had now continued fight above two hours, and then began the Roman Cavalry from the right wing, and the extraordinary souldiers that flanked the main battell, to give ground and dismarch. Which *Marcel*, perceiving, he brought forward the eighteen legion in the vanguard. And while some retreated back fearfully, others came forward but slowly, the whole battell was put out of order, and disarrayed: and so at length it was discomfited: and for that fear surmounted hance, they turned their backs and fled away again. Slain there were in the conflict and in the rout together some 7000 Citizens and Allies one with another: among whom, there were four Roman Centurions, and two Colonels, *Marcus Licinius*, and *Marcus Fulvius*. Of military engines, there were four lost of that right wing which first shrunk and lost ground: and two others of that legion which came to succour their fellows that gave back and retreated. *Marcellus* after that he was returned into the Camp, welcomed his souldiers with such a bitter and sharp Oration, that the very words of the General in his anger and wrath were more heavy and grievous unto them, than the conflict it self, which they had unfortunately endured all the day long before. "I yid praife yet, and render thanks to the immortal gods, (quoth he) as I may in such a case, that our enemies having vanquished and conquered you in the field, and driven you in so great fear to run headlong within your trenches & gates, came not with all at once to assail the camp. For surely in the same fearful fright that you forsook battell, you would likewise have abandoned your tents & pavilions. What fearfulness is this? Whence cometh this terror? What means this oblivion of yours? How cometh it to pass, that ye should so forget all on a sudden, both your own selves and them with whom ye have to fight? Why surely, they are the same enemies & no other, whom the summer past, you did nothing but either vanquish & overcome, or else pursue & follow in chase: whom for these certain daies past ye have been ready to tread on their heels as they fled and ran away before you both by day & night: whom in light skirmishes ye have discomfited: whom no longer ago than yesterday, you suffered neither to march forward, nor to pitch their camp. I forbear to speak, and I pass in silence those things which in good right ye may stand upon & make of your boast. I say nothing of that whereof ye ought to be ashamed & displeased with your selves, namely, how but even yesterday ye brake off the fight on even hand, and retired out of the field, when the enemy had got no advantage? What hath this one night, or what hath one day cut you off? Are either your forces in this meantime abridged & diminished, or your enemies augmented & increased? Now surely, me thinks, I speak not to mine own army, nor to Roman souldiers. Only ye carry about you the same bodies & armour that ye were wont. For if ye had born the same minds and hearts with you, should the enemies ever have seen your backs? Should they have taken either banner from any company, or engine from cohort and squadron? As yet the enemy never wanted and made boast of the defeat of our Roman legions. You are the very first that this day have given him the honour of discomfiting and putting to flight our army. Then they all cried out, and besought him to pardon that daies default, and to make trial once again of his souldiers courages when and wheresoever he would. Mary, and that I will (quoth he) my souldiers: I will put you to it: even to morrow I will bring you abroad in the field, and after ye have got the victory ye shall obtain that pardon which ye now crave. So he gave order, that those cohorts which had lost their engines should have the allowance of barley in stead of wheat: and as for those Centurions of the bands or companies, whose banners were

The Oration
of *Marcellus* to
his souldiers.

A were lost, them he degraded in this manner: He caused them to be disarmed, and their skins to be drawn naked and taken from them, and so let them go and shake their ears. And withal, he made proclamation, that the next day they should all present themselves in readines, as well footmen as horsemen. Which done, he dismissed the audience, and they all confessed and acknowledged, that they were justly and worthily thus checked and rebuked: and that there was not that day one man in the Roman army, setting aside the General himself only, but he was bound to make amends and satisfaction, either with spending heart-blood, or achieving a noble victory. The morrow after they all shewed themselves unto him in their armor, and wel appointed, according to his commandment. The General commended them for their forwardness: and gave them to understand, that he would let those in the forefront of the vanguard, which the day before began to run away, as also those cohort likewise that lost their engines. And now he gave them warning, and charged them all to fight it out lustily, to win the field: and to endeavour and strain themselves, both all and some, that the news of yesterdaies flight came not to Rome before, and prevented the fame of this dayes victory. Then he willed them to go to their meat, and to strengthen their bodies: that in case the fight should hold long, they might be able to endure to the end. Now when all was laid and done, that might encourage and stir up the hearts of souldiers, they went out & advanced their engines into the field, *Annibal* being advertised hereof, "Now believe me (qd. he) we have to deal with an enemy indeed, who is of that nature, that he can neither brook his good fortune, nor away with bad. If he hath won at any time, he pursueth those whom he hath vanquished, cruelly. Contrary-wise if he have lost, he beginneth to fight with the conquerors again right freshly. Then he commanded the trumpets to sound, and brought forth his power in battell array. A field was fought there on both hands more sharply a good deal, than the day before. The Carthaginians strived to keep the honor and reputation of yesterdaies service: the Romans strived to wipe away the ignominy and shame of that dayes toil. On the Romans side, the Cavalry of the left wing, and those cohorts which had lost their engines, fought in the vanguard, and the twentieth legion was marshalled and ranged in the right point of the battell. *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Claudius Nero* had the leading of both these wings, *M. Marcellus* himself commanded the main battell, and withal his personal presence encouraged them, as a witness of their valour and courage. Now, when as the fight had continued long, and the victory inclined no way, *Annibal* commanded the Elephants to be put forth upon the very forefront of the battell, to see if that object might possibly work some terror and confusion among the Romans. And at the first they disordered the engines, and troubled the ranks: so as partly by treading under foot, and partly by scattering them for fear, that were all about, they had laid naked and open the battell in one part, and in more places than so had the Romans fled, but that *C. Decimius Flavinus*, a Colonel, having from the first band of the Hastati, caught up the banner in his hand, commanded the company thereto belonging to follow him: and thither he led them where the forlaid Elephants were gathered round, and made foulest work, and charged them to fling their darts and javelins at them. All this shot light fire, and misfed them not, yea, and some stuck in them: and no marvel, for the beasts were neer at hand, the bodies great and standing thick in a plump together. But as they were not all wounded, so they that had the darts sett in their backs and sides, were as ready (such is their nature, dangerous to meddle withal) for to hurt their own matters, as the enemies: and all turned upon their fellows, that were unhurt, and drove them back. So as now, not that entire band only, but every souldier else for his own part, who was able to reach the herd (as it were) of the Elephants as they fled, did his best to lance javelins and short darts at them. And so much the more furiously ran the beasts upon their own, and made a far greater havoc there, than they had done among the enemies: by how much more fiercely fear and fright set them agate, and sent them forward, than the will of their masters that sate upon them, was able to rule and restrain them. The Roman footmen cyping this advantage, came forward with their engines and banners upon that battailon, which was put in disarray by the running to and fro of these unruly dumb creatures, and without much ado and farther skirmish, put them to flight, after they were once broken out of their ranks, and set in a fright. Then *Marcellus* sent his Cavalry after them, to pursue them as they fled, and to follow the chace, and never gave they over hunting and coursing them, until they had lodged them in great fear within their camp. For besides all other things, which made them thus scared and affrighted, there chanced two Elephants to fall down in the very gate & entrance thereof, so that the souldiers were forced to rush into it over the trench and rampier. In that place was the greatest slaughter made of the enemies. For there were slain eight thousand men, and five Elephants. Neither had the Romans a bloncles victory of it: for of the two legions, there died fast upon 1700, and of the Allies more than 1400. Besides many a citizen and confederate fore wounded, and *Annibal* the next night dilogged and departed. *Marcellus* although he was desirous to follow upon him, yet he could not for the multitude of his hurt men. The Elephals that were sent out to pursue him in his march, brought word back the next day, that *Annibal* took his way into the Brutians country.

Neer about the same time, the Hirpins, Lucans, and Volscians, after they had delivered up the portions of *Annibal*, which they had in their Cities, yielded themselves also to *Q. Publilius* the Consul, and were received to mercy with great clemency by the said Consul, after some rebuke given them in words only for their trespass and error past. The Brutians also had the like hope of pardon, when as *Vibius* & *Publius*, two brethren of the noblest house of that nation, came from

them to sue for the same condition of yielding and surrendering themselves, which was granted them to the Lucans.

Q. Fabius the Consul, won by assault a Town in the Salentin countrey called *Manduria*. Prisoners were taken there 4000, and some good store of other pillage. From thence he went to *Tarentum*, and in the very mouth of the haven, lay against the City. Those ships which *Livius* had for to wait the convoy of victuals, he partly charged with engines, and other ordnance to assault Towns withal, and partly furnished with artillery, with Rones, and shot of all sorts: the ships of burden likewise, and not the Gallies only which were guided by oars; to the end, that some might bring Engines and Ladders unto the walls, and others aloof from out of the ships, wound and hurt those that defended the City. These ships were ordained and appointed from the open Sea to assault the City. And clear was the Sea of all danger from the Punick navy, which was sent unto *Co-cyra*, at what time as *Phily* minded to assail the *Ætolians*. In this mean while, the assaults of *Caecilia*, a little before the coming of *Annibal*, for fear lest they should be surprised betook themselves to a little hill: which as it was (for the present danger) a place of safety, so it wanted all things else. *Fabius*, as he lay at siege about *Tarentum*, was much helped to the achieving of a matter of great importance, by a trifling thing to speak of, and of small moment in itself. The Tarentins had a garrison of the Brutians, sent from *Annibal* to defend the City. The Captain of this garrison was greatly enamoured and ready to die for the love of a woman, who had a brother that served in the army of *Fabius* the Consul. He being certified by letters from his sister, of this new acquaintance that he had with that forrainer and stranger, so wealthy and so honorable a person among his country-men; conceived some hope by means of his sister, that her lover might be brought to any thing, and wrought as they would: and so acquainted the Consul with his conceived hope. And this seemed no vain imagination. Whereupon the young man was sent to *Tarentum* in habit and quality of a fugitive, and by the mediation of his sister, grew into some favour with the Captain aforesaid: and at first practised secretly to undermine and found his mind, and afterwards seeing the weakness and inconstancy of the man, he prevailed with him so much, through the flattering speeches and allurements of the woman, as to betray the keeping and guard of that place whereof he had the charge. After that the manner how, and the time when this plot should be put in execution, was agreed upon, the said soldier lay out of the City closely by night in a place between the *corpi de guard*, and informed the Consul what was done already, and in what sort every thing was to be done. *Fabius* at the first watch, after he had given a token and watchword to them in the Castle, and to those likewise that had the keeping of the haven, himself fer a compass about the said haven, and lay as closely as he could to that part of the City which lieth to the East. Then all at once the trumpets sounded from the Castle, from the haven and ships, which in the open Sea rid neerer at hand. Great shouting there was, and much ado on purpouse from all these quarters, whereas indeed there was least danger or none at all there. In the mean season the Consul kept his men in, whereupon *Democritus*, who had beforetime been Admiral of the Armado, and whose chance it was to have the guarding of that place, against which the Consul lay close, seeing all thereabout quiet enough, and no stirring at all, and hearing all other parts to ring again and resound with such alarms as otherwise it seemed the City was taken and won, and fearing lest if he sat still and beset him himself, the Consul would make some Camiada, and give the assay to enter the City with banner displayed: withdrew his guard toward the Castle, from whence was heard the greatest and most terrible noise. *Fabius* when he perceived once by guessing at the time, as also by the silence it self in that place (for where but a while before they kept much ado, raising up one another, and calling to arm, there now all was hush and not a word) that the guards were had away from thence, he commanded that the ladders should be brought to that side of the wall, where the brother & broker both of the treason, had brought word that the cohorts of the Brutians were quartered and kept their guard. Thus on that part was the wall won by the means of the Brutii, who were ready to help and take them up, and so they got over into the City. Then was the next gate broken open, that the army might come by companies under their several colours. Whereupon they set up a shout, and a little before break of day, they marched as far as into the market Read, and met with none to make head against them, and caused all them that sought at the Castle and the haven, to turn upon them. There, in the very entrance of the market place, began a great skirmish, rather fought hotly than maintained thoroughly. For the Tarentin soldiers were nothing comparable to the Romans, either in courage or heart, or goodness of armour: in skill and knowledge of war, or in humbleness and strength of body. And therefore when they had only shot their darts, even before they came to handstroke, they turned back and slunk away through the lanes of the City, where with they were well acquainted, come to their own home, and some to their friends houses. Two of their Captains, *Nico* and *Democritus*, fought manfully, and were slain. *Philemenus*, who was the principal head that wrought the revolt unto *Annibal*, fled out of the skirmish as fast as ever his horse would carry him: but a while after his empty horse was seen & known wandering a stray in the City, but his body could never be found. It was commonly believed, that hestling himself headlong from his horseback into a certain open pit, as for *Carthago*, Captain of the Punick garrison, he cast away his armour and weapon, and as he was coming to the Consul with a goodly tale, recounting and remembering his fathers friendship and intertainment to the Romans, there happened a soldier to meet him and strike off his head. Then by some or other in every place, the Carthaginians and Tarentins

A Tarentins both went to wrack, and were killed without mercy and regard, as well unarmed as armed. Yea, there were many of the Brutians also fell upon the edge of the sword, were it that they were mistaken, or for an old grudge and in-bred hatred; or to suppress and extinguish the bruit and rumor that went of betraying the Town: to the end that *Tarentum* might seem the rather won by assault and force of arms. Then from murder and slaughter, they fell to sack and spoil the City. There were taken prisoners by report thirty thousand head of slaves: a mighty mass of silver tried and coined: of gold 87000 pound weight. Images and painted tables or pictures, so many, as very neer amounted to the number of the ornaments of *Syracusa*. But *Fabius* of a braver mind, abstained from that kind of prize and pillage, which *Marcellus* forbore not. For when his Scribe or Secretary asked him, what his pleasure was, should be done with the images (and the Statues they were of the Gods, of a mighty bigness and proportion, portrayed every one in their own habit like warriors: Mary (qd. he) let the Tarentins have their angry Gods still among them for me. After this, the wall which divided the City from the Castle, was dismantled; railed down, and laid even with the ground.

While these things happened at *Tarentum*, *Annibal* (after they had yielded themselves unto him that befel *Gaulonia*) hearing of the siege and assault of *Tarentum*, went night and day and made all the haile he could, with a running march, to relieve & succour the City: but hearing by the way that it was forced and gone, "Ah, I see well, qd. he the Romans also are not without their *Annibal*." In good faith, so was *Tarentum* won, and so lost again, by treachery and treason. But because he would not be thought to turn back & flee, in the very lame place where he made it lay, he Cat down, and encamped almost five miles from the City: and after he had abode there some few daies, he retired himself to *Metapontum*. From thence he suborned two *Metapontins*, and sent them to *Fabius* at *Tarentum*, with letters devised from certain principal men of that City, wherein they promised to betray *Metapontum* and the Punick garrison into the Consul his hands, upon assurance made unto them, that all former trepsies & offences should be forgiven and forgotten. *Fabius* supposing all was truth and plain-dealing, appointed a certain day when he would come to *Metapontum*, and sent his letters also to those principal citizens, which letters were brought unto *Annibal*: whereat he was right glad and took great contentment that his fraud sped so well, and that *Fabius* also might be entrapped, caught, and overtaken by his wily fetches as well as others: and thereupon laid an ambush for him in the way not far from *Metapontum*. As *Fabius* (before he should go out of *Tarentum*) attended to know what the birds signified, he observed once or twice that they approved not his journey. And when he killed a sacrifice, thereby to know the will of the Gods, the Soothsayer, or bowl-prier gave him warning, to take heed of the deceit of his enemies, and beware of wait-laying. The *Metapontins*, seeing that he came not at the day appointed, were sent again to hasten him forward, and to encourage him to come: who were all suddenly at once apprehended, and for fear of farther torture, disclosed the practise of the ambush.

In the beginning of that summer wherein these occurrences happened, after that *Scipio* had bestowed the whole winter, in winning and reconciling the hearts of the barbarous people, partly with gifts and rewards, and partly with enlarging and sending back their hostages, and the prisoners: there came unto him one *Edeco*, a noble and famous Captain of the Spaniards. His wife and children were in custody with the Romans: but besides that occasion which brought him to *Scipio*, there was another cause, even a general inclination of all their minds, that chanced I wot not how, which withdrew and estranged whole *Spain* from the Carthaginian Empire, unto the Roman. The same reason moved *Indibilis* also and *Mandonius*, the greatest LL, and Princes no doubt of all *Spain*, to leave *Asdrubal*, and with all the power they could make of their followers and vassals, to depart into the mountains standing just over his camp, from whence they might from hill to hill continually retire themselves in safety to the Romans. *Asdrubal* perceiving the puissance of his enemies to grow and increase hill more and more by little and little, and his own to diminish: and fore-seeing, that unless he made some hardy adventure and prevailed that way, all would be sought and fall to the ground, as it was beginning already to reel, determined to put it to a battail with all speed possible. *Scipio* also was sharp set, and the more desirous of fight, as well for the good hope, which the success of his former affairs confirmed and increased: as also because, before the armies of his enemies should joyn together, he was more willing to fight with one General and one army, than with all them jointly at once: and yet he had well amended and increased his forces politically of purpose, against the worst, in case he should be driven to fight with many of them together. For, seeing there was no use of ships, because all the Rivers and Seas along *Spain*, were cleared of the Carthaginian navy, he withdrew his fleet up into the harbor at *Taracena*, and joyned his Sea-servitors to his Land-souldiers. For armour he had store enough, which was either taken in the pillage of *Carthago*, or newly made after the winning of the Town, by so many Artificers and Craftsmen that he kept there hard and close at work. With this power, *Scipio* in the beginning of spring departed from *Taracena* (for now by this time was *Lutius* returned from *Rome*, without whose company he was not willing to enterprise any service of great moment and importance) and led forward against the enemies. As he journeyed peaceably all over the country, and passed through the territories and confines of every City and State, his Allies were ready to entertain and accompany him. *Indibilis* also and *Mandonius* among the rest, with all their power met him. Then *Indibilis* in the name of them both, spake, not like a scottish barbarian foolishly & inconsiderately, but rather with a modest kind of gravity: more like one that exulted

excused his revolt and running from the adverse part upon constraint and necessity, than made boast of catching and embracing the vantage thereof upon the first opportunity presented. "I knowfull well (quoth he) that the very name of a fugitive revolt, as it is odious and detestable to old Allies, so it is suspicious to new. And I cannot greatly blame the manner of men in so doing, in case it be not the bare name, but the double dealing that causeth the hatred. Then he reckoned up his own good turns and deserts done unto the Carthaginians on the one side: and recounted their covetousness and pride on the other side, together with their injurious dealings with himself and his people. And therefore, quoth he, this body of mine only hath conversed among them until this day, but my heart and affection hath long since been with them, where I believe verily, that right, justice and religion is regarded and maintained: for even so do we sit as suppliants in humble manner to the Gods also, when we can no longer endure the violence and wrongful outrages of men; Beseeching *Scipio* this one thing withal, that this histering from the enemy and ranging with him, he would neither blame and condemn presently as a transgression, nor honor and commend as a good desert of his: but as he should find both him and the rest, by good proof from that day forward, even so to make reckoning of them accordingly, and not otherwise. *Scipio* made answer again, That in truth he would do so: neither would he take them for fugitives and runaways, who judged that they were not bound in conscience to maintain the society and alliance with them as good and lawfull, who made no count at all to observe inviolable, any promise or duty to God or man. Then were their two wives and children brought forth into their fight, and delivered unto them, whom they received, and shed tears abundantly for joy, and so for that day they were had to their lodgings. The morrow after, faith was plight and contracted between them, and the same confirmed by covenant: and they were dismissed to bring their forces, and to shew them before him: and so they quartered and lodged in the same camp with the Romans, next unto their guidance and direction they came unto the enemy. The army of the Carthaginians next unto them was under the conduct of *Marcus*, near unto the City *Rebula*. Before his camp, he kept certain standing guards of horsemen. Upon them the light armed forlorn hope of archers and darters of the Roman host which went before the battail to skirmish, likewise they of the forefront and vanguard, charged forcibly with their shot yet so contemptuously, and in scornful wise, even presently upon their travail in journey, and before they had chosen a peece of ground to encamp in, that it was soon seen what heart there was in both parts. For, the Cavalry of the enemies fearfully fled, and were driven into the camp: but the Romans advanced with banners displayed hard to the very gates: and so forth that day their flocks were only up and provoked to a fight, and then the Romans pitched their tents. *Asdrubal* in the night retired his army to a mount, which in the top had a broad plain. Behind this hill thereto ran a river the fore-front thereof, and the fides all about the skirts were compassed as it were with a steep bank standing plumb upright. There lay order this hill top another plain lower than the other, which also was enclosed round about with the like bank, as difficult for ascent as the former. The next day *Asdrubal*, after he saw the enemies standing arranged before their camp, sent down his Numidian horsemen, the light armedlanders also of the Balaers, and likewise the Africans. "Then *Scipio* rode about all the regiments, ensignes, and ranks of his army, marshalled as they stood in battail wise, and shewed unto them their enemies, how they despaired afore-hand to fight on equal and even ground, how they taking the vantage of the hills, braved and shewed themselves, presuming and trusting upon the place, and not upon their own valour and strength of arms. Howbeit (quoth he) *Carthage* had higher walls, and yet the Roman soldiery were able to scale and get over: neither Hills nor Castle, nor, nor the very Sea, stood in their way then, nor stopped them of their entry. And as for these high places which the enemies are possessed of, they haply may serve their turns well; when they shall take their flight, and leap from off the steep banks, and run down-hill apace, and so get away. But I trow, I shall debar them there, and lay a block in their way on every side. Whereupon he commanded two squadrons, the one to keep the streights of the valley, through which the river runneth: the other to beset the passage that leadeth from the City into the fields, and crosseth overhwart the hill side above said. Himself led the light appointed vancurriers, who the day before had quartered the guards and wards of the enemies, to affront the light armed soldiery, that were not impeached nor hindered other wise than by the wellthought passages. But afterward, when they were come within shot, at the very first they were welcomed with a mighty volley of all sortspouring (as it were) like hail upon them. Himself answered them again, and recharged upon them, letting drive and discharging the stones which lay strewd all over the ground: and were such in manner all, as might be welded and flung from them with ease. And not only the soldiery, but lackies and horse-boyes, & such as followed the camp, were intermingled amongst the armed companies. And albeit the ascent up the hill was hard, and they were pelted and almost overwhelmed with darts and stones, yet being so injured as they were to clime wals, and refold the which, they mounted up fitt to the top: and so soon as they had got some even grounds, where they might have fute footing, they found the enemy, (who was light and nimble, and able to run to and fro, and to save himself, and shift well when he was far off, all the time that they skirmished aloof, and plaid upon one another with light shot) now that they came to close fight, and to hand-strokes, not able to stand his ground: and so they drove him from his place, and with great slaughter chased him and

set him back to the very battel, that stood upon the higher hill. Then *Scipio* having given commandment to these, for to follow on the train of their victory, and to enter up still upon the main battel of the enemies, parted the rest of his forces, together with *Laelius*, willing him to coast along and wheel about on the right hand of the mount, until he found some way of easier ascent himself on the left hand, fetched no long circuit and compass, until he came crose overhwart the flank of the enemies. Hereupon first began their battel to be disordered, whilst they were desirous to turn their wings, and to oppose their ranks and squadrons against the noises and shouts which rang every where about them. In this tumultuous trouble, *Laelius* also was got up: and while the enemies drew backward and gave ground, because they would not be charged behind on their back, the vanguard of their part was displayed and lay open: and so the Romans even of the middle battel also, had a line and spacious room to get up and enter upon them: who never had been able to have gained the ground, and won the plain above, (considering the disadvantage of the steep bank) so long as the ranks had stood unbroken, and the Elephants were opposed against them before the Ensigns, in the forefront. Down went the enemies now on every side, and were pitcously killed: and *Scipio*, who with his left wing encountered the right, charged and plaid especially upon the naked sides of the enemies. And so by this means they had no way left them to flee and escape clear. For the Roman guards on both hands, as well on the left as the right, had beset all the passages. And as for the gate of the camp, the General himself, and the other Captains and officers of the Camp, had taken it up as they fled that way: besides the combesom trouble of the Elephants, whom being now affrighted, they feared no less then their enemies. So there died of them 8000. *Asdrubal*, who before the conflict had made sure work with all the money, and taken it with him, sent the Elephants before, and having rallied as many as he could, of them that fled and escaped out of the camp, he made haste along the river *Tagus*, toward the mountain *Pyrenaeus*. *Scipio* being now master of the enemies camp, after he had given to the soldiers all the pillage and spoil, but only the prisoners, such as were freemen: whom he came to take the number of the captives, found they were ten thousand footmen, and two thousand horse. Of which number, as many as were Spaniards he set at liberty and sent them home without ransom. But as for all the Africans, he commanded the Treasurer to make money of them. Then the whole multitude of the Spaniards, as well those that before had yielded themselves, as they that were taken prisoners the day before, saluted him with great content and general voice, by the name and title of King. Whereupon *Scipio*, after silence made by the cries, said, "That he took the name of * L. General or Commander, to be the greatest of all other names, by which his own soldiers used to call him. As for the title of King, howsoever in other places it was great and honorable, at Rome surely it was odious and intolerable. For his own part, the mind indeed he carried of a King, and if they deemed it to be the highest honour that can fall to the nature of man, let them judge so in their own hearts secretly, and please themselves with that title: only he wished them to forbear the word and term thereof. These very Spaniards, as barbarous as they were, perceived by this speech how haughty and magnanimous he was, who in all height of spirit contemned that as a base thing, whereas in admiration only of the very title, all mortal men besides are amazed and astounded. After all this, he bestowed upon the Princes and great Potentates of the Spaniards, sundry gifts. And of the hories, whereof he had taken in the field and camp great store, he gave *Indibilis* the choise of three hundred where he would. When the treasurer was telling the Africans, according to the General his commandment, he hapned upon a young sprigall and stripling, of rare and singular beauty: and hearing that he was of royal blood, he sent him to *Scipio*. And when *Scipio* demanded of him who he was, and what country-man, and wherefore at those years he was in camp among rude soldiery: "I am (saith he) a Numidian born, and with that his eyes stood full of water) and in my country they call me *Masaniassa*. Being left and orphan and fatherless, I was brought up with my grand-father by the mother side, *Gala*, the King of the Numidians. And with my uncle by the mother, *Masaniassa*, who was lately come with a power of horsemen to aid the Carthaginians, it was my hap to fall over into Spain. And never to this day have I been in any battel, by reason that *Masaniassa* would not in regard of my tender age, suffer me in any hand to go to the wars." Howbeit that very day when the battail was fought with the Romans, unawares to my said uncle, I secretly got an horse under me, and came upon my back, and went forth into the field: where my horse chanced to fall, and cast me down headlong on the ground: and so it was my fortune to be taken by the Romans. *Scipio* gave order that this Numidian youth should be kept safe, and so proceeded to finish matters that were brought before him, as he sat upon the Tribunal in martial court. And after he was come back from thence into his royal pavilion, he called the party again before him, and asked him, whether he were willing to return again to *Masaniassa*. Whereat the tears gushing out of his eyes for joy, yea full fain (qd. he) and with all my heart. Then after he had given the young gentleman a ring of gold, a coat embroidered with purple stud-wise, with a Spanish soldierys cape, a golden clasp or button, & a brave couler, with all the furniture & caparison thereto belonging, he sent him away, and commanded certain horsemen to safe-conduct and accompany him, so far as he would himself. Then *Scipio* fell to consult about the war. Some there were that advised him, presently to pursue *Asdrubal*: but he supposing that to be a dangerous course, for fear lest *Asdrubal* should joyntly their forces to his, he sent only a good guard to keep the passage of the hill *Pyrenaeus*, and imploied the rest of the summer, in receiving homage and fealty of other States of Spain.

Within few days after the battel at *Baenla*, when as *Scipio* in his return to *Taracon*, was gone past the chafe or forreil of *Castulo*: *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* and *Mago*, the two Generals, arrived out of the farther province of *Spain* unto *Asdrubal* the son of *Amilcar*. But they came a day after the fair, and too late to help an overthrow past already: yet in very good time, to give counsel for the managing and executing of the war behind. Thereas they conferred together, concerning the disposition of the Spaniards, and how they stood affected in the countries of each province, only *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* was of opinion, and perswaded, That the utmost tract and coast of *Spain*, which lieth upon the Ocean and *Gades*, was hitherto unacquainted with the Romans, and therefore fast enough and sure to the Carthaginians. But the other *Asdrubal* and *Mago*, were of another mind, and agreed in this, That *Scipio* with his favours and benefits had possessed the affections and hearts of all men already, both in general, and also in particular, and that there would never be an end of sliding from them, and siding to the Romans, before that all the Spanish souldiers were either removed into the farthest parts of *Spain*, or conveyed over into *France*. And therefore, albeit the Senat of the Carthaginians had not granted out any such aid and commission, yet there was no remedy, but that *Asdrubal* must go over into *Italy*, where *Anibal* was the head of the war, and in whom lay the main chance of all: by which means also he might withdraw out of *Spain* all the Spaniards, far enough from the naming and hearing of *Scipio*. For *Asdrubal* his army, as well by falling away and revolting to *Scipio*, as also by the late defeat much empairod, was to be replenished again with new souldiers. Moreover, that *Mago* should deliver his army to *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, and himself in person cross over into the *Baleares* Islands, with a great sum of money, to wage new aids and succours from thence. And that *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, with his army should retire farther up into *Portugal*, and not encounter the Romans at all in any hand. And that out of all the Cavalry there should be choien out the very flower and strength, to the full number of 3000, for *Masaniassa*, and that he should range and overrun all the hither Province of *Spain*, partly to help the distressed Allies, and partly to spoil the enemies towns, and forrage their lands. After these orders and directions laid down, the Generals departed asunder to the execution of these determined designments. Thus yeice what were the affairs and occurrences of *Spain* for that year.

At *Rome* the fame of *Scipio* grew greater every day then other, *Fabius* for the winning of *Tarentum*, albeit he gat it rather by craft and policy, then by force and vertue, was glorious therefore. The name of *Fulvius* began to age and decay. *Marcellus* grew also into an ill name and some obloquy, both for that at first he had a foil, and also because he suffered *Anibal* to range over *Italy* his pleasure, and himself at mid-summer had retired his souldiers to *Venusia* to take up there (as it were) their winter quarters. He had a fore adversary in the City, one *C. Publius Bibo*, a Tribun of the Commons: who from the very first time of that difcomfiture, with continual speeches and Orations brought *Claudius* into hatred and infamy with the common people, and now was in hand with them to deprive him of his government. However, the friends and kinsfolk of *Claudius* obtained thus much, That *Marcellus* leaving his Lieutenant at *Venusia*, should repair to *Rome* for to make his purgation, and acquit himself of such crimes as his adversaries objected and laid against him: and that during his absence, they should not treat nor debate about his deprivation.

It happened much about one time, that both *Marcellus* came to *Rome* to meet with the shamefull slander that ran on him, and to save his honour; and also *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, about the new election for the year following. The question touching the government of *Marcellus*, was debated and handled in the lists or *Circus*, called *Flaminianus*: and a great assembly there was, and much concourse of the Commons, and of people of all degrees and calling. The Tribun accused not *Marcellus* only, but all the nobility: by whose fraudulent practise, and by whose cold and delayful proceedings, it was come to pass, that *Anibal* now these ten years had remained in *Italy* (as it were) in his province continually, where he had had a greater part of his life, then at *Carthage* in his native country. And now (quoth he) the people of *Rome* taste the fruit, proceeding of proroguing and continuing of government still in one person. For since what is come of it: *Marcellus* his name hath been twice defeated and fallen upon the enemies sword, and now, forsooth, is hoisted in *Venusia* for burning. But *Marcellus* so confuted this accusatory speech of the Tribun, by recounting his own worthy noble acts; that not only the Bill preferred for the deposing him out of his room, was dismissed, and the neck of it broken, but also the next day after, all the Centuries with one general voice created him Consul. There was joined with him companion in government *T. Quintius Crispinus*, who then was Pretor. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen, to wit, *P. Licinius Crassus Dives*, who was at that time the Arch-bishop, *P. Licinius Varus*, *Sec. Julius Caesar*, and *Q. Claudius Flamen*.

During the time of this solemn Parliament or Session for the election of Magistrates, the City was much disquieted for the revolt of *Herrania*: *C. Calpurnius* who ruled that province as Pretor, had by his letters given notice, that the beginning thereof arose from the Aetrians: and therefore immediately *M. Marcellus* the Consul elect, was thither sent with commission to look into the matter, and (if he thought it requisite) to lead for his forces, and to translate the war out of *Apulia* into *Umbria*. For fear whereof, the *Tuscan* pulled on their heads, and were quiet.

The Aetrianque Embassadors made suit for peace, and that together with their freedom they might enjoy their own laws. And this answer was returned by the Senat, That they should come again when *Fabius* the Consul was returned to *Rome*. The Roman Games, and also the plays called

A called *Plebeii*, were exhibited that year, and renewed one day apeece more then ordinary. The Ediles of the chair were *L. Cornelius Caudinus*, and *Servilius Sulpinus Galba*: but those of the Commons were *C. Servilius*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*. As for *Servilius*, it was denied, that he had been Tribun of the Commons before, or now Edile by right and order of law, because it was now for certain known, that his father (of whom the opinion went current for ten years that he was slain by the Boians about *Minucia*, at what time as he was Triumvir for the division of lands) was now living, and in the hands of the enemies in slavery and bondage.

In the eleventh year of the Punick war, *M. Marcellus* entred his consulship the fifth time (so you reckon upon that Consulship which he never bare through, because there was an error committed in his creation) and with him *T. Quintius Crispinus*. To both Consuls the Province of *Italy* was assigned, and both armies of the Consuls the former year. There was a third army then at *Venusia*, whereof *M. Marcellus* had the conduct. Of these three, they were to chule two, which they would; and the third remaining, was to be committed unto him, who was by lot to have the government of *Tarentum*, and the Salentines. The rest of the Provinces were thus divided amongst the Pretors. *P. Licinius Varus* had the jurisdiction civil, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, (then *Pompeius Magnus*), that of the forraigners, and to go whither soever the Senat thought good to send him. Unto *Sec. Julius Caesar* befall *Sicily*, and to *Q. Claudius Flamen* the City of *Tarentum*. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had his commission renewed, to continue in government for one year longer: and he was appointed to govern (as was had been the charge of *T. Quintius* the Pretor, and to have under his hand the command of one legion. Likewise *C. Hostilius Tubulus* remained still in office, and that as Pro-pretor he should succeed *C. Calpurnius*, and have the conduct of two legions. Moreover *L. Viturcius Philo* had his authority & government confirmed to him anew, that as Pro-pretor he should sit Lord Deputy in the same province of *France*, and have the same two legions as before, when he was Pretor there. The like decree, that was granted for *L. Viturcius*, pulled also in the Senat for *C. Aruentinus*, and a bill was propounded unto the people for the proroguing and continuance of his office, who as Pretor ruled the Province of *Sardinia* with the strength of two Legions. And for the defence and guard of the said Province he had an addition of fifty ships of war, which *P. Scipio* had lent out of *Spain*. *P. Scipio* likewise and *M. Sallustius*, held still, by virtue of a decree, their provinces of *Spain*, and commanded the same armies for one year longer. As for *Scipio*, he had direction to lend over into *Sardinia* fifty ships; out of those heighly which he had under his hand, either taken with him out of *Italy* or won from the enemy at *Carthage*, because there ran a rumor, that there was great preparation at *Carthage* for a navy that year, and that the Carthaginians would take up, and fill all the sea coast of *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, with an Armado of two hundred sail. Invisibly the government was divided in this manner. *Sec. Julius Caesar* had the leading of the Cannian Army: *M. Valerius Licinius* (for his government also was confirmed for a year longer) the charge of that fleet of seventy ships, which rid about *Sicily*: with commission to add thereto, those thirty ships which the former year lay before *Tarentum*; and with this Armado consisting of one hundred sail, to put over into *Africa*, if he thought so good, and there to forrage and fetch booties. Over and besides, *R. Sulpicius* was for one year longer to continue in office, and to govern the provinces of *Maechia* and *Greece*, with the force of the said Navy which he had before. As touching the two legions which remained about the City of *Rome*, there was no alteration. Only the Consuls were permitted to levy and enrol a new supply as need should require. Thus the Empire and State of *Rome* for that year was maintained with the power of six legions. *P. Licinius Varus* the Pretor of the City, was charged to repair those thirty old ships, which lay at *Hydruntum*, and to furnish twenty new built, with sailers and mariners, that with this Armado of fifty sail he might be able to defend all the sea coast near unto the City of *Rome*. *C. Calpurnius* was forbidden to remove his forces from *Arretium*, before a successor came in his place. The same order was given to *Tubulus*, and to have especially a vigilant eye, that no commotion arose from thence. And then the Pretors went into their provinces.

As for the Consuls they were troubled and made some scruple of conscience to go to their provinces upon the report of some prodigious and ominous signs, and because also in their sanctities they found some gods for propitions and favourable unto them. For out of *Campania* news came, that in *Capua* two Temples, to wits of *Fortune* and *Mars*, and also some Tombs and Sepulchres, were smitten with lightning: and besides (see how vain and preposterous superstition, importeth even the least trifling things to the hand of God) that certain Mice, forsooth, in a Cuspe of *Capua* gnawed the holdy Altar in *Capua*, a great swarm of Bees settled in the very marketplace. Moreover, that the Wall and one of the Gates at *Hydruntum* was blasted and bricken with lightning: that in *Carthage* a Gripe fled into the Church of *Asclepius*. That at *Polis*, there was a Pool flowed with blood: in regard of these strange and wondrous tokens, there was a devout supplication for one day. And for certain days together, greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, without any good token: and for a long time the grace and favour of the gods could not be obtained. But yet the fortune of the Common-weal stood the higher, and all this anger and mischance, proceeded by those wonders, light upon the head of the Consuls alone, and their death executed all the rest. The Playes called *Apollinarian*, in the year of *Q. Fulvius* and *Sec. Claud.* Consuls, had been by *P. Cornel. Sulla* Pretor of the City, first exhibited: after whom all the Pretors ever after did the like. But they vowed them a year before, and performed them on a day uncertain. The same year happened a grievous plague both in the City and in the Countries about, which

For none might be Tribun or Edile, whose Father was living.

yet in the end turned rather to long and chronick diseases, then to sharp and deadly maladies. For this pestilence there was not only iolemn going in procession, in all the high streets, carrefours, and croses ways throughout the City: but also *P. Licinius Varus* Pretor of the City, was commanded to propound unto the people, that the Playes above said should be vowed for ever against a set and determinat day. Himselfe therefore was the first that vowed them, and exhibited them upon the third day before the Nones of July, and the same day ever after was observed and kept holiday for that purpose.

51 day of Iuly.

As the rumor of the Aretins revolt encreased daily greater, so the LL. of the Senat were careful about it every day more then other. Letters therefore were sent unto *C. Hostilius*, that he should without delay take pledges of the Aretines: and *C. Terentius Varro* was sent with commission, to receive the said hostages at his hands, and to bring them to Rome. He was no sooner come, but *Hostilius* presently commanded that one legion, which lay in camp before the town, should enter the City with banner displayed, and there he put sufficient guards in places convenient. Then having called and summoned the Senators to appear in the market place, he demanded of them hostages. And when the Senat requested but two days respite to consider of the matter, he made proclamation, that either they should deliver them presently, or else the next day he would seize upon all the Senators children every one. Then he commanded the Colonels, the Captains of the Allies, and the Centurions, to ward the Gates, that none might go forth of the City by night. But this was hickly and negligently executed, for seven principal Senators, before the warders were set at the gates, escaped forth with their children before night. The morning by break of day, when the Senat began to be cited into the Common Hall, these parties were killed, and their goods confiscated, and sold in port-sale. Of the rest of the Senators, their children were taken hostages to the number of 120. and were delivered to *C. Terentius*, for to be conveyed to Rome: who when he came into the Senat, made such relation of the matter, that the suspicion of their revolt was much more pregnant then before. And therefore, as if some insurrection had like presently to grow from *Tuscan*, *C. Terentius* himself was commanded to conduct one of the two legions about the City of Rome, unto *Aretium*, and there to lie in garrison whith for to keep the town in order. And it was thought meet that *C. Hostilius* with the army besides, should survey and visit the whole Province, and to be careful and circumspect, that no occasion nor opportunity might be given unto them, that were minded to seek alteration and to rebel. *C. Terentius* so soon as he was come to *Aretium* with the legion, when he called unto the Magistrates for the keys of the gates, and they made answer that they were but mislaid aside and could not be found: supposing that they were rather cautiously laid out of the way for the nonce, than lost by negligence, caused other keys and locks to be made, and set upon every gate: and took as great heed and care as he could, to have all under his own hand. He gave especial warning also to *Hostilius* as touching the *Tuscans*, and told him, that he should never hope to rest in security, that they would not rebel, unless he took order with them beforehand, that they possibly could not rebel.

After this, there was much debate and contention in the Senat about the Tarentines, even before *Fabius*, whilmes himself excused and defended them whom he had conquered and subdued by force and arms: but others were mightily offended with them, yea, and most of them gave out plainly, that they were full as faulty as the Campanians, and deserved no less punishment. And so there was an act of the Senat granted according to the opinion and advice of *M. Acilius*, that the town should be held with a garrison, and all the Tarentines kept from stirring out of the City: and that the matter should further be debated and decided afresh another time, when the state of Italy stood in better terms of peace and quietness. And the like contention and variance was among the LL. of the Senat touching *M. Livius* Consable and Captain of the Cattle of *Tarentum*, whilmes some were of mind to condemn him as in great fault, because through his carelessness and sloth, *Tarentum* the City was betrayed to the enemy: others again awarded him good consideration and reward, for that he kept the fort so well by the space of five years, and by his means especially and by none else *Tarentum* was recovered. But some were of opinion between these and said, that the discussing and determination of that matter pertained properly to the Censors and not to the Senat: of which judgement *Fabius* also himself was. And this moreover he said withal, that he must needs confess, that true it was, which *Livius* his friends in the Senat stood so much upon, and iterated to often, namely, that he was the only means that *Tarentum* was recovered: for in good faith, quoth he, it never could have been regained if it had not once been lost before.

T. Quintius Crispinus one of the Consuls, went to the army which *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had, with a new supply into the Lucans colony. But *Marcellus* still was laid behind upon occasion of new scruples of conscience, and sundry objects that troubled his mind, and kept a hammering in his head one after another. Amongst which, this was one, that having toward in the Gauls war at *Clasidium*, a Temple to *Honor* and *Virtues* the dedication of the said Church was hindered by the *Bishops*, who said, that one Chapel, by sight and according to their ceremonies, served but for one Saint, and could not be consecrated unto more. For in case it should be blasted and smitten by fire from heaven, or otherwise some prodigious token hap therein, hardly could the right expiation and purging thereof be performed, because it might not be known, to which of the famous or gods the sacrifice should be done: for by order one sacrifice could not serve twain, unless there were some particular and especial gods named. So there was said to be another Chapel

A built for *Virtues*: and great hast there was made for the rearing thereof, and yet it was not his fortune ever to dedicate those chapels. So at length he set forward and put himself on his journey with a supply, unto the army which he had left the year before at *Venusia*.

When *Crispinus* minded to assault *Locri* in the country of the Brutians, because there went a great name of *Fabius* for the assailing and winning of *Tarentum*, he sent for all kind of artillery and engines out of *Sicily*, and ships also were brought from thence, for to batter that part of the City that lieth to the Sea side. But the enterprise went not forward, because *Annibal* had removed, with all his forces to *Lacinium*. And besides, the news went that his colleague had already brought out his forces from *Venusia*, with whom he was desirous to joyn. And therefore he returned out of the Brutians country into *Apulia*: and so between *Venusia* and *Brutia*, the Consuls encamped severally, within three miles one from the other. *Annibal* likewise was retired into the same country, considering that the war was turned from *Locri*. There the Consuls (hot men of nature both) almost every day led forth their men into the field, not doubting but if *Annibal* onemer them (having two Consular armies joyned together) to make a dispatch of the war once for all. *Annibal* because the year before, he had twice affronted *Marcellus*, and both given and taken the foil: like as he had great reason, as well to fear as to hope, if he were to encounter and fight with him alone: to he thought verily, that he was never able to make his part good with both the Consuls together. And therefore laying off his Lyons skin, he took himself wholly to his old Foxes coat and sought all means and opportunities to lay a train for to entrap them. Howbeit there passed some light skirmishes between both their camps, with variety of fortune and inter-bangeable success. By which, the Consuls thinking that they should hold out and keep the enemies play, during the summer season, and yet nevertheless be able to assault *Locri*, wrote unto *L. Cincius*, that he should take the Seas, and cross over with his fleet out of *Sicily* to the City of *Locri*. And to the end that the Town might be likewise assailed from the Land side, they commanded part of the army which lay in garrison at *Tarentum*, to be conducted thither. *Annibal* having intelligence afore-hand of these things, by certain Thurstins, sent forth certain of his forces to beter the ways from *Tarentum*. And there under the side of the Perellian mount, he bestowed secretly in ambush two thousand horse, and three thousand foot. Upon whom the Romans (marching without their espials sent afore them) chanced to light, and were slain to the number of two thousand, and upon twelve hundred taken alive: the rest were scattered and fled over the fields and forests back to *Tarentum*. Now there was a little hill between both the camps of the Cartaginians and Romans, and the same all overgrown with wood, which at first was possessed and kept, neither by one nor other: because the Romans knew not the situation of that side whith lay toward the enemies camp: and *Annibal* supposed verily that it was a place fitter for to lay an ambush than to encamp in: and therefore he sent by night for that purpose, certain troops of Numidians, and bestowed them closely in the mids of the wood, and not one of them stirred all the day long out of their standings, for fear lest either their armour or themselves might be espied a far off. In the Roman camp, every man generally was of mind, and let not to say, that the said hill was to be seized and fortified for their use, with a good fortress built upon it, for fear lest if it were first gained by *Annibal*, they should have the enemy as it were over their heads ready to annoy them. And *Marcellus* himself was of the same opinion: whereupon, Why go not we our selves in person (quoth he, to his colleague) with some few horsemen, to view and consider the place, where our eyes shall be our judges: and seeing the ground once, we shall resolve more certainly what course to take? *Crispinus* liked well of the motion: and so they went forward accompanied with two hundred and twenty horsemen of which forty were Fregellans, the rest all *Tuscans*. There followed after them, *M. Marcellus*, the Consul his son, and *Aulus Manlius*, two Colonels: also *L. Arrenius* and *M. Aulus*, two Captains of the allies. Some Authors have set down in writing, that *Marcellus* the Cos. sacrificed that day: and when the first beast was killed, the liver was found without an head: howbeit in the second, all things appeared that were wont to be seen. But in the head of that liver there shewed I wot not how, a kind of extraordinary excellence: which the Soothsayer had no liking to, because after those winds which seemed before short and unperfect, and milking: now those again were seen too well fed and overgrown. But the Consul *Marcellus* was so hot and desirous to fight with *Annibal*, that he thought himself never encamped neer enough unto him. And even then also as he went forth out of the camp, he gave order to his soldiers to be ready at a short warning, and have their eye upon the place: that presently he liked the hill, for which they went to view, they should dislodge, truss up bag and baggage, and follow presently. Now there was a little flat and plain ground before the camp, from whence the way that led unto the said hill, was on every side very open and evident to the eye: where there lay a scout or spie, set of purpose to discover any of the enemies gone far from the camp: and ranging abroad either for fowle or forage, that they might be intercepted: and not for any hope of great effect as fell out. This shew gave a sign unto the Numidians, that all at once they should arise out of their lurking & starting holes. And they that from the top & ridge of the hill, were to rise & shew themselves affront, never appeared & made head before that they had set a compass about, for to shut up the passage at the back of the Romans. And then from all parts they began to start up & with a main shout charged & ran upon them. The Consuls now were in that valley, from whence they neither could possibly get up to the pitch of the hill, possessed aforehand by the enemy: nor had any place of safe retreat behind, for that they were invironed & hemmed in

in the affairs and state of Greece. As concerning a peace, the consultation was put off and referred to the general Council of the *Acha*: and for the said Diet or Council, was a place appointed, and a certain day set down and published. And in the mean space, a truce obtained for thirty days.

Then the King departed from thence, and through *Thessaly* and *Boeotia*, came to *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, for to put by *Attalus* (whom he heard say to be coming with a navy for *Euboea*) from arriving in any havens, or landing in any place on the sea coast. Then leaving a guard behind for to withstand *Attalus*, (if haply in the mean season he should chance to pass over) he marched him forward with some few horsemen and light armed footmen, and came to *Argos*. There by the suffrages and voices of the people, the honour of exhibiting and celebrating the solemn games, called *Hera* and *Nemea*, was recommended unto him, because the Macedonian Kings give out & I say, that they are defended from the very games and palmities, to the Council of his allies long before proclaimed, as is above said. Much debate there was for a small end of the *Attolians* that neither the Romans nor *Attalus* might have any occasion to come into Greece. But the *Attolians* merrily all this before the time of the truce was well expired: by occasion that they heard, that *Attalus* both: was come to *Egina*, and the Roman navy anchored at *Naupactum*. For being called into the Council of the *Acha*, in which the same Embassies were, who before at *Phaleria* had treated for peace, first they complained, that some things had been done, during the time of the truce, against the faith of the covenant and accord. But at last they flatly denied and said, That there could not possibly be an end of wars, unless the *Acha* rendered *Pylos* unto the *Messenians*; and peace were granted and returned to the Romans, and likewise to the *Athamans*, to *Scardelus*, *Plenatus*, and *Archidai*. Whereat *Philip* was very wroth, and thought it a foul indignity, that conquered persons should take upon them to article and capitulate with him their conqueror. "But neither heretofore (quoth he) gave I audience to the treaty of peace, nor yielded consent to truce upon any hope I had that the *Attolians* would ever be quiet: but to this end, that all confederate friends might bear witness that I sought means of peace, and they sought occasions and pick quarrels for war. So without conclusion of any peace, he dissolved the Diet: leaving four thousand soldiers for the defence and guard of the *Achaans*, and receiving of them five ships of war, (which if he had joynted to the armada of the *Carthaginians*, lately sent unto him, and also all those ships which were coming out of *Bithynia* from King *Prusias*, he determined to allot the Romans with ship-fight, who had a long time been mighty masters of the Seas) himself presently from that Council departed back to *Argos*: for now the time drew neerer of the games *Nemea*, which he was desirous to celebrate and honour with his presence. Whiles the King was occupied in the preparation of these games and palmities, and solaced himself during their festival holidays, with more liberty of mind and repose, than he should in time of war: *P. Sulpitius* having looked from *Naupactum*, arrived with his fleet between *Sicyone* and *Corinth*, and waited that goodly territory, most renowned of all other for fruitfulness of all things. The noise and rumor of this occurrence awakened *Philip*, and caused him to leave his disports: and so he took his Cavalry with him in halt and fetterward, having given order that the Infantry should follow freight after: where he found the Romans straggling here and there all over the country, laden with booty and prizes; (as who feared nothing in the World less) let upon them, and drove them to their ships. Thus the Roman fleet nothing well apprised for the booty they had gotten, returned to *Naupactum*. And *Philip* greatly augmented the solemnity and magnificence of the games that were behind by the fame of a victory over the Romans at that time, how much or little soever it was. And with great joy and mirth were those holy-days kept: and so much the more, because the King for to please the people withal, laid aside the diadem of his head, put off his purple robes and other princely and royal habit, and in outward port bare himself equal to others, and no better: a thing right acceptable and pleasing to free States, as nothing can be more. By which deed of his, he had given great and undoubted hope unto all men, of liberty and freedom: but that he flained and marred all again with his intolerable lust and looseness of life. For he used to go ranging up and down with one or two of his favourites in company, and did nothing else but haunt the meanest of the Sea side day and night in disguised manner: and thus by debasing himself to the meanest estate of a private person, the less he was suspected and known, the more dissolute he was: and while he pretended unto others a vain show of freedom, he abused all to his own licentiousness. Neither paid his purse for all his pleasures, nor with flattering persuasions and fair speeches obtained he his desires: but to accomplish his wickedness, he used oftentimes forcible violence: and dangerous it was both to husbands and parents, to be any thing straight-laced and made goodly by tedious delay and unreasonable severity, to seem but to stay the unbridled lust and appetite of the King. From one of the Princes also of the *Acha* named *Aratus*, he took his wife away called *Polyxaria*, and upon hope and colour of marriage with the King, drew her away with him into *Macedon*. Having thus with these lewd and wicked pranks passed the time of the solemnity of the *Nemean* games, and some few dayes over and above: he went to *Dyma* for to dislodge the garrison of the *Attolians*, which they had sent for and received into the City (of *Dyma*) from the *Eleans*, *Cycliades* (who was the sovereign or chief magistrat of that state) and the *Acha* met the King at *Dyma*: who as they hated the *Eleans*, because they differed from the rest of the *Achaans*, so they were maliciously bent against the *Attolians*, whom they were perswaded,

to have stirred the Romans to levy war upon them. So from *Dyma* they departed, and with joint armies passed over the river *Larissa*, which divideth the country of the *Eleans* from the territory of *Dyma*. The fifth day after they were entered the confines of their enemies, they spent in foraging. The morrow after, in battail array, they presented themselves before the City, having sent out their Horsemen before them to make bravado's before their gates, and all to provoke the *Attolians*; a kind of people fall of stomack, and ready enough to rally forth and make excursions. Now were they not wate all this while, that *sulpitius* with fifteen ships had crossed over from *Naupactum* to *Cydon*: nor that he had landed four thousand souldiers in the still time of the night (because they might not be seen to march) and entered *Elis*. And therefore, this sudden and unexpected object put them in a terrible fear, when they saw and knew once again the *Attolians* and the *Eleans*, the Roman ensigns and their armor. At the first, the King would have had his men to retire: but afterwards seeing the skirmish was begun already between the *Attolians* and *Tribally*, (a kind of *Illyrians*) and perceiving that his souldiers also were put to it and charged, then the King also himself with his Horsemen assailed the Cohort or Squadron of the Romans. There his Horse was with a dart shot through: and when he had once flung and cast the King forward over his head, there was a cruel and deadly fight on both sides, whilest the Romans laid hard at the Kings, and the Kings men protected and guarded his person. Himself fought right manfully above the rest, considering he was forced on foot, to maintain skirmish among the Horsemen. But afterwards, by reason of the great disadvantage, and seeing many about him stricken down and wounded, he was caught away by his guard, mounted upon another Horse, and so he fled and escaped. And the same day he encamped 5 miles from the City of the *Eleans*. The next morrow he led all his whole power to a Castle of the *Eleans* situate near at hand, called *Pyrgos*: into which he had intelligence that a multitude of the country peasants for fear of being spoiled, were with their cattle driven and retired. This confused, disordered, and naked company he took captive at his coming, presently upon the first charge and onset that he gave: and with that booty helicked himself whole again, and salved the shameful defeat that he had received at *Elis*. As he was busy in sharing the prizes, and dealing abroad the prisoners, and there were of men some four thousand, and of cattle of all kinds one with another twenty thousand head) there came a post out of *Macedon* with news, that one *Erepus* had surprised *Lychnidum*, by corrupting for a piece of money the Countable of the Castle, and Captain of the garrison there: and that he held in possession certain borough Towns of the *Dassaretians*, and still raised the *Dardanians* to Rebellion. The King therefore gave over the *Acha* and the *Attolians* war: yet leaving two thousand five hundred armed souldiers of all forts, under the leading of *Menippus* and *Polysphaces* for to defend his Allies, he went from *Dyma* through *Achaia*, *Boeotia*, and *Beotia*; and upon the tenth day came to *Demetrius* in *Thessalia*. Where other messengers also encountered him, bringing tidings of a greater insurrection: namely, that the *Dardanians* had invaded *Macedon*, and were masters of *Orestis*, and came down into the plains of *Aethrem*: and that the rumor was ripe and went current among the barbarous people that *Philip* was slain. The truth is, in that expedition where-in he fought at *Sicyon* with those that preyed and made spoil in the country, he was carried by his hot and stomack-full Horse under a Tree, and there against a bough or arm thereof that stood out, he chanced to break a corner of the crest of his helmet at one end. That piece chanced to be found by a certain *Attolian*, and was brought into *Attolia* unto *Scardelus*, who knew by the mark that it was the Kings helmet: whereupon the fame of the Kings death was divulged commonly abroad. After the departure of *Philip* out of *Achaia*, *Sulpitius* who was arrived with his navy at *Egina*, went forward, and joynted with *Attalus*. The *Acha* not far from *Messena* flock a fortuitous battail with the *Attolians* and the *Eleans*. *Attalus* the King, and *P. Sulpitius* wintered in *Egina*.

In the end of this year, *T. Quintius Crispinus* the Consul, when he had nominated for Dictator, *L. Marcianus Tergemnus*, for to hold the solemn election of Magistrates, and to let out the games, died of his hurt afore said. Some say he left his life at *Tarentum*: others in *Campane*. Thus north of *Colbeck* slain with at any memorable battail, (a thing never seen afore in any other way) left the Common-wealth desolate, and as it were clean fatherless. *Marcianus* the Dictator chose for his General of the Horse, *C. Servilius*, at that time *Edile curule*. The Senate upon the very fifth day that the *L. L.* were assembled, gave order to the Dictator, to exhibit the great Roman games, which *M. Aemilius* the Pretor of the City, whiles *C. Flaminius* and *Cn. Servilius* were, had reprinted and vowed for 5 years. Then the Dictator, both let them forth and allowed them for the next five years. But considering there were two Consular armies without their Generals, so neerer unto the enemies: the *L. L.* of the Senate and the people let all other matters slide, and had a principal care above all things, to create Consuls as soon as possibly they could: and especially, who of virtue and valour should be thought feared and safe enough, from Punic craftiness and deceitful trains. For whereas during the time of all these wars, the over-ably heads and hot spirits of the Leaders, had been ever dangerous and burthful to the state: so in this very year, the Consuls upon immoderate desire to fight with the enemy, was fallen and plunged into a Jeopardy and mischief ere they were aware. Howbeit the immortal Gods had mercy and pity upon the Roman name, in sparing the guileless armies, and punishing the inconsiderate rashness of the Consuls, with the loss only of their own lives. And when the *L. L.* of the Senate looked about every way, to see if they could spie out any to make Consuls of a

above all others by many degrees, *C. Claudius Nero* excelled and was the only Paragon. But his comparison with him in the government they were likewise to seek for. As for him, no doubt, they deemed him a singular man and a brave Captain: but yet more forward and eager, than the quality and occasions of this war required, or to be matched with such an enemy as *Annibal* was. And therefore they thought good to join with him for his colleague, a sober, wise, and prudent man, who might temper and qualify that fierce nature and disposition of his. Now *M. Livius*, many years ago had been upon his Consulship condemned by the judgement of the people. Which ignominy and reproach he took so grievously to the heart, that he departed into the country, and for many years together, forbore not only the City, but to converse and keep company with men. And almost eight years after his condemnation aforesaid, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *M. Valerius Maximus* the Consuls, reduced him again into the City. But he ailed to go in old and worn apparel, letting the hair of his head and beard grow long, carrying in his very countenance and air, the fresh and notable remembrance of the disgrace before received. But *L. Volumnius* and *P. Licinius* the Censors, compelled him to cut his hair, and lay away his vile and unbecomingly weed, to come into the Senate, and to meddle again in civil matters and affairs of State. And yet in so doing, he would never proceed farther, than to say Amen to other men's opinions, and speak but one word, yea and nay: or else nothing at all, but shew his mind by passing on his seat to one side or other. Until such time as a kinsman of his own, *M. Livius Mœnator*, being in trouble, and his name and honour called in question, caused him to stand up in the Council-house and deliver his opinion. And when after to long discontinuance, he was seen and heard once to speak, he turned every man his eye upon him, and ministered occasion also of speech in these terms, namely, "That the people had done the man exceeding great wrong, yea, and hurt the common-wealth much, in that during the time of so dangerous a war, there had been no employment of it worth a pence, either for his travail and pains, of his advice and counsel. But to return again to the Lords of the Senate: they knew well, that neither *Q. Fabius*, nor *M. Valerius Livius*, could possibly be joined as companion in government to *C. Nero*: forasmuch as it was not lawful that both should be chosen out of the Nobles or Patritii. And the same was *T. Manlius* his case also. Besides that, as he once refused the Consulship when it was offered unto him, so should he would not accept thereof the second time if it were tendered unto him. But if they should fort *Manlius* and *C. Claudius* together, there would be an excellent couple of Consuls in deed. Neither should the people against this overture, thus moved forth by the Lords of the Senate. The only man in the whole City, that denied it, was the very party himself, unto whom this dignity and honourable place was presented: Who much blamed the levity and inconsistency of the City: saying, "That they had no pity of him, when it was: namely, whilst he was in question and scutled, and during the time of his trouble were poor and simple garments: but now against his will, they clothed him a glittering white robe to stand for a Consulship. Thus (quoth he) they punish and deprecate, thus they honour and advance the same persons. If they took me for a good and honest man, why condemned they me as they did for a wicked one and a knave? If they found me naughty and faulty, what cause have they to trust me with a second Consulship? who used the former so badly, which was committed unto me? As he argued and made complaints in this wise, the Lords of the Senate reproved him, and replied again: setting before his eyes the example of *M. Furius*, who in times past was called home out of exile: and when the State was decayed and lying along, set it upright again in her former place and pristine glory. And like as the civilities and rigor of parents, is to be mollified by patience, even so the hard and shrewd dealings of a mans country, is to be dulced and mitigated by bearing and sufferance. So they all stuck close together, and chose *M. Livius* Consul, with *C. Claudius*. Three days after, they went to the election of the Pretors. And there were created Pretors, *L. Porcius Licinius*, *Caius Manlius*, *A. Hostilius*, and *C. Hostilius*, both *Cato's*. When the election was finished, and the games celebrated, the Dictator and General of the Cavalry surrendered their places, *C. Terentius Varro* was sent into *Hetruria* as Pro-pretor, to the end that out of that province, *C. Hostilius* should go to *Tarentum*, unto that army which *T. Quintus* the Coll. had. That *L. Manlius* should go beyond Seas as Ambassador, to see how the world went there: And whilst, considering that in summer, there were to be solemnized the famous games at *Olympia*, which were celebrated with a most frequent resort and meeting of all *Greece*, in case he might safely and without impeachment of the enemy, he should visit that great assembly: to the end that if he could light upon any Scythians, who were fled and banished their country, or any citizens of *Tarentum*, confined thither and sent away by *Annibal*, they should repair home again into their own countries, and know, that whatsoever they were possessed of, before the war was began, the people of *Rome* would restore the same, and make good again unto them.

Because it was like to be a right dangerous year, and no Consuls were invested fully into the Common-wealth, all men depended upon the Consuls elect, and were desirous that they should with all speed, cast lots for their Provinces: and every man was willing to know beforehand, what Province each one should rule, and what enemy he was to deal withal. Moreover, a motion and speech there was in the Senat-house, that the Consuls should be reconciled and made friends, and *Q. Fabius* Max. propounded that first. For there had been notorious enmity and variance between them at one time: and the calamity of *Livius* made the same more grievous and unportable unto himself: in regard that he was persuaded, how in that misery of his, he was despised

A despised of his adversary. Whereupon he grew to be more implacable of the twain; and worse to be treated. "There needs (quoth he) no reconciliation; neither is it material and to any purpose. For they will do all with more diligence and better spirit, who ever stand in fear that their adversary and concurrent shall grow great and be advanced by their default. Yet the authority of the Senat bare such a stroke with them, that they laid aside all malice and old grudge, and with one mind, consent, and counsel, admitted the affairs of the common-wealth. Their provinces were not intermingled, nor their government extended into one anothers country, as in former years, but distant alunder and divided by the remote frontiers and farthest marches of *Italy*. For unto one of them were assigned the Brutians and Lucans country against *Annibal*: unto the other, *Gallia* against *Ashurbanus*: who as the rumour and bruit went, was come forward neer unto the *Alpes*. Of those two armies which were in *Gallia* and in *Hetruria*, he whose fortune was to go into *Gallia*, was to chuse which army he would, and have besides that other of the City. And he whose lot should be to go into the Brutians country, besides the new legions enrolled of citizens, was to take unto him, the army of whether Consul he litt, of the former year. *Allo Quinctius Fabius* the Pro-consul, had the charge of that army which the Consul refused: and his authority was renewed for one year longer. As for *C. Hostilius*, whose Province *Tarentum* they exchanged for *Hetruria*, they altered his Province again, to wit, *Capua* instead of *Tarentum*. Unto him was allowed that one legion which *Scipio* the last year commanded.

Now increased their care every day more than other, concerning the coming of *Ashurbanus* into *Italy*. And the Embassadors of the Massilians had brought newshirts, that he was passed over into *Gallia*: and that the minds of the Gauls were mightily cheered up by his coming, because the speech went that he had brought a huge deal of gold with him, for to hire and wage soldiers for aid in the wars. Then afterwards, *Sex. Amphilus*, and *M. Relius*, who were sent Embassadors back with them from *Rome*, for to see whether it were to induce, had made relation unto the Senate, that they had lent certain of purpose, guided by the Massilians, who by means of their excellent friends, the Princes and Lords of the Gauls, might learn the truth, and bring word back accordingly. By whose report it was for certain known, that *Ashurbanus* having loved already a pulsing fame, was minded the next spring to pass over to the *Alpes*: and that there was nothing else said him, but that it had been done already, saving only the passages of the *Alps*: which were closed up with the winter snow.

In the room of *M. Marcellus*, *L. Aquilius Pavius* was created Augur, and so consecrated, And likewise *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* was inaugurated or installed King of the sacrifices, instead of *Marcus Minius*, who died two years before. In this very time, the City was purged, and there was ageneral survey and numbering of the people, by the Censors taken, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. There were reckoned and entered into the Censors books of Citizens, 137108. A smaller number by much odds, than before the war. It is recorded in the Annals, that this year first after that *Annibal* came into *Italy*, the Comitium was built over head and covered. And that the Roman Games were once renewed by the Ediles of the chair, *Q. Metellus*, and *C. Servilius*: and that the other Games called *Plautii*, were renewed two dayes by *Q. Manlius*, and *M. Cæcilius Metellus*, Ediles of the Commons: who also offered three images and set them up in the Chappel of *Ceres*. And the solemn feastival dinner of *Jupiter* was celebrated by occasion of those Games.

Then *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the second time, entered their Consulship: who (because whilst they were but Coll. elect, they had cast lots for their Provinces) commanded the Pretors to do the like. And to *C. Hostilius* fell the jurisdiction over the citizens, who had that likewise over strangers and forrainers: to the end, that the other three might go forth into their Provinces. To *A. Hostilius*, was allotted *Sardinia*: to *C. Manlius*, *Sicily*: and to *L. Porcius Pancer*. In sum, the legions were in number three and twenty divided into the Provinces in this sort: to wit, and Consuls had two apiece, Spain four. The three Pretors for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *France* each of them twain, *C. Terentius* in *Hetruria* commanded two, *Q. Fulvius* in the Brutians country, other two, *Q. Claudius* about *Tarentum*, and the Salentins conducted twain: and *Caius Hostilius Tullus* at *Capua*, one. Last of all, two were enrolled for the City. In the four first legions, the people chose all the Colonels or Marshals, but to all the rest the Consuls sent men to make up the defect.

Before the Consuls went forth there was a Novendial sacrifice celebrated because at *Vesii* it had rained stones from heaven. And after one prodigious sight was once minded and spoken of, there were (as it is commonly seen) others also reported: namely, that in *Minerva* the temple of *Jupiter*, and the sacred grove of *Marica* was smitten with lightning: and at *Avella* the wall and gate likewise, was blighted with fire from Heaven. The men of *Arminia* a spike also of a more fearful and terrible thing than that, to wit, that there ran a river of blood in their very gate. Last of all, *Gæ Capua* was beset the gate at night, and worried and dimembered one of the watchmen. These wonderful signs were expiate with sacrificing of greater beasts, and a supplication was holden for one day, by virtue of a decree from the Prelats. Then was the Novendial sacrifice once again named: because it was seen, that in *Arministrum* it rained stones. And mens minds were no sooner freed of one religious scruple, but they were troubled again with another. For word was brought, that at *Frusino* there was an infant born, as big as ordinary a child is at four years of age: And the thing was not to be strange for the bigness of the body, as for

* The same that Cicer.

that it was both doubtful, whether it were male or female, like as two years before, at *Siniffi*. The wizards that were sent for out of *Herrus*, said, that this of all other was a foul and filthy monster, and that it should be had forth of the Dominion of *Rome*, and drowned in the deep, so as it might touch no ground. Whereupon they put it alive into a coffer, and when they had carried it a good way into the Sea, they flung it in. Moreover the Prelats made a decree, that certain Virgins in three companies, having nine apiece, should go through the City, and sing certain Canticles. And whiles in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, the Maidens were a learning their song by heart, devised and framed in verse by *Livius* the Poet, the Temple of *Queen Juno* in the Aventine hill, was stricken with lightning from Heaven. And when the *Aruspices* had declared that this prodigious token touched the matrons and dames of the City, and that the goddess was to be pacified with an oblation: they were (by virtue of an edict granted out by the *Ædiles* of the chair) called all into the Capitol, as many as had any house, either in the City of *Rome*, or within ten miles every way. And they among themselves chose five and twenty into whose hands all the rest should put some small portion of their dowry. Of which there was made a fair and large golden basin, for to be presented unto *Juno*: and it was brought into the Aventine; and withal, the dames offered unto her purely and chafely their sacrifices. And straight after the Decemvirs proclaimed a day for another sacrifice of the same goddess, the manner and order whereof was this: There were two white heifers led from the Temple of *Apollo* into the City, through the gate *Carmentalis*: after them were carried two Images, representing *Juno*, made of Cyprus wood: then went seven and twenty Virgins in long dress garments, chanting hymns and songs to the honour of *Juno*. These songs in verse were peradventure commendable, and passed for good with those rude and gross wits then living: but it they should be rehearsed now adays to our fine heads, they would seem but simple stuff, and composed without rime or reason. After this row of Maidens, followed the Decemvirs deputed for sacred Ceremonies, with chaplets and garlands of Baies, clothed in vesture and robes embroidered with purple. From the gate above named, they passed by the street *Jugurina* into the Grand-place, and there rested this solemn pomp and train. Then these Virgins taking hold of a cord, which went through all their hands, sung a song, and danced the measures, footing it artificially according to the note. From thence they went by the Tufcan street and *Velabrum* through the beasts market, and so forward into the *Circus Publicus*, until they came to the Temple of *Juno*. There the Decemvirs sacrificed two beasts, and the Images of Cyprus wood were offered and set up in the Temple. When the Gods and Goddesses were duly pacified the Consuls took matters more strictly and with greater preciseness, than any man could remember in former years: For both the fear of the war was two-fold, by reason of a new-come enemy into *Italy*, and also there was less store of youth, out of which the soldiers should be enrolled. Whereupon they compelled the inhabitants of the Colonies by the Sea side, who were said to have an especial immunity of warfare (by a sacred law) to set them down a certain day upon which every man should repair into the Senate, and shew what cards they had for their immunity and vacation. Upon the day appointed there presented themselves before the Senat these Commonalties following, to wit, of *Hofia*, *Alfia*, *Antium*, *Anxur*, *Minerva Siniffi*, and *Sena* from the upper Sea. When every one of these States exhibited and read their charter of immunity, there was none of all them dispensed with, but they of *Antium* and *Hofia* in regard the enemy abode in *Italy*: and to the young and servicable men of those Colonies, were put to their oath and iware, that not above forty of them should lie one night forth of the walls of their Colony, so long as the enemy continued in *Italy*.

When all the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that the Consuls were to go forth to the wars with all speed possible (for that both *Afrubal* was to be encountered coming down the *Alps*, for fear he should solicit the Gauls on this side the *Alps*; and the Tufcans likewise who hoped and looked every day for a change and alteration: and also *Annibal* was to be kept occupied in his own war, that he might not go forth of the Brutians country, and meet with his brother) only *Livius* made some ray and drew back, as reporting but small trust in the armies belonging to his own Provinces. And as for his Colleague, well he wist, that he had the choice of two notable Consular armies, and of a third, whereof *Q. Claudius* had the charge at *Tarentum*. Whereupon he had made some motion of calling the Volones (or volunteers) again to their colours, and to serve in the wars. The Senat granted the Consuls alarge and free commission, both to make supply from whence soever they would, by chusing out of all the armies whom they pleased, and to make exchange with whom they would, yea, and to draw out of the Provinces whomsoever, according as they should think it good for the Common-weal. And all this was executed with the exceeding concord and unity of the Consuls. The Volones were enrolled into the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some Authors have written, that *Scipio* sent unto *Livius* from out of *Spain* a strong power of auxiliaries for that war, to wit, eight thousand of Spaniards and Frenchmen, two thousand legionary footmen, and eighteen hundred men of arms, partly Numidians, and partly Spaniards; and that *Marcus Lucretius* brought these forces by Sea: also that *C. Marcius* sent out of *Sicily* four thousand archers and slingers.

The fear and troubles in *Rome* were much increased, by occasion of letters sent out of *Gallia* from *L. Porcius* the Pretor: purporting thus much, That *Afrubal* was removed out of his winning harbours, and was passing over the *Alps*: that there were eight thousand Ligurians

levied and ready in arms, to joyn with him to soon as ever he was come into *Italy*, unless some one were sent against the Ligurians, to prevent and keep them otherwise busied with war. As for himself, he would with that weak army that he had, go forward, as far as he thought he might with safety. These letters came the Consuls to dispatch the matters in great haste, and to go forth into their Provinces, sooner than they had purposed: with this intent, that both of them as well the one as the other might in his several province keep the enemies occupied, and suffer them not to joyn, and lay their forces together. And verily the thing that helped them most in this their designment, was an opinion and persuasion that *Annibal* had: For albeit he was assured that his brother would that summer pass over into *Italy*, yet when he called to remembrance what a toil he had himself, and how much trouble and travail he endured in the passage, one while of the river *Rhodanus*, and another while of the mountains of the *Alps*, and how for the space of five months together, he was forced not only to fight with the people, but struggle also with the difficulties of the places; he never looked that *Afrubal* could so easily and so speedily pass over as he did: which was the cause that he dislodged out of his winning places so much the later. But *Afrubal* found better expectation, and all things more easy and speedy than either himself hoped for, or other expected. For the *Averni*, and other nations (by their example) both of *France* and also about the *Alps*, not only received and entertained him, but also accompanied him to the war. Over and besides, as he only conducted his army by those passages which were prepared and made open by his brothers journey, and had been sometime unpassable wilds and craggy rags: so against his coming, the *Alps* were much more easy, by reason of twelve years continual passage to and fro those ways: and the nature of the peasants more civil and tractable. For the people before, being not used to any strangers and aliens, not accustomed to see passengers or travellers coming into those parts, were in manner unociable, savage and wild, and could not away with the society of men. And at the first not knowing whether *Annibal* intended to go, they supposed that he came for to surprise their holds in caves and rocks, to take their fortresses, and to drive away their people and cattail as booties. But afterwards, the fame that went of the Punick war (where-with now twelve years *Italy* was plagued and vexed) had taught them sufficiently, that the *Alps* were nothing but the way for the Carthaginians to travel through. And by this time well they knew, that two most puissant Cities and States, divided and removed one from another by a great space of Land and Sea between, thrived together and warred for their greatness and Sovereignty. Upon these occasions, I say, the *Alps* were open and passable to *Afrubal* with ease. But look what time he gained by speedy journeys, the same he lost again by stay about *Placentia*, whiles he lay there in vain, rather besieging than assaulting it. He was carried away with a persuasion, that the Town leant upon a plain and champion country, might soon be forced and won: and the great name that went of that noble Colony, induced him to believe, that by the overthrow and raising of that City, he should strike a terror to all the rest. But in lying against that Town, he not only hindered himself much, but also staid *Annibal*: who having heard that he was passed over the *Alps*, and come down into *Italy*, so much sooner than he looked for, was upon the point to dislodge out of his standing winning camp. For he considered and cast in his mind, not only what a long and tedious piece of work it is to besiege and assault Cities, but also well remembered how himself after his victory at *Trebia*, assailed to force that colony in his return from thence, but might not prevail.

The Consuls being departed from the City, and gone divers wayes as it were for two sundry wars at once, distracted mens minds with many cares and troublous imaginations, as well in remembrance of those losses and overthrowes, which they had received at *Annibal* his first coming: as also in thinking, what gods should be so propitious and favourable to the City and empire of *Rome*, as to prosper the affairs of the State and Common-weal, at onetime in both. For until then, their success had been variable and alternative: and their prosperity all wayes delayed with flemable adversity: and again, their losses were recompensed with equal gains. For when in *Italy* the Common-weal of *Rome* went one way downward heading to the ground at *Trasymenus* and *Canna*: the fortune was another way in *Spain*, set it upright again. Afterwards, when in *Spain* one overthrow and defeat hapned in the neck of another, at what time as two noble Captains were slain, and two valiant armies in part destroyed: the happy and lucky hand in *Sicily* and *Italy*, made up those breaches, and set the reeling State on foot again. For why? the very distance of the place so far remote (because one of the wars was maintained in the farthest part of the World) yielded time and respite to breath themselves and gather new strength. But now, two wars at once are entertained within *Italy*, two most brave warriors and renowned Captains enclose between them the City of *Rome*: all dangers come huddle together: all the heavy load and whole burden beareth upon one and the self-same place: and no doubt, but whether of those two Captains first shall get a victory, he will within few days after joyn his forces to the other. The fresh and lamentable remembrance also of the very last year, wherein two Consuls lost their lives, mightily affrighted the hearts of the people. So as, in these perplexities and troubles of minde, they accompanied the Consuls as they departed and went into their several Provinces. It is more over in some records found, that when *Q. Fabius* advised and warned *M. Livinius* being upon his journey to ward the war, not rashly and hand over head to give battail to the enemy, before he knew his nature and qualities, he full of anger still and discontentments with his fellow citizens, made this answer, That so soon as ever he could have a sight of his enemies army, he would fight: and being

asked again, why he would make such haste? Mary (quoth he) either shall I by victory of mine enemies win singular honor and renown: or by the overthrow of my fellow Citizens gain some hearts safe and contentment, if not honest in all respects, yet at least-wise such as they have deserved.

Before that *Claudius* the Consul was come into his Province, *C. Hostilius Tubulus* accompanied with certain cohorts lightly appointed, encountered *Annibal* as he led his army and marched by the utter confines and marches of the territory of *Lavinium*, which leadeth to the Salentines; and charging upon his disordered army, put them to great trouble, slew four thousand of his men, and carried away nine Ensigns. *Q. Claudius* who had certain garrisons planted in all the Cities of the Salentins country, hearing of the enemies coming, had removed out of his wintering camp; and therefore *Annibal*, because he would not fight with two armies at once, by night dislodged out of the territory of *Tarentum*, and withdrew himself into the Brutians country: and *Claudius* turned with his army to the Salentins again. *Hostilius* in the way to *Capua*, met with the Consul *Claudius* at *Venusia*. There, out of both armies, the Consul picked forth forty thousand choice Footmen, and 2500 Horsemen, for to war with *Annibal*. The rest of the forces *Hostilius* was commanded to lead unto *Capua*, and to deliver them to *Q. Fabius* the Pro-consul.

Annibal having assembled his forces from all parts, as well those which he had in campaigning winter time, as those that lay in garrison in the Brutians country, came as fast as *Grumentum* in the territory of the Lucans, upon hope to recover the Towns, which for fear, had revolted to the Romans. Upon the same place the Roman Consil. making out his espials before to discover and clear the ways, marched from *Venusia*, and about a mile and half from the enemy, encamped himself. The Carthaginians had fortified themselves, and cast a trench close in manner to the walls of *Grumentum*; and between the camp and the Romans was some half mile. A plain lay in the midst: and on the left hand of the Carthaginians, and the right hand of the Romans all along between, the hills overlooked them, bare and naked, and of neither part suspected, by reason that they had no wood growing upon them, nor any lurking places to hide an ambush in. Into the plain between they used to put out certain bands and companies from the *Corpi de guard* of both sides, and made light skirmishes not worth the talking of. And it seemed that the duty of the Roman Consul was to keep the enemy in, and not to suffer him to go his ways. But *Annibal* desirous to be gone, entered the field with all his power in order of battle.

Then the Consul borrowing a little of his enemies cunning, for that in to open hills there was less fear and suspicion of ambush, gave order that five Cohorts and Horsemen, reinforced with as many bands of footmen, should by night get over those hills, and in the Vallies behind, sit down closely: with direction to *T. Claudius Asellus* a Colonel of footmen, and *P. Clandius* a Captain of allies whom he sent to conduct them, at a certain time to arise out of ambush, and to charge the enemy: himself by day light led forth all his whole power as well foot as Horse into the field. Within a while after, *Annibal* likewise put forth the signal of battail: and all the camp over they set up a cry, running all about to their armour and weapons. Then Footmen and Horsemen both rushed space one of the gates who could be soonest forth; and scattered as they were all over the plain, made haste to the enemies. Whom when the Consul saw thus disordered, he commanded *C. Antromachus* a Tribune or Colonel of the third legion, to put out the Cavalry belonging to that legion, for to charge the enemy with all the violence he could: for that like sheep they were to spread over the plain without all form and fashion, and might be surprised, discomfited, and beaten down, before they could be brought into array and set in order of battail. *Annibal* himself was not come forth of the camp, when he might hear the noise of them fighting together and hard at it: and excited with this tumult, he led in great haste all the rest of his forces against the enemy. By this, the vanguard and forefront of his battail was fringed with the Horsemen of the enemies: yea, and the first legion of the Infantry and the Cavalry of the right wing began to charge. The Carthaginians disordered as they were, fought at a venture, as they chanced to meet either with Footmen or Horsemen. The conflict grew hotter, by reason of new supplies and fresh succours, and increased still by the number of trouble continually ran out to the fight. And surely *Annibal*, notwithstanding this tumult and troublesome fear, had set and marshalled his men in good order as they were fighting (which had been no easy thing to do, but that the army was of old soldiers, and their Captain well experienced and beaten to it) if it had not been for the shout of the cohorts and bands above-said, which they heard at their backs, as they from the hills behind ran down upon them; and set them in great fear, lest that they would thrust in between them and home, and so shut them out of their camp. Hereupon I say they were affrighted, and began to flee here and there. But the slaughter was the less, because the camp was near, and far they had not to run thither and save themselves in this their fearful flight. For the Horsemen plaid upon their backs still, and gave not over: the cohorts from the open Mountains ran easily down the hill, and charged crose upon their sides and flanks. Howbeit, there were slain more than eight thousand men, and above 600 taken Prisoners: nine Ensigns won and carried away: of Elephants also (whereof there was little or no use) in a sudden and tumultuary skirmish four were killed, and two gotten alive. Of Romans and Allies, there died two hundred. The next day after, *Annibal* fitted nor. The Roman Consul having brought his army forth into the field, and seeing none to come abroad: and make head against him, commanded the slain enemies to be disarmed and depolled,

At the spoils to be gathered up, and the bodies of his own men to be brought together into a place and buried. For certain dayes after continually, he pressed to hard at the camp gates, that he wanted but little of entering thither with banner displayed. In to much as *Annibal* at the third watch of the night, leaving behind him many fires burning, and divers tents standing, on that side especially which looked toward the enemies, and some few Numidians, to make a shew upon the Rampier and at the gates; dislodged, and purposed to go into *Apulia*. The next morning by day light, the Roman army embattailed, approached the trench and rampier. The Numidians of set purpose shewed themselves in the gates and upon the rampier: and when they had a good while dallied thus and played with the enemy, they mounted on Horseback, and spared no Horie-flesh until they had overtook their fellows. The Consul perceiving that all was quiet within the camp, and seeing not so much as those few appear any where, who in the morning betimes had walked their stations, sent forth two Horsemen into the camp as espials. After he understood for certain that all was safe, and the coasts clear, he commanded his ensigns to make an entry. And staying no longer there, than whilst his soldiers ran up and down to pill and spoil, he founded the retreat: and long before night, brought his army back again. The next morning after, he set forward by the dawning of the day, and with long journey, following his enemies by the voice of the country, and tracing them by their footprints, he overtook them not far from *Venusia*. There also was a scuffling skirmish between them, and not so few as two thousand Carthaginians slain. From thence *Annibal* ever marched by night, and journeyed through the mountains, because he would give his enemy no vantage of sight, until he came to *Metapontum*. From whence *Hanno* (for he was Captain of the garrison there) was sent with some few in his train into the Brutians country, to levy a new army. And *Annibal* after he had joyined those forces to his own, returned again to *Venusia*, by the same way that he came from thence; and so toward he marched to *Canusium*. Nero never left the enemy, but was ready to tread on his heels, and as he marched himself toward *Metapontum*, he had sent for *Q. Fulvius* to repair into the Lucans country, because those parts should not be disarmed of defence.

In this mean space, there were four French Horsemen, and two Numidians, sent to *Annibal* with letters from *Ajdubal*, after he was removed from the siege of *Placentia*: who having travelled in manner all the length of *Italy*, through the mids of the enemies, whilst they follow after *Annibal* in his retire unto *Metapontum*, missed of their way, and light upon *Tarentum*: where they were encountered by the foragers of the Romans that ranged about the fields, and by them were brought before *Q. Claudius* the Propretor. At the first they entertained him with flimsy flims, with doubtful and intricate answers: but when the fear of the rack and other tortures, had forced them to tell a truth, they confessed, that they had letters about them to deliver from *Ajdubal* to *Annibal*. With those letters sealed as they were, they were committed unto *L. Virginius* a Colonel, for to be conveyed unto *Claudius* the Consul. And two troops or Cornets besides of Samnit Horsemen were sent to guard them. So soon as they were come unto the Consul, and the letters read by an interpreter, and some examination taken of these captives: then *Claudius* considering that the common-weal was not now in that good case, nor the occasion such, that each Governor needed no more, but to make war by the ordinary course of commission, and within the compass and limits of his own Province, with the help of his own army alone, and against an enemy assigned unto him by the Senate: but that some unlooked for adventures must be enterprised, some new designments and unexpected put in execution, which when they are begun and attempted, might make no less wonder and fear among their own friends, that terror among the enemies: and being once performed and done, might turn the former fear into as great joy and gladness; sent the letters of *Ajdubal* to the Senat at *Rome*: and withal, himself acquainted the Lords of the Senat what he intended to do. And for as much as *Ajdubal* wrote unto his brother to meet him in *Umbria*, he advised them to fend for the legion at *Capua* to *Rome*, to take musters also at *Rome*, and to oppose that army of the City, against the enemy at *Narnia*. For these were the contents of his letters to the Senat. He dispatched likewise messengers before, through the territories of the Latins, Marucins, Ferentines, and Pretutians, (by whom he meant to lead his army) for to give notice, that all the inhabitants of those parts, should out of their Villages and good Towns, provide and bring forth victuals into the high ways, for to refresh his soldiers: also to come with their Cart-horses, draught-oxen, and other beasts for carriage, together with wains and carts, that the wearied soldiers might ease themselves thereby. Himself out of his whole army, as well of citizens as allies, chose forth the flower and most picked men of all, to the number of six thousand foot, and one thousand horse, and gave it out openly, that he minded to surprise the first City that he came next unto in the Lucans country, and withal, the garrison of Carthaginians that lay there: and therefore commanded them to be ready for the journey and expedition. Thus when he had set forward in the night, he turned his way into *Picenum*. And the Consul made no more ado, but with long journeys highed him as fast as he could, and led his army directly to his colleague, leaving *Q. Titinius* his Lieutenant, to guard and command the camp.

At *Rome*, they were no less terrified and troubled, than they were two years before, at what time as the Carthaginians were encamped before the walls and gates of the City. And men wish not well, what to make of this adventurous and audacious journey of the Consul, whether they should

should praise or dilpraise it. And it seemed that they would measure it and report thereof according to the event, than which surely, there is nothing more unjust and unequal. But thus they whispered, "That the camp was left with an army, and without their General, near unto the enemy *Annibal* yes, and the same guided of all the strength and flour thereof: that the Consul pretended an expedition into the Lucans country, when indeed he went toward *Pecum* and *Gallia*, leaving the camp by no one thing more safe and secure, than by the error and mistaking of the enemy, who is altogether ignorant, that the General is gone from thence, and part of the forces with him. But where would they be then, and in what taking should the camp be in case that were known abroad; or if *Annibal* would either with his whole army follow after *Nero*, being gone with no more than six thousand? or assault the camp, left as it were for a prey unto him, without forces, without conduct, and without the fortune and good luck of the General to protect it? The old defects received in this war, the fresh remembrance of two Consulships but the last year, increased mens fear. All which misfortunes hapned, when there was in Italy but one Captain General, and one single army of the enemies. Now, of one war of the Carthaginians there are made twain: and two *Annibals* (as a man would say) be both at once in Italy, right valorous and renowned warriors. For even *Asdrubal* also, was *Annibal* his son as well as *Annibal*, as valiant and redoubted a Captain every way: as who for to many years together in Spain, hath been exercised in the Roman wars, and born the name of achieving a twofold victory, and defeating two armies, with two most noble and famous commanders: and as for expedition and speed in his voyage out of Spain, and for raising the Nations of France up in arms, he may make his boast much more truly than *Annibal* himself. For even in those very places, where *Annibal* had lost the greater part of his soldiers, with hunger and cold, (which kind of death of all others is most miserable) this *Asdrubal* hath levied a power of armed men. Moreover, they that knew Spain well, and the affairs which had passed there, said besides, That he had not to deal with *Nero*, as with a warrior whom he knew not already; for why? he had when it was, made a Child of *Nero*, by a good token. That when *Asdrubal* was by chance in a wood, and could not get out, was put to his shifts; but whiles he trifled out the time with *Nero* in booking deceitful conditions and capitulations of peace, he shewed him a confounding Carthaginian call, gave him the fair slip, and escaped out of his hands. And to conclude, in all their differences at Rome, they magnified every thing on the enemies part above all truth, and debated all their own means of help beneath all reason: such was their fear, which interpreteth and construeth all to the worst.

The speech of
Nero to his
soldiers.

Nero, when he had now gained to much ground, and was gone so far from the enemy, as it had not mattered much if his designs had been revealed and made known unto him for any danger that might ensue thereof: called his soldiers before him, and spake some few words to this or the like effect. "Never was there deignment (sqd. he) of any General in the field, in outward show more dangerous, in deed and truth more safe and secure, than this of mine. I lead you to a certain and assured victory, even to that war, unto which my colleague would not go before the Senate had allowed him to his full contentment, greater power both of foot and Horse, and the same better set out and more furnished, than if he should have gone against *Annibal* himself: and therefore whatsoever small posse and adition of forces you bring thereto, you shall (I say thereby) the whole, and as it were weigh down the balance. For when the enemies ready embattailed to fight, shall hear (and before that time, I will tell order I row, that they shall not hear) that another Consul and another army is come, no doubt the day will be ours, and they shall yield us the victory. For it is a fame & name only, that fighteth the field & determineth battails. And small matters many times carry away the game, and cause mens minds both to stoop for fear, and to rise with hope. And verily, of a well fought field you are they that shall reap the fruit & gain the glory. For alwayes it is seen, that a little help that cometh last, is more than all besides & seemeth to effect the whole. And you see yourselves, with what concourse, with what admiration, with what affectionat favour all men do entertain & regard you by the way. And in every truth, as they marched along in their journey, it was a world to see, how both men & women flocked out of all the villages of the country to see them, how they forced themselves into companies & degrees to welcome them; and how as they passed as it were in a lane through them, they made vows in their name, they poured out their prayers in their behalf: & dealt praises among them: calling them the very guard & defence of the Common weal, the saviours & redeemers of Rome: & the Roman Empire: acknowledging that the lives and liberties of themselves and their children, lay in their right hands, and depended upon the force of their arms: praying to all the gods and goddesses, and to all the holy halows of heaven, to vouchsafe them a lucky journey, a fortunate fight, and a speedy victory over their enemies: wishing heartily, that they might be bound and condemned (as it were) to pay and perform their vows, which in their name they had undertaken & promised: desiring earnestly, that as now they went along, & accompanied them with careful minds for fear of the peril which they went unto, so after few days they might meet with them upon the way with joyful hearts, as they return with triumph for their victory. Every man for himself in particular invited them friendly, offered them frankly, entreated and besought them importunately, that all things whatsoever they stood in need of, either for themselves or their beasts, they would receive at his hands gratis: as being ready to afford them all most liberally, helpful, and with the better. The soldiers again, for very modestly to take no more than was very needful and necessary, no

no stay they would make with any, nor one jot depart from their colours. Their meat they took by the way as they went, journeying night and day, and scarce allowing their bodies rest and sleep to content their weak nature that looked for it. Now had *Nero* sent afore-hand to his brother Consul certain Courriers, to give him advertisement of his coming, and to know again from him his mind, whether he should come openly or secretly, by day time or by night, and lodge in him camp with him, or in another apart by himself. *Annibal* his advice was, and he thought it the better of the twain, to enter into his camp, closely in the night season, and had given a watch-word, and made it known throughout all the camp, that every Marhal and Colonel should lodge a Marhal or Colonel, every Centurion entertain a Centurion, every knight of man of arms receive a knight or horseman, and every footman take unto him a footman into his pavilion and cabin. For it was not expedient that the camp should be enlarged and set out wider, for fear that the enemy might take knowledge of another Consul coming: and so much the more easily might many of them be bestowed in the freight room of their pavilions, because the army of *Claudius* had brought in manner nothing with them in this expedition, save their armour only. Moreover, in the very way as they came, the company was well minded and much increased, by many voluntaries that offered themselves willingly of their own accord, as well old soldiers, such as had served out their years, as young and lusty men: whom *Claudius* perceiving lo to strive forth to have their names entered if he saw them personable and strong of body and like to do good service, had enrolled into the muster book. The other Consul lay encamped before *Sena*, and *Asdrubal* some half mile from him. And therefore *Nero*, being now approached and came near, set him down close among the mountains, because he would not put himself within camp before night. And when they were come thither, they were welcomed every man according to his degree by them of their own place and calling, and brought into their tents and pavilions, and with general joy all friendly entertained as their loving guests. The next day following they assembled together to counsel: at which meeting, *L. Porcius Licinius* the Pretor was present: who was himself encamped close unto the Consul's leaguer. He before their coming, by leading his army over the high places, and one while keeping the narrow freights of the forest to impeach and stop the passages, another while charging upon the flanks and sides, or else upon the back and tail of the enemy had by all the devices and policies of war, mocked him and kept him play. This man, I say, was at the foresaid council. Many men there were of opinion, that the day of battle should be deferred to a time, whiles *Nero* might have some few days respite, both to refresh his soldiers, wearied with long travail and much watching, and also to know the quality somewhat better of his enemy. *Nero* not only persifled still to persevere, but also began most earnestly to intreat. That they would not by long delay make that design of his to seem rash and dangerous, which speediness in execution had made safe and secure. Considering, that whiles *Annibal*, upon ignorance and error (which is not like to continue long with him) lay still asleep and benumbed, neither once thought upon it, to assail the camp left without a General, nor put himself upon the way, to make pirrute after me; now before he could stir, I may (quoth he) defeat the army of *Asdrubal*, and return again into Asia. But he that by deferring still, giveth the enemy time and respite, betrayeth himself as lieh in him, that he camp unto *Annibal*, and laeth the way open for him into *Gallia*, to joyn with *Asdrubal* at his good leisure and pleasure. Nay (quoth he) the signal of batrel must be given forthwith, and we must into the field. We must, I say, take the vantage, and make the best of the error and ignorance of our enemies, both absent there, and present here: that neither they with *Annibal* may know that they are to deal with fewer: nor the enemy beware, that they are to fight with more in number, and stronger in power. Thus the counsel brake up, and the signal of batrel was put forth, and presently they went into the field. The enemies were already advanced in batrel array, and stood with displayed ensigns. The only stay of joyning in fight was this, That *Asdrubal* riding out with some few Horsemen before the ensigns, chanced to mark some old targets of his enemies which he had not as yet seen, and their Horses more lank and lean, than can be foretold. And (as he guessed) the number also was greater than ordinary and usual. Suspecting therefore, that which was indeed, he sounded the retreat in all haste: and sent out presently to the river where they used to water, to see if they might either light upon some & catch them prisoners, or at least-wise take good marks by their eye, whether any of them haply were higher coloured, or laden with burnment, presently upon their late travel. Also he gave them commandment to ride aloof about their camp, and to spie whether the rampier were enlarged or set out farther in any place, and to listen attentively whether the trumpet sounded single or double within the camp. When all other circumstances besides were related in order affirmatively, only the not enlarging of the camp, put them by their hint, and gave the occasion that they were beguiled. Two several camps they were, like as before the coming of the Consul: the one belonging to *M. Livius*, the other to *L. Porcius*. And in neither of them were the rampiers and trenches let out any jot, whereby they might put up more tents and quarter themselves in larger room. But this one thing troubled this old experienced Captain, and acquainted so well as he was with the Roman enemies, that his epiahs brought word how in the Pretor's camp they sounded the trumpet on, and in the Consul's twice. For surely that was an evident argument that two Consul were there. And in this time how the other Consul had departed from *Annibal* & given him the slip, he mightily tormented himself. And he could not suspect & imagine that, which was indeed the truth, namely, that

that *Annib.* was deluded and mocked in a matter of so great moment, as to be ignorant what it was: he one of the General, or of the army, to which he lay so close and near encamped. Surely (thought he) and without all question, he hath received no small foil and overthrow, and in this fright dareth not make after and follow the enemy. Nay, he feared much, lest all were lost and gone, and that he should not come time enough to help and succour him: and that the Romans had gotten already the same good hand in *Italy*, which they had before in *Spain*. Otherwhiles he was perswaded, that his letters never came to *Annib.* his hands, that they were intercepted, and so the Consul made haste to prevent him, and give him the foil by the way. Being perswaded with these carnal cogitations, he caused the fires to be put out, and at the signal given at the first watch, to truss up bag and baggage, and to dislodge, and be gone. In this fearful haste, and mighty tumult, the guides whiles they were slenderly looked unto, and small heed was taken of them, one of them fell down and rested close in a secret lurking hole which he had before defined in his mind: the other waded over the river *Metaurus*, through the fords that he was well acquainted with, and so got away and made an escape. So the army left at random without their guides, first wandered over the fields, and then diverse of them being weary and sleepy with overwatching, laid them down along here and there, and left their colours with few about them. *Annib.* commanded them to march along the bank of the River, and to follow it, until the day-light might direct them the right way: and so going a compass in and out according to the winding reaches and cranks of the River, wandered a great while, and gained but a small ground forward. Now when day light once appeared, he purposed to spie out the first place for convenient place and there to get over. But finding no fords, by reason that the farther it was from the Sea, the higher were the banks from the water that kept in the River, he spent all the live-long day, and gave the enemy time to follow after him. And first *Claudius Nero* came with all the Horsemen, then *Porcius* followed hard after with the van-couriers, and light armed footmen. Whiles they made effort to charge their enemies in their march, every way, and plaid it upon them, in so much as now *Annib.* leaving to journey forward (wherein he seemed rather to flee than march) was desirous to take a little hill along the river side, and there to encamp and fortify: *Livius* was come also with all the main power of footmen, so armed and so orderly appointed and marshalled, as they were not only provided to march in journey, but ready also presently to give battail. But when they were all joyned together, and arranged in battail array, *Claudius* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* commanded the left, and the Pretor took the charge and conduct of the main battail. *Annib.* seeing no other remedy but to fight, nevertheless fortified his camp; but in the fore-front before the vanguard, and in the very mids, placed his Elephants: about them in the left wing he opposeth the French against *Claudius*: not so much trusting upon them, as supposing verily that the enemy was afraid of them: and in proper person he took up the right wing against *Livius* for himself and the Spaniards, in whom (being old beaten soldiers) he reposed his most hope. The Ligurians in the mids were bellowed behind the Elephants. But the battail was rather drawn out in length, than stretched forth in breadth. The Frenchmen were defended with the hill that bare out over them. That front which the Spaniards kept, encountered with the left wing of the Romans. And all the battail of the right side, which bare out from the conflict, stood still and fought not. The hill that was opposite against them, was the cause that neither front, nor flank they could charge upon the enemy. But between *Livius* and *Annib.* there was an hot fight begun already, and cruel bloodshed on both sides. There were both the General Captains: there was the greater part of the Romans, as well foot as Horse: there were the Spaniards, old and experienced soldiers, skillful also in the Roman manner of fight: there were the Ligurians, a tough nation, and hardy in fight. Against this battail were the Elephants turned, who at the first shock and onsets troubled and disordered the vanguard, yea, and began to force the engines to give ground. But after upon the noise that grew greater, and the battail that waxed hotter, they began to be unruly, and travers between both battails, as it were doubtful to whether side they belonged, much like to ships left hulling and floating without their pilots and steers men. Then *Claudius* cried out unto his soldiers: To what end, quoth he, made we such post haste, and took so long a journey? But seeing that he laboured in vain to advance his banners and mount up against the hill opposite unto him, and perceiving that way how it was impossible to come unto the enemy and to enter upon him, he drew forth certain cohorts out of the right wing where he saw they were liker to stand still than to fight, and wheeled about behind the enemies battail, and so now wayes not only to the enemies, but also to his own men, he charged upon the left flank of the enemies: and he belittled himself so nimble, that when he had shewed himself on the sides, presently he plaid upon their backs: in such sort, that now on all hands, affront, behind, and on their flanks, down went the Spaniards and Ligurians and were hewn in pieces, yea, and the execution reached to the very French. There, with them was least aid, and smallest fight of all: for a great many of their fellows had abandoned their colours, and being flit away in the night lay asleep all over the fields: and such as were there, weary with travail and watching (as having bodies that of all things cannot away with labour and pains taking) were scarce able to bear their coticles on their backs. Besides, now it was high noon: and what with drought & heat together, they stood gaping for air & yielded their bodies either to be massacred, or taken captive. As for the Elephants, there were more of them killed by the hands of the governors and guides that sat upon them, than by the enemy that fought against them. For

A their manner was to have about them a Carpenters chissel and a mallet, and when the beasts began once to rage and to run upon their own fellows, their matters would let the said chissel between their ears, even in the very joynt where the nape of the neck and the head meet together, and with his mallet to drive it as hard as he could: this was found to be the readiest and most speedy way to kill so mighty and huge a beast, when they were past all hope to rule them and keep them in order. And the first inventor and practiser of this feat was *Annib.*, a famous and memorable Captain, as in many other respects, so especially for this battail. He it was that held out to the end, exhorting his soldiers to fight, fighting also himself, and adventuring all dangers: he it was, that when his men were weary and drew back (by reason of long toil and labour) incited them again, one while by fair words and intreaty, another while by sharp checks and rebukes: he reclaimed them again when they were running away; he renewed the fight in divers places when it flaked and gave over. And at the very last, when he saw evidently that the enemy had the honor of the day, because he would not remain alive after so great an army defeated that followed his standard, and were induced by the reputation and name that went of him, he set spurs to his Horse, and rode among the Squadrons of the Roman Horsemen: and there, as beset with *Amilcars* son, and *Annib.* brother, fighting fight manfully, was slain. Never during the time of this war in one field were there so many enemies killed: and it seemed now that for loss of Captain and overthrow of army, they might well cry quittance with them for the defeat at *Canna*. Slain there were 50000 enemies, 6400 taken prisoners: and a rich booty and pilage gained of all sorts, besides gold and silver. Moreover, there were recovered of Roman Citizens above four thousand, who had been taken prisoners, and were among the enemies. That comfort they had to make amends for the soldiers that died in this battail: for they won not the victory without bloodshed in this field, wherein to the number almost of eight thousand Romans and allies together, lost their lives. And the Conquerors themselves had to much their fill of blood and slaughter, that the next morning, when word was brought unto *Livius* the Consul, that divers *Cisalpine* Gauls, and *Ligurians*, which either were not at the battail, or escaped out of the execution, and were going away in one company all together, without a certain Leader, without Esquires, without any order or command, and might all be put to the sword and utterly destroyed, if there were but one cornet of Horsemen sent out after them, "Nay, quoth he, let some remain alive to tell the news both of our enemies loss and ruin, and of our own vertue and valour. And *Nero* the very next night after the battail, marched with more speed backward, than he came thither, and within six dayes returned again so far as to his flanking leaguer, and the enemies. All the way as he marched, he was not indeed to relented unto and frequented by so many men, by reason that there went no harbingers or messengers before: but his coming was welcomed, with so great gladness and mirth, that for very joy, the people were welcme besides themselves. As for *Rome*, it cannot be uttered and expressed in words sufficiently, how men were affected the one way or the other: neither how pensive the City was in doubtful expectation of the event, nor how joyous and jocund again, upon the news and tidings of the victory. For never one day (after the rumour once was blown thither, that *Claudius* the Consul was gone forth in his expedition) from the sun rising unto the setting, departed either Senators out of the Council-chamber, from attendance upon the Magistrates, or the people out of the Common-hall. The dames of the City, because other help they could yield none, betook themselves to their beads and devotions, and in every Church went up and down, and plied all the Gods with prayers, with vows, and humble supplications. As the City was thus perplexed and in suspense; first there came some flying news, that two Horsemen of *Nannia* were come out of the battail, and returned to the camp which lay to guard and keep the heights and passages of *Umbria*, who had brought word thither, that the enemies were defeated. At the first, they rather lent their ears to hear these tidings, than bent their minds to entertain the tales, as being greater than they might in heart conceive, and more joyful than they could assuredly believe: and the exceeding twittes of the rumor hundred the credit thereof, because it was reported without, that the battail was fought but two dayes before. Then were letters brought from *L. Manlius Acidivus*, sent out of the camp, which confirmed the arrival of those Horsemen of *Nannia*. Those letters were brought through the common place, unto the Tribunal of the Pretor: whereupon the Lords of the Senat were sent forth out of the Council-house. But the people kept such a thrusting and thronging about the door of the Senat, that the messenger could not pass: thither, but was halled and pulled by the people, questioning with him, and calling hard upon him, that the letters should be read at the market cross, and in the *Koltra*, before they were opened in the Senate. But at the last, they were restrained by the Magistrates and caused to void, and hardly could the joy be contained among so unruly people, who had no measure nor rule of their affections. Well, the letters were first read in the Senat, and then in the assembly of the people: and then, according to the divers dispositions of men, some took joy and contentment of mind, as upon a certainty: others would give no credit, before they either heard the messengers speak directly from the Consuls, or saw their letters. After this, word came, that there were Embassadors themselves at hand. And then indeed, there ran to meet tidings of all sorts, young and old, every one desirous to be the first, to see and to hear these to glad tidings. And they went out so far as the bridge *Milvius*, and all the way along, was full of people. These Embassadors or messengers, were *L. Fannius Phileas*, *P. Lucinius Varus*, *Q. Cestius Mercator*. Who being accompanied with people

of all degrees and qualities, that flocked about them, came as far as to the common place: some questioned with themselves, others enquired of their train and retinue, what news, and how the World went. And as any one had caught an end from them, that the army and Captain General of the enemies was slain, or the Roman legions safe, and the Consuls alive and well, he would immediately impart his joy unto others. Much ado had they to come into the Curia, and more ado there was, to keep out the multitude, that they were not mingled among the Lords of the Senate. But at last the letters were read in the Senat. From thence were the Embassadors brought into the general assembly of the people. And *L. Furium* after he had read the letters, explained himself from point to point in order, how every thing was done, with great applause; and afterwards, with a general shout of all the assembly, who hardly could conceive in their minds for great joy. Then they ran divers ways, some to the Temples of the Gods to render thanks, others to their own houses, to communicate with their wives and children to lucky and fortunate tidings. And the Senat decreed a solemn procession for three days together, forasmuch as *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Consuls, with the safety of the legions had vanquished the enemies, killed their General, and put their army to the sword. This procession *C. Hostilius* the Pretor, published in the open assembly of the people: and it was celebrated and solemnized both by men and women. All the Temples for three days fully, were likewise replenished with the one sex and the other. For the Matrons and Dames of the City, in their best apparel, together with their children, yielded praise and thanks to the immortal Gods, as if now they had been freed from all fear, and the war come to a final and for ever. This victory altered the very fate and course of the commonwealth, so as from that time forward, as in time of settled peace, men durst make contracts, buy and sell, borrow and lend, yes, and pay debts to their creditors.

C. Claudius the Consul, so soon as he was entered into the camp again, caused the head of *Asdrubal* (which he had preserved with great care and brought with him) to be thrown out before the Corps de guard and stations of the enemies, and that the African captives, should be shewed bound as they were in chains: and two of them to be sent loose unto *Annibal*, to declare and recount in order, how every thing hapned. *Annibal* having at once received this double blow, mourning as well for the publick losse of the state, as for the calamity hapned in his own house, fetched a deep sigh (by report) and said: Ah, I see well the hard fortune of *Carthage*. And slogging from thence, because he would bring together all his forces (which being disperited slaughter, he was not able to hold and maintain) into the utmost angle of *Italy*, (the Brutians country), he brought thither as well the Metapontins, even the whole state of them, who abandoned their own Towns and Cities, as also the Locans, as many as were subject unto him; and under his obedience.

The eight and twentieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the eight and twentieth Book.

THE prosperous affairs in Spain, under the conduct of *Syllanus* the Lieutenant of *Scipio*, and *L. Scipio* his brother, achieved against the Carthaginians: as also the acts performed by *Sulpitius* the Pre-consul, and *Attalus* the King of Asia (the last) in the quarrel and behalf of the *Ælians*, against *Philip* King of the Macedonians, are reported and set down [in this book.] When there was a triumph decreed and granted unto *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* Nero the Consuls: *Livius*, because he had performed the exploit in his own Province, rode in a chariot drawn with four steeds: and *Nero*, because he came into the Province of his colleague, to help forward the victory, rode after him mounted on horseback. Howbeit even then, in this habit and manner of triumph, he carried the more glory, piety, and reverence: for to say a truth, in this war he had done more good service than his brother Consul. The fire went out in the chapel of *Vesta*, by negligence of a Virgin, that had the keeping and tending thereof, and looked no better unto it. The said Virgin was well whipped. *P. Scipio* finished the war in Spain against the Carthaginians, when it had continued fourteen years: and in the fifth year after that he went from the City of Rome. And having discomfited the enemies quite of the possession of Spain, he recovered it wholly for the Romans. From *Tarcon* he loosed, with two barks, and sailed into *Africk* unto *Syphax* King of the Numidians, with whom he concluded a League. *Asdrubal* the son of *O* *Celiber*, for there with him at one table, and they supped together. He exhibited a game and pastime of sword-playing at new Carthage, in the house of his father and uncle: and the same was not performed by common sencers: and sword-players hired thence, but by such as either for the honour of their Captain, or to determine some controversy, gave defiance one to the other, and endured the lists in combat. Among whom, two great L.L. of the country, who were brethren, fought as they for the sovereignty of the Kingdom. When the City *Arapa* was besieged and assailed by the Romans, the Townsmen caused

A caused a mighty pile of wood to be made, and set on fire, and when they had killed their wives and children, they threw themselves headlong into the fire after them. *Scipio* himself, whilst he lay grievously sick, and there hapned by occasion thereof a murther to himself in one part of his army, when he was attended, made an end thereof: and compelled the Senates of Spain (that were invited) to come in and yield obedience again. There was likewise an amity and society concluded with *Matalia*, King of the Numidians: who also promised him his aids, in case he would come over into *Africk*. With the *Gaditanians*, after the departure of *Mago* from thence: who had received letters from *Carthage*, that he should pass the sea into Italy. *Scipio*, after he was returned to Rome, was created Consul, and when he made suite to have the Province of *Africk*, *Q. Fabius Maximus* withheld him: as if he had the government of Sicily: but with commission to sail over into *Africk*, in case he thought it good for the Commonwealth. *Mago* the son of *Amilcar* from the lesser *Baliari* Island, where he had wintered, took the ship and sailed over into Italy.

The eight and twentieth Book of T. Livius.

VV

When it seemed that Spain was eased as much of war, as Italy charged therewith, by the voyage of *Asdrubal* thither: behold, all of a sudden there arose other troubles there, equal to the former. And as for the Provinces of Spain at that time, they were possessed between Romans and Carthaginians in this manner. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gilgo*, was retired with his power far within the country, even to the Ocean and *Gades*: But the coasts bordering upon our sea, and in manner all Spain bending toward the East, was held by *Scipio* and subject to the Roman Empire. Having the new General, being passed out of *Africk* with a fresh army, and entered into the room of *Asdrubal* the Barchine, joyined with *Mago*: and when he had put in arms within a short time, a great number of men in *Celiberia*, which lieth in the midst between the two seas: *Scipio* sent forth against him: *M. Syllanus* made ten thousand foot, and five hundred horsemen. This *Syllanus* made such speed by taking as long journeys as possibly he could (considering how much hindered and troubled he was, both by the roughness of the water, and also by the straits, environed with thick woods, and forests, as most parts of Spain are) that notwithstanding all those difficulties, he prevented not only the messengers, but also the very fame and rumour of his coming, and by the guidance of certain fugitive revolts out of *Celiberia*, he passed forward from thence to the enemy. By the same guides he had intelligence, and was for certain advertised (being now some ten miles from the enemy) that about the very way where he should march there were two camps: namely, on the left hand the new army abode of *Celiberians*, to the number of more than nine thousand lay encamped, and the Carthaginians on the right. As for this League, it was well defended and fortified with corps de guards, which watch and ward both night and day, according to the good order and discipline of war. But the other was as much neglected, disordered, loose, and out of order, like as commonly barbarous people and raw soldiers are, and such as fear the less; by reason they are at home within their own country. *Syllanus* thinking it good policy to set upon them first, gave commandment to march under their ensigns, and colours and bear toward their left hand as much as they could, for fear of being discovered in some place or before certain vantage-hill, buriers and epials, with his army advanced space directly toward his enemy. Now was he approached within three miles of them encamped, and not detected at all. For why? a mountain country it was full of roughs and crags, overpeaked and covered with woods and thickets. There in a hollow valley between, and therefore secret for the purpose, he commanded his soldiers to sit them down and take their refreshment. In this mean time the epials came back and verified the words of the fugitives aforesaid. Then the Romans, after they had piled their packs, their trunks and baggage in the midst, armed themselves, and in order of battell set forward to fight. When they were come within a mile of the enemies, they were discovered by them, who began suddenly to be afraid. *Mago* at the first outcry and alarm, set forth to his horse, and rode a gallop out of his Camp to succour. Now there were in the army of the *Celiberians* four thousand footmen targeteers, and two hundred horse. This Troop being in manner the flower and very strength of the whole army, and as it were, a full and complete legion he placed in the vanguard: all the rest, which were lightly armed, he bestowed in the rearguard for to succour and rescue. As he led them forth thus ordered and arranged, they were not well issued without the trench, but the Romans began to lance their javelins and darts against them. The Spaniards to avoid this volley of shot from the enemies, couched close under their shields, and defended themselves, and afterwards they rose up at once to charge again upon them. But the Romans standing thick, as their manner is, received all their darts in their targets, and then they closed man to man, and foot to foot, and began to fight at hand with their swords. Howbeit, the ruggedness of the ground, as it nothing availed the swiftness of the *Celiberians* (whose guise is to run to and fro in skirmish and keep no ground) for the fight was not hurtful at all to the Romans who were used to a set battell, and to stand to their target: only the straight room, and the trees and shrubs growing between parted their ranks and files asunder, so as they were forced to maintain skirmish, either singly one to one, two to two, or three at the most, as if they had been marched to cope together even; And look what thing hindered the enemies in their

their flight, the same yielded them as it were, bound hand and foot unto the Romans, for that he killed. Now when all these targetteers well-near of the Celeribians were slain; these light armed souldiers, and the Carthaginians also, who from the other camp ran to succour, were likewise discomfited, and hewn in pieces. So there were two thousand footmen, and not above, and all the horsemen (who scarce began battell) fled with *Mago* and escaped. As for *Hannibal* the other General, together with them who came last, and to the very end of the day, was taken alive. But *Mago* fled still; and all the Cavalry, with as many as remained of the old footmen followed after, and by the tenth day arrived in the Province of *Gades*, and came unto *Alphubul*. The Celeribians, that were but new souldiers, slipped the next woods out of the way, and so from thence fled home.

This fortunate victory happened in so good a time, not so much sifted the present war in a heavy birth, as it cut off the matter and maintenance of future troubles in case the enemies had been left alone, and suffered to solicit and stir other nations to take arms, like as they railed the Celeribians already. Whereupon, *Scipio* having highly commended *Syllanus*, and conceived great hope withall to dispatch quite, and make an end of the wars, in case himselfe should not the matter, and made long stay; pursued the remnant behind, and set forward into the utmost Province of *Spain* against *Alphubul*. But *Alphubul*, who hoped them to be encamped in *Bomolore*, to keep his Allies in obedience and faithful allegiance, all on a sudden dilogged, plucking up his darts, and away; and more like one that fled than marched, led his army further into the country, even as far as the Ocean, and to *Gades*. But supposing that so long as he kept his forces all together, himselfe was the only mark which the enemy would shoot at, before that he cut over the Straights of *Gibraltar* to *Gades*, he brake up his whole army, and sent them away best as he thought to their severall Cities, both to save themselves within the walls, and to defend the walls by force of arms. *Scipio*, so soon as he perceived that the war was thus divided into sundry parts, and that to lead about his forces from City to City, was rather a long and tedious piece of work, than either difficult or much available, retired back. But because he would not leave this country clear in the hands of the enemies, he sent his brother *L. Scipio* with 10000 foot, and 1000 horsemen, to assaile the mightiest and wealthiest City in those parts, which the barbarous people call *Oringis*. This City is seated in the confines of the *Mallus* (a nation near *Spaniards*) the chief fruitfull, and the inhabitants there find silver mines. This was the fortress of *Alphubul*, and his place of safe retreat, when he made outwards all abroad into the midland countries of the main, and spoiled the people. *Lucius Scipio* having pitched his Camp under the said City, before that he entrenched and blocked the town, sent certain to the gates, who by parling near at hand, might feel and sound the dispositions of the Citizens, and persuade with them to make trall of the Romans friendly alliance, rather than their forcible violence. But perceiving by their answer, he mind at all nor inclination to peace, he cast a trench, and raised a double rampire about the town, and divided his army into three parts, to the end that one of them should ever follow the walls, whilst the other two took rest and ease. And when the first troop and regiment of them began to give a camado, there followed a fierce, cruel, and doubtfull skirmish. For they could not easily either come under the walls, or bring scaling ladders to set to, by reason of the floor that light upon them. And such as already had reared up ladders to the wall, some of them were pulled off with certain forks provided for that purpose, others were caught hold of with iron hooks from above, and were in danger to be hung up in the air, hoisted aloft, and flung over the walls. *Scipio* seeing that the conflict was unequal, by reason of the small number of assailants, and that the enemies had the advantage besides that they fought from the wall top; called that first regiment to retire, and with the other twain as once gave a fresh assault to the town. This stroke is great a fear to them who were already wearied with fighting, that not only the townsmen suddenly abandoned the walls and fled, but also the Carthaginian garrison souldiers, for fear lest the City was betrayed, forsook also their stations and places of guard, and gathered themselves into one place. But then the townsmen were afraid, lest if the enemies put themselves within the City, they should be massacred every where as they came in their way. With respect and difference who were Carthaginians, or who were *Spaniards*. Whereupon they let one gate open on a sudden, and in great numbers ran out of the town, bearing their targets before them, against the darts that were shot at a run, and shewing aloft their naked right hands, in token that they had laid aside their swords. But whether the enemy could not well discern them to be so, or whether they suspected some crafty and deceitfull practice, I wot not, but they fell upon those that fled and yielded unto them, and slew them down right, as well as if they had abandoned them in the face of a battell, and at the same gate entered the City with bloody banners. In other parts likewise they fell to hewing down the gates with axes, and to break them open with crews of iron. And as every horseman got into the City, he rode again according to the direction given by the General) into the market places to be possessed thereof. And so these horsemen were assigned the *Triarii* for aid and assistance. The Legionary souldiers besides ran over all the other parts of the City, spoiling and killing all that ever they met, save such as defended themselves with their armour. All the Carthaginians were taken prisoners and committed to ward, likewise of the townsmen about three hundred, such as had shuted the gates; but unto all the rest the town was rendered again, and each man had his own goods delivered and restored unto him. There were slain at the assault of that City, of enemies almost two thousand: but of Romans not above

A fourscore and ten. As by the winning of the town, they that were employed there took great joy and contentment: so in their return to their General himselfe, and the rest of the main army, they made a goodly show as they marched with a mighty multitude of prisoners led before them. *Scipio* having praised his brother in the most honourable terms that he could devise, and namely, for this exploit of forcing *Oringis*, making him equal in glory to himselfe for the conquest of *Carthage*: because winter drew on, that he could neither give the attempt upon *Gades*, nor yet follow at once upon the army of *Alphubul*: so dispersed as it was in sundry parts over the Province, conducted his forces back again into the Province of *Spain*, that lieth on this side *Iberia*: and when he had diminished his legions into their severall standing camps to winter in, and sent his brother *L. Scipio* to *Rome*, together with *Hanno* the Generall of the enemies, and other Gentlemen prisoners, he withdrew himself to *Taracon*.

In the same year the Roman Armado being set out under the conduct of the Admirall *M. Valerius* *Levinus* the Pro-Consul, made a voyage from *Sicily* into *Africa*, and torraed all over the Territories of *Utica* and *Carthage*, inasmuch as they drave booties out of the very utmost confines of the Carthaginians, and even about the walls of *Utica*. As they sailed back for *Sicily*, they were encountered by the Carthaginian fleet, consisting of seventy long ships of war whereof seventeen were boarded and taken. four sunk in the deep sea, the rest were put to flight and dispersed. Thus the Roman Captain *Valerius*, after victories achieved both by sea and land, returned with rich prizes of all sorts to *Lilybæum*: and hereupon by reason that the seas were open and cleared of the enemies ships, great store and abundance of grain was brought to

C *Rome*. In the beginning of that summer wherein these things hapned, *P. Sulpicius* the Pro-Consul, and King *Attalus*, after they had wintered in *Ægina*, as is above said, with a joint navy passed over from thence into the Island *Lemnos*. The Romans were twenty five Gallies of five ranks of oars, and the King had thirty five. *Philip* for his part because he would be ready at all assaies to meet with the enemy either by land or sea, went himselfe in person down to the sea-side, as far as *Demetrias*, and made proclamation, that all his forces should by a certain day meet together at *Lesbos*. Upon the same that went of the Kings coming, there repaired sundry Embassies from the confederate States of all parts unto *Demetrias*. For the Ætolians having taken heart unto them, as well for the society with the Romans, as upon the coming of *Attalus*, waited and spoiled their borderers. And not only the Acarnanians and Boeotians, and they that inhabit *Euboea*, were in great fear, but also the Achæans: whom over and besides the war from the Ætolians, *Machidas* also the Lacedæmonian tyrant terrified, who encamped himselfe not far from the confines of the Argives. All these States made report, what perils were like to ensue both by sea and land to their severall Cities, and besought the King his aid. Moreover there came unto him out of his own Realm no good tidings of peace and quietness, for that *Scerdæmus* and *Phleurius* were gone out and rebelled: and of the nations of *Thrace*, the *Medi* especially were ready to invade the frontiers adjoining upon *Macedony*, in case the King should fortune to be buied and occupied otherwile in any long wars. The Boeotians likewise themselves, and other nations inhabiting the more inland parts of *Greece*, had given intelligence, that the passages of the forrest

E *Thermopile*, where as the narrow gullet of the freights yieldeth small passage, were flopped up by the Ætolians with a trench and palliade, that it might give no access at all unto *Philip*, for to come and defend the Cities of the Allies. Thus many troubles coming fit and thick one upon another, had been able to have roused and awakened even a sleepey and flow Captain, and made him to look about him. These Embassadors he dispatched and sent away, promising every one of them help and succour, as time and occasion would permit: and willing them each one for the present to provide those things that were most urgent and important. Then he sent a garrison unto that City from whence new came, that *Attalus* having passed with a fleet from *Lemnos*, had waited and torraed all the territory about it. And he sent *Phleurius* with a small power into *Bœotia*, and *Menippus* likewise, one of his own Captains and Cavaliers, unto *Chalcidius*, with a thousand targetteers, called *Peltæi*, (now the *Peltæi* are certain small bucklers or targets, nothing unlike unto the Spanish *Cetra*) unto whom were joyne five hundred Ænians, that they might be able to guard all the parts of the Island: himselfe in person went to *Scausis*, and there he appointed the *Rendevous*, that all the forces of the Macedonians should be brought thither from *Lesbos*. News came unto him there that the Ætolians had summoned and proclaimed a general Diet or Council at *Hæradus*, and that King *Attalus* would repair thither to consult about the managing of the whole war. And with an intent by his sudden coming to trouble this solemn assembly and meeting of the States, he took great journeys in his march, and led his army toward *Hæradus*: but the Council was newly dissolved when he arrived thither. Howbeit, he destroyed all the standing corn, which was near-hand ripe, especially in the vale along the Gulph of the Ænians, and so reduced his army back again to *Scausis*: and there leaving his whole power, he retired himself to *Demetrias*, attended only with his royal guard. And because he might from thence be ready to meet with all sudden stirrings and invasions of the enemies, he sent out men of purpose into *Phocis*, *Euboea*, and *Peloponnesus*, to chuse out certain high places for beacons, from whence the fires might be seen afar off. And himselfe set up one watch tower upon *Cissus* (a mountain, the top whereof is of an exceeding height) that upon the signal of the beacons on fire from afar, he might in the minute

* *Larissæus*
* *Larissæus*

* *Myriopites*,
* *Lemnos*,
* *Scausis*,
* *Calchidius*.

* *Strabo de
B. g. opus.*

of an hour have intelligence, so soon as the enemies went about any trouble whatsoever. But the Roman General and King *Attalus*, passed the seas from *Peperethum* to *Nicea*, and from thence sailed with their Armado to *Euxas*, unto the City *Oreum*, which as a man beareth his course from the gulph of *Demetrias* to *Chalcis*, and *Emripus*, is the first City of *Embra* that sheweth it self upon the sea hand. And thus it was agreed between *Attalus* and *Salpinius*, that the Romans should give the assault from the sea side, and the King with his forces on the land. Four daies after the flier was arrived they presented themselves before the City to assaile it. For, that time between was spent in secret talk and conference with *Plator*, who was appointed by *Philip* governor and Provost of the City. The City had within it two Citadels, the one commanding the sea, the other situate in the very heart and midst of the town. From thence there is a way under the ground that leadeth to the sea at the end whereof there stood a fabrick or tower five stories high, a singular bulwark and place of defence. There at first began a most sharp and cruel conflict, by reason that the turret was well furnished with all kind of shot and artillery: and likewise from out of the ships there was planted much ordnance, and many engines bent to impeach and assault the same. Now when every mans mind was amazed, and eye fixed upon this hot and eager fight, *Plator* received and let in the Romans at the gate of the other Citadell that stood over the sea, and so in the turning of an hand it was surprized and won. The townsmen being expelled and chased from thence, retired and betook themselves into the middle of the City unto the other fortres. But certain soldiers were set of purpose there to shut the gate upon them: and so being excluded, they were killed and taken prisoners in the midst between. The garrison of the Macedonians stood round together under the Castle wall and neither fled openly amin, nor yet began to fight, as if they meant to flit it unto the end. For whom *Plator* obtained pardon of *Salpinius*, and having embarked them, brought them to *Demetrium* of *Phibotus*, and there set them ashore, and himself returned to *Attalus*.

Salpinius bearing himself bold for this so good and speedy success, immediately sailed with his victorious Armado against *Chalcis*. Where the event in the end answered nothing unto his hope and expectation. The sea lying broad and large on both hands, gathereth in that place to a narrow room, so as at the first sight it maketh a shew of a double peer or haven, opening upon two divers mouths, but in very truth, there is not lightly to be found a worse harbour, and a more dangerous rode for ships. For not only for the exceeding high hills on both sides of the main, the winds arise suddenly and blow blustering, but also the very straight it self of *Emripus* ebboeth and floweth eleven times in the day, as the voice goeth, at certain set and ordinary hours; but without all order, as the winds drive, the sea turneth and rolleth hither and thither, working up and down, and like a flowing stream runneth forcibly and with great violence, as it were, down a steep hill: so as neither night nor day the ships there riding have any rest and repose. As the Roman Armado was thus engaged within so dangerous a rode: so the town of the one part was environed with the sea and on the land-side fully fortified; besides the defence of a strong garison there, and the assured loyalty of the Captains and principall heads and rulers: whereby it was chiefly guarded, which at *Oreum* was but vain, fickle, and unfittesall: by means whereof it was tenable and impregnable. The Roman General in this case, considering how he had begun a rash enterprise, and seeing many difficulties on every hand, wrought wisely yet in this one point, that he soon gave over, because he would spend no time in vain, and passed over with his fleet from thence to *Cynus of Laoris* (a town of Merchandise belonging to the City of *Opus*, situate a mile from the sea.) *Philip* had warning by the beacons on fire that appeared from *Oreum*: but by the fraud of *Plator*, the other were with the latest set a burning from the watch-tower above said. And forasmuch as he was not strong enough at sea, he could not with his navy have easie access into the Island. So that service was delayed and altogether neglected. But he belidred himself quickly to the succour of *Chalcis*. so soon as ever he spied the fire from the beacon. For albeit *Chalcis* it self be a City of the same Island, yet it is divided from the Continent by so narrow an arm of the sea, that there is no more but a bridge between it and the land: and on that side it hath more easie access than by water. *Philip* having dislized the garison there, cast down the fort and discomfited the *Ætolians* who kept the freight passage of *Thermopyle*, came from *Demetrias* to *Scutusa*, from whence he departed at the third watch: and when he had driven and chased the enemies in great fear to *Heraclea*, himself in one day reached to *Elatia* in *Phocia*, a journey above 60 miles. The very same day in manner the City of *Opus* was taken by *K. Attalus* and put to the ransack. The whole pillage thereof, *Salpinius* had granted to the King, in regard that *Oreum* a few daies before was spoiled and filled by the Roman soldiers, and the Kings men had no share with them. Now was the Roman Armado retired to *Oreum*; and *Attalus* not ware of *Philip* his coming, spent time in exacting monies from the chief and principall Citizens. But so sudden and unexpected was this accident of his approach, that had not certain Cretenians by good hap gone forth a foraging far from the City, and descried the march of the enemies a great way off, he might have been overtaken and surprized. *Attalus* unarmed and out of order as he was, made haste & ran amin to the sea-side for to recover the ships. And even as he and his men were looting from the land and lanching into the sea, *Philip* came, and from the very shore put the mariners and sailors in great fear. From thence he returned to *Opus*, crying out upon God and man, and blaming his ill luck, that he had missed so narrowly the opportunity of so great an exploit, and let it go, as it were, snatched out of his very eye. In the fit of anger he reproved and rebuked the

the *Opuntians*, for that being able to hold out the siege untill his coming, so soon as they saw the enemy they presently had yielded themselves in a manner voluntary into his hands. When he had set things in order at *Opus* and thereabout he took his journey to *Torne*. *Attalus* at the first retired himself to *Oreum*: but upon the news arrived, how *Prusias* the King of *Bithynia* had invaded the frontiers of his kingdom, he left the Roman affairs and the *Ætolian* war, and from thence sailed over directly into *Asia*. *Salpinius* also retired his navy unto *Ægium*, from whence in the beginning of the spring he had departed and taken his voyage. And *Philip* forced and won *Torne*, with as small ado as *Attalus* before had taken *Opus*. That forsaid City *Torne* was inhabited by certain that were fled and driven out of *Thebes* in *Phthia*. For when the City was taken by *Philip* and they fled for protection unto the *Ætolians*, (to whom they recommended and committed themselves) the *Ætolians* gave unto them that place to let themselves in, being a City walled and in manner desolate by the former war of *Philip*. Then *Philip* having recovered *Torne* again, as is aforesaid, departed from thence, and won *Tritionum* and *Drymas*, two small and base towns of no account in *Doris*. From whence he came to *Elatia*, where he had given commandment, that the Embassadors of *Ptolomæus* and the *Rhodiens*, should give attendance untill his coming. Where, as they were treating about the making an end of the *Ætolian* war (forasmuch as those Embassadors to the same effect had lately presented themselves at *Heraclea*, in the Council and assembly of the Romans and *Ætolians*) tidings came, that *Machinidas* purposed and determined to set upon the *Eleans*, as they were preparing to exhibit the solemn Olympian games. *Philip* supposing it good to prevent that, courteously answered the Embassadors and gave them their dispatch: saying that as himself was not the cause of that war, so he would not hinder and flay the conclusion of peace upon any equal and reasonable conditions. And so with a power lightly appointed he marched through *Bœotia* to *Megara*, and from thence went down to *Corinth*: where having furnished himself with victuals, he marched forward to *Phiois* & *Phaneus*. And being now come as far as to *Ereæ*, and hearing there that *Machinidas* upon the rumour of his coming forsook was fled back to *Lacedæmon*, he returned to *Ægium*, unto the general Diet and Council of the *Acheis*: supposing withall, that he should find there the Punick armado, which he had sent for to come thither, because he might be able to do somewhat also by sea. But some few daies before the *Carthaginians* had sailed over into *Phocæa*, and from thence were gone to the havens of the *Acarinians*, so soon as they heard once, that *Attalus* and the Romans were departed from *Oreum*. *Philip*, fearing that they would make out alter them, and left they should be overtaken and surprized within *Rhium*, which is the very mouth of the *Corinthian* gulph, *Philip* verily grieved hereat, and was wonderfully troubled in mind, seeing what haste he had made himself in all his enterprises, yet he came too short and effected nothing in due time: as if fortune in taking all things out of his very eye, had deluded, disappointed, and mocked all his speediness and expedition. Howbeit, in that solemn Diet and assembly, he dissembled his grief, bit in his passionate affections, and thus with an haughty mind he spake and said, "That he called both God and man to witness, that he had forsook no opportunity of time nor vantage of place, but when and wheresoever he heard but "any inclining of the enemy, and the least rustling of armour, thither he had made all haste that "possibly he might: but he could hardly devise and conceive, whether himself were more venturous in seeking war, than the enemy nimble and quick in avoiding the same. So *Attalus* at *Opus*, "to *Salpinius* at *Chalcis*, and so the other day *Machinidas* escaped out of his hands and got away. But surely (quoth he) his running away will not alwaies prosper and speed well: neither is "that to be counted a dangerous war, wherein a man may be sure (if he but meet his enemy once) "to have the upper hand. That which is the principall point of all, thus much have I got yet at "the enemies hands, that they confels therein, how they are not able to make their parts good "with us: and I doubt not, but shortly I shall achieve the victory of them, and the event and fortune of their fighting with me, shall be no better than their present hope. The Kings allies were glad to hear him speak thus. Then he retired unto the *Acheans*, *Ereæ*, and *Triphylia*, and delivered again *Aliphera* unto the *Megalopolitans*: for that they proved by good evidence, that it belonged by right to their territory and confines. Thus having received of the *Acheans* certain ships, to wit, three Gallies or Carvels of four banks of oars, and as many gallies of two ranks, from thence he cut over to *Anticyra*. And then with seven Carvels of five ranks of oars, and more than twenty barks besides, which he had sent into the gulph of *Corinth* to join with the *Carthaginian* navy, he made sail to *Erythra* in *Ætolia*, near unto *Enipium*, and there disembarked and landed his men. But the *Ætolians* were advertised aforesaid of his arrival and coming ashore: for all the people that inhabited either the country towns and villages, or the Castles near to *Pan-donia* and *Apollonia*, were fled into the mountains and woods. As for the cattell, which in that hurry and haste they made could not be driven away with them, those they preyed upon and brought them to the ships. With these and all the rest of the booty he sent *Nicias* the Prætor of the *Acheans* to *Ægium*, and sent forward to *Corinth*: and from thence he commanded that the land forces should be conducted and march by land through *Bœotia*: whiles himself sailing from *Cenchrea* along the coast of *Attica*, above the port or cape of *Sunium*, passed even through the midst of his enemies armados, and arrived at *Chalcis*. Then after he had commended the Citizens there for their fidelity and vertue, in that neither fear nor hope was able to change and turn their resolute minds, and exhorted them for the time to come, to continue steadfast in their alliance and allegiance, if they made more reckoning of their own fortune, and loved it better than the con-

dution of the Oritans and the Opuntii; he failed from *Chalcis* to *Orcum*. And when he had committed the government of the State, and the guard of the City, unto those principal Citizens, who chose to lie when the City was laid, rather than to yield themselves unto the Romans, himself sailed over from *Emetia*, unto *Demetrius*, from whence at the first he took his voyage to the aid and succour of his friends and Allies. After all this, having appointed and let out at *Cassandria* keels for an hundred long ships of war, and taken up a number of shipwrights to finish out the rest of the work; seeing that all *Greece* was now in quiet, both because *Attalus* was departed from thence, and also for that himself had in good time succoured his allies and confederats, who were in some trouble and distress, he returned back again into his own Realm, for to make war upon the Dardaniens.

In the latter end of that summer, wherein these affairs thus passed in *Greece*, when *Q. Fabius Maximus* the father, being sent as Ambassador from *M. Livius* the Consul unto the Senat at *Rome*, had brought word and made report, That the Consul judged *L. Porcius* with his legions to be sufficient for the Province of *France*, and that himself might well be spared, and depart from thence, and the Consular army withdrawn out of those parts: The Lords of the Senat gave order and determined that not only *M. Livius*, but *C. Claudius* also his Collegue, should return to the City. This difference only between the one and the other appeared in the decree, in that they gave direction, that the army of *M. Livius* should be brought home, but the Legions of *Nero* should remain still in the province, and be opposed against *Annibal*. The Consuls by entercourse of their letters passing between, agreed thus together, That like as they had with one mind and consent made war and managed the affairs, so, albeit they were in divers parts far asunder, yet they should meet in one place, and at one time make repair to the City of *Rome*: and that whether of them twain came first to *Prenefte*, he should there attend the coming of his Collegue. And it fortune'd so, that they arrived both upon one and the same day at *Prenefte*. From whence they sent an edict before, that the third day after the Senat should generally assemble together in the Temple of *Bellona*: and so they were met upon the way with a multitude of people, who accompanied them as they returned into the City. And they were not content all of them in general to salute them and welcome them home, but every man was desirous particularly to take the Consuls by their victorious right hands: some with congratulations, wishing them joy, others with thanksgiving, acknowledging that by their good means and virtue the Commonwealth was preserved and set upright. Now when they had related in the Senat house (as the manner was of all Generals) what acts they had achieved, and withall demanded, that for their valiant and faithful service to the Commonwealth, due honour should be rendered to the almighty gods, and then they themselves allowed to enter the City in triumph: the L.L. of the Senat made answer, That they for their parts were ready and willing to consider first and principally of the merits and goodnests of the gods, and next and immediately of the good deserts of the Consuls: and as they decreed divine processions and supplications in the name of them both, so they granted triumph, as well to the one as to the other. But the Consuls, because they would not divide their triumph (since that they had managed the wars with one accord and common consent) thus agreed between themselves, That forasmuch as the battell was fought within the Province of *M. Livius*, and the very day of the field fought, it fortune'd to be his turn to take the sign of birds, and to have the entire rule; and besides, the army of *Livius* was brought back and came to *Rome* already, but that other of *Nero* could not be removed out of the Province: therefore *M. Livius* should ride in a chariot drawn with four steeds into the City, with his souldiers following after, and *C. Claudius* presently come alter mounted on horseback without his souldiers. Thus the triumph was communicate to the one and the other, and encreased the glory of them both; but especially of him, who the more that he exceeded his Collegue in desert, the more he yielded and gave place unto him in honour. So laid every man, he there on horseback travelled in six daies space the whole length of *Italy* from one end to the other, and fought the very same day with banner displayed against *Asdrubal* in *Gaul*, when as *Annibal* thought verily he by encamped against him with his army in *Apulia*. See how one and the same Consul, in the defence of the one part of *Italy* and the other, against two Captains nay, against two noble Generals of two armies, in one place employed his advice and counsel, and in another opposed his body and force of arms. Behold (say they) the very bare name of *Nero* was sufficient to keep *Annibal* within his camp: and what was it else, that discomfited and defeated *Asdrubal*, but even his only coming? Let the other Consul therefore be set up on high, and ride in a chariot drawn with as many horses as he will: all while that the true triumph indeed passeth through the City upon one horse only. Nay, if *Nero* went but on foot, he would be memorable for ever hereafter, as well for the refusal of glory in that triumph, as for the winning of honour in that war. With these add such like speeches they entertained *Nero* as they beheld him, and so accompanied him even to the very Capitol. They brought into the Treasure-house of the City in coin thirty hundred thousand *Sestertii*, and 800000 *Ases*. Among the souldiers, *M. Livius* divided six and fifty *Ases* to them apiece. And *C. Claudius* promised as much to his souldiers that were absent upon his return to the army. This was noted and observed in the triumph, that the souldiers uttered more ditties and rimes full of pleasant conceits and jests (as their manner was) upon *C. Claudius* than their own Consul: and that the gentlemen and horsemen highly extolled and magnified above all the rest *L. Veturius*, and *Q. Cecilius* the two Lieutenants, and exhorted the Commons to create them Consuls against the next

* 374375 lib.
Nest.
* Sestertius A
final piece of
silver coin a-
mong the Ro-
mans, the
fourth part of
Draconis con-
taining two
Ases and a
half: and is of
English mo-
ney three hal-
pence farthing
one.
* 3 lib 6 d.
Nest.

A next year: likewise that the Consuls for the time being, confirmed this prerogative choise and election of those gentlemen, with their own assent and authority the morrow after, in a frequent assembly before the people, giving honourable testimony at the valiant and faithfull service of those foretold Lieutenants in that war.

Now the time drew near of election of new Magistrates: and when it was thought good by the Senat, that a Dictator should call that solemn assembly for the said election: *C. Claudius* the Consul nominated for Dictator his Collegue *M. Livius*, and *Livius* named *Q. Cecilius* General of the horsemen. So there were created Consuls by *M. Livius* the Dictator, *L. Veturius*, and *Q. Cecilius*: even he who then was General of the Cavalry. After this, they went to the election of the Praetors and chosen there were *C. Servilius*, *M. Caelius Metellus*, *T. Claudius Asellus*, and *Q. Marcius Thurius*, who then was Aedile of the Commons.

When these elections were finished, the Dictator having resigned up his office and dismissed the army, by virtue of an act of the Senat took his journey into the Province of *Tuscany*, to sit in commission and make enquiry, what States either of the Tuscans or Umbrians intended alplot to revolt from the Romans, and to turn to *Asdrubal* at his coming into those parts: and who they were that had assisted him either with auxiliary souldiers, or with victuals, or with any aid and help whatsoever. And these were the acts for that year, as well at home as abroad in the war.

The great Roman Games were wholly renewed and set out again three times by the Aediles of the City, *Gn. Servilius Capio*, and *Serv. Cornelius Lentulus*. Likewise the patimnes and plaques, called *Plebs*, were once fully renewed and exhibited again by *M. Semonius Alabo*, and *Q. Manlius Thurius* Aediles of the Commons.

In the thirteenth year of the second Punick war, when *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus* were Consuls, both of them were appointed by the Senat to make war upon *Annibal* in the Province of the *Bruttii*. Which done, the Praetors cast lots: And to *M. Cecilius Metellus* fell the jurisdiction of the Citizens: to *Q. Manlius*, of the foreigners. *C. Servilius* his lot was to govern *Sicily*, and *T. Claudius* *Sardinia*. As for the armies, they were divided in this manner: one of the Consuls had the conduct of that which was under *C. Claudius* the Consul of the year before. The other Consul had the leading of that (namely, two full legions) which *C. Claudius* the Pro-Praetor before commanded. *M. Livius* as Pro-Consul, whose government was prorogued for another year, received the charge of two legions of voluntaries in *Hispania*, at the hand of *C. Terentius* the Pro-Praetor. And *Q. Manlius* was appointed by a decree of the Senat to deliver over his jurisdiction to his Collegue, and to take the charge of *Gallia* with the forces there; whereof *L. Porcius* the Pro-Praetor was Captain: and he had in commission to waste the lands of those Gauls who were revolted to the Carthaginians upon the coming of *Asdrubal*. *C. Servilius* was assigned with the power of the two Cannian legions to defend *Sicily*, like as *P. Manlius* had before. Out of *Sardinia* the old army was withdrawn, which was under the governance of *A. Hostilius*: and the Consuls enrolled one new legion, for *T. Claudius* to sail over with, *Quintus Claudius*, and *C. Hostilius Tullius*, had both of them their commissions newly sealed for one year longer, the one to govern *Tarentum* and the other to rule *Capua*. *M. Valerius* the Pro-Consul, who also was Admiral for the sea-coast and river along *Sicily*, was commanded to give up thirty of his sail unto *C. Servilius*, and with all the rest of the Navy to return to the City of *Rome*.

As the City was in suspense and stood doubtfull for the variable event of so great a war, attributing the causes of all weal and woe, of prosperity and adversity to the gods; behold many prodigious tokens were reported to have hapned. Namely, That in *Tarracina* the Temple of *Jupiter* and at *Saturnium* the Chappell of the goddess *Maecus*, were blasted with lightning from heaven, and the inhabitants of *Saturnium* were no less terrified with two serpents that were crept into the temple of *Jupiter* at the very doors. From *Antium* there was word brought, that the harvest folk as they were reaping spied certain ears of corn bloudy. At *Cere* there was a sow that farrowed a pig with two heads, and an ewe yeared a lamb both male and female. It was reported also, that at *Alba* there were two fens seen: and at *Fregelle* by night the day-light appeared. Also in the territory of *Rome*, by report, on one spake: and the altar of *Neposine* within the Cirke *Flaminia* brake out into much sweat and the Temples of *Ceres*, *Salus*, and *Quirinus* were blasted and smitten from heaven. The Consuls were commanded to expiate and purge these fearful sights with sacrificing of greater beasts and to make supplication day by day. Which was done according to the decree of the Senat. But above all the wondrous signs, either reported from abroad, or seen at home, the minds of men were put in fear, for the going out of the fire in the Chappell of *Vesta*. For which cause the *Vestal* Virgin who had the charge that night to look unto it, was by the commandment of *P. Licinius* the Bishop well and thoroughly scourged. And albeit this hapned by humane negligence, and that the gods portended nothing thereby yet it was thought good that an expiation thereof should be made with greater sacrifices, and a solemn supplication held in the Chappell of *Vesta*.

Before that the Consuls went forth to the wars, they were put in mind by the Senat to take regard and order for the Commons, and to procure their reducing again into the country, and placing them in their lands and farms. For seeing that by Gods goodnests the war was removed far from *Rome* and *Latium*, the country towns might be without fear of danger inhabited and frequented again: rather was it a meet thing, that they should have more care to inhabit *Sicily* than

Italy. But the matter was not easily to be compassed and effected by the people, for that many of the free-holders were consumed up in the wars and great scarcity there was of servants and hires to till the ground: besides, the cattell was driven away in booties, and the manor houses were either ruinate or burned. Howbeit, a great fort were compelled by the authority of the Consuls to repair again into their country habitations. The motion hereof was first occasioned by the Embassadors of *Placentia* and *Cremona*; who made complaint, that their territories were much dammied and waisted by the incursions and rodes of the Gauls their next neighbours bordering upon them: and that many of their own natural inhabitants were fled and gone away, as their Cities were not well peopled, and their country lay waste and desert. Whereupon *Antius* the Pretor had commission to defend and guard the Colonies from the enemy. And the Consuls by vertue of an act of Senat made an Edict and Proclamation, that all Citizens of *Cremona* and *Placentia*, should by a certain day return into their Colonies. And then, they themselves in the beginning of Spring took their journey, and set forward to war.

Q. Caelius the Cos. received the army of *Cl. Nero* and *L. Veturius* of *Q. Claudius* the Pro-Pretor, and made up the full number of all the companies with those new souldiers whom he himself had enrolled. The Consuls led their army into the territory of *Consentia*, and having foraged and spoiled here and there, and being heavily laden with good booties, they were in a narrow and streight passage much troubled by the *Bruttii* and the Numidian archers: inasmuch as not only their prizes were in danger to be lost, but they themselves that were armed in some jeopardy. Howbeit, the alarm was greater than the skirmish, and the booty being sent before, the legions escaped safe into places of security. And so from thence they went into the Lucans country. All that nation without any fight returned under the obedience of the Roman Empire. With *Annibal* that year was nothing done: for neither he himself made offer of war, upon the fresh hurt and loss received as well in publike as private, nor the Romans provoked him as long as he was quiet. For they were all of this judgment, that there was such mettall and valour in that one commander, although all things else about him went to wrack, that they held it no good policy to provoke him, and wake a sleeping dog. And verily I wot not what to make of him; whether he were more to be wondered at in adversity than in prosperity. For why? warring as he did in his enemies land for the space of thirteen years, so far from home, in much variety of fortune, with an army not consisting of natural Citizens and subjects, but mingled of a confused ruff-raff and medley of all nations, having neither the same laws, nor manners, and customes, nor language: differing in fashions, in habit, in apparell, in armour, in rites, in religion, nor serving, as it were the same gods: he had so knit and united them in one link and streight band, that they mutually neither among themselves, nor against their Generall, notwithstanding oftentimes there wanted money for pay, and victuals in their enemies country: for default whereof in the former *Punic* war many outrages were committed both among Captains and souldiers. But when *Asdrubal* the Captain together with his army was defeated and overthrowen, in whom they reposed all their hopes of victory, and when they were faine to quit, as it were, all *Italy* besides, and to retire themselves into an angle and corner of *Bruttium*; who would not think it a marvellous matter, that there was no stir nor commotion in his Camp? considering that over and besides all other difficulties, he had no means nor hope else to maintain his army, but out of the *Bruttians* country: And say, that it were all wholly killed, sowed, and well husbanded, yet a small thing it was to find and feed to huge an host. Moreover, a great part of their youth was far away from the tillage of the fields and grounds, and wholly employed in warfare: to say nothing of the natural guile and corrupt usage of that nation, which in time of war was wont to live and maintain the same by robbing and thieving. Neither had he any succour at all sent from home out of *Carthage*: whilst they all were studious and carefull only to keep *Spain*, as if all had gone well with them in *Italy*.

In *Spain* the fortune was in some respect all one and the same, in other far unlike and different the same, in regard that the Carthaginians being defeated in a fought field, and having lost their Captains, were driven to the utmost coast of *Spain*, even as far as the Ocean sea: different, in that *Spain* is a country more apt and commodious to the reparation of new war, not only than *Italy*, but also than any land in the world, as well for the site of the region, as for the nature of the people. For although it were the first nation of all the main and continent, that the Romans went first in hand withall to reduce into the nature of a Province: yet it was the last of all others that was subdued, and but lately in our daies even under the conduct and happy fortune of *Agrippa Caesar*. There at that time *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, the greatest and noblest Captain in all these wars (next after the *Barchin* house) returned from *Gades*, and hoping by the help of *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, to wage war afresh, took musters throughout the farther part of *Spain*, and armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and 4500 horse. And as for the Cavalry, all writers in manner do agree: but for the Infantry, some write, there were 70000 brought unto the City *Silpis*. There upon the open plains fate these two Carthaginian Captains down, because they would not seem to fall off and refuse battell.

Scipio, when news came unto him of so puissant an army levied, supposed that neither with the Roman legions he was sufficient to march such a multitude, unless he opposed the aids of the Barbarous nations; if it were no more but for shew an outward appearance, nor yet was to repose such assured confidence in them, as in the fundan entail strength of his army, that in case they should

A And should give him the slip when the time came, (the only occasion of the overthrow of his father and uncle) they might do much hurt to the main chance and totallium of all. And therefore he sent *Sylanus* before unto *Coleus*, (a Lord over the signory of eight and twenty towns) for to receive of him those horse and foot which he had promised to levy in the winter time. Himself departed from *Taracena*, and gathered some small aids of his allies that inhabit along the way as he marched, and so came to *Casibile*. Thither *Sylanus* brought also certain auxiliaries to the number of three thousand foot and five hundred horse. From thence he went forward to the City *Baeris*, being in all 60 Citizens and Allies, with footmen & horsemen together, one with another 4500 strong. As they were pitching their tents and encamping, *Alago* and *Masani*, with all their Cavalry lay upon them: and no doubt, had troubled them mightily as they were making their defenses; but that certain troops of horsemen hidden behind an hill, whom *Scipio* fitly for the purpose had there bestowed, suddenly at unawares ran upon them, and recharged them as they were loosely ridden to and without order and array. These had not well begun skirmish with them, but they discomfited the forwardest of them, and such especially as engaged themselves near to the trench to impeach and annoy the pioneers and labourers at work: but with the rest that kept to their colours, and went orderly in their ranks the fight was longer, and for a good while continued doubtful. But when the squadrons which stood ready appointed in their guards and flanks, were first brought forth: and after them, the souldiers also from their work and fortifications were wielded to take arms: and till more and more continually came fresh and in heart, in place of those that were wearied, so as now from all parts of the Camp there was gathered together a full power and ran to the battell, then the Carthaginians and Numidians turned their backs plain and fled. And at the first they went away by troops and companies, keeping their order and array till, and not disbanded for haite or rest. But afterwards, when the Romans began once more eagerly to play upon the hindmost of them, so as now their furious violence could no longer be checked then without all regard of ranks or files they forgot their array, and ran on all hands by heaps, seeking every man the next way he could to escape. And albeit by this skirmish, the Romans were more encouraged a good deal, and the enemies hearts much danted: yet for certain daies ensuing there never ceased excurions and bickerings maintained by the horsemen & those that were lightly armed. Now when by these small scufflings they had made sufficient triall on both sides of their strength, *Asdrubal* first led forth his forces into the field, and then the Romans likewise came forward ready to receive them. But when both armies stood without their Camp, arranged in battell array & neither of them gave the charge: when the day drew toward fun-setting, *Asdrubal* first retired with his men into the Camp, and after him the Roman Generall likewise. Thus continued they for certain daies together. *Asdrubal* was evermore the first that came abroad, and the first again that sounded the retreat to his souldiers, wearied with long standing. But of neither side they made out to skirmish, or discharged any shot, or gave alarms and let up a cry. Of the one part the Romans on the other the Carthaginians, together with the Africans stood in the main battell: and the allies of either side kept the wings and those were Spaniards as well in the one army as the other. But in the front of the Carthaginian battell were the *Ephant* placed, who at first made a show as if they had been Castles. And throughout both armies this word went for current, that when the time came, they would go fight as they stood day by day arranged: namely, that the main battels of the Romans and Carthaginians, between whom was the quarrel & occasion of the war, with like courage of heart and force of arms would encounter and cope together. *Scipio* perceiving this once to go for good, & to be fitly settled in their opinions, altered all on let purpose against the day that he minded indeed to give battell. And over-night he gave a watch-word and token throughout the camp, that both horse and man should take their dinner before day, and that the horsemen in arms ready appointed should hold their horses saddled and bridled. Now before it was broad day light he sent out all the Cavalry together with the light armour, to charge upon the Corps de guard and standing watch of the enemies. And himself straight after advanced forward with the whole strength of the legions armed at all pieces. And clean contrary to the conceived opinion and persuasion both of his own men, and also of his enemies he strengthened the wings with Romans, and marshalled the main battell with the allies. *Asdrubal* raised with the clamour and flow of the horsemen, leapt forth of his pavilion, and perceiving a tumultuous alarm and leafull stir of his own men before the rampart and trench, and seeing star off the glittering ensigns of the Legions, and all the plains over-spread with enemies, presently made forth all his Cavalry against the forelaid horsemen. Himself with the battell of footmen issued out of the Camp, and made no change nor alteration at all in the marshalling of the battalions, otherwise than he used the daies past. The horsemen continued the fight a long time doubtfully: neither could it be determined by itself, because evermore, as any of them were put back (which happened on both parts in manner by turns) they retired lately into the battell of footmen. G Now when as the battels were not pilt half a mile asunder one from another. *Scipio* sounded the retreat and opened his ranks, and received all the horsemen and light armed souldiers within the middle ward: and having divided them in two segments, he bestowed them for succours and to pursue behind the wings. Now when the time was come to joyn in skirmish, he commanded the Spaniards (and those were the main battell) to take sure footing and go steadily together: he sent *Asdrubal* and *Masani*, willing them to stretch out that wing on the left hand, like as they saw him

Italy. But the matter was not easily to be compassed and effected by the people, for that many of the free-holders were consumed up in the wars; and great scarcity there was of servants and hires to till the ground: besides, the cartell was driven away in booties, and the manor houses were either ruinat or burned. Howbeit, a great fort were compelled by the authority of the Consuls to repair again into their country habitations. The motion hereof was first occasioned by the Embassadors of *Placentia* and *Cremona*: who made complaint, that their territories were much dammied and waited by the incursions and rodes of the Gauls their next neighbours bordering upon them: and that many of their own natural inhabitants were fled and gone away, so as their Cities were not well peopled, and their country lay waste and desert. Whereupon *Marius* the Pretor had commission to defend and guard the Colonies from the enemy. And the Consuls by virtue of an act of Senat made an Edict and Proclamation, that all Citizens of *Cremona* and *Placentia*, should by a certain day return into their Colonies. And then, they themselves in the beginning of Spring took their journey, and set forward to war.

Q. Claudius the Cos. received the army of *Cl. Nero*; and *L. Veturius* of *Q. Claudius* the Pro-Pretor, and made up the full number of all the companies with those new soldiers whom he himself had enrolled. The Consuls led their army into the territory of *Consentia*, and having foraged and spoiled there and there, and being heavily laden with good booties, they were in a narrow and freight passage much troubled by the *Brutii* and the Numidian archers: in whom was not only their prizes were in danger to be lost, but they themselves that were armed in some jeopardy. Howbeit, the alarm was greater than the skirmish, and the booty being sent before, the legions escaped safe into places of security. And so from thence they went into the Lucans country. All that nation without any fight returned under the obedience of the Roman Empire. With *Anibal* that year was nothing done: for neither he himself made offer of war, upon the fresh hurt and ills received as well in public as private, nor the Romans provoked him as long as he was quiet. For they were all of this judgment, that there was such metall and valour in that one commander, although all things else about him went to wrack, that they held it no good policy to provoke him, and make a sleeping dog. And verily I wot not what to make of him: whether he were more to be wondered at in adversity than in prosperity. For why? warring as he did in his enemies land for the space of thirteen years, so far from home, in much variety of fortune, with an army not consisting of natural Citizens and subjects, but mingled of a confused ruff-raff and medley of all nations having neither the same laws, nor manners, and customs, nor language: differing in fashions, in habit, in apparel, in armour, in rites, in religion, not serving, as it were the same gods: he had so knit and united them in one link and freight band, that they mutined neither among themselves, nor against their General, notwithstanding oftentimes there wanted money for pay, and victuals in their enemies country: for default whereof, in the former Punick war, many outrages were committed both among Captains and soldiers. But when *Asdrubal* the Captain together with his army was defeated and overthrown, in whom they reposed all their hopes of victory, and when they were fain to quit, as it were, all *Italy* besides, and to retire themselves into an angle and corner of *Bruttium*: who would not think it a marvellous matter, that there was no stir nor commotion in his Camp? considering that over and besides all other difficulties, he had no means nor hope else to maintain his army, but out of the *Bruttians* country: And say, that it were all wholly tilled, sowed, and well husbanded, yet a small thing it was to find and feed to huge an host. Moreover, a great part of their youth was set away from tillage of the fields and grounds, and wholly employed in warfare: to say nothing of the natural guile and corrupt usage of that nation, which in time of war was wont to live and maintain the same by robbing and thieving. Neither had he any succour at all sent from home out of *Carthage*: whiles they all were studious and careful only to keep *Spain*, as if all had gone well with them in *Italy*.

In *Spain* the fortune was in some respect all one and the same, in other far unlike and different: the same, in regard that the Carthaginians being defeated in a fought field, and having lost their Captains, were driven to the utmost coast of *Spain*, even as far as the Ocean sea: different, in that *Spain* is a country more apt and commodious to the reparation of new war, not only than *Italy*, but also than any land in the world, as well for the site of the region, as for the nature of the people. For although it were the first nation of all the main and continent, that the Romans went first in hand withal to reduce into the nature of a Province: yet it was the last of all others that was subdued, and but lately in our daies even under the conduct and happy fortune of *Augustus Caesar*. There at that time *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, the greatest and noblest Captain in all these wars (next after the Barchin house) returned from *Gades*, and hoping by the help of *Mago* the son of *Amilcar*, to wage war a fresh took matters throughout the farther part of *Spain*, and aimed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and 4500 horse. And as for the Cavalry, all writers in manner do agree: but for the Infantry, some write, there were 70000 brought unto the City *Silpia*. There upon the open plains fate these two Carthaginian Captains down, because they would not seem to fall off and refuse battell.

Scipio, when news came unto him of so puissant an army levied, supposed that neither with the Roman legions he was sufficient to match such a multitude, unless he opposed the aids of the Barbarous nations; if it were no more but for shew and outward appearance: nor yet was to repose such assured confidence in them, as in the fundamentall strength of his army, that in case they should

A should give him the slip when the time came, (the only occasion of the overthrow of his father and uncle) they might do much hurt to the main chance and totall ruin of all. And therefore he sent *Syllanus* before unto *Calpis*, (a Lord over the ignory of eight and twenty towns) for to receive of him those horse and foot which he had promised to levy in the winter time. Himself departed from *Taracena*, and gathered some small aids of his allies that inhabit along the way as he marched, and so came to *Casilus*. Thither *Syllanus* brought also certain auxiliaries to the number of three thousand foot and five hundred horse. From thence he went forward to the City *Hisalis*, being in all 60 Citizens and Allies, with footmen & horsemen together, one with another 45000 strong. As they were pitching their tents and encamping, *Mago* and *Masani*, with all their Cavalry, lay upon them: and no doubt, had troubled them mightily as they were making their defenses, but that certain troops of horsemen hidden behind an hill, whom *Scipio* fifty for the purpose had there bestowed, suddenly at unawares ran upon them and recharged them as they were looely ridden toward without order and array. Their had not well begun skirmish with them, but they discomfited the forwardest of them, and such especially as engaged themselves near to the trench, to impeach and annoy the pioneers and labourers at work: but with the rest that kept to their colours, and went orderly in their ranks the fight was longer, and for a good while continued doubtful. But when the squadrons which stood ready appointed in their guards and stations, were first brought forth: and after them, the soldiers also from their work and fortifications were willed to take arms: and still more and more continually came fresh and in hearty, in place of those that were wearied, so as now from all parts of the Camp there was gathered together a full power, and ran to the battell; then the Carthaginians and Numidians turned their backs plain and fled. And at the first they went away by troops and companies, keeping their order and array still, and not disbanded for haite or heat. But afterwards, when the Romans began once more eagerly to play upon the hindmost of them, so as now their furious violence could no longer be resisted, then without all regard of ranks or files they forgot their array, and ran on all hands by heaps, seeking every man the next way he could to escape. And albeit by this skirmish, the Romans were more encouraged a good deal, and the enemies hearts much danted: yet for certain daies ensuing, there never ceased excurtions and bickerings maintained by the horsemen & those that were lightly armed. Now when by these small scufflings they had made sufficient trial on both sides of their strength, *Asdrubal* first led forth his forces into the field, & then the Romans likewise came forward ready to receive them. But when both armies stood without their Camp, arranged in battell array, & neither of them gave the charge: when the day drew toward sun-setting, *Asdrubal* first retired with his men into the Camp, and after him the Roman General likewise. Thus continued they for certain daies together. *Asdrubal* was evermore the first that came abroad, and the first again that founded the retreat to his soldiers, wearied with long standing. But of neither side they made out to skirmish, or discharged any shot, or gave alarms and let up a cry. Of the one part the Romans, on the other the Carthaginians, together with the Africans stood in the main battell: and the allies of either side kept the wings, and those were Spaniards, as well in the one army as the other. But in the front of the Carthaginian battell were the Ephants placed, who as oft made a E heave as if they had been Castles. And throughout both armies this word went for current, that when the time came, they would so fight as they should day by day arranged: namely, that the main battells of the Romans and Carthaginians, between whom was the quarrel & occasion of the war, with like courage of heart and force of arms would encounter and cope together. *Scipio* perceiving this once to go for good, & to be fitly sealed in their opinions, altered all on set purpose against the day that he minded indeed to give battell. And over-night he gave a watch-word and token throughout the camp, that both horse and man should take their dinner before day, and that the horsemen in arms ready appointed should hold their horses saddled and bridled. Now before it was broad day light he sent out all the Cavalry together with the light armour, to charge upon the *Corps de guard* and standing watch of the enemies. And himself straight after advanced forward with the whole strength of the legions armed at all pieces. And clean contrary to the conceived opinion and persuasion both of his own men, and alio of his enemies he strengthened the wings with Romans, and marshalled the main battell with the allies. *Asdrubal* raised with the clamour and shout of the horsemen, leapt forth of his pavilion, and perceiving a tumultuous alarm and fearful stir of his own men before the rampier and trench, and seeing star off the glittering ensigns of the Legions, and all the plains over-spread with enemies, presently made forth all his Cavalry against the foresaid horsemen. Himself with the battell of footmen issued out of the Camp, and made no change nor alteration at all in the marshalling of the battalions, otherwise than he used the daies past. The horsemen continued the fight a long time doubtfully: neither could it be determined by itself, became evermore, as any of them were put back (which happened on both parts in manner by turns) they retired lately into the battell of footmen. G Now when as the battells were not past half a mile asunder one from another, *Scipio* founded the retreat and opened his ranks, and received all the horsemen and light armed footmen within the middle ward: and having divided them in two regiments, he bestowed them for succours and reserves behind the wings. Now when the time was come to joyn in skirmish, he commanded the Spaniards (and those were the main battell) to take sure footing and so steadily together: first and last by himself out of the right wing (for that point he commanded) dispatched a messenger to *Syllanus* & *Martius*, willing them to stretch out that wing on the left hand, like as they saw him

him to draw it at length on the right : with direction also unto them, that they together with the light horfemen and light appointed footmen fhould encounter and clofe with the enemy, before that both battels might meet and joyn together. Thus having enlarged out at full their wings, they with three quadrons of footmen and as many cornets of horfemen, together with the light armed skirmifhers, advanced with full pace dire&ly againft the enemies whiles the reft followed fidewaies acrofs. Now there was a void piece of ground in the midbt between, by reafon that the Spaniards enigs went but flewly forward: and the wings had been in conflict already, when the flower and ftrength of the enemies battels, confifting of old beaten Carthaginians: and Affrican foldiours, were not yet come within the darts fhoot, neither durft they put in to fuccour them that were in fight, for fear they fhould open the main battell for the enemy that came dire&ly againft them. Their wings were much diftreffed in the fight on every fide : For the horfemen, the light armed foldiours, and the skirmifhers, having wheeled about and fet a compals to environ them, ran upon them on their flanks. The cohorts of footmen charged upon them aftront, and all to break off their wings from the body of the battell. And as now in every refpect the fight was unequal, fo the rabble of camp-followers, Balear Iflanders, and raw untrained Spaniards, oppofed againft the approved Roman and Latine foldiours, pulled down afide. The day went on ftill, and *Afdrubal* his army began to faint : not as marvel, for they were furprized and taken on a fudden, becaufe in the morning, & were forced in halfe to enter into the field & go to battell before they had refrefhed and ftrengthened their bodies. And to that purpofe *Scipio* had drawn the day on length, & trilled out the time that the battell might be late. For it was the feventh hour, or one a clock after noon, before the enfign of footmen charged upon the fide points. And a good deal later it was ere the main battels fought and joyned together : fo that the heat of the noon fun, the pain of long ftanding in armor, and hunger and thirft came all together to enfeeble and fpend their bodies, before that they came to hand-ftrokes and to buckle with their enemies : which was the caufe that they flood leaning and refing themfelves upon their fhields. And over and befides all other troubles, the Elephants alfo frighted and madded with this ftimulus and difordered manner of fight of horfemen, skirmifhers, and light armed foldiours together, ran from the wings, upon the main battell. The Captains therefore themfelves, being thus tainted, as well in courage of heart, as in bodily ftrength, gave ground and retreated. Howbeit they ftill kept their arrayes, as if the whole battal had retired whole and found by the commandment of their General. But when the winners and conquerors on the other part were fo much more forward to charge upon them more hotly on every fide, becaufe they faw them to lofe their ground and fhink back, fo as their violence could not well be endured : they then albe it *Afdrubal* held them ftill together, and did what he could to flay their flight, crying oftentimes aloud unto them, that there were hills behind them, and places of fafe retreat, if they would retire in good foot, moderately, and in order : yet when they law their enemies prefs fo hard upon them, killing and hewing in pieces thofe that were next unto them, fear was above a fhame, and fo immediately they flewed their back parts, and ran away all at once as faft as they could. Yet at firft, when they came to the root and foot of the hills they began to make a ftand, and rally the foldiours again into order of battell, feeing the Romans to make time flay of advancing their enigs upon the flie. But afterwards, when they perceived them to come luftily forward, they began again to flee afrefh, and fo in fear were forced to take their Camp. Neither was *Scipio* himfelf far from their trench and rampier, but in that very brunt had been a fufferer thereof, but that immediately upon the hot gleams of the fun, when he fhineth in a watry fky full of black and rainy clouds, there poured down with a fhore of fhowers and tempefts, that hardly could he himfelf after his victory recover his own camp. And fome there were alfo that made it a fcruple and matter of confcience to attempt any more for that day. The Carthaginians, although they had great reafon to repofe themfelves, and take their neceffary reft, fo wearied as they were with travell, and fore wounded, efpically feeing the night was come, and the ftormy rain continued : yet, becaufe their fear and preient danger wherein they flood gave them no time to loyer and flack their bufines, againft the next morning that the enemies fhould earlie affaile their Camp, they gathered up ftones from out of the vallies near about them, and piling them one upon another, amended the height of their rampier, purpofing to defend themfelves by the ftrength of their fence, feeing fmall help and remedy in force of arms. But the falling away of their Confederats was the caufe that their departure and flight from thence, feemed more fafe than their abode there would have been. This revolt was begun by *Ahanes*, a great Lord of the Turdetans for he with a great power of his followers and retainers fled from the Carthaginians to the adverfe part. Whereupon two ftrong walled towns, together with their garrifons were yielded by the Captains unto *Scipio*. *Afdrubal* therefore, fearing left this mischief might pread farther, now that their minds were once fet upon rebellion, diflodged about the midnight following, and removed. *Scipio* fo foon as he was adverted at the break of the day, by thofe that kept ftanding watch in their ftations, that the enemies were gone : having fent his horfemen before, commanded the ftandards and enigs to be advanced, and led to fpeedy a march, that if they had gone ftraight forward and followed their tracks dire&ly, they had no doubt overtaken them : but believing certain guides, that there was a fhorter way to the river *Ratis*, they were adviced to charge upon them as they paffed over. But *Afdrubal* feeing the paffage of the river topped againft him, turned to the O-ean: and even at the firft they departed in great hafte as if they fled, which was the caufe that they got the ftart of the Roman legionary footmen, and won a good

free of ground before them. But the horsemen, and light appointed footmen, plaid one while upon their tails, flanked another while their sides, and by this means with charging and recharging they wearied them and failed their march. And when upon many of these troubles by the way, their enemies were fain to stand, and forced to maintain skirmish, (some time with the horsemen and sometimes with the light javelotters and auxiliary footmen) behold the legions also came on apace and overtook them. Then there was not so much fighting and resist, as massa to and slaughter of them: down they went with them and killed them like sheep: so long, untill their leader himself began to flee, and slipped into the next mountains, together with 7000. half naked and unarmed. All the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. Then the Carthaginians began to encamp and fortifie in all haile and tumultuous sort upon the highest mount they could find: from whence (by reason that the enemies had staid in vain to get up the hill, having to climb up an ascent) they had not so much ado to delect themselves. But, the siege being bare and naked, and distressed of all commodities for their subsistence, they were not able to hold out the siege for a few daies. And thereupon the soldiers fell apace to forsake their own Captain, and to go to the enemy. So that at the length the General himself in the night season abandoned his army and having got shipping (for the sea was not far off) he embarked and fled to Cádiz. Scipio being advertised that the Captain of his enemies was fled, left with Syllanus ten thousand footmen and a thousand horsemen to continue the siege of the Camp. himself in person with the rest of his forces within few daies returned to Tarragon, for to examine and hear incontinently upon his Criminal the capes of the Princes and States: that upon the true estimate of their defects they might be rewarded or chastised accordingly.

might be rewarded or changed at discretion.

After his departure, *Majestica* having had secret conference with *Syllanus*, about inducing his people also to be rebellious and to hearken unto a change, called over unto *Africk*, with some small retinue. At which present time verily the occasion of his sudden alteration was not so evident and apparent, as afterwards his most constant truth and Al! allegiance observed unto his dying day was a good proof and argument, that even then he entered not into this degeneration and election, without good and important cause. These *Argos*, in those ships that *Africk* had sent back, passed over to *Gades*. The remnant, thus forsaken of their Captains, some by way of voluntary yielding and ranging themselves to the adverse part, others by flight, were scattered among the neighbouring coasts.

D Cries, and no troop remained of them behind of any man, and seeking to speak of, either the number or strength. In this manner and by these means especially were the Carthaginians driven all out of Spain, by the conduct and happy fortune of *P. Scipio* in the thirtieth year of the war, and in the sixth of *Scipio* his government in that Province and command of the army. And not long after *Syllanus* returned to *Tarcon* unto *Scipio*, and brought word that the war in Spain was fully ended.

E And *Scipio* was sent with many noble persons captives, as a messenger to carry tidings to *Rome* of the conquest of Spain. And when all went with full contentment and infinite joy at their news, and abroad in all places highly magnified the glory of this service, he alone who was the man that led the deed (as one who had an insupportable desire of vertue and true honour) made but small reckoning of the recovery and winning of *Spain*, in comparison of those matters that he hoped for, and conceived in that high and magnanimous spirit of his, which he carried with him. For now he cast in mind and aimed at the conquest of *Africk* and great *Carthage* and therewith, to make perfect and consummate that glorious war to his own immortal honour and renown. And therefore, supposing it was now a good time to begin in the way to those high exploits, and to lay plots, to prepare ahead, yes, and to win unto him the hearts of the Princes and nations, he determined first of all other to sound and assay King *Syphax*.

F This *Syphax* was King of the *Majestica*, a people bordering upon the Moors, and abutting upon that part of *Spain* especially where new *Carthage* is situate. At the same time the King was in league with the Carthaginians: which *Scipio* supposing that he would observe no more fully and precisely, than commonly the Barbarians use, (whose fidelity dependeth upon Fortune) sent *C. Lelius* with rich gifts and presents as an Orator to treat with him; The barbarous Prince was glad hereof; both because the Romans then prospered every where; and also the Carthaginians in Italy lived by the loke; and in Spain went down to the ground, where they had nothing left: and thereupon he consented to entertain the friendship of the Romans. But for the confirmation of this amity, he neither would give nor take assurance, but only in the personal presence of the Roman General himself. So *Lelius* having obeyed the Kings royall word and warrant that *Scipio* might come to the unto him with safe conduct and security, returned unto *Scipio*. Now for him that aspired to the conquest of *Africk* it was a matter of great consequence and importance in all respects, to make himself sure of *Syphax*, whose most mighty and puissant King of all that Land, who had sometimes made proof what the Carthaginians could do in war, and the confines and marches of whose kingdom fully sitly upon Spain, and but a small arm of the sea between, *Scipio* thinking in therefore to be a matter worth the adventure with great hazard, (for otherwise it might no be) leaving for G the defence and guard of Spain *L. Marinus* to *Tarcon*, and *M. Syllanus* at new *Carthage*, (whither he had travelled by land from *Tarcon*, and taken great journey himself) and *Lelius* together loaded from *Carthage* with two great Carrels of five banks of oars, and passed over unto *Africk*, through the calm and still sea, most of all rowing, and otherwhile also making sail with a gentle gale of wind.

Reply is to tell out that the very same time *Afrimati*, driven out of Spain, was one of the

ven with seven galleies of three course of oars, and rid at anchor near unto the shore for to be set a land. When he had a kenning of the two Carvels aforesaid, which albeit no man doubted but they were enemies, and might have been boorded by them being more in number; before they could gain the rode; yet hereupon ensued nothing else but a tumult and hurry among the mariners and fouldiers together, in vain preparation of their ships and their armour. For the wind being somewhat big and high, drove the Carvels with full sail out of the main sea into the haven. Before that the Carthaginians had any time to weigh anchor: neither durst any of them proceed to further dealing within the Kings Rode. So *Asdrubal* first left a shore, and within a while *Scipio* and *Lalimo* landed, and went all to the Court. *Syphax* took this for a great honour due unto him (as indeed it was no less) that there were come to him at that time, and in one day two General Captains of two most mighty and puissant States, to sue for peace and amity with him; He invited both of them friendly, and gave them entertainment: and since it was their fortune to enter under one roof, and the same house for to be lodged in, he endeavoured to draw them to a party, and to make an end of all quarrels, grudges, and controversies between them. But *Scipio* denied flatly, "that either there was any private malice or hatred between him and *Asdrubal*, that should need an end with conference and speech: and as for State-matters, he might not treat with a "professed enemy as touching them, without express warrant and commission from the Senate. But when the King laboured greatly with him, that he would find in his heart and not think much to bear *Asdrubal* company at meat and meal (because he would not seem to exclude either of them from his bond, he yielded therunto, and was content. So they supped both twain together with the King, and *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* ate both at one table in one meal, and upon one bed, for so it was the Kings pleasure. But for courteously *Scipio* behaved himself (as he was a man that naturally knew how to carry himself with a grace and dexterity in all things, and in every place wheresoever he came) that by his fair language and eloquent speech, he won not only the favour of the barbarous Prince *Syphax* (who before was not acquainted with the Roman fashions) but also the good will and love of *Asdrubal*, a most malicious and mortal enemy: who seemed to have him in more admiration upon this one meeting and communication in presence personal, than for all his feats of arms achieved in war, and made no doubt but reckoned folly that King *Syphax* and his Realm would presently be at the devotion of the Empire of *Rome*; such a singular gift had that man to win love and favour. And therefore the Carthaginians were not so loath to seek how *Spain* was lost, as to consider and think how they might keep and hold *Affrick*. For thus they conceived, That this noble Knight and worthy Roman Captain was not come thither wandering at a venture, nor as a traveller to see countries, and to solace himself with walking along the pleasant and delectable coasts, leaving the Province which he had newly subdued, leaving his armies which he commanded, sailing thither with two ships only into *Affrick*, and committing himself unto an enemy country, and into a Kings hands, of whose fidelity and protection he had no experience: but no doubt upon some great hopes to compass the conquest of *Affrick*. And this was it that long since *Scipio* had in secret purpose and designment, this was it that openly he feigned and formed at, namely, that he wanted not himself as within *Spain*, as *Annibal* in *Italy*. Well, *Scipio* having concluded a league with *Syphax*, departed out of *Affrick*; and notwithstanding he was tossed upon the sea with variable winds, and those for the most part boisterous and raging yet up to the fourth day he arrived at *New Carthage*.

As *Spain* generally was at peace and rest for any Carthaginian war, so it was well known, that certain particular States, in regard that they were touched with the guilt of trespasses committed, were quiet for fear, rather than for any loyal allegiance. Of which the most notorious, as well for their own greatness and power, as for their fault and transgression, were *Illyriums* and *Cephals*. The Caltulians had been Roman Confederates in time of prosperity, were revolted unto the Carthaginians, upon the defeat of the two *Scipios* and their armies. The Illyrians besides their revolt and rebellion, added this wickedness, in that they betrayed and murdered the Romans who fled unto them for succour after that overthrow. These two nations, if *Scipio* at his first coming had proceeded in rigour to revenge (whiles the States of the country stood indifferent) he should have regarded their desert more than his own good and commodity. But when all troubles were composed and reduced to quietness, he thought it then a convenient time to punish and chastise them accordingly. And therefore he called *L. Marcius* from *Tarentum*, with a third part of his forces, and sent him to assail *Cephals*. Himself with the rest of the army marched toward *Illyriums*, and within five daies presented himself before it. The gates he found shut against him, and all preparation and furniture for defence and to withstand the assault. For their confidence bare them witness what they had deserved, and there needed no other defence or intimation of war against them than the privy of their wicked fact. Hereupon *Scipio* took occasion to exhort his fouldiers, and began in this wise. "The very Spaniards themselves, quoth he, by shutting their gates declare plainly what they justly are to fear: and therefore ye ought to war "with them in more hostile malice and deadly hatred than with the Carthaginians. For with them the quarrel was maintained, as it were, without anger and rankor, only for sovereignty, and glory: but of these men ye are to take vengeance for their disloyal treachery, for their cruelty, and wicked villany. And now the time is come, to revenge not only the unworthy death of your fellow fouldiers, but also the like falsehood prepared for your selves, in case your hap had been to have fled for refuge thither at any time: yea, and to shew exemplary justice, to reach all "pollitory,

A pollitory, that no man hereafter be so heady as to wrong any Citizen or fouldier of *Rome*, in what sort chastise ever he be, without fear of condign punishment. Upon this exhortation and comfortable words of the General, they belittled themselves and divided the scaling ladders amongst choice men out of every company. And having so parted the army between them, that *Lalimo* the Lieutenant had the conduct of the one half, they gave assault with great terror unto the City in two places at once. But neither any one general captain, nor many principal Citizens encouraged and heartened the townsmen manfully to defend their City, but only their own fearful and sinful consciences for they will well and remembered, yea, and put one another in mind, that it was their punishment and not victory that the Romans sought for. And as for themselves, since they were to lose their lives, this was the only point that they were to consider upon, namely, where they were best to die, whether in fight and in the field (where the fortune of Battail was common, and oftentimes lifted up the conquered, and put down the conqueror) by after their City burnt and rased, to yield up breath in the sight of their wives and children taken captives amid the torments of whipping and hard irons, when they had endured all villanies and indignities. Whereupon not only the servicable youth for war; not only men of age, but women also and children, even above the bodily strength of that age, or courage of battles, were ready ad presented themselves to defend the walls. Some brought weapons to the defendants; others carried stones up to the walls onto them that were fortifying and repairing the breaches. For why? they stood not upon their liberty alone, which whetted the stomachs of valiant magnanimous men only, but they felt before their eyes all extremities of torture and punishment yea, and the shameful death that that could be devised: and their hearts were incited to undergo all pains and peril, by striving one together, and seeing one another to hazard themselves. In so much as they stood to it, and fought resolutely, that even that noble army which had subdued all *Spain*, took the repulse oftentimes at the hands of the youth of one City, was driven from the walls, and finally to their honor received some loss in fight and began to fear. *Scipio* seeing that, and doubting left upon so many headless attempts the enemies might take heart and his own fouldiers be tainted, thought good to enter himself personally into the action, and to take part for that dangerous service. Having recruited therefore his men for their cowardise, he commanded the ladders to be brought and set, threatening: that himself would scale the walls, if the rest made halting and this drew back. With that he made no more ado, but approached under the walls in great peril of his person. Whereupon the fouldiers, respecting the dangerous state of their General, and fearing greatly of his behalf, first up a shout on all hands, and began to raise ladders in many places at once. *Lalimo* likewise on the other side plied the assault and gave no over. Then as fast the townsmen, for all their resolute resistance, were overcome; the defendants overthrown and beaten from their standings, and the walls possessed by the enemies. The castle also on that side which was thought impregnable, was in that burnt and tumult taken. For there were certain *Africans* serving then among the Romans (led before the enemy) who whiles the townsmen were wholly turned to defend those places that seemed to be exposed unto danger, and the Romans climbing and entering where they could, espied one part of the City much higher than the rest; which because it was compassed about with an exceeding high rock, was neither fortified otherwise with bulwarks, nor minded with any defendants at all: and being men (as they were) light and agile of body, and flexible by reason of much practice and exercise, they climbed up the rock where they could meet with any crag therof to bear out unequally from the rest, and they held their hold and footing: but when they came to a plumb upright steep place, and where the cliff was even and smooth, they fastened certain great iron spikes and nails, which they carried thence with them of purpose, and stuck them a pretty distance asunder, like greeces and staves, to climb upon; and ever the foremost plucked him up by the hand that followed next, and the hindmost heaved up those that went before them, until they were gotten up to the top; and then they ran down well an outcry into the City, which was already won by the Romans. Then it was well seen that they forced this City from very desperate anger and deep hatred. There was no thought of taking any prisoners alive; there was none that once minded any pillage, notwithstanding all lay open unto them for to be ransacked and spoiled. But down they went with the unarmed as well as the armed, killed men and women one with another: nay, their cruel mood was such, as they spared not the sucking babes. Then they set fire on their houses: and what the fire loved they valued and pulled down; so carried a mind they had, and so bent they were, so to leave no monument and token of such a City, and utterly to shroud and root out the memorial of those enemies.

After this, *Scipio* led his army against *Cephals*. This City was defended not only by Spaniards, who were repaired out of other parts, but also by the reliques of the Carthaginian army which were scattered abroad in their flight, and thither fled. But ere *Scipio* was come before the City, he had heard the news of the royal calamity and destruction of the Illyrians: by reason whereof they were all terrified and in despair of themselves: and so it fell out in such wise, that he overcame and defeats every man fought against him, till he himself the best he could, without hurt to his neighbours. And as fast they began to have notice of his famous reputation one of another, afterwards they brake out to open dissentions, in so much as the Carthaginians and Spaniards divided themselves, and parted asunder. *Cephals* openly advised the Spaniards, and persuaded with them, to yield. *Illyria* was the Coast over the Auxiliary Carthaginians, whom

tenance and face so vigorous and courageous, as they never remembered to have seen him so lustily in any battell before. For a while he sat still and said never a word, until he was advertised that the Captains of the mutiny were brought into the place and all things else in readiness. Then after silence made by an *Oyez*, of the cryer, in this wise he began and said,

"I would never have believed that I should have wanted words and proper language unto mine own army: not because I have exercised my self at any time rather to make eloquent speeches than to manage valiant actions; but for that being always from mine infancy almost trained up in the camp, I have been acquainted with the natures and humours of soldiers. But in what manner I should speak unto you, neither my wits will give me advice, nor my tongue afford me utterance: you, I say, whom I was not to much as by what name to call, should I term you Citizens, who have revolted from your native country, or soldiers, who have renounced your General, refused to be under his command, his charge and government, and made no conscience to break the oath of your allegiance: I left of all, should I give you the name of enemies? Now firstly, me thinks I agnize the bodies, the faces, the apparel and habit of mine own natural Citizens: but contrariwise, I see plainly the deeds, the words, the intents and minds of arrant enemies. For what have ye wished and hoped for else, but the Illegates and the Lacerates have done the like? And yet I must needs say, that they had to follow for their captains in their outrage, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, two Princes of royaill blood: whereas you imposed the sovereign command and government upon *Vmbro*, *Atrius*, & *Calenus* *Albinus*, two brave companions. Denie it now hardly if you will, that you all either were in the action, or willing in the intention. Verily I can easily believe you in to disavowing, and namely, that all this proceeded from the folly of some brainick fellows among you. For the trespasses committed are of that quality and consequence, that if the whole army were therein culpable, the expiation & purging thereof could not be procured without great sacrifices and exquisite punishment. Full against my will I touch these points, as sores and galls that will not abide the rubbing: but unless they be touched and handled too, they cannot possibly be cured and healed. I assure you, for mine own part, I thought verily, that when the Carthaginians were driven out of *Spain*, there was neither place nor portion throughout the whole province, that had envied my life and health: such hath been my carriage, and so have I demeaned my self not only with Allies, but also with enemies. But see, how much I have been deceived: even in mine own camp, the news of my death was not only received with joy, but expected also with a longing desire. I speak not this, that I would have any man to imagine that I conceive, how all in general are guilty of this fact (for if I were per- swaded in my mind, that my whole army wished my death, I would here die presently before your eyes; for what good would my life do me, repined of my soldiers and fellow Citizens?) But the multitude of every people is like the seas in nature; which of themselves are innumerable and stir not as the winds blow, as the gales go and come, so are they either calm or troublesome: and inquisit: and even so the cause and source of all this fury and outrage, is in some few heads and leaders. As for you ye have caught the infection from them, and plained the fools with them for company. Surely I am thus persuaded of you this day, that ye know not yet, to what enormous height of folly ye have proceeded: what mischievous acts ye were entred into against mine own persons: what you attempted against your native country, your wives and children: what you enterprised against the gods and witnesses of your loyal oath; what ye have done against the sacred auspices and happy fortune, under which ye have served in warfare; what ye have committed against the custom & law of war, against the discipline of your ancestors; & finally, how prejudiciall and offensive your designs have been against the sovereign majesty of the Roman empire. As for my self, I am willing to say nothing: content I am to think, that yesterday gave credit to my death rashly and inconsiderately, then hearken thereto willingly and greedily. And it may be, that I have behaved my self, that no wonder it is, if mine army be weary of me and of my government. But what harm hath your country derived at your hands which to betray ye should complot with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*? How hath the people of *Rome* offended you, that you have deprived the Kn. Marshalls and Colonels created by the voice of the people, of their lawfull rule and authority, and conferred the same upon private persons? And being not therewith contented, to have and acknowledge them for your Colonels: you even you the army of the Romans, have taken the knitches of rods belonging only to the General, and bestowed them upon those that never kept so much as a bondslave of their own command, *Albinus* and *Atrius* forsooth, let up their pavilions in that chief place and State in the camp, where the sovereign magistrat ought to quarter: with them the trumpet sounded: from them the signall and watch-word was demanded, they sat as judges in the Tribunal seat of *Scipio* the Pro-conful: upon them the Lictors and Sergeants attended: for them they made way & voided the place, against they should go forth & march in their train: and before them were the rods borne, and the axes withall. When it raineth stones, when thunderbolts are shot, when lightning flash from heaven, when beasts bring forth strange, uncouth, and monstrous young ones, contrary to the course of nature, you take them for prodigious signs and fearful tokens. Nay this is a monstrous sight and wonder in deed, which by no sacrifices of beasts, by no supplications and prayers, can be purged and expiated, without the blood of them that have committed so hainous a fact. And albeit no wicked crime can be founded upon any reason, yet would I gladly know of you (as in a case that indeed should not be once named and remembered)

what

A "what was in your mind? what imagined you? and what was your designment? There was in times past a legion sent to *Rhegium*, there to lie in garrison. Traitorously and villainously they murdered the principal citizens there, and for ten years space possessed and kept that wealthy town to their own behoof. For this notorious and beastly fact the whole legion, even four thousand men and no fewer, were in the market place of *Rome* beheaded every one. And yet they at the first followed not for their captain *Atrius* *Vmbro*, one little better than a lander, stupid, and follower of the camp, a man of an unlucky and unfortunate name, but *Decimus* *Indibilis* a Tribune or Kn. Marshall; neither joined they with *Pyrrhus*, nor with the Samnites and *Lucans*, professed enemies of the people of *Rome*. Whereas ye, have plotted in counsell, and meant to have banded in arms together with *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*, their purpose was to have hated themselves for ever in *Rhegium*, like as before them the Campanians, who took *Capua* from the Tuscans, the old inhabitants: and the Mamertines likewise; who possessed themselves in *Sicily* of *Megallans*, and never minded to molest and make war either upon the people of *Rome*, or any of their allies and confederats. But tell me I pray you, intended ye to have made your continual residence, and to have dwelt at *Sacro*? where if I your General at my departure out of the province, when my time and commission was expired, should have left you behind me, ye might have cried out upon me, and called for vengeance to God and man in regard of hard measure and wrong offered unto you, in that ye might not be permitted to return home to your wives and children. But alas, wife and children were clean excluded out of your mind: ye thought no more upon them, then of me or of your native country. Well, I will follow on still, and dicourage upon your plot and designs, wicked and ungracious though they were, yet happily not altogether to foolish & foolish in the highest degree as may be supposed. Imagined ye being eight thousand men in number, (and say that ye were all of better account & reckoning then *Albinus* & *Atrius* are, under whom ye submitted yourselves) to have been able for to defeat the people of *Rome* of the province of *Spain*? to long as I lived, and the other army stood fild and strong: where with in one day I forced new *Carthage*, with which I discomfited, put to flight, and chased out *Spain*, four brave Generals, and as many puissant armies of the Carthaginians? But let that go by, and to say aside my name, and to speak of no more abuse but this, that ye were very credulous and quickly believed that I was dead. How then? what if: was departed this life and gone indeed? Had the common-wealth together with me yielded up her ghost? Would the main state and empire of *Rome* have fallen to the ground with me at once? Forfeid (*O Jupiter*, almighty and most gracious) that ever a City founded first most happily, with the approbation of the gods, built eternally for ever to endure, should be compared and made but equal with this frail and mortal body of mine. *Flaminius*, *Paulus*, *Gracchus*, *Posthumius* *Albinus*, *M. Marcellus*, *T. Quintius* *Crispinus*, *Cn. Fulvius*, two *Scipios*, my father and uncle both, so many noble warriors and captains have been slain in this one war: and they are dead and gone: yet the people of *Rome* continue on foot and overlive them, yes, and shall still, when a thousand more of them shall die, either upon the edge of the sword, or upon some sickness or other. How should then the state of the people of *Rome* be entered & buried with the dead corps of me, but one man and no more? Even you your selves (to go no farther to seek examples) here in *Spain*, when my father and uncle two Generals, were killed, chose *Septimius* *Martius* for your captain, to lead against the Carthaginians, being in the full and jollity of their fresh and late victory. I speak now, as though I had miscarried, *Spain* had been left destitute and without a Commander and General. *M. Syllus* who was sent with me in the province, joined in the same commission and of equal authority; *L. Scipio* my brother, and *C. Laelius*, both Lieutenants general: would these have sit still and done nothing? would these have failed to maintain and recover the majesty of our empire? What could ye have compared army for army, captains for captains with them? was either your reputation and credit, or your quarrel and cause comparable? and suppose that in all these regards, ye have been superior and gotten the vanrage, would ye indeed with the Carthaginians, have been arms against your native country? against your fellow citizens? would ye in very truth, that *Africus* should have commanded *Italy*; and *Carthage* the City of *Rome*? And for what demerit and great trespass, I pray you, that your country had committed? *Coriolanus* long ago, being wrongfully condemned and unworthily banished, seeing himself to live a miserable exiled man, was moved to take arms and to come against his country to assail it. A private regard of love and natural kindnesse, reclaimed them from publick pericill. But what grief of heart, what fit anger hath incited and provoked you? Set aside your wages was paid later by some daies, whiles your General lay sick; was that a sufficient cause for you to give defiance to your country & proclaim open war against it? was that enough to cause you to revolt from the people of *Rome*, and turn to the Illegates? and to spare no law of God and man, but to break all and make shipwrack of conscience and common honesty? now truly, soldiers, ye were out of your wits, and fools ye were in the highest degree. I was not my self farther out of frame and sicker in body, then ye were in your mind and understanding. I tremble to think upon it and to rehearse, what to believe, what they hoped, what they wished. Let all be forgotten and buried in oblivion, if it be possible: if not let us not speak of it yet, howsoever we do, but rake it up in deep silence. I cannot deny, but my words have seemed sharp and bitter unto you, and all this my speech very rigorous. But how much more crüll think ye are your deeds, then my words tart and sour? And if ye deem it reasonable, that I should bear & put up the things that ye have done; will ye not abide them

* *Atrius* *Vmbro*: alluding to *Ater*, black and *Vmbra* a dark shadow,

and

and take in good part, and patiently to hear me to tell all that I can say? But these matters I will lay no more in your debt from henceforth; ye shall be checked no more for them. Would God ye could as soon forget them, as I will put them out of my remembrance. And therefore as touching ye all in general, if ye repent and be disquieted with your selves for your fault and folly, I shall be content and think you punished to the full. But as for *Albinus Calpurnius* and *Attius Paterculus*, with the rest of the authors of this cursed and detestable mutiny, they shall make amends for their trespasses and transgressions, even with their heart-blood; and they shall surely die for it. The spectacle of their exemplary punishment ought not to seem unto you grievous and odious, but rather a pleasant and delectable sight, if ye have any grace in you, and be come again to your right wits. For their intent was to hurt and do mischief to man alive, more then to your selves.

He had scarce made an end of his speech, when all at once, according to the order given before. I hand, there was presented to their eyes and ears a terrible and fearful object on all sides. For the army which had envied the assembly round about clattered their swords & bucklers together. The common cry was heard to cite by name all those that were condemned there, in the presence of the whole audience. Stripped they were naked, and haled forth in the midst of them all, and every thing brought out at once for to accomplish the execution. Thus were they bound to the stake, whipped with rods, and their heads chopped off. So benumbed they were all and stoned for fear, that were present at the sight thereof, that there was not heard amongst them all one shrewd & hard word, in milking the rigor of the punishment, no, nor so much as one groan or feebler sigh. Then their bodies were all drawn at one side, the place was made clean, & purged; and the soldiers were called by name & before the Colonels & Kn. Marshals, swore allegiance, and to be true soldiers unto *Scipio*. And every one according as he answered to his name, had his wages truly paid. This was the issue and final end of the soldiers mutiny, which began at *Saevus*.

At the same time, Captain *Hannibal* by *Mago* from *Gades* with a small power of Africans, solicited the Spaniards about the river *Batis*, for money, to rebel and put in arms upon a four thousand able men. But after wards he was forced by *L. Marius* to quit his camp, and having lost the greatest part of his men in the very tumult of taking the camp, yes, and some in the flight, whom the horsemen pursued in chase and slew as they ran. Hagling, himself with few others escaped away. Whiles these things happened about the river *Batis*, *Latinus* in the mean time having passed through the Straights into the main Ocean, arrived with his navy at *Carthage*. This is a City standing on the sea coast bounding upon the Ocean, even in the mouth of the river, where it first openeth from the Straights into the broad sea. Now there was some hope (as hath been aforesaid) to gain the City of *Gades* without any assault, by treason, for as much as there came some into the Roman camp, that of themselves made offer and promise thereof. But the treason brake forth too soon and was revealed before it was ripe, the conspirators were all apprehended, and sent by *Mago* unto *Adherbal* the Pretor, for to be conveyed to *Carthage*. And *Adherbal* having embarked those traitors in a Caravel or Gallion of five banks of oars, and sent her afore, because he was flower of sail than those of three banks; himself with eight three-banked galleys, followed a pretty way after. The said Caravel of five banks of oars, was not so soon entered the Straights, but *Scipio* also being embarked in another Caravel of the same sort, made out of the haven of *Carthage* with seven Gallies of three banks of oars and invetted *Adherbal* and the foresaid Gallies, flying verily, that the enemies Caravel being taken tardy in the very current, was not able against the tide to retire. *Adherbal* being thus surprised on the sudden, for a while stood in fear and doubt what to do; whether he had best to follow on after his own Caravel, or turn the prow and beaks of his galleys, and make head against the enemy. Thus whilst he stood at a bayling, he lost the opportunity of shitting and avoiding a battell: for now they were come within the dart shot, and the enemies on every side were ready to charge. And the current was so strong, that they were not able to rule and manage their ships as they would. But the manner of fight was nothing at all like to a sea-battell, for as much as they could do nothing to their mind, nothing by skill and dexterity, nothing by counsel and advice. The nature onely of the narrow sea, the violence of the current was all in all, and ruled the conflict: driving the ships one against another, as well upon their own fellows as upon their enemies: no, withstanding they rowed and laboured what they could to the contrary. So as one while ye should see a ship that fled and scudded away, whirled about back again with a winnow by the waves, upon those that had her in chase; and likewise another that seemed to follow and pursue after her enemies, if she happened once into a contrary course of billows, to turn top and tail, and seem to flee. And in the very conflict to see fall out, that when as one vessel ran with her beak head full butt upon another, she was forced by waves to turn her side, and receive in her flank the push of her enemies. And contrariwise, when as one with her flank opposite to the enemy, suddenly all at once she should wind and whirle again upon her prow. As the galleys fought thus doubtfully together, hap hazard, at the pleasure and will of Fortune, the Roman Caravel (were it because of her weight she was able to stand more steady against the surging billows, or by reason that she had more ranks of oars that cut the waves, and so was more easily ruled) chanced to sink two of the smaller galleys of the enemies; and running fast by one with a forcible violence wiped away clean all the oars of one side; and had no doubt spoiled and marred all the rest that she would have invetted and charged upon, but that *Adherbal*, with the other five made sail, and got over into *Africk*. *Latinus* having sailed back to *Carthage* with victory, and heard what had been done at *Gades*; namely, how the complot of betraying

betraying the land was disclosed, the conspirators sent bound unto *Carthage*, and consequently all their hope frustrated and turned to nothing upon which they came to *Gades*; dispatched messengers to *L. Marius*, giving him to understand, that unless they meant still to lie before *Gades*, sitting away the time and doing no good, the best way was to return unto *Scipio* the lord General; and so with the consent of *Marius* both of them within few daies repaired to *Carthage*. Upon whose departure *Mago* had not only a time to breath himself being frightened as he was with a double fear both by land & sea; but also hearing that the Illegates were revolted, conceived some hope to recover *Spain* again, and addressed his couriers to the Senat at *Carthage*: who by relating not only the civil mutiny that arose in the Roman camp, but also the rebellion of the confederates (and all by way of amplification and enforcing every thing to the highest degree) should encourage and exhort them to send aids for to regain the dominion of *Spain*, left unto them by descent over their ancestors. *Mandonius* & *Indubilis* who were retired for a time into their confines, would then know how the sedition sped and what was the issue thereof (still in suspense). For if the natural citizens had their treachery forgiven, they made no doubt themselves but they might be pardoned also. But when it was published abroad how severely and sharply they were punished, they supposing their own transgression to deserve the like punishment, solicited their own people again to take arms: and thus having levied and assembled the same power of aids which they had before, they passed into the Sedetans country, where at the beginning they lay in a landing camp, being in all 20000, and 2500 horse strong.

Scipio after he had soon reconciled and won again the heart of his soldiers, as well by making true payment of their wages, to the faulty and innocent alike, as also by shewing a loving countenance, and giving friendly words unto all indifferently, before that he dislodged and removed from *Carthage*, assembled them all together to an audience. Where he inveighed bitterly and at large against the falsehood and treachery of the lords of the country that rebelled; and protested before them all, that he went not now to be revenged of them for their wickedness with the same mind, where with lately before he had cured the folly, and reformed the error of his natural citizens; for then quoth he with grief and groans, yes, and with tears like as one that rent and cut his own bowels, I expiated and purged either the inconsistent folly, or the wilful malice of eight thousand men, with the head of thirty persons; but now I go with joy and glad heart, yes, and with a resolution to execute and massacre the Illegates. For neither are they born in the same land with me, nor linked now in any society at all unto me; the only bond of faith and amity which was between us, that they have themselves first impiously broken. But in my own army, besides that I see they all are either Roman citizens or else allies, and those not Aliens but mere Latins; this doth me good and moved me much, that there is not among them so much as one soldier that I speak of, but was brought out of *Italy* either by mine uncle *Cn. Scipio* (who was the first of the Roman name that came at *L. Deputus* into this province) or else by my father who was Consul; or last of all by my mine own self. They are every one of them well acquainted & injured with the name of *Scipio*, and tied to their fortune and government: whom I gladly would conduct some late with me to deserved triumph, and whom I hope to find ready to assist me with their honour when I stand for a Consulship, as if it were a matter that concerned the honor of them all in general, as well as mine particular. And as for the expedition now in hand, whosoever taketh it to be a war, little remembereth the noble acts by me achieved; for surely I make more reckoning of *Mago* and his exploits, who is fled with a few ships as it were out of the compass of the world, in an land environed with the Ocean sea, then I do of the Illegates. For there in that place, is not only a Carthaginian captain, but all the Carthaginian forces and strength that now remain. Here are none but thieves and robbers, and their leader: who peradventure may be of some power and sufficiency to forage the fields, to burn the houses, to drive away some cattle of their neighbours, but to come to hand-strokes in a set fight and ranged battell, they are of no valour and worth at all: who no doubt will come into the field, trusting upon their good footmen to turn away in the rout, more than upon any force of arms to maintain the fight. And therefore I have thought good to put down and suppress these Illegates, before I depart out of the province: not for any present danger at all, or fear of greater war that I see may spring from thence; but first and principally, that so ungracious and wicked a rebellion should not remain unquashed; and next because it might not be said, that in a province so subdued, as well by singular prowess as rare felicity, there was left one enemy behind of the Romans. And therefore in the name of the gods I follow after me, not so much to make just war (for ye are not to deal with enemies any way comparable unto you) as to take vengeance of wicked men, and to punish graceless persons. When he had finished his speech, he dismissed them, with commandment to be ready the next morrow to put themselves in the journey; and after that he set once forward by the tenth day he came to the river *Iberus*, and when he had passed over, within 4 daies more, he encompassed in the sight of his enemies. Now there was a plain there, environed round about with mountains: into which vale between, he caused the cattle (and those were for the most part driven out of the enemies country) for to be put forth to grazing and all to provoke the anger of the fierce and savage enemies; and sent out withal, the light appointed archers to guard them: he took order besides, that when there were one in skirmish with the vanquishers of the enemies, *Latinus* with his Cavalry should closely from some covert place give a sudden charge. And for this purpose, there was a hill that bare out hand-somely to hide the ambush of those horsemen.

Scipio to his soldiers.

And presently without any delay, they came so skirmish in for the Spaniards made out to to the hill catch, in soon as ever they discovered them a far off: the archers again and darters of the Romans ran upon the Spaniards as they were busy in their booty. And at first they terrified them, and skirmish'd with their shot: but afterwards, when they had spent their arrows and darts, which were better to begin a fray, they determin'd a battell, they drew their naked swords and began to fight close together foot to foot. And surely the skirmish of the footmen had been doubtfully decided, but that the horsemen came upon them: who not only assisted the enemies in their face, and trampled them all under their horsefeet that came in their way, but also some of them having wheel'd about for a compass along the hill foot, presented themselves at the back of the enemies, so as they enclosed and shut up the most part of them in the middle between. Inasmuch as there ensued a greater slaughter, then commonly upon light skirmishes by way of such rides and excursions. But the barbarous people by this discomfort were rather kindled than flamed to anger, then assisted any way or discouraged. And therefore, because they would seem to have been dismayed or affrighted the morrow morning by day-light, they shew'd themselves in the valley, the freight and narrow valley, as it before said, was not able to receive and contain all their power: for two third parts whereof of the infantry and all the horse were come down into the plain field: and the rest of their footmen besides, stood together quartered on the side of the hill. Scipio judged that the scantiness of the ground made for him, both because it seemed that the Roman souldiers were more fitted to fight in a small room then the Spaniards: and also for that the enemies were engaged within that place, which was not able to contain the whole multitude: and therefore he devis'd a new stratagem besides. For considering that he could not in so narrow a space bring his own cavalerie about to compass and charge the wings and points of their battell, and that the horsemen which the enemies had arranged together with their infantry, would serve them in no stead, he gave direction unto *Laelius* to conduct the horse closely as he could about the hills, and to keep off the squadrons of the cavalerie to far as possibly might be from the skirmish of the Infantry. Himself directly turned all the engines of the footmen opposit against the enemies, and marshalled the forefront with four cohorts only, because he could not stretch out the battell any broader: and then without delay he made hast to beguile the enemy, to the end, that while the enemies were amused and occupied in fight they should be withdrawn from spying the horsemen as they traversed over the hills. Neither had they any of them at all, whyles they were brought about, beside they heard the noise and tumult of them as they charged upon their backs. So they fought alunder betwix several places and battels of foot, and as many of horse encountered and lay down along the plain, because the narrowness of the ground would not admit both horse and foot together in one plot at once. Now when all the infantry of the Spaniards could not help themselves, and they again were a little distressed by the Cavalerie, but that the footmen trusting upon the Quarry, were without good discretion rashly to fight in the plain ground, and to be beaten down and slain: and the horsemen being enclosed round, could neither abide the enemies footmen front them (for by this time their own infantry was overthrow and defeated) nor yet endure behind them the hot assault of their horsemen: they left their bodies, cast themselves into a ring, and after they had stood to defence long time, were slain every one to the last man there was not a footman or horseman left of all those that fought in the valley. As for that third part which stood upon the hill side, rather to behold the fight in a place of security, than to take part with their fellows in the battell, they had both time and space to shift for themselves and escape. Among whom, were the Princes Ithembales in person, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who were slipp away in the first tumult of the fight, before all the battalions were environed. The same day was the camp also of the Spaniards forced, and therein besides other pillage, were taken prisoners almost three thousand men. Romans and allies there died in the fight upon a 2200, and above three thousand were lost. The victory no doubt had been obtained with less bloodshed, if they had fought in a more open piece of ground, where there had been better scope to flee away. Then *Indibilis* giving over consent to think any more of wars, & supposing nothing safer, then to have recourse to the approved goodness and clemency of *Scipio*, for his brother *Mandonius* unto him: who fell posture down at his feet, beseeching much for the cause of his folly) the first rage and fury of the time; wherein not only the Illyrians and Lacedaemonians, but also the Roman camp, as it were by some contagious and pestilent infection, became frantic and besides themselves: and laid without, that condition of himself, his brother, and their followers and subjects was such, as they were ready if it were to thought good, either to yield up their lively breath unto *Scipio*, at whome very hands they had once received the time, or if they might now be pardoned and saved, to devote and employ their lives for ever hereafter wholly in his service, as being no twice due unto him alone, and no other. Once after they presumed upon confidence in their innocent case, when as yet they had no experience of his clemency: but now contrary wife they repented all their full hope in the mercy of the conqueror, and nothing trusting in the goodness of the quarrell. Now it was an old custom among the Romans, as to exercise the absolute authority of the government upon any that they did to peccable subjects, with whom they were neither considered in equal and reciprocal covenant, nor linked in the bands of amity: before they sent ordered up unto them all signs, as well divine as humane: before they sent, they had received hostages of them, taken armor from them, and planted garrisons in their towns and Cities. *Scipio* after he had sharply rebuked

A and roundly shake up *Mandonius* there present, and likewise *Indibilis* that was absent, said that for their wicked parts & lewd demeanor, they had worthily deserved death: but live they should by his goodness and the gracious favour of the people of Rome. And moreover he promised neither to depolish them of their armour & weapons (the seizing whereof was put again and assurance unto such as feared rebellion; for as for him, he left unto them their armour freely to use at their pleasure, and their hearts and minds secured from fear) nor proceed in rigor and cruelty against the guiltless hostages, but against their own persons, if they went out and revolved again, nor yet would he content himself to be revenged of diltained and naked enemies, but the offenders & transgressors should in their armes suffer for their delicts. And now since they had tried both fortunes, as well the one as the other, he put unto their choice, whether they had rather have the Romans precise or dispensed, friends or enemies? So *Mandonius* had a fair delivery: only there was an imposition and fine laid upon him and *Indibilis*, of a sum of money for souldiers pay. *Scipio* himself also, he had sent *Marius* before into the farther part of Spain (beyond the river *Jaxo*) and *Syllanus* back again to *Tarraco*, said (some few daies until the Illyrians had made payment of the sponies that they were charged with: and then with all his souldiers lightly appointed without baggage, marched in a running camp to overtake *Marius*, who by that time approached near unto the Ocean.

The treaty which *Masaniassa* began before time, was upon sundry occasions put off still and deferred. For the Numidian Prince was very desirous to parley & commune with *Scipio* himself in person & in the right hand to a shew him of fealty: which was the very cause then, that *Scipio* took long a journey to far out of his way. *Masaniassa* being now at *Gades*, and advertised by *Marius* that *Scipio* was coming and near at hand, shew'd false semblance to *Mage*, made many excuses, & found much fault, namely, that their houses being plunked up and petried within the land, were welcome both and spoiled: and that by their long abode there, not only they made others feel the want and scarcity of all things, but also casted thereof themselves: and besides that his men of arms for very ease and idleness, became feeble and unready. By which suggestions he perswaded with *Mage*, and prevailed with him so much, as to suffer him to cross over into the continent, under colour to wait and spoil the land of Spain next adjoining. When he was passed over, he sent before him three principall Numidians, gentlemen of mark, to appoint both the time and the place of their meeting and conference, and gave orders, that *Scipio* should detain some of them with him as pledges: the third was sent back to conduct *Masaniassa* to the appointed place, according as he was commanded, and so with a small company they met for to compare and commune together.

Now was *Masaniassa* the Numidian King possessed before with a wonderful admiration of *Scipio* and his virtue, by reason of the fame that was blazed abroad of his noble acts: and had conceived withal and imagined, that he was a man right personable, of a mighty big and goodly stature; but when he once saw him in place, he grew into far greater reverence and honor of his person. For besides the exceeding majesty and port: that naturally he carried with him, his goodly long both of hair well became and graced him; the habit also and attire of the body, manly & soldier-like port brave nor tricked up decently and delicately, much adorned and let him out. And for his age he was in the best & height of his strength: which seemed upon his late sickness, more full, more long and mould, as if the very prime and flour of his youth had been renewed, and himself cast again in a new mould. The Numidian (at their first meeting) almost alotted, gave him thanks for sending back his brothers son unto him, saying, "That ever since that time, he fought to spite some occasion and fit opportunity, which now at length by the goodness of the immortal gods being pointed unto him, he had not neglected and let slip." Proteking that he was most delicious both to him favour, and to gratifie the people of Rome, any kind of service: in so much as there was no one forerunner more earnest & ready to advance and better the State of the Romans: then himself: which (as he had been willing unto heretofore) he could not possibly fore in "that long as he was in Spain, a strange country, and unknown unto him; but in that wherein he was born & brought up in hope of succession in his fathers Kingdom, he would be most forward to perform. For, in case the Romans would send but *Scipio* as a General into *Hispania*, he would doubt but hoped assuredly, that *Cassius* had not long to continue, and stand; but soon would come to a final end: *Scipio* for his part was glad both to see him, and hear him so speak, knowing this full well, that of all the cavalry of his very countenance carried none more after a way with quick & prize: and young man himself in his great countenance carried with him good show of a brave and happy mind. So after mutual promise given and received on both parts, *Scipio* retired to *Tarraco*: and *Masaniassa* who he had by the permission of the Romans foraged the coasts next adjoining, because he might not seem to have passed over into the Romans land for nothing, returned into *Gades*.

C When *Mage* now being in utter despair of Spain (whereof he had conceived great hope, and where himself is proudly: first upon the coming of the footmen, and after wards upon their revolt & rebellion of *Indibilis*) made preparation to sail over into *Hispania*, there came a message unto him from *Cassius*, that the Senate there had given order and direction, that he should transport the armada which he had at *Gades*, and pass into *Italy*: and there to take up again, with all the while men that he could levy, either of Gauls or of Ligurians, to go to join with his power unto *Masaniassa*: and not to suffer that war to quail and slake now, which was enterprised with greatest

force and endeavor, and yet, with greater favour of fortune. For this exploit, both treasure was it brought from *Carthage* to *Mago*; and himself also raised as great sums as possibly he could of the *Gaditanes*, having not only emptied the common treasure of the Island, but spoiled also the temples, yea, and forced all private persons to bring abroad all their gold and silver whatsoever. As he sailed along the coast of *Spain*, he landed his soldiers not far from new *Carthage*; and after he had walked and overrun the territories by the Sea side, he approached near with his fleet, and did at anchor before the City: where all the day long he kept his soldiers within their ships; and by night let them ashore, and led them to ward the part of the wall, whereas *Carthage* was by the Romans won; supposing that the City was not sufficiently defended with a strong guard, and that some of the townsmen, upon hope of a change and alteration, would rise up in arms and rebel. But there were some polls out of the country in all haste beforehand, who had brought news, as well of the foraging of the country & fearful flight of the rustical peasants, as of the coming of the enemies. Moreover the armada was deferred also in the day time, & it was apparent, that they made not choice to anchor even just in the road before the City, for nothing. And therefore the City soldiers stood ready, well appointed, and in arms, and kept within that gate, which turned toward the lake and the sea. And when the enemies, soldiers and mariners confusedly together, were come in great disorder under the walls, with more tumultuous noise then forcible violence: the Romans at once suddenly set open their gate, and with a great cry and shout, made a sally upon them, charged the enemies, troubled and disordered them, & at the first onset & volley of shot discomfited and put them to flight, yea, and with much slaughter chased them to the shore: and but that the vessels stood close to the strand, ready to receive them abroad as they fled so fearfully, there had not been one left alive, either in the flight or fight. Nay, they that were left very ships were in great fright & peril, whilst to prevent the enemies of breaking in upon them pell mell with their own company, they pulled up the ladders, drew in the planks, cut a two the ropes whereby the ships were fastened to the banks; yea, and the very cables for half, that they might have no hindrance by weighing anchors, so that many there were, who in swimming to the ships, because they knew not in the dark night, which way to go or what to avoid, perished miserably. The next day, when the armada was fled from thence back again into the Ocean from whence it came, they were found slain eight hundred men: and of armors and corslets between the City wall and the sea shore, two thousand.

Mago being retired to *Gades*, was excluded from thence, and arrived with his fleet at *Malis*, a place not far from *Gades*. From whence he sent Embassadors, to complain that the gates was shut against him, being their ally and friend: and when the *Gaditanes* excused themselves and said, that it was long of an uproar of the multitude, who were offended & aggrieved for certain robberies committed, and spoil made by the soldiers at their departure, and when they were ready to be embarked; he trained forth to parry their head magistrats (whom the *Carthaginians* call *Suffetes*) together with the chief Treasurer: and after they were scourged and their skin piteously torn, he commanded them to be roundly trussed up and crucified. From thence he sailed to *Paphos*, an Island distant from the main an hundred miles, inhabited at that time by *Carthaginians*, where the fleet was friendly and peaceably received: & not only provided for liberality of store of victuals, but also furnished with lully men, for mariners to serve at sea, yea, and with armor and munition for soldiers. Upon which forces *Mago* bare himself confident and bold, and setting sail fell within the Balear Islands; that were fifty miles off. Now there are two of these Islands called the *Baleares*, the one greater then the other, and more mighty both in men and munition: having as beech and harbour where *Mago* supposed that he might commodiously winter in. But the Islander withstood his navy with as great hostility, as if they had been Romans that had inhabited the Island, they could not have done more. And as now adies they use for the most part cings, so at that time they practised no other kind of weapons at all. And in no nation besides, can ye find one special person, so much to excell in that feat, as all the *Baleares* generally do exceed and surpass others in the call and flight thereof. And therefore they discharged and levelled among them, as the armada approached the shore, such store of stones flying about their ears as thick as hail, that they durst not enter the haven, but turned their ships into the main sea again. Then they pervert to the lesser & Island of the *Baleares*, which was it was fertile in soil, for so much and straw it was nothing ill strong. Whereupon they disbarked and came a land, and above the haven in a strong and well fenced place they encamped. And having gotten to be masters both of the City and territory about it, without any force of arms and combat, they levied and enrolled there, among them two thousand auxiliary soldiers, whom they sent to *Carthage* for to winter, and thence they drew up their ships along into the dock. When *Mago* was once departed from the Ocean side coast, the *Gaditanes* surrendered themselves to the Romans.

These were the acts achieved in *Spain*, under the conduct & fortunate government of *P. Scipio*, who having delivered the charge of the province to *L. Lucinius*, and *Publius Lucinius*, returned to *Rome* with a fleet of ten sail: he had adorned given him in the Senat, assembled in the temple of *Bellona*, without the City, where he had been before them in order from point to point, of all the affairs and exploits that he had done in *Spain*: namely, how often he had fought in set and ranged battles: what a number of towns he had forced, and won from the enemies: what nations he had subdued and brought in subjection under the state of *Rome*: how at last

he passed into *Spain*, against four general captains and four victorious armies; and now had not left one *Carthaginian* in all those parts. Yet for all these noble deeds, he rather desired that hope be might have of a triumph, than made any hot & earnest lure therefore: because it was never seen to that day, that any one had triumphed who made war, being himself no principal Magistrate. After the Senat was risen and dismissed he entered the City and caused to be carried before him into the Chamber of *Rome*, of silver in bullion, 24,345 pounds weight; and in coin besides, a great quantity. When *L. Furius Philo* held the solemn assembly for creation of Cof, and all the Centuries in general, with exceeding favour and affection elected *P. Scipio* Cof, and for to be his companion in government, *P. Lucinius Crassus* the Archbishop was joynted unto him. But this assembly (as we find in records) was celebrated with more frequency of people, than ever any had been known during this war. For they repaired and met from all parts, not only to give their voices, but also to see *Scipio*: nay they ran in great numbers to his house, and into the Capitol, when he sacrificed and slew an hundred oxen in sacrifice for the honour of *Jupiter*, according to his vow which he had made in *Spain*. And all mens minds gave them, and they were assuredly periwaded in their hearts that as *L. Lucinius* finished the former Punick war, so *P. Cornelius* would make an end of that which was now in hand: and like as he had driven all the *Carthaginians* forth of *Spain*, so would *Scipio* hunt them out of *Italy*: and every man in his conceit wished and assigned unto him the Province of *Africa*, as if the war in *Italy* had been fully brought to an end. Then ensued the election of the Prætors, And two were created that were then *Adiles* of the Commons, to wit, *P. Lucinius*, and *Cn. Octavius*: and of private persons, *Cn. Servilius Scipio*, and *L. Æmilius Pappus*. In the fourteenth year of the Punick war, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus* entered their Consulship. And unto the Consuls were the Provinces appointed: namely, unto *Scipio* was *Sicily* granted without casting lots, and that with the consent and good liking of his Collegue, because he being the Archbishop, was by virtue of that dignity kept still in *Italy*, for to see the sacrifices, divine service, and Church matters: and unto *Crassus* the country of *Britany* was assigned. Then the provinces for the Prætors were put to the lottery; and the civil jurisdiction within *Rome* fell to *Cn. Servilius Ariminius* (for so they called *Gallia*) unto *P. Lucinius*: *Sicily* was allotted to *L. Æmilius* and *Lædinius* *Cn. Octavius*.

The Senat assembled in the Capitol: where *Publius Scipio* propounded an Act, and it was confirmed by the authority of the house, That out of the money which himself brought into the common treasure he might be allowed to defray the charges of those plaies and games that he had vowed in *Spain* during the time of the Soldiers mutiny. Then he called the Embassadors of the *Saguntines* into the Senat house: and the most ancient man amongst them spake in this wise:

"Although right honourable, it be not possible to find any more miseries & calamities than we have endured already in the maintenance of our faithful allegiance unto you even unto the end, yet such have your deers been to us ward; & so many favours have we received of your Captain Generals, that we think not much nor repent of any damage or loss, that we have sustained in that behalf. For first ye entered into the quarrel, & began the war for our sake; and having once begun it, ye have continued therein for the full space of 14 years; and that with such resolution, that oftentimes, as ye have plundered your selves into extreme peril & danger, so ye have engaged no leis the State of the *Carthaginians*, for at what time as ye had within *Italy* a cruel and bloody war, & Annual your mortal enemy, ye sent forth your Cof, with armies into *Spain*, as it were to gather up the broken reliques of our shipwrack, *Pub* and *Cn. Cornelius* the two brethren, from the first time that they came into the Province, never ceased to devise and do whatsoever might either advantage us, or endanger our enemies. For first and foremost they restored unto us our town again: then having made enquiry throughout all *Spain*, where any one of our Citizens were sold as slaves, they delivered and redeemed them out of miserable servitude, and recovered for them their former freedom. But see; When we were well-near come to this good pass, that from our poor & piteous estate we were raised up to a wished for and desirable fortune, then *Pub*, and *Cn. Cornelius* your Generals suddenly died: whose death hapned in manner more lamentable and dolorous unto us than unto you. For then we thought verily that of our selves, that we were reduced from remote & distant places unto our ancient habitation for this purpose, that we should perish once again, and see a second overthrow and destruction of our native country: knowing thus much, that for to work our utter confusion there needed not a *Carthaginian* captain or army to be the instrument and the means: for even the *Turdetans* alone, our most ancient enemies, who were the cause also of our former ruin and undoing, were able with their own forces to root us out clean, and extinguish our name. Yet amongst this noble perplexities, immediately beyond all our hope and expectation, ye sent among us this noble *Scipio* here in place. In whose behalf we count our selves of all *Saguntines* most happy, because we have seen him declare Cof, already, and shall be able to report the news unto our neighbours and fellow Citizens, that we have beheld with our own eyes, even our whole hope, our help, our health and safety. Who having forced & won very many Cities and towns of your enemies in *Spain*, at all times and in all places set the *Saguntines* apart from out of other prisoners & captives, and sent them home again into their own country. Finally, as for *Turdetania*, a nation so adverse and so dangerous enemies unto us, that if it should continue still in prosperity, *Saguntines* could not possibly stand upright: he hath by force of arms so quelled and tamed it, that neither we our selves, nor (be it spoken without arrogance) any of our posterity hereafter need stand in

The Oration of the *Saguntine* Embassadors in the Senat of *Rome*.

*Minorique, as the gayer is called Minorique.

*He meneth
deliberate.

"noble exploits: and highly renowned amongst nations both the Roman people, and also
"your own name & family. The time will not serve, if I would do all this day do nothing else but
"reckon and recount unto you, how many Kings, Emperors, & General Captains there have been,
"who have contented rashly into their Kingdoms, countries, and received many toils and overthrowes
"thereby, as well in their own persons, as in their whole armies. The Athenians, a most prudent &
"politic State, having left the art at home in their own country, and following the counsel &
"suggestion of one young man, as hardy & valiant in arms, as noble in birth & parentage as your
"self (none dispraised,) failed into Sicily with a brave and puissant navy; and there in one battell
"fought at sea, overturned and ruined for ever their most flourishing City & Common-wealth.
"But why seek I former examples of strange, and stories of times too far past, and over-long ago.
"Let even this I name *Africk*, and *M. Scipio*, serve as a notable example of both fortunes for us.
"Intend, and learning for ever. Now surely, *P. Cornelius*, when you shall once discover *Africk* with
"in your view from the sea, you will think then that your Provinces of *Spain* were matters of import
"in comparison of it. For what semblable proportion is there between them? When you were in
"your voyage for *Spain*, you failed in the calm sea peaceably along the coast of *Italy* and *France*,
"and arrived at *Emporia*, a friend City and Confederat: and when you had landed your men, you
"led them in security through all places to the friends and allies of the people of *Rome*, even as far
"as *Tarentum*. From thence ye journeyed all the waies by Cities and towns, furnished with Roman
"garrisons. About the river *Iberus* you found the armies of your father and uncle, which remained
"upon the loins of their Generals more fierce and fell for the calamity that they had received than
"before. You met there *L. Marius* their Captain and Leader, chosen (I must needs say) known &
"not how in a hurry by the soldiers themselves for the time; but otherwise I assure you, if
"ability of birth and the titles of dignities which he justly deserved had graced him, he was in all
"feats of arms and martial knowledge, comparable to the very best warriors & noblest Captains.
"After this you assaulted *Carthage* without any impeachment, and took your time at your own
"pleasure, even when there was not one of the three Carthaginian armies to aid & defend their
"affairs. As for all the exploits besides (without offence be it spoken & not to debate any good
"service there) they are in no respect to be compared with the African war: where we shall find
"no haven open to entertain our Armado, no Country peaceable, no City confederate, no King
"friendly, no place at all either to sojourn and rest in, or to march forward and pass through with
"safety. Which way soever you cast your eyes, nothing but hostility threatening danger and perill.
"unto us. Do you indeed trust *Scipio*, as yet upon the Numidians? Well, let it suffice that once
"ye trusted them. Rath adventures speed not a waile best. And oftentimes we see, that fraud be-
"meth faithfull, and maketh way of credit in small things, that in matters of greatest importance,
"and when the time serveth it may pay home and work a mischief with a witness. The enemies
"overcame not your father and uncle by force of arms before that the Celtiberians our Allies
"over-raught them by falshood and treachery: neither were your self in so much danger from
"*Mago* and *Asdrubal*, the chief Captains of your enemies, as from *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, your
"new friends and confederates. Can you reppie any confidence in the Numidians? You say that
"have experience of your own soldiers mutiny, and have seen them rise against you: As for *Scipio*
"and *Masaniassa*, as they had rather themselves be the sovereign & most mighty in *Africk*, than
"than the Carthaginians should: so surely they with the Carthaginians to be the highest above
"all others besides their own selves. Now at this time there is some emulation and heat-burning
"among them, and all occasions of quarrell with them on to maintain sides and factions, so long
"as fear of forraign enemy is far enough off. Shew them once the Roman arms and forces, let
"them see an host of strangers come, they will run I warrant you altogether thence as it were to
"quench a common fire. You shall find that the very same Carthaginians will far otherwise
"stand to the defence of the wals of their Country, their Cities, the Temples of their gods, their
"Altars and private houses, when going to battell they shall have their fearful wives to bear them
"company, their small children to go aforesome in their eye; you shall find them, I say, like
"to it than they did in the quarrell and defence of *Spain*. But what and if the Carthaginians
"finding themselves strong enough upon the confidence of the general concord of *Africk*, of
"the faith fidelity of the confederate Kings, of the strength of their own wals, should forsake
"themselves, when they shall see *Italy* destitute of your help, and disarmed of their forces, ei-
"ther to make out a fresh army from *Africk* and send it into *Italy*, or else give order and direction
"unto *Mago* (who as it is well known for certain, is departed with his navy from the Bazar
"Islands, and lyeth floating and riding continually upon the Alpine Ligurian) for to join his
"power with *Annibal*: It is a clear case, that we shall be in as great trouble, and as much aligh-
"ted then as we were of late, when *Asdrubal* mounted over the Alpes, and came down into
"*Italy*. *Asdrubal*, I say, whom you have suffered to pass over into *Italy*. But you will say that
"all *Africk* let go out of your hands, and suffered to pass over into *Italy*. But you will say that
"you have vanquished him. Say you so? I would not for any thing, not only in regard of the love
"I beare to the Common-wealth, but also of the affection that I carry toward your self, that a van-
"quished man could find the way by you into *Italy*. Be content & suffer us to attribute all things
"that have gone well with you or the Common-wealth, during the time of your government, to
"your wisdom and policy; and contrariwise, whatsoever hath fallen out cross and adverse to im-
"pure and assign the same to nothing else, becaus the variable events of war, and to fickle fortune.

The

A under their hand: & decreed it was that they two, namely, *L. Veturia* & *Q. Caelius*, should either
"The better and more valiant that you are, the more need hath your native country, yes, and all
"*Italy* besides, to keep you still at home with them, to brave a captain. O rare a Protector. You
"also about your own self dissemble the matter, but confesse, That wheresoever *Annibal* is, there is
"the very head, the fort & strength of all this war: for as much as you pretend, that the only cause
"why you would pass into *Africk*, is to draw *Annibal* thither after you. Well then, be it here or
"elsewhere, with *Annibal* you must have to do. Tell me then, whether are you like to be stronger
"at *Africk*: your self alone, or here where your own forces and the power of your Colleague shall be
"joined together? Is it possible that even the late example of *Livius* and *Claudius*, so fresh in
"memory, should not inform and teach us, what difference there is between the one and the o-
"ther? In what place I pray you, will *Annibal* be more strong in men and munition; here in the
"unfertile corner & angle of the Brutians country, where this long time he hath waited in vain for
"aid from home, where he hath sent for succour and gone without; or neer unto *Carthage*, and in
"the midst of *Africk* among his friends and allies? What kind of policy is this of yours, there to de-
"cide the quarrell and try the whole matter, where your own forces are lesse by a halfe moity, and
"the power of your enemies much greater and stronger, rather then here, whereas you may
"fight with the power of two armies against one, toiled out of heart in so many battels, and wearied
"with long warfare, so tedious and grievous withall? Consider with your self, what comfort
"and resemblance there is, between your designs and your fathers. He, as Consul having
"made a journey into *Spain*, to the end that he might encounter *Annibal* as he came down the *Alps*,
"retained out of his own province into *Italy*: and you, when *Annibal* is in *Italy*, purpose to a-
"bandon and leave *Italy*. And why? forsooth not because you judge it good for the common-wealth,
"but because you think it an enterprize that may import you in great honour and glory: like as
"when you being captain General of the people of *Rome*, left your province at random and your
"army at six and seven, without warrant of law, without order or act of Senat, hazarded in two
"bothoms the whole state and majesty of the Empire of *Rome*; which at that time together with
"the danger of your life, incurred the perill and jeopardy of the maine chance. To conclude, for
"mine own part (my I.L. of the Senat, am of this mind, and this is my conceit, that *P. Cornelius*
"was not created Col. privately for himself and his own bebold, but for the good of the common-
"wealth and us all: and then the armies were levied and enrolled, for the guard of the City and de-
"fence of *Italy*; and not for the Coll. in their proud self-conceit & overweening of themselves.
"After the manner of absolute KK to transport & lead into what parts of the world they list them-
"selves. When *Fabius* by this oration (premeditated and framed to the time) had through his authori-
"ty and the long settled and confirmed opinion that men had of his wisdom, drawn unto his side
"good part of the Senat and especially the ancients; in such as the greater number commended
"and the grave consent of the old man, above the lully and youthful courage of the other gallant;
"then *Scipio* by way of answer made these remonstrances, and spake in this wise. "My lords of the
"Senat, even *Fabius* himself in the beginning of his oration, said very well, that his opinion which
"he was to deliver, might be suspected of detraction and envy. Of what note, verily I drifit not
"my self tax and accuse a man of his quality and reputation so much, as methinks is not so well
"decreed as it ought to be the very suspicion it self: and I wot not whether it be by a default of his
"speech orator, or that the thing it self is so pregnant. For in such manner he extolled with good-
"ly words, and magnified his own dignities and renowned deeds, and all to quench the jealous
"and cruell of envy: as if my self was to fear the danger of emulation and concurrence of some
"company of the basest degree and condition and not of him; who because he far surpasseth other
"men, (which height and pitch of honor I deny not, but I endeavour my self to reach unto) would
"not in any hand, that I should compare with him. So highly hath he advanced himself in regard
"of his old years considering that he hath gone through all ranks and honour: and so low de-
"bated me, and put me down even under the age of his own ion: as though the desire and love of glory,
"should paffe no farther then the length of mans life, and the greatest part there of extended not
"to the memory of posterity and the future time. This I hold for certain, that it is a thing inci-
"dent to the most magnanimous men and of greatest spirit and courage, to have a desire for to
"match themselves not only with them that live in their daies, but with most famous & excellent
"persons, that ever were or might be in any age. And surely for mine own part, *Q. Fabius*,
"I will not make it goodly, but frankly bewray my mind that way, namely, that I would full fain
"not only attain unto your praise-worthy acts and commendable virtues; but also (with your good
"leave be it spoken) if possible I can, even to excell and surmount the same. Therefore let us not ea-
"sily this mind, either you towards me, or I to those that are younger then my self, to be unwilling
"and think much, that any one citizen among us, should prove equal to our selves: for in so do-
"ing, we should offer wrong and do hurt not only to them whom we have envied and maligned,
"but also prejudice the common-wealth, & in manner the whole state of all mankind. And thus much
"to you self. He hath now (my lords) recounted, to what great perils I should enter into by the A-
"frick voyage: in such sort, as he would seem not only to have a careful regard of the common-
"wealth and the army, but also to pity me and tender my ease and fortune. Whence cometh it, that
"you should all on a sudden take so great care for me? when my father and uncle both were slain,
"when their armies both twain, were utterly almost defeated and put all to the sword; when
"*Spain* was lost; when 4 armies of Carthaginians, and 4 Generals, held all in fear by force of
"arms; when there was a captain sought for to undertake that, ward and no man durst be seen to

put himself forward, no man so hardy as to present and offer his service, but my self; and when the people of Rome had committed the charge and government of Spain to me, a young man but four and twenty years old, how hapned it that no man then took exception at my age made mention of the enemies force, discoured of the difficulty and danger of the war, or his abroad the late and fresh defeat and death of my father and uncle? I would demand and gladly know whether we have instructed now lately, some greater calamity and losse in *Africa*, than we received at that time in *Spain*? or if the armies at this present in *Africa* be more puissant, or the captains more in number, or better in valour, then they were in *Spain* at that time? or whether mine age then, was more ripe and sufficient to manage wars, then now it is? Lail of all, whether it be better, more commodious & easie to maintain war with the Carthaginian enemy in *Spain*, then in *Africa*? After that I have discomfited and put to flight four hosts of Carthaginians; after I have either fed by assault, or reduced under mine obedience (for fear) so many Cities; after I have vanquished and subdued all, even as far as to the Ocean sea, so many principall and potentates, so many fierce and cruel nations; after I have so fully recovered Spain, as there is not remaining to be seen there, so much as the footing and bare token of any war: an easie matter it is, and all one to elevat and depresse the acts past that I have achieved: as also par-die it will be, when I return with conquest out of *Africa*, to dis-bale and make nothing of those very things, which now to keep me back from thence, and to make them appear strange, are amplified with great words & uttered upon the theaters to the full. He holdeth that there is no easie, no entrance into *Africa*, nor have we been open to receive an armada, He telleth us and allegeth that *M. Atilius* was taken prisoner in *Africa*, as if *M. Atilius* fortioth at his first arrival in *Africa*, had caught that harm and heavy misfortune. But he never remembreth and calleth to mind, how that even the very time captain, as in civill war he was yet found the braver, open enough into *Africa*; and the first year bare himself right valiantly, and victoriously; & set him to work Carthaginian captains, continued in in-battle to the end. You shall never therefore scape me with the example so much, (were it so), that the calamity you speak of, hapned in *Spain*, was not in the former: of late, and not forty years ago, that I should give over my intended purpose, and not fall into *Africa* now, because *Regulus* there was taken prisoner: as well as I passed before into *Spain*, whereas the *Scipio* chanced to be killed. Or that I shall suffer, that *Zanthippus* the Lacedemonian was born into this world more happy for *Carthage*, then my self for *Italy*: but rather, that thereby I should think the better of my self, considering that the virtue of one only man can be so useful, so consequent, and so great effe. But we ought (you say) to consider the example of the Athenians, who leaving the war at home in their own country, passed over into *Sicily* unadvisedly. Seeing you are so good, leasure to read tales and report the fabulous fables of *Greece*; why dis-oult you not rather of *Agamemnon* the king of the *Syracusan*? who seeing that *Sicily* a long time was troubled & vexed with the Punick war, failed out into the self same *Africa*, whereof we speak, and withdrew the war thither from whence it came? But what need I to instruct and teach you by rehearsing old and forrain examples, how materiall a thing it is and important, to begin with an enemy first and put him in fear; and by bringing another in danger, to remove the peril from our selves: Can there be a precedent found more pregnant more present and fresh in memory to prove and enforce this point, then *Annibal*? A great difference there is between the waiting and piling the lands of others, and seeing of our own burnt and destroyed. And he which giveth the assault, to endanger another, is ever of more courage then he that standeth upon his own guard and at defence only to save himself. Moreover, the fear and dread is alwayes greater of things unknown unto us: but so soon as a man is entred into the confines of a forrain country he may beheld and see at hand as well the good as the bad; what may advantage and what may endamage the enemies, *Annibal* would never have thought and hoped, that so many States in *Italy* would have revolted unto him as they did upon the overthrow at *Cannae*. How much lesse account then may the Carthaginians make of any thing in *Africa*, to remain full and assured unto them: who are sickle all as to strangers without all truth and fidelity: proud lords & intolerable tyrants over their own subjects full of wrath & cruelty? Or, and besides, we were forsaken and abandoned of all our confederates; stood alwayes upon our own forces & maintained our selves with meer Roman soldiers; whereas in *Carthage* they have no strength of naturall citizens: (consider that they have, are mercenaries: all & waged for money partly Africans and partly Nations the most unconstant nations of all others by nature, and aptest to enter into changes & innovations. Let me have no stay and hindrance in this place only; ye shall hear news at one time that I am set over in *Africa*, that all the country there is up in a broil: that *Annibal* is ready to dislodge and remove out of these parts: & also that *Carthage* it self is besieged. Expect you daily out of *Africa* better and luckier tidings, yea and often then ye heard out of *Spain*. O hopes of mine. I ground upon the fortune of the people of Rome: upon the justice of the gods witnesses of the league broken by the enemies upon *Sphax* and *M. Janiss*, both Kings, whose truth and fidelity I will trust so far forth as I find them, and ever stand in fear and doubt of their falshood and treachery. Many things they are now, that by distance of place appear not, which war on begun will soon discover. And this is a special point of a man indeed, & of a good captain, in no case to be wanting unto fortune when the offereth herself, but to take all advantages that she giveth: and those accidents and occurrences which fall by chance to make use of them,

As ye and by wisdom and counsell to frame them to his own purpose and designs. True it is, O *Fulvius*, I shall have *Annibal* to beard and to match me: a soldier, I confesse, as good every way as my self, but I will rather draw him after me, than he shall keep me back as good every way. For he I will to fight in his own country, and *Carthage* shall be the price of my victory, rather then the decayed pieces, and half ruinat pericyables of the *Bruttii*. Only provide, O *Q. Fabius*, that in the mean time whiles I am at sea in my voyage, whiles I am landing mine army in *Africa*, whiles I approach *Carthage* with a running camp, the Common-wealth be not harmed and damaged here at home. See to this, I say, and be well advised, that it be not a shameful reproach to say, that *P. Lucius* the Consul, a man of singular valour (who because he is the chief Priest, and by virtue thereof, not to absent himself from the solemn celebration of sacrifices and divine service, was content and willing, that the charge of so distant a province should not befall unto him by casting lots) is not able to perform that, now when *Annibal* is half-dead, and his heart almost broken, which your self was sufficient to effect when *Annibal* squared it out, and braved all *Italy* like a conqueror. But let the case and suppose I say, that by this course which I mean to take, the war be never the sooner brought to an end: yet surely it were for the honour of the people of Rome, and for the reputation and name which they have among forrain princes and States abroad, that they may see and know, that our hearts serve us, not only to defend *Italy*, but also to offend *Africa*. And that it might neither be thought and believed nor spoken and noised abroad in the world, how no Roman captain durst adventure that which *Annibal* hath already dared and done: and when as in the former Punick war, when all the quarrell was for *Sicily*, our armies and armados so often assailed *Africa*: now that *Italy* is in question *Africa* should lie still, and be at rest. Nay, rather let *Italy* be at repose and quiet now at last, after so long travel and affliction, and let *Africa* in her turn be fired and forraged another while. Let the Roman camp be pitched rather under the very walls and gates of *Carthage*, then we see once again from out the trench and rampier of our enemies, to invest our City. Let *Africa* be the set place and seat of the war, let fight and flight, foraging and harrying of countries, revolt and rebellion of allies, and all other inconveniences and enormities that follow war, which have lien heavy upon us these 14 years, turn from us thither. Let all content and suffice me to have spoken as touching State-matters & the commonweal of the war present, ly in hand; and concerning the provinces and their government now in question and consultation: it would require a long and tedious discourse, and the same impertinent altogether unto you, as if *Q. Fabius* hath declared and deprieved mine acts in *Spain*, so I likewise should dist- grace him, and diminish his glory, and set out my self and mine own reputation with goodly and magnificent words. But my self, I will do neither one nor the other. And if in nothing else, yet at least while young man as I am, I will in modesty and government of my tongue go beyond him as old and ancient a personage as he is. Thus have I lived, and thus have I carried my self in all mine actions, that without blazing of mine own praises, I can soon content my self with that good opinion which you of your selves have conceived and entertained of me.

Scipio had audience given him, with lesse indifference, and patience: because it was commonly voiced abroad. That if the Senat would not grant him to have the province and empire of *Africa*, he would immediately propound and put it to question before the people. Whereupon *Q. Fulvius*, a man that had been four times Consul and Censor besides, required the Consul to speak his mind openly before the Senat, whether he would refer unto the LL, there assembled, to determine of the provinces, and stand to that which they should set down or prefer the thing unto the people. When *Scipio* had made answer again and said, That he would do that which might be good and expedient for the service of the Common-wealth: then *Fulvius* replied upon him and said: I demand not this question of you, as ignorant what either you would answer or what you meant to do. For I know full well, that ye pretend no leis your self, that you do but sound the Senat, and feel rather how they had inclined, then to stand to any advice of theirs in good sadness. And in case we do not presently grant you the province according unto your desire, you have a bill framed already to present unto the body of the people and Commonalty. And therefore (of he) my masters, ye that are Tribunes, I require your aid and assistance, in that I forbear to speak unto the point and deliver mine opinion in this regard, because I know that the Cons. will not approve and ratifie the same, howsoever the whole house will go with me, and allow my sentence. Hereupon arose some brawle & debate among them: whiles the Cons. urged and enforced this point especially, and said, It was against all reason and equity, that the Tribunes should entrepote their authority, and not permit every Senator being requested to speak in his turn, to deliver his mind and opinion. Then the Tribunes made a decree in this manner, if the Cons. be content that the Senat shall determine of the Provinces, we will and command, that all men rest in that which the Senat that ordein and judgmeneth will we suffer the same to be proposed unto the people: if he be not content nor yield them, then we will assist him who shall refuse to speak to the matter. Then the Cons. requested a daies rest to confer with his Colleague, and so the morrow after he condescended to put all to the censure of the Senat. And in this wise were the provinces distributed and appointed: unto one of the Cons. *Sicily* was assigned, and thirty ships of war, with brazen beak heads (even the same that *C. Servilius* the year before had the charge of) with commission also to pass over in *Africa*, if he thought it were to the good of the Common-wealth. The other Consul had the government of the *Bruttii* and the managing of the war against *Annibal*, with the power of that army which *L. Veturius* and *Q. Caelius* had

wherein they seemed to be made good friends; again, The same Livius left all the tribes by appointment divided, and caused them to pay tribute to no denizens; for that they had both condemned him being innocent, and also made him a Consul and Censor afterwards.

The nine and twentieth book of T. Livius.

SCIPIO after he was arrived in Sicily, disposed his voluntary souldiers in order, and enrolled them by Centuries. Over and besides them he had about him three hundred lusty tall fellows; for the flower of their age and strength of body, the bravest men of all others: but they with not themselves for what purpose they were relieved: being neither assigned to any company, nor to any service, but to be ready to be called upon at all. Then he made choice from one of the whole manhood and youth of Sicily three hundred men of arms, such as for birth and wealth were the very principall and best in the Island, who were to pass over with him into Affrick: and he appointed them a day, upon which they should all present themselves in readiness, furnished and appointed in the best manner with horse and armor. This wasfare so far from home was like to be irksome unto them, and to be with it much trouble, many difficulties and dangers, as well by sea as land. The consideration and fear hereof mightily disquieted not only the parties themselves, but also their parents and kinsfolk. Now when the day appointed was come, they shewed their horses and armour. Then Scipio made a speech unto them, and said, "That he was given to understand, that certain Sicilian horsemen stood in great fear and dread of this soldiery, as if being a fore and painful piece of service: In case then (quoth he) there be any of you so minded and disposed indeed, I had rather you would now presently be known thereof unto me, and confess at once, then hereafter to whine and complain, and so to prove lazy lubbers and unprofitable souldiers to the Common-wealth. And therefore enter your minds in plain terms, and I will be content to hear you without offence. Whereupon, when as one of them took a good heart, and said flatly, "That if it lay in his choice freely to do what he would, he was altogether unwilling to serve: then Scipio answered him again in this manner, Forasmuch as any youth hath not dissembled thy hearts grief, but spoken out what thou thinkest, I will soon deputate one in thy run unto whom thou maist deliver thy armour, thy horse, and other furniture of warfare, and whom thou shalt forthwith have home with thee, therto to train, teach, and exercise him after thou hast given him thy horse and armor. The young man was glad hereof, and accepted the offer upon that condition: and so he assigned unto him one of those three hundred above said, whom he kept about himself unnamed. When the rest saw that horseman in this manner discharged of his service, and that with the favour and good will of the General: every man then began to speak for himself, and to make excuses and took others in their stead. Thus for the three hundred Sicilians were substituted as many Roman horsemen, without any expenses at all of the State. And the Sicilians themselves had the charge of instructing and training them up. For the General had made an Edict and Proclamation, That whosoever did not so, should serve himself in person. This proved by report a brave cornet of horsemen above the rest: and in many battles performed right good service to the Common-wealth. After this, he took a survey of the legions of footmen: and all those who had born arms longest in the wars he selected forth, especially such as had been employed under the conduct of Marcellus. For those he well wist to have been brought under the best discipline of warfare, and also by reason of the long siege of Syracuse, the most skillful in assaulting of Cities. For now they were no small matters that he had in his head, but he plotted even the very destruction and ruin of great Carthage. After this, he divided his army and placed severall forces in sundry towns. The Cities of Sicily he enjoyed to provide corns he made spare of that which was brought out of Italy: the old ships he newly repaired and rigged, and with them he sent Lentulus into Affrick for to prey upon the country and fetch in prizes: the new which rid at Panormus he drew up to land, that they might all winter long lie upon dry ground: and be seasoned, because they were made in halfe of green timber. When he had prepared all things necessary for war, he came to the City of Syracuse, which as yet was not in good order and well quiered, since the great troubles of the late wars. For the Greeks made claim for their goods, granted unto them by the Senate of Rome, which certain of the Italian nation detained and withheld from them by the same violence, wherewith in time of war they had possessed themselves thereof. He supposing it meet and requisite to maintain above all things, the credit of the State: partly by virtue of an edict and commandment, and partly by a civil course and process of law against such as were obnoxious and avowed their wrongs done, he forced them to make restitution to the Syracusians. This act of his pleased not only them, but also all the States of Sicily: and therefore they were more willing and forward to help him in the wars.

The same summer there arose in Spain great troubles, raised by the means of Indibilis the Iberian. For no other occasion or reason in the world, but because in regard of the high admiration of Scipio, all other Captains besides whatsoever were but despised. "Him they supposed to be the only General that the Romans had left, now that all the rest were slain by Annibal. And hereupon it was (thought they) that when the two Scipios were killed, they had no other to send into Spain but him: and afterwards, when the wars grew hot in Italy, he was the only man sent for over to match with Annibal. And over and besides that, the Romans had now in Spain no Cap-

tain at all, but in bare name and shew: the old experienced army also was from thence withdrawn. All things are out of frame, and in great confusion, & none there, but a disordered sort of raw Irish water souldiers. And never they looked to have again the like occasion & opportunity to recover Spain out of their hands. For hitherto they had ever been in subjection to that day, either to the Carthaginians or the Romans, and not always to the one or the other, by turns, but otherwise to both at once. And like as the Carthaginians have been driven out by the Romans, so may the Romans be expelled by the Spaniards, if they would hold together. So that in the end Spain being freed from all foreign war, might be reformed for ever to the ancient customs and rights of the country. With these and such like suggestions and discomfites, he solicited and raised not only his own subjects and countreymen, but the Auleians also, a neighbouring nation, yea, and other States and Cities that bordered upon his and their confines: so as within few days there assembled together into the territory of the Sedetans (according to an Edict published abroad) thirty thousand foot and eight hundred horsemen.

The Roman Captains likewise for this part, L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, left no neglected of the first beginning the war might grow to a greater head, joyined their forces together, and marching through the country of the Auleians, as peaceably as if they had been friends, notwithstanding they were known enemies) came to the very place where they were encamped and pitched themselves within three miles of the enemies. At the first they assayed by way of Embassage to deal with them, and to persuade them to lay aside all arms and hostility: but they laboured in vain. Afterwards, when as the Spanish horsemen gave charge suddenly upon certain Roman Captains that were foraging, the Romans also sent out from their Stations and Corps de guard their Cavalry to refuse: so the horsemen skirmished, but no memorable act to speak of was effected on the one side or the other. The next morning by sun-rising the enemies all shewed themselves armed and in order of battle, and braved the Romans within a mile of their Camp. The Auleians were marshalled in the main battle: the Iberians in the right point, and certain other Spanish nations of late and mean account in the left: between both the two wings and the battle, of either hand they left certain wide and void places, whereas when the time served they might put forth their horsemen. The Romans having embattelled and put themselves in array after their old and usual manner, yet in this one thing followed the examples of the enemies, in leaving out certain open waies between the legions for the men of arms to pass through. But Lentulus supposing that the use of the horse-service would be advantageous to that part which first should fend out their Cavalry into the battle of the enemies, that lay to open with spaces between, gave commandment to Ser. Cornelius a Knight Marshall or Tribune, to will and charge the Cavalry to set to with their horses, and to enter those open lanes between the enemies' batallions. And himself having sped but badly in beginning the fight with footmen so rashly, staid no longer, but until he had brought the thirteenth legion (which was set in the left wing opposite to the Iberians) out of the rearward into the vanguard, for to succour and strengthen the twelfth legion, which already began to shrink and give ground. After that once the skirmish there was equal and fought on even hand, he advanced forward to L. Manlius, who in the forefront of the battell was busy in encouraging his men, and sending supplies and succours into all parts where he saw needful: shewing unto him, that all was well and whole in the left point, and that he had sent out Cornelius with his horsemen, would like a tempestuous storm come upon them, and soon overcast and becloud the enemies round about. The word was not so soon spoken, but the Roman horsemen were ridden within the thick of the enemies, and not only disordered the array and companies of the footmen, but also at once shut up the waies and passages that the Spaniards could not make out with their horsemen. And therefore the Spaniards leaving to fight on horseback, alight on foot. The Roman Generals seeing the ranks and files of the enemies disarrayed, themselves in fright and fear, and their ensigns waving up and down every way: fell to exhorting, yea, to entreating of their own Infantry to recharge them with all their force, whiles they were thus troubled and disbanded, and not suffer them to come into order, and re-enforce the battell again. And surely the barbarous people had never been able to abide their violent impression, but that Indibilis himself their Prince and Lord, together with the men of arms that were now dismounted on foot, made head against the ensigns of the footmen in the vanguard. Whereupon ensued a sharp and cruell fight for a good while. At length, when as they that guard about their Prince (who first, although he were half dead, yet stood their ground and fought towards with a javelin was nailed to the earth) were overwhelmed with darts, and slain: when they began to flee on all hands: but the greater number were killed in the place, because both the horsemen had no time nor space to recover their horses, and mount upon them again, and also the Romans pressed so hotly upon them after they were once discomfited, and never gave over until they had stript the enemies quite out of their Camp. So there died that day thirteen thousand Spaniards, and well near eight hundred were taken prisoners. Of Romans and Allies, not many more than two hundred left their lives behind them, and those especially in the left point, the Spaniards, that either were driven out of their Camp, or escaped out of the battell, hirt ran scattered and dispersed over the fields, and afterwards returned every man to his own City where he dwelt.

Then Mandacius summoned them to a generall council: where they all bewailed their calamities & miseries, greatly blamed the authors of the war, and agreed in the end to send their ambassadors

ladons to give up their arms, and to yield their bodies. These having excused themselves and laid the whole fault upon *Indubitu* & the rest of the Princes who were the ridders of the war, & were for the most part slain themselves for their labour in the field, yielded up their armour and themselves, and received this answer from the Romans: That they should be received to mercy, and their submission accepted, if they would deliver alive into their hands *Mundinus*; and the rest that were the breakers of peace. Otherwise, they threatened to lead their forces into the territories of the Illegates and Auleians and so forward, of the other nations their complices in that rebellion. With this answer the Orators departed, and related the same in the council assembled. Where *Mundinus* and the rest of their Lords were apprehended & delivered to the Romans for to be punished and executed accordingly. So the States of *Spain* obtained peace again: and a double tribute for that year was imposed upon them, and they enjoyed to provide corn to serve the army six months, besides fouldiers liveries, short coats, and side caskets; and they received hostages near thirty Cities. Thus the troubles and rebellions of *Spain* being begun and ended after this manner, without any great ado within few daies, all the force of the war turned upon *Affrick*.

C. Lelins being arrived in the night at *Hippo* Royall, by the break of the day, led forth with banner displayed in order of batel all his fouldiers and mariners, for to harrey and spoil the country. And finding the inhabitants there retailed and careless, and living in security as in time of peace, they did much hurt and annoyed them fore. Whereupon the news went in post to *Carthage*, for all on a hurry & put them in exceeding great fear. For it was reported, that the Roman Army was arrived, and that *Scipio* the General was landed (for the rumour ran before, how he was passed over already into *Sicily*.) And because they never desiered the ships, nor discovered certainly what power of men invaded and spoiled the country, they thought the most and doubted the worst as fear commonly maketh every thing more than it is. And so at first they were only affrighted and terrified; but afterwards they grew melancholly and troubled in spirit in their teams, to think, "That fortune should so much be changed, that they, who a little before as noble conquerors, had lain encamped with an army before the walls of *Rome*, defeated to many hosts of enemies, and either by meer force or meer love, held all the States of *Italy* under their Signory, should now themselves see the wheel to turn about, as they were like shortly to behold the waiving and spoiling of *Affrick*, and the City of *Carthage* besieged: a thing that they were never able to endure with that valour and resolution, nor to abide with such strength as the Romans had, for the Romans had ever the Commons of *Rome*; they had always the youth of *Latium* ready in hand: who still recreated more and more the new try, and daily grew in number to make supply, and to repair & furnish out to so many armies that were defeated. Whereas, their natural people were neither in town nor country fit for service, their aids were waged and hired for money from among the Africans, a nation like to turn upon any accident, & to change with every puff of vain hope, and were besides false and unfaithful in their promise. For now the Kings already, *Sphax* and *M. Jausif*, the one upon conference with *Scipio* is secretly alienated from us in heart, and the other openly revolved in action, and become our most deadly enemy: so that there remaineth neither help nor hope for us at all in any place. For neither *Mago* is able in *Gad* to make any commotions and rebellion nor yet to join with *Annibal*: And as for *Annibal* himself, he weareth apace, and decayeth daily both in fame and reputation, and also in strength and forcible means. When their minds being thus disquieted upon those fresh and present tidings, they were fain to bewail and lament their wofull fate, the instant danger recalled them again to console by what means they might withstand the imminent perils. So they thought good to the musters in all haste both in the City and the countries by, to lend some to levy and wage the aids of the Africans: to fortifie their City, to bring in store of grain, to provide weapons and armour, to rig their navy & to send it out to *Hippo*, for to encounter the Roman Army. Whiles they were devising these courses, there came at last a post with news, that it was *Lelins* and not *Scipio* who was set a shore: that there was landed no greater power than for to make rodes into the country for booties only: and as for the main strength of the whole army, it remained still in *Sicily*. So they had some respite to breath themselves, & began to address their Embassies to *Sphax* and to other Princes, for to establish and confirm peace and league between them. They dispatched others also to *Philip*, who should make promise unto him of two hundred talents of silver, in case he would take the seas and pass over either into *Sicily* or *Italy*. Messengers also were sent as far as into *Italy* unto their own Generals serving there, to will them to ralle what troubles they could possibly, for to keep *Scipio* a work, and hold him back from coming into *Affrick*. And unto *Mago* were sent not only those messengers aforesaid, but also five and twenty long ships of war, six thousand foot-men, eight hundred horsemen, seven Elephants, and great store of treasure besides for to hire aid, whereby he might advance forward with his forces nearer to *Rome*; and join with *Annibal*. These preparations were making, and these courses devising at *Carthage*, when as *Masaniissa* upon the bruit that went of the arrival of the Roman fleet, began to start up and rouse himself: and accompanied with some few horsemen, came unto *Lelins*, busie in driving still great booties out of the country, which he found altogether disarmed of armour, and unprovided of guards and garrisons for defence. "He much complained that *Scipio* was so slack in his affairs, and graved that he had not passed over ere this time with an army into *Affrick*, whiles the Carthaginians were thus affrighted, whiles *Sphax* was troubled with the wars of the borders of whom "he was thus much persuaded, that if he might have resting time to compose his own affairs

A "to his mind, he would not continue fast unto the Romans, nor deal in any thing faithfully and soundly with them: willing him to sollicit *Scipio*, yea, and to spur him on and importune him not to stand longer at a bay and make delays. And for his own part, notwithstanding he were distressed of his fathers Kingdom, yet he would be ready to assist him with such a power of foot and horse as were worth God amercy: advising *Lelins* which not to make any longer stay in *Affrick*, for as much as he believed verily, that there was a fleet already let out from *Carthage*, with which in the absence of *Scipio*, he might not with safety enter into conflict and battail. After this communication, *Masaniissa* was dismissed, and *Lelins* the next day looped from *Hippo*, with his ships laden with pillage and prizes: and being returned into *Sicily*, declared unto *Scipio* the council and credence that he had from *Masaniissa*.

B About the very same time those ships which were sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, coasting along the Albanians and the Ligurians, arrived at *Genoa*, it happened that *Mago* at that time lay with his fleet in those parts: who upon the words of the messengers, & the communion to raise as great forces as possibly he could, immediately held a council of the Frenchmen and Ligurians: for of both nations there were great numbers in those coasts. "Where before then all he declared how he was sent unto them for to let them at liberty: and how (as they might like themselves) to that effect he was furnished with new aid and succour from home. But what forces, and how great an army was needful for the managing of the war in hand, it lay in them to determine. As for himself, first and foremost he knew full well, that there were two Roman armies abroad, one in *France*, the other in *Tuscany*: and that *Sp. Lucretius* would join with *M. Lelins*: and therefore C they themselves were to put many a thousand in arms, for to make head against two Generals, & two compleat armies of Romans. The Frenchmen made answer again, that their will was good enough, and they had an exceeding desire to compels and effect the designment intended: but for as much as the Romans had one camp within their confines, and another in *Tuscany* near adjoining, and in manner within fight, it peradventure they should be seen in the action to aid the Carthaginians: incontinently both armies, as well the one as the other would in all manner of hostility invade their territories: and therefore they requested him, to desire of the Gauls such things, wherein they might stand high in head, secretly under hand. As for the Ligurians, because the Romans lay far enough off encamped from their lands & Cities, they might dispose well enough of themselves as they list: and therefore it was good reason that they should put their D young & able men in arms, & bear a part in the managing of the war. The Ligurians replied not. Only they craved respite of two months, for to take the matters. In the mean time *Mago*, having sent away the Gauls, closely took up & prettily considered throughout their country Towns for money, and from the States of *France*, there was sent secretly provision of victuals of all sorts unto him. *Marcus Lelins* led his army of Voluntaries out of *Tuscany* into *France*, and having united his forces unto *Lucretius* his power, was ready to receive and welcome *Mago*: if haply he removed out of the Ligurians country nearer to the City of *Rome*; but in case *Mago* kept himself quiet in a corner under the *Alps*, he minded also himself there to keep his standing leaguer about *Ariminum*, for the guard and defence of *Italy*.

After the return of *C. Lelins* out of *Affrick* both *Scipio* was pricked forward by the indignations and privations of *Masaniissa*: and also his fouldiers, seeing great prizes brought out of the enemies Land, and every ship freight therewith: were mightily incited and set on fire with a burning desire, to be transported over thither with all speed possible. But as they were plotting about this enterprise of greater importance, they thought also upon a lesser that came between, namely the winning again of the City of *Locri*, which in the general revolve of all *Italy*, had fided also with the Carthaginians. The first hope that they conceived both to affect and effect this enterprise grew upon a very small matter: by occasion that in the Brutian country, the whole manner of service was performed, by way of robbing and roving, rather than by any ordinary course of war. The Numidians first began, and the Brutii soon took it up and seconded them: not so much because they would keep the Carthaginians company, and do as they did: but for that of their own natural inclination they were prone, and ready enough to follow that course. At last the Roman fouldiers also, infected as it were by their example, took delight in robberies: and so far forth as they might have leave of their Captains, would make inroad into the territories of their enemies. It happened so, that when some of them were gone abroad a plundring, certain Locrians were intercepted, and brought away with them to *Rhegium*. In which number of captives, were some carpenters and malons, who as it chanced, were hired to work for the Carthaginians in the Castle of *Locri*. These were discovered and known by certain great men, and the principal citizens of the Locrians, who happened then to live as banished persons in *Rhegium*: such as by the contrary faction that banded with *Annibal* had delivered *Locri* into his hands, were taken out of the City. These men fell to questioning with them (as commonly their manner is, who have been long out of their own Country) of many matters, and among the rest, how all things stand at home: who told them all accordingly, and therewith, put them in some good hope, that if they might be ransomed, set at large, and sent home again, they would betray the Castle unto them: for as much as within it they dwell, and the Carthaginians put them in trust of all things there. They therefore, as men that were wonderful desirous to return thither, as well for joy of their native country, as for to be revenged of their adversaries, out of hand paid their ransome: and after they had given order how to work the feat, and in what sort: as also agreed upon

upon the signs and tokens which they should mark from on high a far off, they were sent back again. Then the eiled Locrians repaired unto *Scipio* at *Syracuse*, with whom also were others of the banished persons of *Locri*: and there they related unto him the promises of the captives afore-said, and put the Consul in very good hope that the effect would be correspondent to their designment. With them were sent two Tribunes or Masters, to wit, *M. Sergius* and *P. Matienus*, with commission to conduct three thousand soldiers from *Rhegium* to *Locri*. Letters also were dispatched unto *Q. Pleminius* the Vice-prefect, for to be assistant in this action. Who being departed from *Rhegium*, and carrying with them scaling ladders, proportioned to the height of the Castle wall, were told unto them, about midnight gave a token by fire to those that were to betray the Castle, from that place which they had agreed upon: who being in readiness also, and looking wittily for them, put down likewise ladders of their own, made for the purpose; and in many places at once received them that climbed up: so as, before there was any alarm heard, they set upon the watch of the Carthaginians, half asleep as they were, and distrustful no such matter: who first were heard to groan as they lay a dying, but afterwards, to make a noise and keep a running and much ado, upon their sudden starting from sleep, all the whiles that they wist not what the occasion was. At length, upon the discovery of the matter, one man wakened another, and every one called aloud to arms: trying out, that the enemies were within the Castle, and the watchmen slain. And without question, the Romans had been put to the worse and defeated quite, being far fewer in number than the forces: which (so long as men knew not from whence it came, put them in great fear: and the tumult besides by night made every small and vain thing much greater than it was. By means whereof, the Carthaginians astonished (as if all places had been full of enemies) abandoned all fight, and betook themselves unto the other fortresses (for two there were distant not far asunder.) The Townsmen kept possession of the City as the prize and guard in the midst, for the winners. But out of the two Castles there were light skirmishes every day. *Q. Pleminius* was Captain of the fort and garrison of the Romans, and *Amilcar* over the Carthaginians: and both parts increased their strength, by aids that they had coming unto them from the places adjoining. Until at last *Amilcar* shewed himself in person: and no doubt the Romans had never been able to hold out, but that the whole multitude of the Locretians were galled and grieved with the proud government and the covetous polling of the Carthaginians, took part with the Romans. When intelligence came to *Scipio*, that the Romans were distressed in *Locri*, and that *Amilcar* himself was advancing thither: for fear lest the garrison also should be in some hazard (as having no ready means to retire from thence) himself leaving at *Messana* his brother *L. Scipio* for the guard of the place, passed over from thence with his vessels down the water, when he espied the current and the tide together to serve for a fare. Likewise *Amilcar* having sent out a vanguard from the River *Burarus* (which is not far from the City *Locri*) to signify unto his men, that by day light they should give a hot charge with all their might and main upon the Locretians and Romans both, whiles he himself made an assault upon the Towr behind, not looking for him, but wholly turned away and amused upon that other tumult. Now when as early in the morning he found the skirmish begun, he was not willing to put himself within the Castle, for fear of pestering with over great a company the place so freight and off so small receipt: and for to scale the walls they had brought no ladders with them. So causing all their carriages and packs to be piled up in one heap together: he presented all his footmen in battail array before the City, to terrifie his enemies withal: and with the Numidian horsemen he made a bravado under the walls, and rode about the City. Whiles the ladders and other ordinance meet to give an assault, were in preparing and making ready, he approached on horseback near to the wall, for to view on which part above the rest, he might give the assault: and there he was shot with a quarrel discharged from an engine called a Scorpion, which happened to be planted near unto him. And being affrighted at this so dangerous an occurrence, he commanded to found the retreat, and fortified his camp aloof without the peril and shot of any dart. Now was the Roman fleet from *Messana* arrived at *Locri*, and had the day afore them: so as they were all set a land, and entered the City before the sun setting. The morrow after, the Carthaginians began to skirmish out of the Castle: and *Amilcar* being now provided of ladders, and having all things else in readiness needful for the assault, came under the walls: with that all upon a sudden the Romans set open a gate and sallied out upon him, who feared nothing less than any such accident: and thus setting upon them at unawares, slew two hundred of them. *Amilcar* perceiving that the Consul was there, retired with the rest into the camp: and after he had sent a messenger to them that were within the Castle, willing them to shift for themselves, in the night season he dislodged and departed. They also who were in the fort, after they had set on fire the houses which were in their keeping, of purpose by that tumult to cause the enemy to make some stay and tarry behind, ran away in manner of a rout, and before it was night with good foormanship overtook their own company. *Scipio* seeing as well this Cause quit by the enemy, as their camp also empty, called the Locretians to a general assembly, and gave them a sharp check, and rebuked them for their revolt. The principal Captains & Anchors of that trespass put to death: and gave away their goods to the chief heads of the other faction, in reward and consideration of their singular fidelity to the Romans. But as concerning the publick state of the Locrians, he said he would neither make nor meddle therewith, either in giving to them, or taking ought at all from them. But willed them to send their Embassadors to

Rome,

A Rome and look what the Senate would award in equity that fortune they should abide. This one thing he was well assured of, that how illsoever they had deserved of the people of Rome, yet they should live in better condition under the signory of the Romans, provoked to anger as they were, than they had already under the government of Carthaginians, pretending love and amity as they did.

Then himself in person cut over to *Messana* with those forces that he brought with him, leaving *Pleminius* his Lieutenant, and that power that won the Castle, in garrison for the defence of the City. The Citizens of *Locri* had been so proudly mistreated, and so cruelly handled by the Carthaginians, after they were revolted from the Romans, that it seemed they could be content to abide any small wrongs, not only patiently but also willingly, and in manner with a glad heart. But so now exceeded *Pleminius*, *Amilcar* the former captain of the garrison so well the Roman garrison soldiers before the Carthaginians in wickedness & avarice, that a man would have thought they had strave together who should pain the other in fustial vice and ungodliness, and not in acts of arms and prowess. For neither Captain nor soldier forbore to practise upon the poor Townsmen any enormous facts, which are wont to make the great & mighty men odious unto the poor and meek persons. They wrought and committed shameful villanies upon their very bodies: upon their wives and children. And their greedy avarice so far proceeded, that they could not hold their hands from spoiling and robbing the very religious and sacred Temples. Inasmuch, as among other holy Churches which they polluted, they met even with the rich measure of *Prosepeia*, which had been still in all ages, and untouched by all others: save only it was reported to have been spoiled by *Pyrrhus*, who indeed carried away the spoil of her, but he deeply bought it, and paid full sweetly for that sacrilege. And therefore like as before time the Kings ships shaven with temples, and torn and split with the rage of the Sea, brought nothing at all in that wreck to land, but only that sacred money of the goddesses, which they had stolen and carried away: even so at this present, the very same money (but in another kind of calamity and misery) brought upon them that were tainted in that wicked action of robbing the Temple, a strange & frack madnes: which caused Captain against Captain, and soldier against soldier, to fight as if they were dark mad, and enraged as mortal enemies one with another. *Pleminius* had the chief role and command of all. As for the soldiers, some were under him: such as himself had brought from *Rhegium*; others were commanded by the Tribunes or Colonels. Now it chanced that one of *Pleminius*'s soldiers had stolen a silver cup out of a Townsmans house, and ran away with the lad, dogs, and the owners after him with hue and cry, and returned to come in the way, still to meet with *Sergius* & *Matienus* the two Tribunes or Colonels full in the face: Whereupon the cup was taken from him by the commandment of the Tribunes: and thence arose first a brawl, and some hard words were dealt between: and from them consequently they went to open clamors and loud noises, until at length there grew a very fray between the soldiers of *Pleminius* and of the Tribunes: and according as they came still one or other in time to help their own side, both the number and the riot increased at once. In the end, *Pleminius*'s men went away with the blows, and moved themselves unto *Pleminius*, running to him with open mouth and great indignation, shewing their bloody wounds: and reporting besides, what opprobrious words to the disgrace and passed against him without spare in the time of those brawling fits. Hereupon a great anger and boiling heat of blood, he gat him forth of doors in all the haste: convened the Tribunes before him, and commanded them to be stripped naked, and the rods to be brought forth ready to the scourge them. But whiles there was some time spent in turning them out of their apparel, and dressing them for they struggled & made resistance, and called to their soldiers for help at once they came thick about them (for very lusty they were upon their fresh victory) and ran from all hands, as if the alarm bell had been rung against the coming of some enemies. But when they saw once the bodies of their Tribunes strewed with rods, then they fell into far more furious rage and fury, for madnes: and thus incensed as they were, without all regard, not only of the respect and majesty of authority, but also of common humanity, they fell upon the Lieutenant himself, who they had most pitiously beaten and evil intreated his Lictors and Officers about him. Then having galled him out apart from his Ministers and Sergeants, they cruelly mangled him, cut off his noses, scrape his ears, and left him half dead. News hereof came to *Messana*, and within few days *Scipio* highed him apace to *Locri* in a gally directed with six banks of oars: who after due examination and hearing of the cause between *Pleminius* and the Tribunes, acquit *Pleminius* as innocent, and left him Governour of the garrison of the place: but he judged the Tribunes guilty, as Malefactors, and caused them to be bound in chains for to be sent to Rome unto the Senate: and he bestowed to *Messana*, and from thence to *Syracuse*. *Pleminius* not able to overcome his anger, and thinking that *Scipio* had dealt but coldly and negligently in the matter, and made too light of the injury which he had received, and not punished the offenders accordingly: and supposing that there was no man else able to make true estimate of the cause, but he that in his own person had felt the hard dignity and hainousness thereof, commanded the Tribunes to be hailed before him, and after he had put them to all the cruel torments, that any mans body is able to abide, he put them to death, and not satisfied either with their dolorous torture whiles they were quick, nor with taking their lives from them, cast their dead bodies forth into the fields, there to lie above ground unburied. Like cruelty he exercised upon the principal Burgesses of the Locrians, which he heard say went to *Scipio* for to make complaint of his wrongs and injuries. And look

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what

what foul and shameful pranks he had plaid afore with his friends and allies, proceeding of lust and covetousness: the fame now in his fell and furious rage he multiplied and wrought in divers sorts: so as he brought infamy, hatred and obloquy, not only upon himself, but also made the world so think hardly, and to speak much shame of the General himself.

Now drew the time near of the solemn election of Magistrates: when as there came letters to Rome from Pub. Licinius the Consul, the tenor whereof was to this effect: That himself and his army were sore vexed with a grievous sickness: and that he could not possibly have staid there, but that the violent contagion and influence of the same malady, if not greater & more grievous, had not assailed the enemies. Seeing that therefore himself was not able to come unto the election, he was minded, if it might so stand with the good liking of the Lords of the Senat, to nominate as Dictator Q. Cecilius Metellus, for to hold the foresaid election. And as for the army of Q. Cincius, it was for the good of the Common-weal that it should be called and discharged, since that there was no employment of them at this present: considering that Annibal was retired already with his forces into his standing camp, and taken up his wintering harbours; and again, the pestilence grew so hot in that leaguer of his, that if they were not discharged betimes, there was not one of them like to escape and remain alive. In these points, the LL. of the Senat granted our their commission unto the Consul, for to do according as himself thought to stand either with his own credit and trust committed unto him, or the benefit of the Common-weal.

At the very same time there was a certain religious opinion that had possessed of a fuddain the whole City, by occasion of a certain Prophecie found in the books of Sibylla. When search was made into them and they diligently perused, about the raining of ftones, which appeared to offer that year. The Prophecie ran in this form: "At what time soever an enemy of a strange and foreign country, shall happen to make war upon Italy, he may be chased out of Italy and vanquished: if the goddess dame Cybele of Ida, were brought to Rome from Pessinus. This Prophecie found by the Decemvirs, moved the Senat more, for that the Embassadors also who carried the oblation and present afore said to the Deities, related, That as they themselves sacrificed unto Pythius Apollo, all the inward of the beast killed for sacrifice, appeared good, and shewed prosperity: and the Oracle besides gave answer, That there was a far greater victory toward the people of Rome than that was, out of the spoils whereof they brought gifts and offered to the God at this present. And for to make up and fully accomplish these hopes, they alleged withal, how P. Scipio in demanding the Province of Affricke, did preface (as it were) before-hand in his mind the final end of this war. To the end therefore, that they might with more speed obtain this honorable victory thus fore-tokend, and offering (as it were) it self, by all lucky prefagings of men and Oracles of the Gods, they thought and devised (fome mean to transpire the said goddesses to Rome.

The people of Rome in those days was confederated with no States of Asia: howbeit the LL. calling to mind, how long ago, upon occasion of a sickness, and to purchase health unto the people, Esculapius was sent for likewise out of Greece, before it was joynted with the City of Rome in any league or society: and considering withal, that there was some friendship and amity being already with King Attalus (in regard of the common war against Philip) and that he would be ready to do for the people of Rome, whatsoever lay in his power, they resolved to send unto him an honorable Embassage to wit, M. Valerius Levisius, who had been twice Consul, and had warred in Greece: M. Cecilius Metellus, who had been a Pretor, and Servius Sulpitius Galba: likewise an Edile, and two late Quæstors, C. Tremellius Flaccus, and M. Valerius Falco. For these five, they assigned five Quinquagems or Gallies of five ranks of oars, that according to the credit and dignity of the people of Rome, they should make a voyage into those Lands; with whom they were to win a reputation and Majesty to the Roman name and State. These Embassadors, as they held on their course toward Asia, so soon as they were put on Land at Delphos, repaired directly to the Oracle, for to know what good hope it might afford unto them and the people of Rome, by offering that business and commission, about the which they were sent forth. And this answer by report, was returned to them again, That they should obtain their desire, and effectuate their purpose, by the means of Attalus the King: advising them moreover, That when they had conveyed the said goddess down to Rome, they should take order, that the very best man of all others in the City, should give her lodging and entertainment. But to proceed, to Pergamus they came unto the King. Who having courteously received and welcomed the Embassadors, conducted them into Phrygia to Pessinus, and delivered into their hands that sacred and holy Roce, which the inhabitants of the country sayd was the Mother of the Gods, and willed them to carry it to Rome. Then M. Valerius Falco was sent back from the other Embassadors to adventure them at Rome, that the goddess was coming, and that they should seek out the best man in all the City, for to receive and lodge her in his house with all devotion that might be.

Now was Q. Cecilius Metellus nominated Dictator by the Consul in the Brutian country, against the solemn election of the Magistrats. His army was disbanded and called, and L. Venerius Philo created master of the hostie. Then the Dictator held the Election. In which were chosen Consuls, M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus: in his absence, who at that time had the government of Greece. After them were elected Pretors, T. Claudius Nero, M. Marcius Ralla, Scribonius Libo, & M. Pomponius Matro. When the Election was finished, the Dictator resigned up his place of magistracy. The Roman Games were thrice renewed and set forth, & the plates Philisteven times exhibited. The Ediles of the chair were Cn. and L. Cornelius Lemulus both. This Lucius governed

A vermed then the Province of Spain: created he was in his absence, and absent as he was he bare that dignity. The Ediles of the Commons were T. Claudius Asellus, and M. Junius Pennus. That year M. Marcius dedicated the Temple of Venus, near the gate Capena: the seventeenth year after it was vowed by his father at Clafidium in Gallia, during the time of his first Consulship. There died also this year a Famous of Mars, namely, M. Boaylius Regillus.

For the last two years, the affairs in Greece had not been well followed, Philip therefore taking the vantage, that the Ætolians were forsaken of the Romans (and only said upon which they trusted) forced them both to sue for peace, and to contrive the same under what conditions and capitulations himself pleased: which if he had not made the better bait, all that ever he could to accomplish in good time, P. Sempronius the Vice-Consul, sent to succeed Sulpitius in the government, had utterly defeated him whiles he waged war with the Ætolians, considering that he was ten thousand foot and a thousand horse strong, and had five and thirty tall ships of war, heeded with brass pikes before a power of no small importance. I assure you, to aid and assist his allies. For the said peace was not so soon concluded, but news came to the King, that the Romans were arrived at Dyrrachium; that the Parthines and other neighbour nations, upon hope of change and a new world, began to rise and rebel: and that Dimulchus was already besieged and assaulted: for to that City the Romans bent their power (in lead of aiding the Ætolians unto whom they were sent) upon high displeasure and indignation, that without their advice and consent, yea, and against the tenor of the accord and covenants they had made a peace with the King, Philip, upon these advertisements, for fear lest some farther troubles might arise among the nations and States there bordering took long journeys, & sped him space toward Apollonia. Thither Sempronius was retired, after he had sent Lethorius his Lieutenant with part of his forces and thirteen ships into Eubea to visit the country, and to see in what terms they stood, yea, and to disturb and break the peace if possibly he could. Philip waited and spoiled the territories and lands of the Apollonians, and approaching the City with his whole power, had battail to Sempronius the Roman General. But after he saw, once that he kept himself quiet within the City, standing only upon his guard and defence of the walls: disturbing also his own strength, as not able to force the City by assault & defiance withal to entertain peace with the Romans as well as with the Ætolians, if he could: if not, yet at leastwise to have truce with them without effecting any more (seeing he could but only rub an old sore, & renew cankred malice upon fresh contention & quarrel) he returned into his realm.

About the same time, the Epirots weary of long wars, after they had first sounded the disposition and mind of the Romans that way sent their Embassadors unto Philip, to treat about a general and universal peace: affirming, that they had assured hope of an honorable end and agreement, if his highness would vouchsafe to come to a parly with P. Sempronius the Roman General. And soon they obtained thus much of him, as to pass over into Epirus, for the King himself was not unwilling thereunto. Now there is a City in Epirus, named Phaniæ, where the King after communication had first with Eropus, Dardas and Philippus, Pretors of the Epirots, entered into an interview also with P. Sempronius. At this solemn meeting and conference, Aminander the King of the Athamans was present, and other Magistrats of the Epirots and Acarnans. And first Philippus the Pretor began to speak and request as well King Philip as the Roman General, to make an end of all wars, and likewise to give the Epirots leave to do the same. P. Sempronius propounded and shewed the articles and conditions of peace in this wise, That the Parthins, Dimulchus, Bargulium and Eugentium, should belong to the Signory of the Romans, notwithstanding that they had obtained of the Senat by their Orators sent to Rome, to be annexed to the dominion of Philip King of Macedonia. When they were agreed for peace upon those capitulations, there were comprised within the league on the Kings behalf, Prusias King of Bithynia, the Achæians, the Bœotians, the Thebais, the Acarnans, and the Epirots: and on the Romans, the Illyiens, K. Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the Tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, the Eleans, the Messenians, and the Athenians. And hereof were instruments and indentures ingrossed and sealed, and truce made for two months, until such time as Embassadors were sent to Rome, that the people might by their suffrages approve of the conditions in that form. So all the tribes in general granted the same, because the war now being intended and bent against Affricke, they were willing for the present to be discharged of all other troubles.

P. Sempronius having concluded peace, departed unto Rome for to enter his Consulship. Now when as M. Cornelius and P. Sempronius were Consuls (which was the 15 year of the Punic war) the Provinces were assigned unto them in this manner, namely, unto Cornelius, Hetruria with the old army: unto Sempronius the Brutia, with the new legions that he was to enrol. And to the Pretors in this wise were the Provinces allotted, that M. Marcius should be Lord chief justice of the citizens pleas, and L. Scribonius Libo have the jurisdiction of foreigners, together with the government of Gallia, Italy, that M. Pomponius Matro should rule Sicily, and T. Claudius Nero sit at L. Depuy in Sardinia. As for P. Scipio, his commission was renewed and continued for one year longer, with the command of that army and Armado which he had conducted before. Likewise P. Licinius had his commission newly sealed for to have the charge of the Brutian country, with the power of two legions, so long as the Consul thought it good for the Common-weal, that he should remain in the government of that Province. Also M. Livius & Sp. Lucretius with the assistance of those two legions with which they had defended Gallia against Mago, continued till in their room for another year. Moreover Cn. Octavius remained in place, with commission, that

when he had delivered up *Sardinia* &c. the legion there unto *T. Claudius*, himself should with 40 long Gallies four the less, and guard the coasts along the river, within those limits, for which the Senat had given order. *Lucius A. Pomponius* the Pretor in *Sicily* were appointed the two legions of the *Carthaginian* army. And *T. Quinctius* and *C. H. Taburnus* Vice-pretors, were to govern as they did the former year, the one *Tarentum*, and the other *Capua*; and both of them were allowed the old garri- sons. As for the government of *Spain*, it was put to question before the people, what two Vice-pretors their pleasure was should be sent into that Province. And all the Tribes with one accord gave their grant, that the same Pro-consuls *L. Cor. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, should fit as Governors in those Provinces as the year before. The Consuls began now to muster (soldiers as well to enrol new legions for to be sent into the *Bruttian* country, as also to supply and fill the number of the other armies; according as they were directed by the Senate. And albeit *Afric* was not yet openly declared a Province, but dissembled by the LL. of the Senate, (of purpose to lieve, that the Carthaginians should have no inkling and intelligence thereof before hand) yet the whole City was in good hope, and made full reckoning that this year the war would be deter- mined and fought out in *Afric*, and to an end for ever of those troubles. This persuasion of theirs had possessed their hearts with much superstition: and very forward men were, both to report, and also to believe many prodigious and strange wonders, which daily were blown abroad & divulged more and more. To wit, that there were two suns seen; that in the night season between whiles it seemed day light; that in *Sardinia* there was a burning torch or blasing Star teaching from the East to the West; that in *Tarentum* the gate, and in *Anagnia*, as well the gate as the wall indy- vidual parts were blasted and shaken with lightning; lastly, that in the Temple of *Jane Sospita* in *Lavinium*, there was a noise and a rumbling heard, with a horrible crack. For the expiation and purging of these prodigies, there was a supplication holden for one day: and a novential solemn sacrifice was also celebrated, because it had rained stones out of the sky. Besides all this, there was some consultation about the receiving of *Ida* *Ida*. For over and besides that *M. Valerius* one of the Embassadors was returned & had brought word that he would be very shortly in *Rome*, there came a new messenger with tidings, that she was now already at *Tarentum*. This deliberation (be- hind no small matter, namely, whom they should give judgement to be the best man simply in the whole City) held the Senat much amused: considering that every one for his part was more desirous of true victory, and pre-eminence in this behalf, than of any promotions, honours or dignities whatsoever, awarded unto them by the voices either of Senators or Commons. In conclusion, they judged *P. Scipio*, the son of that *Cn.* who was killed in *Spain*, a very young man, and as yet not of full age to be a Queitor, the very best man without exception in the whole City. Upon what motives of his singular virtues they were induced thus to deem of him, as I could willingly have delivered unto posterity, what had been let down in record by the ancient and first writers of those times: I will not interpose mine own conceits, in guessing at a thing which hath been dead and buried so long time. This *P. Cornelius* was commanded to go accompanied with all the dames of the City as far as to *Ofis*, there to meet the Goddess, and then to take her forth of the ship, and being once set on land, to deliver her unto the foresaid matrons for to be devoutly carried to the City. Now when the ship was arrived at the mouth of the river *Tyberis*, he, according as he was directed, went aboard in a pinnace, & lanchd into the sea: where he took the Goddess at the Priests hands, and brought her on shore. And the dames which were the noblest and chiefest of the City, amongst whom, *C. Quinta* was the Lady most renowned, received her. This *Claudius* who before time (as it is reported) was of no better name & fame than she should be, now by this religious and devout ministry, was for her chastity and continency recommended better to posterity. These women carried this Goddess charily & daintily in their hands; and took her by turns, one in couise after another. All the City came forth by heaps to meet her; and along the streets as she was conveyed, they stood at the doors with censers, making sweet perfumes, & burning frankincense: yea & praised unto her that she would willingly enter the City of *Rome*, and continue propitious & gracious unto it. Thus they transported her into the Temple of *Viktoria* within mount *Palatine*, the day before the *Ides of April*, which was always after kept as a festival holiday. The people with great frequency brought gifts unto *P. Valerius*, which they offered unto the goddess & solemnized a *Lustrum*. And those plaies called *Megalica* came up then, & were first instituted. Now when the Council were busy and fat about the supply of those legions which were in the *Pyrenies*, there were certain of the Senators began to whisper & blow into their heads, That the time was now come, no longer to abide those things which during the troubles and dan- gerous daies they made a shift to endure: considering that now at length by the goddesses of the Gods, all fear was past, and the dangers overblown. At which words the Lords of the Senat be- ing in great expectation and attentive to hear out the latter they went on and said, That to set out colonies of the Latins, which whiles *Q. Fabius* and *Q. Fulvius* were Consuls refused to set out soldiers, now almost for six years had intermitted their service in the wars, as exempted from warfare altogether, and enjoyed that immunity as an honor and reward for their good deeds: whereas in the mean time, other loyal and obedient allies were by mustering every year con- stantly, waited and consumed, in performance of their faithful allegiance and dutiful service to the Empire of *Rome*. At this speech, the Lords called not so much to mind a thing long forgot, and almost worn out of remembrance, as they were provoked to anger and grew very hot; & there- fore would not suffer the Consuls to pass any other matter before, but decreed that they should

* 13 April.

* The Plaies called *Megalica*.

A peremptory consent to *Rome* the Magistrats, and ten principal citizens out of every of these Colonies, to wit, *Nepe*, *Sutrium*, *Ardea*, *Cales*, *Alba*, *Carfo*, *Sora*, *Suessa*, *Setia*, *Circuli*, *Narnia*, and *Interamna*, (for these were the Colonies touched in that point above-named) and to lay upon them every one a double levy of footmen; that number and proportion which they were charged with, when they set out most in the service of the Roman wars, ever since that the enemies were come into *Italy*: besides one hundred and twenty horsemen a peece. And in case any one of those colonies were not able to make up that full number of horsemen, then to allow for every man of arms three footmen; Provided always, that for foot and horse both, such should be choien and no other, as were most substantial and of the best behaviour, and be sent to what place soever there was need of supply, even out of *Italy*. And if any of them related thus to do, then the Consuls had commission to stay the Magistrats and deputies aforesaid, and not to give them audience in the Senat, (although they should require the same) before they had performed thole imposi- tions. Moreover thole Colonies were enjoyned to pay every year a tax or tribute, and that there should be raised and levied, one Ais in the thousand, of their tribute by the month; and be as- sessed in thole Colonies according to the rate and rule that the Roman Censors should let down; which they gave order to be the same that was laid upon the people of *Rome*: and the information thereof to be exhibited and presented at *Rome*, by the sworn Censors of the foresaid colonies, before they went out of their office. By vertue of this Act of the Senat, the Magistrats and chief men of thole Colonies were sent for and compelled to repair to *Rome*; and when the Consuls de- manded of them, thole soldiers and tribute aforesaid, they began all of them (but some more than others) to reneue and gain say it; yea, and flatly to deny, that so many soldiers could possibly be made, nay, hardly were they able, although they should strain themselves to furnish the bare single number, according to the usual proportion and old precript order: requesting and beseeching them, to give them leave to have recourse unto the Senat, and there to make force for their release: neither have we (say they) so much offended as thus badly to be used, not deferred worthily to be undone. And say, we must needs military and be cast away; yet neither our offence, nor the wrath of the people of *Rome*, can force us to find more soldiers than we have. But the Consuls, reluc- tance in their purpose, commanded the Delegates and Committees of thole Colonies, to stay till at *Rome*, and their Magistrats only to repair home and take mullers: for as much as (unless the full number of soldiers which was set down unto them were brought to *Rome*) there was no Com- mittee there would grant them audience in the Senat; Thus when all hope was cut off, to have access into the Senat, and to obtain a release; thole twelve Colonies took a levy and enrolled the full number. Which was no hard matter to be done, considering how their youth was increased in that time of long vacation and intermission of warfare. There was likewise another matter (by as long silence forgot and well near quite forgotten) proposed newly again by *M. Valerius* *Levinus*; who said, That it was meet and good reason, that thole private persons which had credited forth their monies to the Common-weal, when himself and *M. Claudius* were Consuls, should now at last be satisfied, contented, and paid: neither ought any man to marvel why he (notwithstanding the City were bound for the debt) had a special care and regard to call upon them for to have it discharged: for, besides that the Consul for that year being, when thole monies of money were granted, was in some sort properly obliged, to see that credit were kept; himself moreover was the very man that made the motion of taking up thole monies, in regard that the City chamber was so empty of treasure, and the Commons puries so bare of money, that they were scarce able to pay the ordinary tribute. This overture made by the Consul, was well taken of the Senat, who willed the Consuls to put up this matter to the house: and so they entered in Act and decree, that the said debts should be discharged at three payments: whereof the first should be made pre- sently by the Consuls then in place; the other twain, by the Consuls that were to succeed in the third and fifth years next ensuing.

But there fell out one new object and occurrence, that drowned all other cares besides, and wholly possessed the heads of the Senat, by occasion of the miseries and calamities of the Locri- ans: whereof before that day, they had no knowledge nor intelligence, and now were by the coming of their Embassadors declared and divulged. Neither were the people provoked to choler and anger, so much as the lewd behavior and wicked pranks of *Q. Plautius*, as the slackness and negligence, or else the partiality and connivency of *Scipio* in dealing between them. These Embassadors of the Locrians, ten in number, presented themselves before the Consuls sitting in the open Hall called *Comitium*; clad they were in homely weeds and coarse apparel, looking pale and poor on the matter; and carrying withal in their hands as tokens of humble suppliants, certain branches of the Olive, according to the manner of the *Greeks*, fell down prostrate upon the ground before the Tribunal, with piteous weeping and sorrowful lamentation. The Consul demanded who they were: and they made answer again. That they were Locrians, who had endured at the hands of *Q. Plautius* the Lieutenant, and the Roman soldiers, such indignities, as the people of *Rome* would not find in their hearts, that the very Carthaginians them selves should suffer and sustain: beseeching them to do them this favour, as to give them leave to have access to the Lords of the Senat, there to make their mone and complain of their woful distresses. Being ad- mitted into the Senate and audience given them, then the ancientest man of the company spake in this wise, "Right honorable (my LL.) I know full well (quoth he) how important it would be, and available to the due estimate and weight of our complaints and grievance, in case we were informed

The piteous complaints of the Locrians before the Senat of *Rome*.

and acquit himself, if he can. If when all is done and said, it can be proved, that he hath left un-
done any mischief against us, that one man can devise to do unto another: we will be content to
abide and endure all those injuries once again (if it were possible) which we have suffered already,
yea, & to hold and declare him guiltless of all offences done both to God and man.

When the Embassadors had laid abroad those matters, and *Q. Fabius* demanded of them, whether
they had complained unto *P. Scipio*, and uttered these their griefs before him; they made an-
swer and said, "That they had sent Embassadors unto him, but he was busied in making prepa-
ration for the wars, and was either passed already over into *Africa*, or upon his voyage ready
to take the Seas within few days; and they had been by good experience, in how great favour the
Lieutenant *Pleminius* stood with his general: and namely, they were not ignorant how *Scipio*
after he had heard the matter between the Tribuns and him, committed them to prison: but as
for the Lieutenant, who was as faulty as the other, if not more, him he left there still in his full
authority. Now after that the Embassadors were willing to go forth of the Temple where the
Senate sat, the chief LL. of the Senat began with biting words to inveigh bitterly against *Scipio*
as well as *Pleminius*. But above all others, *Q. Fabius* girded at him, and said, That he was born
to corrupt and mar all military discipline. Thus (quoth he) in *Spain* also we have lost more
by mutinies of our own soldiers, than by the wars with our enemies: for why? after a strange
and forrain manner, and according to the guise of Kings, one while he cockered his soldiers
and suffered them to have their will and head too much; otherwhiles he would be overharp
and cruel to them. After which rough words, he came upon them both thus with as heavy and
sharp a sentence, namely, That *Pleminius* the Lieutenant by his counsel should be had away
hopped in chains to *Rome*, and there clapt up in prison, until his cause were heard, and judicially
determined: and in case those challenges were true, that the Locrians have commended against
him, he should be put to death in prison, and his goods be confiscate and forfeited to the cham-
ber of the City. As for *P. Scipio*, in that he presumed to depart out of his province without com-
mission and direction from the Senat, he should be called home; and the Tribuns of the Com-
mons dealt withal, to prefer a bill unto the people for his deprivation, and to put him besides
his place of government. As touching the Locrians, his opinion was, That the Senat should
give them their dispatch, and return them this answer: First, as touching the wrongs that they
complained of, it was not the will and pleasure neither of the Senat nor of the people of *Rome*
that they were done: who wished with all their hearts they had been undone: *Item*, that they
acknowledged them to be good men, to be their friends and allies, and so would accept of them
and call them. As to their children, their wives, and other goods taken from them whatsoever,
their mind was that they should be restored again: *Item*, that enquiry should be made what
sums of money were taken out of the treasury of *Proserpina*, and that two fold restitution
should be made and laid up there in stead of it: *Item*, that there should be a solemn purgatory sac-
rifice celebrated for amends and expiation of that sin; but so, as the college first of the Priests
and Bishops should be consulted with, and their advice taken in that behalf, (considering the
sacred treasure was disquieted, laid open and violated) namely, what manner of expiations and
cleansings were to be used, to what Gods, and with what beasts they should sacrifice: Finally,
that all the soldiers which were at *Locri* should be transported over into *Sicily*; and in their
room four cohorts of allies from out of the Latin Nation should be brought to lye in garrison
there. But every Senator could not be asked his opinion and sentence that day, by reason of
their difference and disagreement of minds so hotly incensed, some in favour, other in disavow
of *Scipio*. For besides the lewd part of *Pleminius*, and the calamity & oppression of the Locrians they
began to speak against the apparel of the General himself. "How he went not like a soldier and
a warrior, no, nor to much as like a Roman: walking up and down, and squaring it out in the
schools and open places of exercise with his mantle and cloke, and in his slippers and pantofles,
after the Greek fashion: And that he was over bookish, and set his mind too much upon read-
ings, and took delight to be in the fencing school and wrestling place, and all his men and guard
about him as idle and wantonly given as he, took joy in the pleasures & delightful feast of *Nepesina*.
As for *Gentilius* and *Anubis*, they were quite forgotten: and his whole army through loose-
ness and liberty was spoiled and clean lost, like to that of late at *Sacro* in *Spain*, and all one
with them at this time in *Locri*, more to be feared of their friends than their enemies. And albeit
these matters thus reported, were either true, or mingled with some truths, and therefore sounded
all very probable, yet the opinion of *Q. Marcius* prevailed: who in all other things gave his assent
unto *Maximus*, only as touching *Scipio*, he varied from him. "For I can not see any reason (quoth
he) how this can stand, that when every his whole City chose at those young years of his
to be the only Captain for recovering *Spain*, of whom they had made special choice to be their
Consul, after that he had gotten *Spain* from the enemies, to end at once the Punic wars; and
from whom they reported great hope, that he was the man to draw *Anibal* out of *Italy*, and to
subdue all *Africa*; he now should all of a sudden be called for home out of his Province,
as a person almost condemned, without pleading and hearing of his cause, as if he were ano-
ther *Pleminius*, considering that even those lewd and cruel parts which the Locrians complained
of were by their own words and confession not committed, while he was present in place nei-
ther could he be charged and accused directly for ought else but only for his indifferency and con-
nivency, in that upon a tender and respective indulgence of his Lieutenant, he was too remis-

and forbore to punish him with rigor. His advice therefore and opinion was, that *M. Pomponi-*
us the Pretor, unto whose lot the government of *Sicily* was fallen, should within three days
next and immediately ensuing, take his journey into his province: and that the Consuls, should
elect 2. Commissioners or Delegates out of the Senat, such as they thought good of, and send
them with the Pretor: likewise two Tribuns of the Commons, and one *Adile*: that the Pretor
with the assistance of these personages, should sit upon a commission to enquire and know
the truth: and in case they could find that those things wherewith the Locrians found them-
selves so much grieved, were done either by commandment and direction from *Scipio*, or with
his will and consent; then to charge him to depart out of the province. But in case that *P. Sci-*
pio were already passed over into *Africa*; then the forelaid Tribuns of the Commons, and the
Adile, joyning unto them two of the Delegates above said, (such as the Pretor deemed most
meet) should sail into *Africa*; and the Tribuns and *Adile* bring with them *Scipio* from thence;
and the two Commissioners have the charge and government of the army, until such time as
a new LL. General succeeded and came in place. But if *M. Pomponius* and the ten Delegates above-
said, found that neither by the direction, nor with the will of *P. Scipio* these enormities were
committed, then *P. Scipio* should remain still with the army, and go forward with the war as he
intended. When this decree of the Senat was once passed, and an act made thereof, they were in
hand with the Tribuns either to agree between themselves, or else to cast lots, which two of
them should go with the Pretor and the Delegates. And then the college of the Bishops were
consulted with, about the expiation and making satisfaction for those things which in the Temple
of *Proserpina* at *Locri* were either handled polluted, or carried forth from thence. The Tribuns
of the Commons that went the journey with the Pretor and the Commissioners, were *M. Claudius*
Marcellus, & *M. Cincius Alimentus*: who also had an *Adile* of the Commons to assist them, whom
they might command, if *Scipio* would not obey the Pretor, whether he were in *Sicily*, or gone over
into *Africa*, to apprehend and attach his body; and by virtue of their sacrosanct and inviolable
authority to bring him home with them. And first they relolved to go to *Locri*: before they went
to *Messana*. But concerning *Pleminius*, the report goeth two ways. Some say, that when he was
advised what was intended and devised against him at *Rome*, he purposed to go to *Nepesin* into
banishment, and chanced by the way to light upon one of the Delegates above said, and so by him
was perforce brought back to *Rhegium*. Others affirm, that *Scipio* himself sent out one of his
Lieutenants, accompanied with 30 of the most noble Knights or Gentlemen that he had about
him, with a warrant to commit *Q. Pleminius*, and with him the principal Authors of the sedition,
and to lay them fast in irons. But certain it is that they all were it by the commandment of *Scipio*
before, or then by warrant from the Pretor, were put in yard and safe-custody with the Rhagians.
The Pretor and the Delegates being come to *Locri*, first and foremost, according to their commisi-
on, had a principal care of Religion. For all the holy money which they found by diligent search
in the custody either of *Pleminius*, or of the soldiers, together with that which they themselves
had brought with them from *Rome*, they bestowed again in the privy vestries where the treasure
was kept: and besides, they made a solemn purgatory sacrifice for the Sacrilege. After this, the
Pretor assembled the soldiers together, and commanded them to carry their Engines out of the
City: where himself encamped upon the plain; and proclaimed that no soldier, as he would an-
swer at his uttermost peril, should either tarry behind, or bring forth any thing with him but his
own. Then he gave the Locrians leave, that every man should lay hold upon that which he knew to
be his own; and if ought were not forth-coming and to be seen, to challenge and put in his
claim for it. And above all things, his pleasure was, that all bodies of free persons whatsoever,
should without delay be restored unto them, and if any made default of restitution, he should a-
bide the smart and be grievously punished. Then he assembled the Locrians to an audience, and
pronounced before them all, That the people and Senat of *Rome* granted unto them their ancient
liberty, and their own laws: giving notice unto them, that whosoever had any thing to say against
Pleminius, or any other person by way of accusation, he should follow him to *Rhegium*, and there
present himself. Also if they were desirous to make a publick and open complaint of *Scipio*, na-
mely, that the facts committed at *Locri* most impiously and wickedly, against both God & man,
passed either under his warrant, or with his leave, and liking, then they should send Embassadors
to *Messana*, where he together with his Council and assistants would give them audience of al
matters and determine accordingly. The Locrians yielded great thanks to the Pretors and to the
Delegates or Commissioners: as also to the Senat and people of *Rome*; and said, "They would go
to accuse *Pleminius*. As for *Scipio*, although he desired little to hear the injuries and wrongs
done unto this City yet he was a man whose friendship they desired rather to embrace, than to
entertain his enmity. And this they knew assuredly, that so many lewd pranks, and so horrible
parts there played, were neither by the direction nor yet with the connivency and toleration of
P. Scipio: but his only fault was that either he trusted *Pleminius* overmuch, or credited them too
little. And some men (say they) of this nature, that they will have a careful regard for to pre-
vent sin, and an earnest desire that no offence be committed, rather than courage and heat to
punish and correct faults when they are once done and past. Hereupon both the Pretors & also
the Commissioners with him, thought themselves well eased of all small burden and charge of mak-
ing farther inquisition and sitting upon the cause of *Scipio*. But *Pleminius* and two and thirty per-
sons more with him, they condemned and sent bound in chains to *Rome*. They themselves went
also

also in prison to *Scipio*, to be eye-witnesses and to make report at *Rome* of their own knowledge, as touching the manner of apparel, the idle life of the General, and the loose, dissolute, and corrupt military discipline of his soldiers; so ripe and common in many mens mouths. Against their coming to *Syracuse*, *Scipio* was provided of deeds to approve his innocency, and not of words to excuse his folly. He gave order for all his forces there to meet, and for his armada to be in readiness, as it were that day to give battle both by Land and Sea to the Carthaginians. The very same day that they arrived thither, they were friendly received and courteously entertained by *Scipio*. The morrow after he shewed them all his forces, as well for Land as Sea service: nor only furnished, well appointed, and in readiness; but the one fort, namely the land soldiers, running and charging one another at turney; and the Sea servants likewise within the haven, representing a naval combat with their ships. Then he led the Pretor and the other commissioners all about to see the arsenal and armory, the store-houses the garners of corn, and all other provision and furniture for the war. At the view and sight whereof, they were stricken with such exceeding admiration, both of every thing in particular, and of all in general, that they were fully persuaded, that either by the conduct of that Captain and valour of that army, the Carthaginians might be overcome and conquered; or by none other in the world: yet, and they wished him in the name of God, without more ado to pass over into *Africk*, and with all speed possible to make the people of *Rome* to enjoy the effect of that hope which they conceived that very day, on which all the Centuries nominated and declared him with one voice the former Consul of the twain: and with so joyous hearts they took their leave and departed from thence, as if they were to bring tidings to *Rome* of a glorious victory: and not to make relation and report of a magnificent and stately preparation for war. *Plinius* and all they that were like him attain and gloat, after they came to *Rome*; were immediately clapt up and laid fast in prison. At the first time when they were brought out, before the people by the Tribunes, they could find no grace, no favour nor mercy amongst them; their minds were to forsall and possessed beforehand, with the consideration of the woful miseries and calamities of the poor Locrians. But afterwards, being produced oftner unto them, as the hatred conceived against him, began to wear and decay, so mens anger grew to affluence and soften: behind the pious sight and deformed how of *Plinius* there present, and the remembrance whith of *Scipio* now visible, gat him some favour with the people. Yet he died in prison, before his cause was judicially tried, and definitive sentence of him passed. *Clodius Licinius* repeateth in this third book of the Roman stories, that this *Plinius* in the time of the games which *Asdrubal* second time Consul usurped at *Rome*, according to a vow by him made, went about (by the help of some whom he had corrupted and wagged for money) to set the City on fire in diverse places; thereby to have opportunity to break prison and make an escape; but when his wicked purpose was once disclosed and brought to light, he was condemned and awarded by a sort of Senat to the dragon *Tullianum*. But as for *Scipio*, there were no words made of him, neither come he in question any where else but in the Senat: where all with one accord, both commissioners and Tribunes by extolling and magnifying with glorious words, the navy, the army and the Captain, brought it so about, that the Senat thought good and were agreed, that with all convenient speed *Scipio* should over into *Africk*, and have liberty granted out of those armies which were in *Sicily*, to make choice of those whom he would himself transport over with him into *Africk*, and whom he would leave behind for the guard and defence of the Province.

Whiles these things passed thus amongst the Romans: the Carthaginians also having spent all the winter time in much suspicion and continual fear, hearkning to all news, and enquiring carefully of every messenger, and keeping watch upon all their promontories and high hills by the Sea side; bestirred themselves likewise, and procured the society and alliance of *K. Syphax*, a matter of no small importance for the safeguard and defense of *Africk*, in hope and confidence of whole unity and friendship especially, they were persuaded, that *Scipio* intended to sail over into *Africk*. Now there had been already between *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* and the King, not only familiar acquaintance by way of kind welcoming and reciprocal hospitality, since the time (as hath been said before) that *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* fortune to meet at one time together in the Kings house, N when they came out of *Spain*; but also some treaty was already begun of alliance and affinity, and a union made, that the King should espouse and wed the daughter of *Asdrubal*. For the assistance of this matter, and the appointing of a certain day for the solemnizing of the marriage (for now the Damozel was ready for an husband, and marriageable) *Asdrubal* took a journey, and seeing the King burning in love (as these Numidians of all other barbarous nations are most given that way, and exceeding amorous) he sent for the maiden from *Carthage*, and hastened the wedding. And amongst other congratulations that passed between to the end, that besides the private affinity there should be also a public league; there was an alliance concluded between the people of *Carthage* and the King by giving and taking their faithful promise interchangeably, and obliging themselves by a solemn oath one to the other to observe it as well offensive as defensive, and to have the same enemies, and the same friends for ever. But *Asdrubal* remembering both the friendship begun between *Scipio* and the King, and also how fickle and variable the natures of the Barbarians were; and fearing if *Scipio* should pass over into *Africk*, that this bond of wedlock would not be strong enough to hold the King in; took the time whiles this Numidian Prince was engaged with his new love, induced him whither with reasons, and what with the fair words and arguments of his young spouse, to send *Busidama* his son into *Sicily* to *Scipio*, for to advise him not to

A pass over into *Africk*, nor to rely upon any confidence of him, nor yet to build upon his former promises. For himself was not only linked in matrimony with a Citizen of *Carthage*, the daughter of that *Asdrubal* whom he saw entertained as a guest in his court, but also joyed in a public league with the people of *Carthage*. And first he exhorted him that the Romans would war with the Carthaginians far from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done; for fear lest he should of necessity be forced to have an hand, and intermeddle in their quarrels; and so while he desired to avoid the danger and hostility of one part or other, be driven at length to side all one way: giving him more plainly to understand, that if *Scipio* would not forbear *Africk*, but needs come with an army against *Carthage*, then must he necessarily fight in defence of the land of *Africk*, wherein himself was born, and for the native country, for the father and house of his own wife. With this commendation and direction were certain Orators sent unto *Scipio*, who met with him at *Syracuse*, and there delivered their message. *Scipio*, albeit he was disappointed greatly of his ground-work, that he had laid for his wars in *Africk*, and put besides his good hopes; gave the Embassadors letters into *Africk*, unto the King, and sent them back again in all haste, before the thing were published and come abroad. In which letters he requested him earnestly to be advised and bethink himself that he brake not the rights either of friendship & hospitality begun with him, or of the league and society entered with the people of *Rome*: nor violated justice and faithful promise made by giving right hands; nor yet beguile and abuse the gods, the witnesses and judges of all covenants and agreements made. But forasmuch as the coming of those Numidians could not be concealed (for they went all about the City, and were daily conversant in the General his lodging: and if it should have been kept secret wherabout they came, it was to be doubted lest the truth the more it was smothered and dimbled, the more it would break forth and come to light: and so the army was to stand in fear, that they were to war at once both with the King and Carthaginians. *Scipio* therefore buzzed abroad into mens ears, false devised matters, and so withdrew them from the understanding of the truth indeed. He assembled all his soldiers together, and said unto them, that now it was no longer staying and trifling out the time: bearing them in hand, that the Kings his allies and confederates, importuned him to let over into *Africk* with all convenient speed; that *Asdrubal* beforetime himself in prison came to *Lalium*, grieving and complaining that the time ran thus on in delays and doing nothing; & *Syphax* now sent his Embassadors, musing much and wondering what the cause should be of so long temporizing: and requiring that either the army without more ado, should be sent over at once: or else if their minds and purposes were changed, to certify him so much, that he likewise might provide for himself and his kingdom. And therefore he did them to wit and understand, that he intended now that he was sufficiently provided and furnished of all things; and considering that the Empire might abide no farther stay, to conduct his armada to *Lilybæum*; to wait the first good day of wind and weather, to take the less for a bon-voage, and with Gods grace and favour to set sail for *Africk*. His letters he dispatched to *Marcius Pomponius* to this effect, that if he thought it good, he should repair to *Lilybæum*, to the end they might commune and consult together, what legions especially, and what number of soldiers he should transport over with him into *Africk*. In like manner, he sent a labourer the maritime and sea coasts, to stay all the carriages and ships of burden, and to bring them away at once to *Lilybæum*. Now when all the ships and serviceable men in *Sicily* were assembled to *Lilybæum*, so as neither the City was able to receive the multitude of soldiers, nor the haven contain the number of the vessels; so earnestly minded they were all, and so hotly set upon their voyage into *Africk*, that they seemed as if they were conducted not to fight a war, but to enjoy the assured rewards of a victory. But especially above all others, the soldiers remaining of the Carthian army, were verily perfwaded, that under this captain, or else none, by valiantly quitting themselves in the service of the Common-weal, they should be able to end and finish their iniquitous and shameful soldiery. And *Scipio* himself made no bare account of those kind of soldiers, as knowing full well that the defeat received at *Canna*, was not occasioned by their cowardice: neither were there throughout the Roman army any soldiers so ancient and of so long continuance, or so well experienced not only in many and sundry toughen fields, but also in the assaulting of towns and Cities. And these Legions of *Canna* were the six and six in order. Now when he had once resolved and given out, that he would transport them over with him into *Africk*, then he took a particular view of them, man by man. And having culled out those, and left them behind, whom he supposed unmeet and unsufficient, he substituted in their place those whom he had brought with him out of *Italy*: and so fully he supplied and made up his number of those Legions, that either of them had six thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred men of arms. He chose also out of the same army of *Canna*, both horsemen and footmen, of the allies and confederates of the Latine nation. What power of soldiers in the whole were set over into *Africk*, writers differ not a little in the number. In some authors I find, that they were ten thousand foot, and two thousand and two hundred horse: in others, fifteen thousand footmen, and fifteen hundred horsemen. In some records again, they were more by one half footmen, and better, namely, that of horse and foot there were embarked five and thirty thousand. And there be that have set down no number at all, amongst whom, as in a matter to doubtfull and uncertain, I would myself be counted for one. But *Calpurnius* for his part, as he forbeareth to put down any number at all, so he seemed not to imply an infinite multitude of them, in that he saith that wher they and those that the soldiers set up, the very souls of the air fell down to the ground: and

and he that had seen the multitude of them when they went a shipboard, would have said there had not been a man left behind either in *Italy* or in *Sicily*. Well how many or how few fewer they were, *Scipio* himself took the charge to see the soldiers embarked in good order, and without any tumult. As for the sailors and mariners, who were forced before to shipboard, *C. Laelius* the Admiral of the navy, kept them still and quiet within their ships. *M. Pomponius* the Pretor had commission for to furnish the armada with corn and victuals; who made provision of food and sustenance for 45 days: of which there was of baked meats and other viands already dressed, as much as would suffice for 15 days. Now when they were all embarked, he sent about to all the ships, certain pinnaces or cock-boats, and commanded all the pilots and masters of every ship, with two soldiers apeece, to come into market place, there to receive their charge. When they were all met and assembled together, first he enquired of them whether they had provided and taken into their vessels fresh water sufficient both for man and beast, to hold out to many days as their corn would serve? and when answer was made that they had water in their ships to last five and forty days: then he charged and commanded the soldiers to keep silence and be quiet during their navigation, and without any strife and contention to be obedient unto the mariners, and willing to help in any ministry and service whatsoever, saying, that himself and *L. Scipio* would keep on the right wing with twenty strong ships with brazen beak heads, and *C. Laelius* the Admiral with *M. Porcius* the Treasurer on the left, with as many of the same sort, to wait over and guard the bulks and ships of burden: willing and requiring that there should be light in all their vessels, namely, that every brazen headed ship should have one; each Carrick two; and the Admiral ship, wherein the General was, three lights, for a special mark, to be discerned from thence in the night. And so he commanded the Pilots to steer and direct their course for *Emporia*. [The territory hereabout is most fertile and fruitful, whereby the whole country aboundeth in plenty of all things: the barbarous peasants (as commonly it falleth out in battell and plentiful lands) are cowards, and unfit for war, and it was thought they might be surpris'd and subdued before any incur could come from *Carthage*.] When these directions were given, they were commanded to retire to their ships, and the next morrow at the signall, with the help of the gods to weigh anchor, hoist up their sails and away. Many Roman Armadoes had aforetime set out of *Sicily*, and the very same port: but never any voyage all the time of that war, no, nor during the former, made so goodly a shew, and was so much looked on. And so marvellous for most of their other fleets were sent out only to rob and to fetch in booties and prizes. And yet if a man would esteem as to the number and greatness of ships, there had been aforetime two Consuls together, who went over with a power of two complete armies: in every of those fleets there were welcome as many war ships with brazen beak heads, as bulks and carricks in those that *Scipio* transported over. For besides fifty long ships of war, he had not all out four hundred ships of burden and passage to transport over his army with. But if we would compare both was together, the second seemed unto the Romans more sharp and cruel then the former: both because it was fought within *Italy*, and also by reason of the great overthrow of so many armies together with the losse and death of their Generall captains. Moreover great expectation there was of *Scipio* the Commander and General of this voyage, a man much renowned and talked of, both in regard of his own noble acts of valour, and also of a speciall and singular fortune that followed him in all his exploits; where by he grew every day more glorious then others which caused all mens hearts to be set upon him beside his very resolution and mind that he carried, to raise in *Africk*, which all the while of that war entred into the head of any Captain before him: in that he gave it out abroad, That he meant to go over, with intent to draw and fetch *Annibal* out of *Italy*, and to divert and translate the war into *Africk*, and there to finish and make an end of it. There came running unto the haven to see the setting out of his Armado, the whole multitude, not only of the inhabitants of *Lilybæum*, but also the train of all the Embassages out of *Sicily*, which were come together for to accompany *Scipio*, and to do him honour, and also attended upon the Pretor of the province *M. Pomponius*. Over and besides, those legions also which were left behind in *Sicily*, went forward to bear their fellow soldiers company. So that not only the navy N was a goodly prospect unto the beholders upon the land, but also the strand so overspread all about with numbers of people, made a brave and pleasant shew unto these passengers, that were in the ships. When day light once appeared, *Scipio* from out of the Admirall after silence commanded by voice of the crier) praised in this wise: O ye gods and goddesses altho that haunt and inhabit seas and lands both, I beseech and pray you to vouchsafe, that all that ever hath been done already, is now intended, or shall hereafter be enterprised, during my conduct and government, may speed well, and turn to the good of my self, the people and commonwealth of *Rome*, our allies, and especially those of the Latine nation: who by land, by sea, by rivers, follow the direction, command, government, and fortune of my self, and of the people of *Rome*, and that in all our actions ye would be good, gracious, favourable, and helpful unto us, and advance O all our proceedings: that ye would grant us the victory over our enemies: and after we have subdued them, to continue safe and sound: and adorned with their goodly spoils, laden with their rich pillage, to return home all together with glorious triumph: & give us the hand and opportunity to be revenged of our foes and mortal enemies: and design me and the people of *Rome* that power and strength, to execute upon the City of the *Carthaginians* those fearful examples of cruelty, which the people of *Carthage* intended to practise and bring upon our City and

The praise
of *Scipio*

and these. After these prayers thus pronounced, he took the row inwards and put to sea the beak killed for sacrifice (as the manner is) and flung them into the sea: and wish that by sound of trumpet, gave the signall of departure.

Now when they under sail: having a good great gale of a forewind, they soon lost the sight of land. In the afternoon, there began to fall a thick mist; by which the ships could hardly avoid running one upon another. But when they were once in the main and deep sea, the wind became more mild: and all the night following, the same dark mist continued still. After the sun was once up at brake and dispersed, and when the wind again grew big and high, by which time they might discover land. And not long after, the pilot said unto *Scipio*, that they were now full stop leagues from *Africk*; and that he saw well and discerned the cape or point of *Amerin*: and if his will and pleasure were thither to direct their course, presently the whole armada should be in the road. *Scipio* so soon as he was within view of land, after he had made his prayers unto the gods, to bless this first discovery of *Africk* to his own good and the benefit of the commonwealth, gave commandment to sail still, and to put within the shore and ride at anchor in some bay or haven. So they made way with the same wind. But about that very time as the day before, they were mist again, and lost the sight of land. And as the fog increased, the wind fell, the night also the same upon them besides, made all things more doubtful. Whereupon they cast anchor, for fear that the ships should hit one against another, or run aground. When day light arose, the same wind was up again, but the foggy mist ceased; and then they might see plainly all the coast of *Africk*. *Scipio* then demanded what promontory it was that he saw next; and hearing that the name of it was *The head of Prothura*, [or *The fair Cape*] the same (quoth he) pleased me, and the presence thereof I like full well; even thither put the ships land, and so the armada entered the bay, and all the host waser ashore. Thus have I reported that they had a prosperous voyage without any fearful danger, or much trouble; giving credit herein to very many writers, as well Greeks as Latines. Only *Caesar* (setting aside that the ships were not cast away and drowned amid the surging waves,) writeth how other dangers both of water and weather encountered them in such as the last the Armado was driven by tempest from the coasts of *Africk*, and fell upon the strand *Agimura*, from whence they had much ado to recover their deck and cargo again; and finally when the ships were at hand to sink under the water, then the soldiers firing like men at point to suffer shipwreck, without licence and commandment of their General and without their armor, in great fear made shift with boats to recover the shore.

The Romans thus being landed, pitched their tents among the hills next adjoining. By which time the terror and fearful fright of that their arrival was not entred only into the maritime coasts and territories bounding upon the sea, first upon the discovery of the fleet, and afterwards by reason of the rumour and tumult of the army, as it came ashore; but also spread forward as far as to the good towns and very Cities. For not only the high waies were all filled and overspread with multitudes of men, women and children, who went by heaps together one with another; but also the country peasants drove before them whole herds of cattels: a man would have said that had seen how all *Africk* was like to be abandoned at once on a sudden: in such sort, as they put the Cities indeed in greater fear & perplexity then they were themselves, and especially *Carthage* above all others: where there was no less trouble and hubbub, then if it had been surpris'd and forced by the enemy. For since that time that *M. Attilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius* were Consuls, for the space almost of fifty years, they had not once to see an army of Romans, but only certain fleets of rovers and men of war, who had landed at times, and made some rodes into the landing lying upon the sea side: and when they had harried some prizes, such as came next hand, they ever were retired again to the ships, before the alarm could be given to raise the country. The greater therefore now was both the sight and fight within the City. And to speak a truth, good cause they had; by reason that there was neither at home in readiness an army of puissance to encounter the enemy, nor a captain of valour to conduct and lead an army. *Asdrubal* was the son of *Gisco*, for nobility and high parentage, for honour and renown, for wealth and riches, and besides for the new affinity then contracted with King, was of all others the personage by many degrees, and the only man of the whole State. And him they remembered very well to have been foiled, discomfited, and beaten out of the field in *Spain*, by the self-same *Scipio* in divers and many battles. Also they made account, they were no more able to match the Captains man for man, than to compare and set their tumultuary power raised in batt, with the stand and experienced army of the Romans. Therefore they gave the alarm presently, as if *Scipio* were ready to shake *Carthage* out of hand: the gates with all speed were shut and made sure: the walls manned with soldiers: the corps de guard set: watch and ward kept: and all the night following the sentinels duly relieved and maintained. The next day, 500 light horse were sent out as espials and venturers to discover and scour the quarters to the sea side; and withall to impeach them that were a disturbing and coming land: who changed to light on the Romans corps de guard. For *Scipio* had sent away the fleet already to *Pisa*, and before he was gone up into the land far from the sea, had encamped upon the next hills thereby, placed guards of horsemen in convenient places, and put out certain forgers into the fields and villages for to raise booties. These having entred skirmish with the Carthaginian cornet and horsemen, slew a few of them in the very conflict, but most of them as they fled and were followed in chase, amongst whom was *Hanno* also the provost-marshal, a noble young gentleman, *Scipio* not only walked the country all about, but

also was a City of the Africans that stood neereſt, and was of ſufficient wealth where beſides
other pillage, which was frequently imbarked in the ſhips of burden and ſent into *Sicily*, there were
taken priſoners eight thouſand ſlaves of free and bond one with another. But the greateſt
joy and contentment that the Romans took in this new entrance and beginning of their warlike
affairs, was for the coming of *Mafaniſſa*; whom ſome report to have preſented himſelf with 200
horne and poſſeſſors: but the moſt do write that he came with 2000. But for as much as this *Mafaniſſa*
was one of all other Kings for hiſtme the greateſt Prince and moſt puiſſant; and withall he
that ſtood the Romans in beſt ſtead and helped their ſtate, none like unto him: me thinks it were
worth their labor, and would quoy for all the paines, to digreſſe a litle out of the way, for to ſhow
and declare in what variety of alternative fortune he was toſſed, both in the loſſe and alſo in the
recovery of the inheritance of his fathers kingdom.

This *Mafaniſſa*, while he was employed during the wars of *Spain*, in the defence and quar-
rell of the Carthaginians; his father, whoſe name was *Gala*, hapned to die: and then the king-
dome fell by deſcent, according to the cuſtome and manner of the Numidians unto *Deſales* the
late Kings brother, a man of great years and very aged. And not long after, when *Deſales* alſo
was departed his life, *Capſa* the elder of his two ſons, (for the other was a very child) ſucceeded
in his fathers Kingdom. But for as much as he the ſaid *Capſa* maintained his royall ſtate
and throne, more by reſon of the authority and reputation that he carried among his friends and
favorites; than by power and ſtrength: there aroſe up in arms one named *Mecetulus* (who alſo
was deſcended of royall blood, but of an houſe that was ever of the adverſe and contrarie ſide)
and contended in much variety of fortune about the crown, with thoſe who then ſwayed the
ſcepter. This *Mecetulus* having gathered a power of his tenants, followers, and peaſants of the
country (with whom he carried a great ſtroke and was highly eſteemed, by reſon of the hard
that they bare unto the Kings race) encamped openly and ſhewed himſelf in action, yea, and forced
the King to come into the field, and to trie the title of the crown in a ſet battell by dint of
ſword. In which conflict, *Capſa*, together with many of his peers and nobles were ſlain; and
the whole nation and ſeignory of the Maſſilians, was reduced under the rule and obedience of
Mecetulus. Howbeit he forbore to be called King; and contenting himſelf with the mean name of
Tutor or Protector, gave the Kings ſiſter to the child *Lacmax*, who only remained alive of the
Kings iſſue and line. He took to wife a noble dame and lady of *Carthage*, *Amabel* his neceſſary
his ſiſter who had been lately wedded unto King *Deſales*; hoping thereby to enter into league
and alliance with the Carthaginians: and beſides, for to renew the ancient familiarity and amity
with *Syphax*, he ſent Embaſſadors unto him of purpoſe. Thus made he himſelf ſtrong ſtored
againſt *Mafaniſſa*.

Mafaniſſa likewise for his part, being advertiſed of his uncles death, and alſo how his couſin
german was deſcended, croſſed the ſea out of *Spain* over to *Mauritania*, at what time as *Bo-
char* was King of the Moors. At whoſe hands by humble ſute and importunit praier in moſt lowly
manner, he obtained a power of 4000 Moors to accompany him in the Journey, for otherwiſe
to employ them in war he might not. And after he had diſpatched a meſſenger afore-hand to thoſe
that were his fathers friends and wel-willers to himſelf, by that time that he was come with them
to the confines of his realm, there met him almoſt 500 Numidians. Having therefore ſet back again
the Moors from thence unto the King, according to covenant, albeit there was aſſembled togeth-
er a ſmaller number of people than he hoped and looked for, and not ſufficient that he duſt
adventure upon ſo great an enterpriſe; and ſuppoſing withall, that by entering into ſome action,
and by travell and endeavour, he ſhould gather ſtrength ſill to perform ſome great exploit, he
encountered at *Thapſus* the young King *Lacmax*, as he journeyed unto *Syphax*. And when the Kings
company in great fear fled into the town, *Mafaniſſa* both at the firſt aſſault won the ſaid town, and
alſo of the Kings train received ſome that yielded themſelves, and ſlew other ſome that made reſi-
ſtance in their own defence. But the greateſt part with the child himſelf the young Prince, got
away in that tumult and eſcaped unto *Syphax*, unto whom at firſt they intended their journey.
The ſame of this matter ſo happily achieved in the firſt beginning and entrance of his affair,
cauſed all the Numidians to revolt and ſide with *Mafaniſſa*. So as there ſtooked unto him from
all parts of the country, and out of the villages, the old ſouldiers of King *Gala*, and incited the young
Prince and ſet him on to recover his fathers kingdom. Now in number of ſouldiers, *Mecetulus*
was good deal ſuperior: for both himſelf and the ſame army ſill entire, with which he had van-
quiſhed *Capſa*, beſides had ſome others that after the ſlaughter of the King, he had received up-
on their yielding; and alſo young *Lacmax* the infant, had brought great aids from *Syphax*: ſo
that *Mecetulus* was fifteen thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe ſtrong. With whom *Mafaniſſa*,
albeit he were nothing ſo puiſſant either in foot or horſe, fought a battell, yet achieved he the
victory through the approved valour of the old ſouldiers, and his own politick wiſedome, be-
ing a captain well experienced and exerciſed both in the Roman and Punick wars. The young
Prince together with his tutor and protector, and ſome ſmall number of Maſſilians, fled and
eſcaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Thus *Mafaniſſa* having recovered his fathers
Kingdom, and ſeeing that there remained ſill behind a far greater bickermert and encounter
with *Syphax*, & taking it to be the beſt courſe and policy for him, to be reconciled and made friends
with his couſin german: addreſſed certain meſſengers both unto the child, for to put him
in good hope and aſſurance, that if he would ſubmit and yeeld himſelfe under the protection

A of *Mafaniſſa*, he ſhould live in as honourable place and degree with him, as *Deſales* ſometime
had done with his father *Gala*: and alſo to *Mecetulus* to give their word and promiſe unto him,
not only for impunity of all treſpaſſes, but alſo for faithful reſtitution of all things that were his.
By which means he perſwaded both of them to take part with him: who made choice of a mean
estate at home in their own country, rather than to live in exile: notwithstanding the Carthagi-
nians laboured at all that ever they could to the contrary.

Mecetulus hapned at that time when theſe occurrences fell out, to make his abode with *Syphax*:
who finding the Numidian King *Syphax* reſolved upon this point, and fully perſwaded,
That it mattered not, nor imported himſelf much, whether *Lacmax* or *Mafaniſſa* were King of
the Maſſilians, replied unto him and ſaid, that he was fully deſcided if he thought that *Mafaniſſa*
would keep himſelf within thoſe terms, that either his father *Gala* or his uncle *Deſales*, held
them contented with: No, no, (quoth he) there is much more to wardneſſe in him and far greater
ſignes of haughty mind and forward wit and ſpirit aſper in him, then ever ſhewed in any of his houſe
and line before him. Full often hath he in *Spain* been good proof of rare valour and ſingular pro-
wdeſſe, as well unto his friends as his enemies. And let both *Syphax* and the Carthaginians
look as well about them as they can, for unleſſe they put out this ſparkle of fire betimes, and even
at the firſt beginning, it will be their chance to be caught therewith, when it ſhall burn forth; and
able they ſhall not be to help the matter and quench the rage thereof. Mary, as yet his ſtrength is
ſmall and ſlender, his forces frail, tender, and feeble, and not well united together to main-
tain his ſtate, unleſſe as he is in his Kingdom. Thus he importuned him ſill by reaſons and per-
ſwaſions, untill at length he reduced him to lead forth an army into the confines of the Maſſilians
and there in that territory, about the title whereof he had oftentimes not only contended by plea
and words with *Gala*, but alſo by arms and dint of ſword, to encamp himſelf as in his rightfull
and undoubted inheritance: with this direction, that if any came againſt him to warn him off the
ground, then to trie his intereſt by ſword: which was the only way to be taken and moſt for the
purpoſe: but in caſe for fear of him they quit the poſſeſſion quietly, then to advance for ward into
the heart of the kingdom: for either the Maſſilians would without battell render themſelves under
ſubjection, or elſe in a pitched field ſhould be able to ſtand out againſt him. Upon theſe ſugge-
ſtions *Syphax* was incited and prickd on; inſomuch as he made war upon *Mafaniſſa*, and in
the firſt battell diſcomfited and put to flight the Maſſilians. And *Mafaniſſa* with ſome few horſemen
D fled out the field and eſcaped unto a mountain which the inhabitants call *Babus*. Certain whole fa-
milies and houſholds with their ſheeds and tents, together with their cattell (which is all their
riches) went after and followed the King. But all the multitude of the Maſſilians beſides, did ho-
mage unto *Syphax* and came under his obedience. This mountain aforeſaid, which theſe exiles that
ſled their country were poſſeſſed of, was plentiful of graſſe well watered; and being ſo good for
paſture to feed their cattell, it yielded ſufficient maintenance and food abundant, for the people
that uſed to live upon ſheep and milk. From hence they began at firſt to ſteal out by night and make
rodes; but afterwards in open day light to rob and ſpoil all the country about: but above all others
to fire and burn the territory of the Carthaginians: both becauſe there were more prizes to be had
from thence, than from the Numidians; & alſo for that it was more ſafe robbing and harrying there
E without danger. They they practiſed ſo long, ſo licentiouſly, and in ſuch ſcornfull manner, that now
they would carrie their booties to the ſea ſide, and make markets & ſale thereof to the merchants:
and for this purpoſe divers ſhips arrived thither to traffick: yea, and otherwhiles there were many
of the Carthaginians cut off and came forth home, and more of them were either ſlain or taken
priſoners then oftentimes in open war and ſet battells. The Carthaginians bewailed and complained
of theſe matters unto *Syphax*, and ſpurred him forward (diſpoſed well enough as he was of him-
ſelf to revenge) for to purſue the reliques of the war, in his own perſon. But for ſo much as
it was not thought to ſtand with the royall Maſtelle of a King, to chaſe and hunt a rabble of vag-
rant thieves about the mountains; therefore *Bochar* one of the Kings Captains, a right hardy
and valourous man, was choiſen to do the feat, and to perform that ſervice. Who had the com-
mand of four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe: and was promiſed beſides, great gifts and
mighty rewards, in caſe he brought away the head of *Mafaniſſa*: but if he could take him priſo-
ner alive, that were alone indeed, and a peerleſſe peece of work of inſtimable joy beyond all mea-
ſure. He waiting his time when the enemies were traſgling reſtleſſly abroad, came upon them
at unawares and charged them, and having ſingled from the guard of the armed ſouldiers, a huge
number both of people and cattell, he forced *Mafaniſſa* himſelf with ſome few horſemen to take
the top of the mountain. From whence after he had ſent away unto the King (as if the war had
now been at point of an end) not only a great booty of people and cattell, the which he had
taken, but alſo part of his forces, as being much greater in proportion, then for to diſpatch
the remnants of a war, accompanied with no more than five hundred foot, and two hundred
G horſe, he purſued *Mafaniſſa* being come down from the hill tops, and there having beſet and
ſtopped the paſſages at both ends, encloſed him within the ſtreight and narrow valley. Where the
war was committed a great execution and ſlaughter of the Maſſilians, but *Mafaniſſa* with fifty horſe-
men and not above, got away through the unknown and hidden cranks of the mountain, and eſcaped
the hands of the purſuers. Howbeit, *Bochar* traced him ſill, and followed him at heels ſo
uproviſly, that neer to the City *Clupſa* he overtook him in the plains, where he ſo ſtreight-
ly ſcourged him about, that he killed all his company every one, ſave onely four horſemen,

With whom in that tumult he let slip as it were out of his hands. *Mafaniffa* also himself fore wounded and lost him alone. As he fled, he had still in his side certain cornets of horsemen dispersed all over the plain, and some of them crossing the waies overhurlt to meet the enemy at every turn, and to intercept him. But he and the four horsemen with him fled forwards still, and took the great river before them: for their fear and fright was greater than to make any stay at the bank side, but to put their horses to it, and plunge in: where they were carried with the current of the stream and born to a side: two of them in the sight of the enemies were swallowed up of the deep harpits: himself also was supposed to have perished with them, but he and the other two horsemen besides caught hold of certain twigs of oltiers that grew under the banks on the further side. So *Bacchar* made an end of farther pursuit, as neither daring to take the river, nor believing that he had any enemy for to chase. And thus returned he to the King with false news, that *Mafaniffa* was drowned. And divers polts and curiers were sent out to *Carthage*, to report their exceeding joyfull tidings. This rumour and fame of *Mafaniffa* his death being noised all over *Africa* wrought diversly in the minds of men. But *Mafaniffa* keeping himself close in a secret cave, whilst he cured his hurt with certain herbes, lived for some daies by the foraging and robbery of the other two horsemen. So soon as the wound was once healed up and skinned over, and that he thought himself able to abide the sitting and shaking of his horse, with exceeding courage & boldness he set forward again to claim and recover his kingdom. And having in the way as he passed gotten together unto him not above forty horse, by that time he was come among the *Maffians*, and gave out openly who he was, he prevailed to much with them, that as well in regard of their ancient favour and love toward him, as also for the unexpected joy that they saw him alive and found, whom they formerly believed to have been dead, within few daies there were gathered and assembled unto him 6000 foot, and 4000 horse. So as not only he was restored again, and put in full possession of his fathers Kingdom, but also waisted and spoiled the confederate nations of the *Carthaginians*, yea, and the frontiers and confines of the *Maffians*, which belongeth to the Kingdom and dominion of *Syphax*. Having thus provoked *Syphax* to war, he set him down and encamped between the Cities of *Ciripa* and *Hippo*, upon the ridge of certain hills, places of advantage and commodious in all respects. Then *Syphax* supposing it a greater peece of work, and of more importance then to be managed by his captains, sent part of his forces under the conduct of his son, the young Prince named *Fernina*, and gave order unto him to wheel about with his power, and whilst the enemy was amuled upon himself one way, to charge upon him behind another way. So *Fernina* set forth, and took his way by night, because he was to give the charge closely, and in secret. But *Syphax*, who was to shew himself with banner displayed, and to bid the enemy battell, marched openly by day light, and advanced forward. And when the time (as he thought) was come, wherein they that were sent about to *Carthage*, might reach to the place appointed, himself also mulling as well in the multitude of his men, as in the ambush laid before at the enemies back, set his battell in array: directly upon the side of the hill, which with gentle and easie ascent ariseth, and leadeth towards the enemy. *Mafaniffa* likewise arranged his men, presuming most of all in the plot of ground, which seemed much better for his advantage to fight. The battell was sharp and cruell, and for a long time doubtfull. Whilst the site of the place, and valour of the souldiers much helped *Mafaniffa*, and the number again on the other side, which exceeded beyond all measure, and made too great odds, availed *Syphax*. This multitude divided into two battallions, whilst the one was opposed against the enemy, and the other compassed about their tail and back part, gave the victory clear unto *Syphax*: inasmuch, as the enemy thus enclosed both before and behind, had no way in the world to escape. Whereupon all the footmen and horsemen both were either killed or taken prisoners. Only two hundred horsemen or very near to many, which were gathered in a ring together about *Mafaniffa*, he commanded to call themselves by troops and squadrons into three several companies, and so to pierce and break through but first he appointed them a certain place, where they should rally and meet together again after their feasted flight. Himself in person, at one side which he had proposed to himself before, made means to pass through the very pikes and darts of the enemies, and escaped. Two of those squadrons tarried still behind, the one for fear yielded to the enemy, the other sticking to it, and making more resistance, was overcharged with shot of arrows and darts. But *Mafaniffa* winding in and out, and to and fro, deluded *Fernina*, who pressed hard upon him, and followed him at heels: and after he had wearied him out at length in tedious travail and desperate pursuit, called him perforce to gave over the chase. Whilst he himself with seventy horse got away as far as the left's *Syrtis*, where he set up his rest, and quitted his conscience, in that he had so often right valiantly fought to recover the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom, and led his life before the eyes of *Phenick* *Emperoria* and the nation of the *Garamans*, until the arrivell of the Roman navy, and *C. Lelios* into *Africa*. These presumptions induce me to think and believe, that *Mafaniffa* came afterwards also unto *Scipio* with a small power of horsemen, rather than with any great aid. For that multitude was besting the state of a Prince, established in his Kingdom, but this small number befetted the mean condition and fortune of a poor exile and banished man.

Now to return again unto our story. The *Carthaginians* having lost the cornet of horsemen before said, together with their captain, and raised another power of horse, by taking new musters, made *Hanno* the son of *Amiles* commander over them. And first by messengers and letters

A missive they sent for *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* one after another, and at last also even by Ambassadors and Orators. As for *Asdrubal*, they required him to succour his native country, desert in manner round about *Syphax* they besought and requested to provide for the safety and fence of *Carthage* and all *Africa*.

At that time *Scipio* was encamped near *Prica*, within a mile of the City: for he was removed from the sea side, where some few daies, he kept a standing camp close to the fleet. *Hanno* having received a power of Cavalry, nothing sufficient and strong enough to charge upon the enemy, not so much as to guard and defend the country from waisting and spoiling, silt before all other things it about and devised, how he might augment his number of horsemen by a new levy and enrolment. And albeit he rejected none of other nations, yet he levied and waged the *Numidians* especially, the best horsemen simply in all *Africa*. Now had he gathered together upon four thousand horse, when he surprised a City named *Safra*, almost fifteen miles from the Roman camp. And when word was brought to *Scipio*, that to great a Cavalry took up their summer standing harbour within a town; *Tullius* (quoth he) I passe not, if they were more then they are, so long as they have such a one to be their leader. And thinking with himself that the more slowly the enemies went to work, the less he was to slack his business, he sent *Mafaniffa* before with the horsemen, and gave commandment to ride up and down before the gates, to brave the enemy, and to train him forth to fight: with this direction, that when their whole multitude was sifted forth, and the skirmish grown to hot, that he might not well endure the charge, he should give ground and retreat by little and little, for he would himself come in due time to the battell. And flying no longer behind, then whilst he thought *Mafaniffa* who was gone before, had time enough to train the enemies forth, he followed after in person with the Roman horsemen, and reached closely under the hills (which stood fitly for the purpose, opposite between him and the enemy) about every turning of the way. *Mafaniffa* for the purpose according to the direction given him, one while right courageously galloped before the gates, as one that would brave and terrifie the enemy, another while as it had been said himself, gave back; and by this counterfeit show of fearfulness, he made the enemies more bold and venturesome, and drew them on to pursue him rashly. But as yet they were not all gone forth, and their captain was diversly troubled, and had much ado with them, while he was faine to force and compell some that had taken their head of wine, and were heavy-headed and sleepe withall, to arm themselves and to bridle their horses, and to stay others from running out of the gates at once confiedly, without order or array, and without their colours. *Mafaniffa* caught up thole, and cut them short, that a part from their company at the first setting out, rode venturously forward, and took no heed to themselves: but when more of them rushed forth at once out of the gates, the skirmish was maintained with equal valour on both sides and at last, when the horsemen were abroad and joyned in battell, *Mafaniffa* was not possibly able to hold but any longer. Howbeit he fled not outright, but as he gave back leisurely, he received them as they violently charged upon him: so long, until he had trained them to those hills, under which the Roman Cavalry lay hidden. Then rose the horsemen from out of their ambush, themselves in heart, and their horses fresh; and environed *Hanno* and the Africans, who with fighting and following were tired out and overwearied: *Mafaniffa* likewise turned his horses suddenly, and made head again, and returned to battell afresh: so there were environed, intercepted, and killed in the place together with *Hanno* himself the Generall, fift upon a thousand, even as many as were in the vanguard, and could not well retire themselves backward. The rest affrighted with the death of their leader, fled with bridle on horse neck: whom for the space of three miles the conquerors followed in chase upon the spur, and either flew and took prisoners two thousand horsemen of them besides. Amongst whom there were, as it is for certain known, no fewer than two hundred natural *Carthaginians*, men of armes, and divers of them of good mark, both in regard of wealth and riches, as also of birth and noble parentage.

It is recorded that the very same day when this happened, the ships which had transported over the booty in to *Sicily*, returned back charged with provision of victuals, as if they had prelaged & foretold by their arrivall, that they were come for a new pillage and fresh prizes. But all writers do not accord, that two *Carthaginian* captains of one name were slain in two battels, of the Cavalry (for we as I verily take it) left by telling one thing twice, they might seem to deceive and abuse the reader. Certes *Calpis* and *Valerius* report that *Hanno* was taken prisoner. Then *Scipio* bestowed rich gifts upon the captains and horsemen according to their good service, and as they overcame deserved: but above all the rest, he highly rewarded *Mafaniffa*. And when he had placed a strong garrison in *Salera* himself with the rest of his army made rodes: and not only waisted and spoiled the lands and villages all the way as he went, but also forced and won certain Cities and borough towns: and so having filled all places far and near with the terror of war & hostilities, he returned to the camp, the seventh day after he set forth bringing with him great numbers of people, much store of cattle and prizes of all sorts; and so dispatched away the ships a second time freighted and laden with spoils of the enemies. After this he set aside all light expeditions, small rodes and forage of the country towns, and bent his whole power and all his forces against *Virca*, intending that he had once won it, to faste himself there, and to make it his seat from thence forward, and a sure place of defence in all other exploits that he meant to perform. Thither at one time were the sea-rovers brought from the armado, to that part of the City where the sea beateh upon the walls: likewise the land souldiers advanced from the hill that overlookeh

* *Golfo di capo*. These *Syrtis* as well the greater as the less, are in the Mediterranean sea near *Africa* full of shelves and bars: and are called *Syrtis* or *Bazis* de *Berberia*.

* The sea coasts near the *Syrtis*, so called for their fertility: as *Orientus* hath noted out of *Polihus*.

the town, and joyneth in manner hard to the very wals. As for artillery and engines of battery H and assault, some they had brought with them, and others were sent out of *Sicily* with the victuals: and daily new were made in the common Armory and Arsenal, where there were of purpose artificers continually kept at work for the framing of such fabricks and peeces of battery. The men of *Vicia* betwixt thus round about on every side with great preparation and ordinance of war, reposed their whole hope and confidence in the Carthaginians; and the Carthaginians relied themselves upon *Asdrubal*, in case he should sollicite *Syphax* for to let to his helping hand. But all things went but slowly forward, and they bestirred themselves not so quickly, as they should have done, who wanted so much aid as they did. And *Asdrubal* when he had with all the means and the best shift that he could make, gathered together thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet durst he not approach the enemy, before the coming of *Syphax* to joyn with him. At length came *i Syphax* with fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: and immediately departing from *Carthage*, encamped not far from *Vicia* and the Roman camp. Whole arrivall yet was so important, and wrought this effect, that *Scipio* after forty dayes welcome (during which time he had invetted *Vicia* and tried all maltries but in vain) was compelled to remove his siege & dislodge, without doing any good at all. For now the winter approached, and he fortified his standing leaguer for winter harbour upon a promontory, which joyneth to the continent by a thin and narrow ridge of a bank, lieth out a good way and beareth into the sea. And with one and the selfe same trench and rampier, he empaled both his army, and also the ships that lay up in the dock. The legions were quarred and lodged in the midst of the said cape: the ships that were drawn up to land, and likewise the sailors and mariners, kept the strand on the north side of the hill; the horsemen took up the vail towards the south, upon the hanging and side thereof, shooting to the other shore. And there were the acts achieved in *Africa* untill the end of Autumne.

Besides the provision of corn gathered from all parts out of the countries pill'd and wasted round about, and other store of victuals brought out of *Sicily* and *Italy*, *Cn. Obavimus* the Vice-pretor arrived with a mighty deal of grain out of *Sardinia*, sent from *T. Claudius* the Pretor, who had the government of that land: so as not only the old garners already made were replenished, but also those that were newly built. For thus wanted apparel for the army. Whereupon *Obavimus* had in commission to break with the Pretor about that matter, namely, what livery might be provided out of that province, and sent for the supply of that defect. Which business was not slackly followed, but with all diligence performed in such sort, as in short space there were sent over 1200 side horiments coats, and 12000 short cullcocks and jackers.

During the time of that summer wherein those occurrences passed in *Africa*, *P. Scarpinius* the Consul who governed the Province of the *Brutii*, skirmished suddenly in a disordered manner with *Annibal* upon the very way, within the territory of *Croton*: where the fight was maintained rather by squadrons and companies one to one, then by any set body of a ranged battell. The Romans were discomfited; and having lost in this conflict (which might more truly be called a tumultuous scuffling than a full fight) upon 1200 of the Consuls army, they retired in great haste and fear into their camp. Yet durst not the enemies make an assault upon them within their hold. But the Consul dislodged from thence in the dead time of the next night, and having dispatched a courier before unto *P. Licinius* the Vice-consul, for to come forward with his legions, he joyned his power unto them. So they returned again unto *Annibal*, being now two Generals, and two entire armies. And without any day, to battell they went: whilst the Consul on the one side flood upon this his power redoubled and reinforced, & *Annibal* on the other side took heart for his fresh victory aforesaid. *Scarpinius* advanced with his legions into the vanguard; *P. Licinius* with his, kept the reterwards. The Consul at the very first shock and beginning of the conflict, vowed a chappell to *Fortuna* under the name of *Primitiva*, in case he might have the honour of that day, and vanquish his enemies. And surely his vow was heard, and he obtained his desire: for the Carthaginians was discomfited and put to flight, and more than four thousand armed men slain, three hundred or somewhat under taken prisoners, forty horse of service got alive, and a 12 ensigns won and carried away. *Annibal* dismayed and daunted at this adverse and unlucky battell, withdrew his forces to *Croton*.

At the same time *M. Cornelius* the Consul, in another side of *Italy* held in *sawc* *Herrania* not so much by force of armes, as by rigorous proccesse of law and severe justice: for all that country in manner was turned to *Mage*, and by his means and favor hoped for a change, and were altogether set upon novelties & an alteration of the state. The examinations and judicial trials of these matters the Consul followed by vertue of commission from the Senat, and not upon his own motive and seeking: and went through therewith, setting aside all partiality, nothing respectively favour or displeasure. In such sort, that many of the nobility of *Tyscane* (such as either had repaired themselves in person, or had sent their agents unto *Mage*, for to treat with him about the revolt and rebellion of the States wherein they lived) were at first, as many as made personal appearance, condemned: but afterwards, such as had guilty consciences, went into voluntary exile: and being condemned in their absence, in stead of their bodies which were gone out of the way, they yielded and left behind them their goods only, which might be forfeit and consist as pawns to pay for the punishment of their persons.

Whiles the Coss. was thus employed in divers places one from the other, the Censors in the mean

A mean time at *Rome*, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* held a new choice and review of Senators: and *Q. Fabius* was once again chosen the principal Senator and President of the Senat. Seven in number of them were noted with ignominy and disgrace, but not one of all those had fitten in the ivory chair and born office of state. They looked narrowly and most faithfully to the Publicans, that had the charge of the City-buildings to see them kept wind-tight and water-tight, and if sufficient reparations. They publicly gave order for a paved caufse to be made, from the bealls market unto the temple of *Venus*; and about the shops and scaffolds in the shew-places. Also the church * *Magna Mater* [the great mother of the gods] they were used to be built in the mount Palatine. They instituted also a new tax and impolt out of the provision of salt. And whereas both at *Rome* and throughout all *Italy*, salt was sold at a * Sextant by the Modius, they let and ferm'd this commodity, to be served out of the same price still in *Rome*; but in the market towns and fairs, they enhanced the price higher, and in sundry places they rated it at divers prices. This tax was devised as all men verily beleaved, by the one of the Censors, for anger, and an old grudge that he bare unto the people; because he had been in times past unjustly judged and condemned by them, and therefore in the pension and price of salt they supposed that those tribes were most pinched and charged who were the means of the hard doom that passed against him. Hereupon it came that this *Livius* was furnished *Salinator*. The census and numbering of the Citizens was finished the latter, because the Censors had sent about into all provinces, that the full number should be taken of all Roman Citizens, who were without in the armies, and presentment made accordingly. So there were registered in all, with those abroad two hundred and seven & fifty thousand persons. And *C. Claudius* there was that he performed and accomplished this numbering and assessment. After this there was a Cense or taxation taken of the twelve Colonies, a thing then brought up and never before. And according to the relation of the Censors they were entered into the subsidy book at *Rome*: that it might appear upon record in the publick instruments and writings, what number of able men for war they could make, and what every man was worth in money and goods. Then they began to take a survey of the gentlemen and knights at *Rome*. And it fortuned too, that both Censors had hories of the City provision and charges. And when the crier came to cite those of the tribe *Polia* wherein the name of *M. Livius* was enrolled, & made some stay to call the crier himself by name: Cill hardly (quoth *Nero*) for *M. Livius*. And whether it were upon the reliquet of an old cankered malice, or that he took a foolish pride and vain delight to seem forthwith to be severe and precise, he commanded *M. Livius* to tell his horse of service, because he had been sometimes a man condemned by the doom of the people. Semblably *M. Livius* when the crier was come unto the tribe *Narvenis*, and to the name of his colleague, awarded *C. Claudius* to tell and make away his great horse likewise; and that for two causes, the one for that he had born full witness and depol'd wrongfully against him: the other, because he was not foundly and in truth of heart reconciled unto him, when they were made friends. Whereupon there grew a foul jar and contention between them, whiles they passed not to impeach and stein the credit one of the other even with the touch and hazard of their own good name and reputation. At the end of the Censorship, when *C. Claudius* had sworn to keep and observe the laws, and was ascended up into the chamber of the Cities treasure, among the other names of those that he left as disfranchised and tributaries, he declared his colleague for one, and gave up his name in the roll. Afterwards came *M. Livius* into the chamber aforesaid, and setting aside the tribe *Meia* only (which neither had condemned himself, nor elected him a condemned person for Consul or Censor) he declared the whole people of *Rome* likewise suspended, even four and thirty tribes; and left them all no better then meer strangers and aliens, in regard of taxes and tributes: and why? because they had both condemned him, an innocent and guiltless man: and being thus condemned, had created him Coss. and Censor notwithstanding: neither could they deny but that they had erred and done amiss in their judgement, and twice in their elections. And among those four and thirty tribes, he pronounced that *C. Claudius* also should be reckoned for one: protesting moreover, that if he could have found any one precedent, to have led him to the disfranchising one man twice, he would have left *C. Claudius* by name, as a noted person by himself, in the checkroll of the City chamber.

Surely that reciprocal debate between the two Censors, in depraving and defaming one another was but a lewd and naughty part by them plaid: but this chastisement of the peoples levity and inconstancy, was a worthy thing, and befitting the Censors gravity of that time. While the Censors stood thus in exceeding disgrace and hatred with the people, *Cn. Bibulus* a Tribune of the Commons taking his time and occasion hereby to rise and become great, entided them both and commenced an action against them before the body of the people. But this delignment of his was soon dashed and came to nothing, though the general accord and content of the L.L. of the council, to the end th it time to come, no such example might be extant upon record, that the Censors dignity should be exposed to the variable and inconstant pleasure of the people.

The same summer in the Brutians country, *Perilla* had been already forced and won by the Coss. when as *Consentia* and *Pandofia*, with other mean and base peeces, willingly yielded themselves to his devotion. Now when the time drew neer of the election of new magistrates, it was thought good that *Cornelius* should be sent for to *Rome* out of *Tuscan*, where there was no war at all, rather then the other Consul out of his province: who being come, created for Consuls *Cn. Servilius Capiz*, and *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. After this, the court was assembled for the chusing of Pretours, where-

* *Cycle*, or *idea* At this time it appears by *Festus* and other that that *Affix* were *Stratonis* and not *Libertas*, at *Rome* to that *Straton* which before was the sixth part of an *Affix*, a cue or half farthing english now was raised to the worth of the whole and valued at three farthings, the price of a Modius of salt in *Rome*, set down by *Livius Salinator*.

continued still. And for mine own part, I would rather believe that these matters were treated upon by enterprize of messengers, as most writers do report, than that *Syphax* himself in person, as *Marius Valerius* recordeth, came into the Roman camp to parle and conference thereabout. As the first the Roman General, would scarcely lend his ear to hear those overtures: but afterwards, to the end that there might be some colourable and probable cause for his people to retire unto the camp of the enemies, he seemed not to freight-laced, nor to deny the same articles to satisfy, but pretended some hope, that by often debating thereof to and fro between them, they should at length grow to some good point and final agreement. The wintering harbours of the Carthaginians were in a manner all of wood, but built of slender stuff gathered out of the fields at a venture hand over head, where they could meet withall. The Numidians for the most part lay in cabins and sheds, walled and wound with reeds especially, and covered and thatched with mats of fedge I and such like, here and there fastening without all order: in such sort, as some of them taking up their lodging at their own pleasure, without direction and commandment of any officer, quartered without the trench and rampier. *Scipio* advertised hereof, conceived good hope to find some opportunity one time or other to fire the camp of the enemies. Upon a certain day therefore, he sent in to of those Commissioners whom he addressed unto *Syphax*, in stead of pages and drudges, and disguised in slaves and bondmen weeds, the bravest soldiers of a band, (men of approved valor, wisdom and discretion) who while the commissioners were busy in conference, should range about the camp, some one way, some another: to espie and mark all the passages and wyes in and out; to see the siting and form generally of the whole leaguer, and particularly of every part; where the Carthaginians quartered; where the Numidians lodged; what distance there was between *Asdrubal* his tents, and the Kings pavilions: to observe also and learn within, the order & the manner of their sentinels, their ward and watches, whether by night or by day they lay more vantage to be surprized by an ambush. And according as there were divers meetings & conferences, and so of purpose some were sent one time, some at another: to the end that more & more still should have the spiall and full knowledge of all things in the enemies camp. Now whereas often that this matter was treated of, the greater hope of peace both *Syphax* had and the Carthaginians likewise by his means; the Delegates or Commissioners aforesaid of the Romans, said that they were expressly forbidden by their General to return without a full and resolute answer. And therefore they willed him to make short work at once, and to bethink himself what to do, either to stand upon his own determinate purpose (if he were resolved) or else to consult with *Asdrubal* and the Carthaginians, and determine accordingly. For now high time it is, say they either to conclude peace, or to prosecute war freshly, and to go through with it lustily. Thus while *Syphax* consulted with *Asdrubal*, and *Asdrubal* with the Carthaginians, both the spials had sufficient time to view and fecall, and *Scipio* also good leisure to provide necessaries for his purpose. Moreover, by this motive and hope of peace, as well the Carthaginians as the Numidians, began (as commonly in such cases it falleth out) to be negligent and slack in forefront, and to provide that in the mean while they came by no harme and detriment from the enemy. At length an answer was returned and some clauses put in, without all reason, and founding to much inconvenience by occasion that the Romans seemed too far gone and desirous of a peace. Which fell out very fitly for *Scipio* whole only desire was to pick some just quarrell for to break the truce and abstinence of war: and so the next day (for in the mean time he said he would confer with his Council) he answered the Kings messenger in this wise, that besides himself alone, who laboured all in vain and could do no good, there was none liked of the peace: and therefore he willed him to report unto the King his master, that there was no other hope for *Syphax* to have peace with the Romans, unless he renounced and cast off quite the friendship of the Carthaginians. And thus he ended the truce, that with free conscience being discharged of his promise in that behalf, he might go forward in his disengagements, and bring his enterprise to his desired issue. So having put his ships to sea (for now the prime of spring was come) he embarked in them his artillery, his ordnance and engines of battery, as if he meant to assault *Pica* on the sea side. And sent out two thousand foot-soldiers, to possess themselves of the hill that overlooked *Pica*, which he had held and kept before, both to withdraw the minds of the enemies from that which he secretly designed and intended, & amuse them upon the care and regard of another thing; and also to prevent a mischief, that while himself should go against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, they might not fall forth of the City, and assail his camp, left with a small guard to defend it. Having made this way, and laid this ground aforesaid, he assembled his council, where he commanded as well the foresaid spies to lay forth and utter what they had seen and found, as also *Masaniassa*, who was acquainted with all the manner and fashions of the enemies: and then at last he declared and the woe unto them, what himself intended to execute the next night. Then he gave commandment to the Tribunes or Kn. Marshalls, that so soon as the council was risen, and the count dismissed in the Generals pavilion, at the first sound of trumpets immediately they should bring their legions out of the camp. Thus according to his edict, the engines began a little before sun-setting to set forth. About the first watch they put the soldiers in array ready for to march, and by midnight (for they were to journey seven miles) they going a fair and soft pace, approached the enemies camp. There *Scipio* gave unto *Lulius* a part of the forces together with *Masaniassa* and his band of Numidians, with direction: to invade the camp of *Syphax*, and to set fire thereupon. Then calling them by themselves both apart one from the other, *Lulius* and *Masaniassa*, he earnestly besought them of all love to make up and recom-

A recompence by careful industrie and devoir that providence and forecast, which the darkness of the night disappointed them of. As for himself, he meant to let upon *Asdrubal*, and the Carthaginians camp: but begin he would not, before he saw the fire amongst the kings tents. And it was not long first ere it began: for as soon as the fire caught hold of the next pavilions whereupon it was call, by and by it took all that were near it, and so forward to those that joyined unto them, it spread into all places of the camp. And verily into a great fright they were all put, as they could not choose, but needs must in a night (careless, which was run all over in so short a time. Howbeit they thought it some fire by mischance only, and not the hand of the enemy, by occasion and means of war: and therefore unarmed as they were, and lightly appointed without weapons, they ran forth by heaps to quench the fire, and light tall upon their armed enemies, the Kings camp. Especially, who by *Masaniassa* that was well acquainted with the manner of the Kings camp, were beset in convenient places, at the ends of every avenue and passage. Many in their very beds and couches, between sleeping and waking, were consumed, without the time of any running, heading in this their hally flight one upon another, were in the freights of the gates troden under foot, or else thrust and crush to death. The sentinels and watch of the Carthaginians, espied at first the fire shining and flaming out: after whom others awakened and railed out of their rests by this nightly tumult and alarm, might behold and plainly see the flames: but they likewise were deceived, as well as the other, and believed verily that the fire began of itself by some misfortune, no man with how. The confused noise and cry alloy, which was heard while they were a killing, flying and wounding, would not suffer them to know the truth indeed, whether the same arose upon their fright and sudden fear by night, or otherwise. And therefore every man naked as he was, and suspecting no practise at all of all the enemy, at all the gates they stood next, did what he could to bring with him such instruments and means as were to quench the fire: and hapned upon the army of the Romans. Now after they were all massacred and put to the sword to the last man, not only upon an ordinary hatred between enemies, but also because there might not escape so much as one to carry newes unto the rest. *Scipio* immediately entered the gates, being not warded, but altogether neglected, as in such a fearful garboil and hurlyburly it was no marvel. They fell a flinging of fire upon the lodgings and sheds, that stood next, so as the flame brake out, and shewed at first as if it had been dispersed in many places: but afterwards casting and spreading from one tent to another as they joyined close together, they were all arced on a light fire, and burnt every stick down to the ground. Men and cattle both, singed and scorched at the first, as they ran in piteous and fearful sort away: but afterwards as they tumbled one upon another by heaps, stopped and choked up all the waies and avenues of the gates. And look who escaped the fire, sculped on the edge of the sword. Thus in one day were 2 camps consumed. Howbeit, both the Generals, and of so many thousands of armed men, only 2000 foot and 500 horse armed by halves, and many of them either wounded or else singed and half roasted with the fire, got away and escaped. There either were slain or burnt to ashes upon 40000 men: taken prisoners there were above 6000: among whom there hapned to be many gentlemen of the Carthaginians, and 11 Senators. Of ensignes were taken 178. Of Numidian horses for service more than 2700. Six Elephants got alive, eight perished either with fire or sword: and a mighty deal of armor came to their hands: all which the L. General *Scipio* consecrated to *Vulcan*, and let on fire. *Asdrubal* with some few Africans that fled with him, rid away upon the spur to the next City: and thither got all rest, who remained alive, following the tracks of their captain, and there saved themselves. But afterwards left that City should be yielded to *Scipio*, he quit the place and departed. Anon the Romans were received within the time at the gates (standing open for them): and beset, willingly of themselves they rendered, the town, there was no kind of hostility or violence offered unto them. But two other Cities one after another were forced and put to the ransack. All that pillage, as also whatsoever was saved out of the fire in the two camps, was freely given to the soldiers, *Syphax* encamped and fortified himself in a strong hold, almost eight miles off. But *Asdrubal* made halt to *Carthage*, for fear lest upon the sudden sight occasioned by this fresh and late overthrow, things should go backward, and the Senat resolve upon some unmanly and unworthy course. Thither at the first arrived such fearful newes, that all men thought verily that *Scipio* would give over *Pica* and forthwith lay siege unto *Carthage*: whereupon the Suffetes (who are the Consuls as it were, of the City) called the Senat: where three opinions were delivered amongst them. The first advised to dispatch Embassadors to *Scipio* to treat for peace: the second, to send for *Annibal* home to the defense of his own country, against so dangerous and deadly a war: the third gave counsel, by example of the Romans constancy and resolution in their adversity, to repair the army and gather new forces, and to request *Syphax* not to abandon and give over the quarrell. This opinion, because *Asdrubal* was in place (and all those that sided with the Barchine house and faction, evermore inclined to war) prevailed and took effect. Hereupon they began to take matters in town and country: Orators were addressed to *Syphax*, who of himself with all his might and main, was bidden to levy fresh forces, and preparing for new war. For his wife now, not as aforesaid, by flattering words, flattering speeches, and pleasant allurements, that might serve the turn to win and move the heart of an amorous lover, but by way of prayer and pitiful compassion had prevailed so much with him already: yea, and with plentiful tears brought him, not to deny her natural father and native country, nor suffer *Carthage* to be burnt with flaming fire, like as the camps were consumed already.

"The Embassadors also brought with them new hopes besides, which were presented to them in as happy a time as might be; who reported, that they furnished to meet with 4000 Celtiberians brave and audacious young men, about the City named *Oliva*, which had been levied and hired in Spain by their Commissioners; of purpose sent to take up new soldiers: and that *Afranius* himself in person would be present with a power of no small importance. *Syllax* not only entertained these Orators with gracious speeches and courteous answers, but also shewed them a great number of Numidians, gathered out of the country towns; which some few days before he had furnished with armour and horses; promising besides, that he would assemble all the young and able men for service throughout his whole realm. For well he wist, that the late loss and defeat brought by occasion of fire, and not by fight: and never in war is a man to be repented inferior; before he be vanquished by more forces in ranged battell. In this wise answered he the Embassadors. And after some few days *Afranius* and *Syllax* once again joyined their forces together: so as in all, their host amounted to the number well near of 30000 armed men.

Now when *Scipio* was wholly set upon the assault of *Prisa*, and at the point to bend his ordinance and artillery against the wals, as thinking verily that the war was already done with *Syllax* and the Carthaginians; the fame of the war renewed by them afresh, averted him from his purpose, and caused him to give over that enterprise for a time. So leaving behind him certain small guards, as well by water as land, only for a sign and shew of siege; himself with all the strength of his army, set forwards to meet the enemy. At the first he bare him down and encamped upon an hill, four miles (or very near) distant from the Kings camp. The next day after, he descended with his cavalry down into the great Plains or Downs (for so they call them) lying near the same hill; and spent that whole day in braving the standing *corps de guard* of the enemies before their camp, and playing upon them with skirmishes. And so for two days together next ensuing, they passed the time in divers tumultuous excursions between the one part and the other, without doing any great exploit worthy the remembrance. On the fourth day, they entered on both sides into the field, and embattailed themselves. *Scipio* marshalled his men in this wise: Behind the Princes in a vanguard, he placed the foremost ensigns of his Hastati, or Spears; and the Triarii he bestowed in the rearward, for to second them. The Italian horsemen he set in the right point: the Numidian horse and *Masanius* he ranged in the left. *Syllax* and *Afranius* put their Numidians horse opposit to the Italians; and the Carthaginians to affront *Masanius*. In their main battell were placed the Celtiberians, to make head against the ensigns of the Roman Legions. Thus ordered and arranged, they encountered one another, and joyined battell. At the first onset, both ways at once, as well the Numidians as the Carthaginians, were put back and forced to give ground: for neither the Numidians (being for the most part country people and rusticall) were able to receive the Roman horsemen; nor the Carthaginians (raw and untrained soldiers) sufficient to hold out with *Masanius*; who (besides all other things) for his hue and fresh victory, was too terrible, as there was no dealing with him. So the battell of the Celtiberians, naked and disarmed of both her points stood still; for neither law they any likelihood to escape and save themselves by flight; considering they knew not the coast of the country; nor hope to obtain pardon at *Scipio* his hand, against whom, (deserving so well of them and their nation) they were come into *Africa* with a power of waged mercenary soldiers. So being environed on every side with the enemies, they fell one upon another, and obliantly dyed to the last man. But whilst all the enemies were wholly employed about them, *Syllax* and *Afranius* gained themselves some time to get a way to escape. The victors (wearied rather with continual killing than long fighting) were overtaken with the night. The morrow after, *Scipio* sent unto *Latinus* and *Masanius*, with all the Roman and Numidian horse, and the nimblest and appointed footmen, after *Syllax* and *Afranius* for to follow the chase. Himself with the strength and body of the army, invaded all the Cities thereabout that were within the feignory of the Carthaginians; whom he partly forced by assault, and partly took by surrender for fear. Great was the fright ye may be sure at *Carthage*: and they thought no other but that *Scipio* being now in the train of conquest would make haste to overrun the country; and when he had done brought under his subjection (and that with speed) all the other States there bordering, then at once he would come to assault *Carthage*. Therefore they fell to repair and make up the breaches of their wals, and to fortifie them with high bulwarks: and every man did his best to bring out of the country all kind of provision, against the time they should abide a long and tedious siege. Few words or none at all of peace, but much talk of sending Embassadors to call home *Anibal*. The greatest part were of mind & gave advice, to make out the armada which stood ready rigged for to intercept the Romans vituals, and to surprize and assault the Romans fleet, riding before *Prisa* carelessly without fear, and distrusting nothing: for peradventure they might also force the navall camp, left with small guard for the defence thereof. And to this counsel the most inclined: yet they thought it good to send Embassadors to *Anibal*. For suppose that their navy should speed full well, and that the happiest success that they could wish, this only good would come thereof, that *Prisa* thereby might be in some sort eased of the freight flogge, where with it was invetted: as for the defence of *Carthage* it self, they neither had any other Generall besides *Anibal*, nor army left but only his. Whereupon the next day after, the ships were shot into the water, and set afloat: and whilst the Embassadors took their way towards *Italy*, All things were huddled up and done

in halt; such was their fortune that pricked them forward, and gave them no further time. And look if any one man slackt his business never so little, how was reputed to betray the whole state, and the safety of all.

Scipio now marching with an army, laden with the spoil and pillage of many Cities; sent the prisoners away, and all the prizes besides, unto the old camp before *Prisa*. And wholly set upon the conquest of *Carthage*, he surprized *Tunes* (a City abandoned of her guard left for defence) situate from *Carthage* almost twelve miles. The place, both by mans hand was strongly fenced, and by nature surely fortified: and as it might be easily seen from *Carthage*, so it yielded a goodly prospect to *Carthage*, and allo to the sea all about *Carthage*. From thence the Romans (as they were hard at work in fortifying themselves with a trench and rampier) discovered the enemies fleet, sailing from *Carthage* towards *Prisa*. Laying therefore their work aside, they founded the remove, and presently in all hast advanced their ensigns, to prevent that their own ships which stood close to the shore, bent wholly to the siege, and nothing fitted and furnished for a sea-fight, might not be surprized and boarded. For how possibly could ships heavily charged, carrying artillery, ordnance and engines of battery, be ever able to withstand an Armado nimblely appointed, rigged and trimmed for the purpose with all ship furniture meet for battell, and manned besides with armed soldiers? How might our ships (I say) withstand the enemy, which either are converted to the use of merchant-ships of burden; or else to use set to the wals, that they serve in stead of a platform and bank, or else of bridges to enter upon the City? *Scipio* therefore, after he was thither come, and had bestowed his wars ships with brazen beaks behinds in the rearward near to land, which (as the manner is in fight at sea) might guard and defend the rest: opposed the Hulls and Caricks in a four-fold rank and course, in stead of a wall against the enemy. And because that in the tumult of the fight, those ranges might not be broken and disordered, he laid the masts and sail-yards over-crosse, reaching from ship to ship; and with strong cables he linked and fastened them all in one together, and laid boards and planks over them, that men might passe every way from one ship to another. But under those very bridges, he left certain spaces between, from whence the light pinnaces and frigots might make out to charge and recharge the enemy, and retire themselves thither again in safety. Having thus in halt (according as the time would give him leave) set these matters in order; there were to the number almost of a thousand elect and choice soldiers put aboard unto those ships of burden, to make head in the forefront, & withstand the violence of the enemies; and furnished they were with offensive weapons, but missive especially, to shoot and sling from them: and such store thereof they had together, as might serve for the assault were it never so long. Thus appointed and prepared, they waited the coming of the enemies. The Carthaginians, who if they had made good speed, might have surprized them unawares, and found all pell-mell and out of order whilst they were troubled, frightened, and to seek what to do upon that sudden occurrence) fearing still as men out of heart and dismayed with so many foils by land, and thereupon distrusting themselves even at the sea also; where (no doubt) they were the better and more patient: and having trifled out all the live-long day, and failed but slowly; about the sun-set arrived in the haven, which the Africans call *Rafsinon*. And the next morning by sun-rising, they put forth into the open sea, and ranged their ships in order, as against a set navall battell: supposing that the Romans would make out and receive them. When they had stood thus a long time, and perceived the enemies not to stir or once to set forward, then at last they charged upon the forehead hulks and ships of burden. The service was nothing like a sea-fight, but resembling for all the world the ships that are to assault the wals of some Town. For the hulks were a good deal taller and stood a loft over the enemies. And the Carthaginians out of their war ships armed and belted with brazen beaks let fire many a dart in vain, as lancing them from beneath faintly against the higher place; whereas the shot from above out of the Caricks, was levelled with more strength and by reason of their own poise light also with greater force. The light pinnares for spial, and the other tall barkes, which made sallies from under the bridges aforesaid, framed of planks upon masts and sail-yards, at the first were encountered, overcharged and hidden only with the violence and greatness of those war-ships: but afterwards they were some trouble to the defendants of their own side; for that being intermingled amongst the enemies ships, their own fellows were forced oftentimes to stay their hands, and neither shoot arrow, nor lance dart, for fear of missing their enemies, and lighting amongst their own part. At the last, the enemies from out of the Carthaginian ships, began to call out certain loggers, with iron hooks at the end (which the soldiers use to call *Harpagones*) [Grapples] for to take hold upon the Roman ships. Which when the Romans were not able to cut in sunder, no more then the very chains whereto they hung, and whereby they were lured, thence ye might have seen (as any one of their enemies war-ships & gallics rowed back, and towed after it a Roman Carick hanging by the grapple end) the boards and ropes cut asunder, by which it was tied and fastened unto others, or else another range and course of more ships together, to follow after the tail of the other. By this device especially were all the bridges torn and rent in peeces, and scarcely had the defendants any time and space to retire and passe into the second rank of ships behind. Thus there were about six Caricks of the Romans drawn away to *Carthage*, hanging at the poops of their gallees. Their gladness and rejoicing hereat was much greater than the thing it self came to, and the more

acceptable in that amidst so many continual losses and plentiful tears of theirs, one only joy as small as it was, shining upon them beyond their expectation, eased and lightened their hearts: considering withal how near by all likelyhood and appearance the Roman armada was to a mischief and final destruction, had not the captains of their own galleys foretold so much, and *Scipio* come in time to help.

It fortune about the same time, that *Laelus* and *Masanius* were come within 15 daies into *Numidia*; the *Masaniusians* rendered *Masanius* the ancient realm belonging to him by inheritance from his father, and received him with joy, as their King whom they had long time desired. *Syphax* seeing his captains and garrisons distressed and displaced, kept himself within the ancient limits of his own Kingdom, but was not like to be long at rest and quiet. For his wives father on the one side, and his wife again on the other, set him on, and pricked him forward continually to make arms against the Romans; and so loved her in excessive love, that needs he must yield to her, there was no remedy. Besides, so mighty he was in numbers of men and horse, that the puissance of a Kingdom flourishing so many years together, offering and presenting itself daily to the eye, had been enough to have made a Prince proud, that was not so barbarous and uncivil as he, and had some better rule and mastery of his affections than himself had. When he had assembled together as many as were able for service, he furnished them with horses, and with armour, as well offensive as defensive. The Cavalry he sorted and divided into small troops and cornets, the infantry into the cohorts and squadrons, according as he had learned long since of the Roman centurions. And thus having raised an army, equal for number to the former, but standing altogether in manner, of new and untrained soldiers, he put himself on his journey against the enemies. And after he had encamped near unto them, at the beginning some few light horsemen advanced forward from the *corps de guard*, in elphial, so near as they might with safety, but being set back from thence with arrows & javelins, they retired unto their companies. After this they began on both sides to make out one against another, and to maintain light skirmishes; and when of any part they had taken the foil, they would again for anger return in greater number which is the wonted manner to kindle a battell between horsemen: for whiles the winners hope still of better, and the loser chafes for having the worse, the company ever encreaseth on both sides. And thus now, after some few had scuffled and blowed the coals, at length the whole-armie of either part, came forth into the field eager of fight, and to strike a set battell. So long as the horse service, the *Masaniusians* were to command, as there were hardly any dealing with them, *Syphax* sent them out in such great troops: but after that the Roman footmen once had suddenly entered between the cornets of their horsemen, which gave way as they came, and had gotten sure footing and made head, and to frighted the enemy charging so free upon the spur as he did, then the Barbarians began to ride their horses more easily, and within a while gently to stand still; and in the end, not only to give ground to the footmen, but also to retreat from the horsemen, who now were the more bold and brave, being flanked with a guard of footmen.

And now by this time the standards of the legions advanced forward, and approached near hand. But when the *Masaniusians* were so far from receiving and enduring their first charge, that they might not abide the very sight so much, as of their engines and armour, so mightily wrought with them either the remembrance of former overthrowes already past, or the present fear of imminent danger. Where *Syphax*, while he rode bravely in the face of the enemies troops and squadrons, if happily for very shame, or for the perill of his own person, he might stay his men from running away, had his horse under him fore wounded, and being cast off his back to the earth, as overpressed with the number, taken prisoner, and brought alive unto *Laelus*, for to represent unto *Masanius* above all others a goodly show and joyfull sight to behold. Now was *Ciriba*, the head City of all the Kingdom of *Syphax*; and thither after the flight, betook themselves a mighty multitude of people. The slaughter in this battell wasles in proportion, though the victory, because the horsemen only maintained the conflict. Not above five thousand were slain, and not halfe so many taken prisoners. And when they had made an assault upon the camp whither the frightened multitude after the losse of their King, had retired, *Masanius* came unto *Laelus* and said, that for the present there could be nothing more pleasing and honourable unto him, then upon his victory to visit and see his fathers Kingdom, which he had recovered and won again after so long a time. But as in adversity, to like wife in prosperity (and the tract of time and delays are never good. In case therefore *Laelus* would permit him and his horsemen, together with conquered *Syphax* to go before unto the City *Ciriba*, he would inspire them on a sudden, finding all out of frame and to feele by reason of this so sudden and unexpected fear: and *Laelus* with his footmen might travell fair and softly, and come after with ease journeys. *Laelus* yielded hereunto. Whereupon, being gone afore unto *Ciriba*, he commanded the principall Citizens of *Ciriba* to be called forth unto a parle. But all the whiles that they were ignorant of the Kings unhappy fall, and so long as *Masanius* uttered nothing of that which was hapned, he might not prevail either with threats or faire words and persuasions until he presented the King before them a bound prisoner. Then at to heave an object and miserable spectacle, they lift up a pitifull cry, and made great lamentation. And partly for fear they abandoned the defence of the wals, and partly by a general consent to court the Conqueror, and to seek for grace and favour at his hands, they set the gates open. Then *Masanius*, after he had bestowed about the gates, and in convenient places of the wals, certain strong guards, to keep that no man should flir and make an escape, he rode a gallop to the

royall

A royal palace, for to be possessed of it. As he entered within the fore-gates thereof, even in the very entrance of the porch, *Sophonisba* the wife of *Syphax*, and daughter of *Adrabal* the Carthaginian, met him on the way: and espying in the midst of the armed train *Masanius* full gorgeously dight, as well in his brave armor, as in other goodly array and ornaments, imagining him to be the King (as he was indeed) she fell down prostrate at his feet, and spake in this wise: "True it is (quoth she) O *Masanius*, that the Gods above, together with your own vertue and fidelity have given you full power and puissance, to doe with us according to your pleasure: but if it be lawful for me a poor prisoner and captive woman, to open my mouth and make an humble speech unto my Lord, and in whole only hands lieth my life and death: if I may be so bold to touch your knees, and that victorious right hand of yours; I would beseech and pray you for the honour of the royal majesty of a Prince, wherein we also our selves erewhile were interested in the love and name of the Numidian nation, which now is common to you and *Syphax*, by the domestical gods, protectors of this regal house and princely palace, who vouchsafe to receive you into it at this present with better prelates and more fortunate tokens, then lately they sent *Syphax* out of it; to deign me a lowly suppliant this favour, and grant me this petition, as to determin your self of me your captive whatsoever pleaseth you, & not to suffer me to fall into the proud hands and inhumane disposition of any Roman. If there were nothing else but this, that I was sometime wife and Queen to *Syphax*, yet would I rather trie the countesse and humanity of a Numidian, and one born in *Africa* as well as my self then of a stranger and alien. But what hard measure a Carthaginian lady, and the daughter of *Adrabal*, may fear at a Romans hand, you see and know full well. Wherefore once again I request and intreat your highnesse upon my knees, to regard my suit: and if there be no way else to save and keep me from the will and appetite of the Romans, to put me to death out of hand. For beauty she surpassed and was incomparable: for years lully, and in the very best of her age. And therefore when as now she held him fast by the hand, and requested his protection and honourable word, only for this, that she might not be delivered and betrayed to a Roman, placing & setting her words so well, and couching them so cunningly, that they sounded nearer to speeches for to win love, then prayers to crave pity: see the sanie, and affection of this victorious Prince: he inclined presently not only to mercy and compassion, but also (as all the King of these Numidians are full of love, and have no stay of their wanton lust) as conqueror otherwise though he were yielded himself prisoner to the love of his captive: and after he had given her his right hand for assurance to perform her request, he went into the palace. This done, he began to call about with himself how he might make good his promise unto *Sophonisba*: but finding no means else to compass and bring it about, he borrowed foolishly, rashly, and themselves counsell of blind love. He made no more ado, but commanded in all haste to prepare that very day for the solemnization and marriage with *Sophonisba*, because he would give neither *Laelus*, nor *Scipio* himself, any liberty at all to proceed against her as a prisoner, after the come once the wedded wife of *Masanius*. The wedding was no longer done, but behold *Laelus* came, a guest unfent for and nothing welcome: who so little dissembled how much he misliked the thing, that he was once about to have plucked her forth of the bride-bed, and sent her away even with *Syphax* and other prisoners to *Scipio*. But overcome with the earnest prayers of *Masanius*, who had brought and importuned him to refer the matter over to *Scipio*, for to arbitrate and decide unto whither of the two Kings *Sophonisba* should be awarded, for to mend their state, and better their fortune, he sent away *Syphax* alone with the rest of the prisoners, and by the help of *Masanius*, was recovered the other Cities in *Numidia*, which were held by the garrisons of the King. When news came into the camp that they were bringing *Syphax* thither, all the multitude went forth as it were to behold a triumph. Himself went bound before all the rest, and a number of Numidian noblemen and gentlemen followed after. Then every man to set forth and amplify this victory, magnified what he could the greatness of King *Syphax*, and the glorious renown of the nation, in these termes: That he was the King, unto whose majesty the two most mighty and puissant states of the world, to wit, the Romans and the Carthaginians attributed so much, that *Scipio* the Generall of the one, for to seek his amity, left the provinces of *Spain* and the army there, and with two Caravels or Gallies ruled with five banks of oars, sailed over into *Africa*; and *Adrabal* the great commander of the Carthaginians, not only repaired himself in person unto him into his Kingdom, but also gave him his daughter in marriage: so as at one time he had in his power the two grand-captains, of Carthaginians and Romans both. And like as both these nations killed sacrifices unto the immortal gods, and craved thereby their grace and favour, so of both parties at one time was his friendship sought for, and desired. And as for his power and puissance, it was so great, that he expelled *Masanius* out of his own Realm, and drove him to this narrow point, that the best means he had to preserve his life, was either the running ramour of his death, in the lurking holes of the wild woods, wherein he was glad to live by rapine and stealth, after the guise of savage beasts. The King thus talked of in every mans mouth that stood about him, was brought at length into the *Prætorius* or Generals pavilion, and there presented unto *Scipio*. And *Scipio* verily was much moved in mind to consider the former state and fortune of the man, compared now with his present condition: and to remember withal and call to mind the hospitall intertainment, the giving interchangeably of the right hand, and the covenant between them made both in publick and private. In these regards likewise *Syphax* took heart, and spake more frankly unto the conqueror. For when *Scipio* demanded of him

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What

with

* *Tyrus* in
Thénicia.
Where, like a
in other coun-
tries of *Asia*,
the people are
most servile
and very Ido-
latrious to their
Princes.

"forces out of Italy and France. Item, that they forbore to meddle in Spain. Item, that they abandon
 "and quit all the lands between Italy and Affric. Item, to yield up all their ships of war fiving
 "only twenty. Item, that they deliver unto the Romans, of wheat 50000 Modii, and of bar-
 "ley 30000. [Now what was the sum of money that he required or demanded of them, it is
 "not certainly agreed upon. In some writers I find 5000 talents: in others, five thousand pound,
 "weight only of silver: and there be that have set down, that they laid upon them a double pay
 "of all the fouldiers.] Upon these conditions (saith he) whether ye will like of peace or no, ye
 "shall have three daies respite and liberty to consult and consider, if you will accept thereof in these
 "terms, make a truce with me for the present, and send your Embassadors unto Rome to the Senat
 "there. Thus the Carthaginians, when they had agreed together, and concluded to refuse no ar-
 "ticles and conditions of peace whatsoever, were dismissed. But in truth they fought for nothing
 "else but delays and truce of time until *Anibal* were sailed over into Affric. So they
 "addressed certain Embassadors unto *Scipio* to enter a truce: the others they dispatched to Rome to treat
 "for a peace: who brought with them for a few, some few captives, renegates, and fugitives, to the
 "end they might obtain their fute more easily. But *Lelius* with *Syphax* and other captives (the
 "principall nobles and gentlement of the Numidians) was many daies before arrived at Rome, and
 "had declared unto the LL. of the Senat all things in order as touching their good speed and successe
 "in Affric, to the great contentment and joy of all men for the present, and with exceeding hope
 "for the time to come. Then the LL. after consultation had, gave order that the King should be sent to
 "Alba, there to lie in ward and safe custody, and that *Lelius* should be kept still at Rome, untill the
 "Carthaginian Embassadors came. A solemn procession for four daies was decreed. And *P. Aelius*
 "the Pretor, after he had dismissed the Senat, called presently an assembly of the people, and to-
 "gether with *C. Lelius* went into the Rostra (or pulpit for publick orations.) Where the people hearing
 "that the Carthaginian army was defeated, that the King of great name and renown was over-
 "come and taken prisoner; that all *Numidia* was overrun from one end to the other with a
 "noble and singular conquest; they could no longer contain their joy in silence, but in shouts and
 "acclamations and other tokens (as usual in the assembly of a multitude) expresse and signifie their
 "exceeding gladness and contentment of heart. Whereupon the Pretor immediately made procla-
 "mation, that the Church-wardens and sextons should let open all the holy temples and chapels
 "throughout the City, and give the people liberty and leave all the day long, devoutly to go about
 "the gods, reverently to salute them, and heartily to render thanksgiving for this achieved victory.
 "The next day following, he admitted the Embassadors of *Masaniissa* into the Senat house, and gave
 "them audience. Who first and foremost rejoiced in the behalf of the Senat, for the prosperous
 "wars and happy successe of *P. Scipio* in Affric; then they gave thanks, that he not only had en-
 "titled *Masaniissa* their lord and master by the bare name of King, but also invested him a King-
 "deed by restoring him to his fathers Kingdome. Wherein if it pleaseth the LL. of the Senat, he
 "might reign, now that *Syphax* was removed and gone, without fear and trouble at all. Also for
 "that he solemnly in the open assembly praised him in most honourable terms, and adorned him
 "richly with right stately and precious gifts. For to deserve which favors and honours done unto
 "him, as he had endeavoured already, so would he henceforth not fail to do his best. Then they
 "made a petition that the Senat would confirm and ratifie by their act and decree, his royall style
 "and title of a King, with other benefits and favours received of *Scipio*. And this moreover particu-
 "larly *Masaniissa* would request (if he might be so bold, and that it stood with the pleasure of the Senat)
 "that they would enlarge and set at liberty all the Numidian captives that lay in prison in Rome for
 "this would be a thing whereby he should acquire much honour and reputation, and gain great
 "love and favour amongst his people and countrey men at home. To these points the Embassador
 "received this answer. Concerning the prosperous affairs of the wars in Affric, they
 "congratulated likewise, and rejoiced reciprocally with the King. As for *Scipio*, they liked well, and
 "confirmed his act in giving *Masaniissa* the name of King: and therein he had done well and justly
 "and according to good reason. And whatsoever he had passed else to the honour of *Masaniissa*, the
 "LL. approved and commended the same. Then they decreed certain pretents that the Embas-
 "sadors should carry unto the King: to wit, two purple fouldiers casocks, each of them with a cap
 "of gold; and as many rich coats embroidered and bedusted with purple. Also two couriers ar-
 "med and trapped, with their rich caparisons: two complete armours for horses, with their car-
 "riages: likewise pavilions, with all their military furniture, in as full and ample manner as a Con-
 "sul is allowed. These pretents I say had the Pretor direction to send unto the King. As for the Em-
 "bassadors themselves, there was bestowed upon them no less then 5000 Asces a peece; and upon
 "their followers in the train, each of them 1000 Asces. Also a double suit of apparell for either of
 "the Embassadors, and one single fute to every one throughout their train: as also to those Numid-
 "ians, who being set at large out of prison, were to be delivered again to the King. Over and
 "besides, there was appointed for the Embassadors, lodging of free cost; gardenage and walking
 "places of pleasure; allowance for their table, and all provision else whatsoever, at the Cities ex-
 "pences.

In that summer when these decrees passed at Rome, and those affairs were achieved in Af-
 "frick, *P. Quintilius Varus* Pretor, and *M. Cornelius* Vice-consul, fought a fier battell with *Ma-
 go* the Carthaginian, in the territory of the Insubrians, within the province of France. In the

vanguard

vanguard were placed the legions of the Pretor. *Cornelius* kept the legions in the rereward, and
 "himself in person rode to the standards in the forefront. And before both wings, the Pretor and
 "Vice-consul encouraged all that ever they could, the fouldiers for to advance the ensignes, and
 "give a charge upon the enemy. But seeing he could not prevail nor do any good, then quoth
 "*Quintilius* to *Cornelius*: you see how the fight flaketh and waxeth cooler, and the enemies that
 "were timorous, are hardened and heartened: by this resistance beyond their hope and expectation,
 "yea, and it is to be feared, that they will turn to be hardly also, and make head against us. We
 "must needs raise up a storm of Cavalry, if we would disorder them, and put them out of array. And
 "therefore either do you main: in fight either in the front, whilst I bring the men of arms into the
 "battell, or else will I fight here in the vanguard, whiles you send out the horsemen of four legi-
 "ons upon the enemies. And when the Vice-consul was willing to accept of whether service the
 "Pretor would, then *Quintilius* the Pretor, with his son also named *Marcus*, a lusty young gallant,
 "went to the horsemen, commanded them to mount on horseback, and suddenly all at once set
 "them against the enemy. The tumult and noise which the horsemen made, was answered & redoub-
 "led by the shout that the footmen let up. And verily the enemies battell had not been able to have
 "kept their ground, but that *Mago* at the first stirring of the Cavalry, made out the Elephants forth-
 "with into the battell, whom he had in readinesse for such purpose. At the uncouth braying, the
 "strong smell, and hideous sight of which beasts, the horses were affrighted: and so the aid of
 "horse-fight proved vain. And as the Roman Cavalry interlaced among the Infantry was more
 "strong and forcible, where they had the use both of lance, point aloof, and of swords edge close
 "at hand: so when they were transported and carried far off with their panting: and fearful horses,
 "the Numidians horsemen had the more room to shoot their darts against them with better ad-
 "vantage. Besides this disorder, the twelfth legion of footmen (whereof a great part was beaten
 "down and slain, more for shame then upon any strength and valour, kept their place still; but never
 "had been able to have held out any longer, but that the twentieth legion drawn forth of the re-
 "ward into the vanguard, reinforced the battell that was in hazard and lay a bleeding: and *Ma-
 go* withall for his part, came in with the Frenchmen out of the rereward, and opposed them
 "against this fresh legion; but when they were once discomfited and put back (which required no
 "great ado nor long fight) the Halati or javeliniers of the eleventh legion gathered round together
 "and charged upon the Elephants, which now also began to break the ranks of the footmen. But
 "when they had lanced their javelins against them (standing thick together in multitudes) and lightly
 "there was not one of them hit amiss (but did his errand) they forced them all to turn back upon
 "their own battell: so four of them were fore wounded and fell down dead. Then the vanguard of
 "the enemies began somewhat to give ground, and withall, the whole strength of the Roman foot-
 "men (seeing the Elephants turn all, came forward at once for to encrease the disordered tumult, and
 "put them in greater fear. But so long as *Mago* stood to it stoutly, and standing in the forefront
 "of the ensignes, the ranks and files as they went back tofly, and retired by little and little, still main-
 "tained fight as before in good order: but after that they saw him shot through the thigh and fallen,
 "and therewith carried forth of the battell for dead, incontinently they were all dejected and put
 "to flight. There were slain of enemies about five thousand, and of military ensignes eighteen won and
 "carried away. The Romans likewise bought not this victory without losse of blood. For of the
 "E Pretors army were lost two thousand and three hundred, and the greater part of them by far were
 "of the twelfth legion. Whereof two Tribunes Military or Colonels also lost their lives, *M. Cocio-
 ninus* and *M. Mannus*. Likewise of the thirteenth legion, which came last to the conflict, *Cn. Hel-
 vinus* a Colonell, in renewing the fight was slain, and eighteen men of arms besides, most brave
 "and excellent horsemen, with Centurions who were by the Elephants troden down, trampled un-
 "der foot, and so perished. And no doubt the battell had continued longer, but that by occasion of
 "the Generall his hurt, the victory was given away and yielded. *Mago* in the dead time of the
 "next night dislodged and departed; and stretching out his journey so far as possibly for his wound
 "he might, he marched away untill he was come to the sea side, unto the Inguanis in *Liguria*: where
 "the Embassadors sent from *Carthage* (who a few daies before were arrived in the French gulf) re-
 "paired unto him: commanding him with all speed possible to sail unto Affric, for as much as his
 "brother *Anibal* likewise (unto whom also there were Embassadors gone with the like mes-
 "sage and commizition) would do the same. For the State of *Carthage* now was not in safe, nor up-
 "on terms to defend and keep in obedience by force of armes France and Italy, but to see to home.
 "*Mago* not only moved with the commandment of the Senat, and the danger of his countrey, but
 "seeing also left the enemy following the train of his victory, would pursue and set upon him, if
 "he made long lay; and doubting lest the Ligurians likewise, seeing Italy abandoned by the Car-
 "thaginians, would revolt and turn unto those, under whose obedience they were like shortly to
 "be reduced: albeit he had no hope that his hurt should have less flaking at sea by sailing, then on
 "land by travelling, or to find things there more handsome and ready for the cure, embarked
 "G his army and departed. But before he was well gotten beyond the point and lands end of *Sar-
 dinia*, he died of his wound before said. Certain ships also of the Carthaginians, being scattered
 "under in the deep sea, were by the Roman Armado, that kept about the coast of *Sardinia* tur-
 "piled and boarded. These were the Acts performed both by sea and land, on the side of Italy
 "which lieth along the Alps.

Cn. Servilius

On *Servilius* the Consul having performed no worthy and memorable exploit, either in his province *Hetruria*, or in *France* (for thither he went also in the end) but only that he redeemed his father *Cn. Servilius* and his uncle *C. Laetanius*, from servitude and bondage, now sixteen years after they had been taken prisoners by the Boii before the village *Tanturnus*, returned to *Rome*, with his father going on the one side, and his uncle on the other: a man famous rather for his privat deeds, then renowned for any publick and honourable act worthy of remembrance. And a bill was preferred unto the people, that it should not be imputed for a trespass unto *Cn. Servilius*, that whilst his own father (who had sitten upon the ivory chair of estate) was living (and that unknown to him) he had been both Tribune and *Edile* also of the Commons against the laws in that behalf provided. This act being passed and granted, he returned again into his province. Unto *Cn. Servilius* the Consul who was in the Brutians country, there revolted *Consusius*, *Hyfugum*, *Verga*, *Beldia*, *Hetracum*, *Syphum*, *Argemamm*, *Dampetia*, and many other peeces of small account, upon occasion that they saw the Carthaginians war to wax cold and feeble. The same Consul fought a battell with *Annibal* in the territory of *Croton*: the manner of which fight is darkly and obscurely reported. For *Valerius Antias* saith, there were slain five thousand of the enemies: a thing of such consequence, that either it was meer impudency to forge it, or great negligence to overslip it. But the truth is, from that time forward nothing was done by *Annibal* in *Italy*: for to him also there came from *Carthage* Embassadors to call him home into *Africa*, even about the same time that the others did unto *Mago*. And as it is reported of him, all the whiles that he gave audience to the Embassadors, he gnashed and grinded his teeth, he kept a sighing and groaning, yea, and hardly could forbear to shed tears. After they had delivered their Message according to their commission, *Yes, marry, qd. he*, now they go no more about the business with me: by covert means and under-hand to send me home, but openly are seen in the action: I who all this while in suffering no supplies either of men or money to be transported over unto me, fought to draw and hale me from hence. Well then, it is not the people of *Rome* to often by me defeated and put to flight, that hath by armes overcome *Annibal*, but it is the Senat of *Carthage*, with their backbiting and malicious envy. Neither will *P. Scipio* rejoyce to lose, and bear himself proud upon this disgrace of my return, as *Hanno* will: who with the ruine and subversion of *Carthage*, hath overthrowen our house and family, when by no other means he could effect it. Now *Annibal*, whose mind fore-gave him that such a thing would fall out, had prepared shipping beforehand. And therefore after he had sent away the multitude of souldiers that were of small or no service, into the towns of the Brutians country, under a colour and shew of garriisons for defence, which towns were but few, and the same rather held in by awe and fear, then abiding in obedience for love and loyalty, he took with him the whole strength and floure of his army, and crossed over into *Africa*. But before he went to sea, many of the Italian nation, who refusing to follow him into *Africa*, had taken for sanctuary the chappell of *Iuno Lacinia*, which never to that day had been violated and broken: not withstanding the liberty of the place, he cruelly massacred in the very temple. Seidome by report had ever any man been known to leave his native soil and country, and depart into exile with more heavy heart, then *Annibal* did when he went out of his enemies land. Oftentimes he looked back to the coasts of *Italy*, blaming both God and man, yea, cursing himself and his own life, for that he led not straight waies upon his fresh victory at *Cannae*, his souldiers embred as they were with blood directly even to *Rome*. *Scipio* (quoth he) had the heart to go to *Carthage*, who when he was Consul, had never been in *Italy* the Carthaginian enemy: and my self, having slain at *Thrasymum* and *Cannae* 100000 armed men, have still sitten about *Castellum*, *Cumes*, and *Nela*, wearing and decaying in strength every day more then other. In this manner he blamed himself, and complained of his hard hap and cursed fortune: and so he was pulled out of the possession of *Italy* that he held so long.

News came to *Rome* about one and the same time, that both *Mago* and *Annibal* were departed and onward on their journey: The joy of which twofold gratulation was the lesse in two regards, both for that their own captains seemed to have either little courage or small force to stay them behind, and impeach them for going, considering they had express order from the Senat to do so: as also because they at *Rome* were penfive and doubtful, what would be the issue and end of all, seeing the whole weight of the war to bear and rest upon the shoulders of one only Captain and army.

And much about this time came the Saguntine Embassadors, bringing with them certain Carthaginians prisoners, who were taken with sums of money upon them, and had sailed into *Spain* for to levy and wage men for aid. The money they laid down in the very port-hall or entrise of the Senat-house, amounting to 250 pound weight of gold, and 800 pound weight of silver. The men they received and clapt them up fast in prison, the silver and gold both, they delivered again to the Embassadors, with many thanks, over and besides they gave them rewards and ships to return again into *Spain*. Then the grave and ancient Senators began to reason and discourse in this wise: That men naturally have lesse sense of good things then of bad: and feel not so sore their own weal as their woe. We remember say they, what fear, what fright and terror we were put in, when *Annibal* passed over into *Italy*. Lord, what loises, what lamentable misfortunes hapned thereupon! The enemies camp was discovered and seen from the walls of the City: what wowing, what praying was there then, both of all and some! How often in assemblies and councils were men seen to stretch out their hands to heaven, & to utter these words & cry alouds

When

A When will that day come? and will it never be, that we shall see *Italy* again cleere of enemies, obtain repose, and flourish once more injoying happy peace? Now at length, even at 16 yeers end, and not before, the gods have vouchsafed us this blessing: and no man faith a word, nor maketh a motion of thanksgiving to their divine majesty therefore. And surely, if men know not how to accept with joy and thankfulness a benefit when it first cometh, they will be far short, and fail much more to remember the same when once it is past. Hereupon they cryed out and called aloud with one voice from all parts of the Senat-house to *P. Valerius* the Pretor, for to propole the matter to the court there assembled: and a decree was granted, that for five daies there should be solemn processions and supplications in every church and chappell before the shrines of the gods and goddesses: and greater beasts killed for sacrifice to the number of 120.

Now when *Levius* and the Embassadors of *Masani* had their dispatch and were dismissed, they were brought of the Carthaginian Embassadors coming to the Senat to sue for peace, were led in at *Portici*, and that from thence they would travell by land unto *Rome*. Whereupon it was thought good unto the Senat, that *Levius* should be sent for again and called back, that he might be present, and at the hearing of the treating of peace. *Q. Fulvius Gellio* a Lieutenant of *Scipio* had the conducting of the Carthaginian Embassadors to *Rome*: who being forbidden to set foot within the City, were lodged without the in great hall named *Villa Publica*, and had audience given them of the Senat, assembled in the temple of *Bellus*. Who made in manner the very same speech that they had before unto *Scipio*, clearing the whole State and their publick council, and laying all the fault and blame upon *Annibal* for making war: saying, that he had no warrant, commission, and commandment from the Senat to passe over the *Alps*, nor so much as over *Iberus*: and that of his own head he took arms: and warred not upon the Romans only, but also upon the Saguntines. In consideration whereof, he that would esteem all things aright, and weigh the truth indeed, must needs judge, that for any thing done by the Senat and people of *Carthage*, the ancient league made with the people of *Rome*, hath continued to that day found and entire. And therefore nothing else had they in commission to sue for and request, but that they might maintain and remain still in that accord & league which was last concluded and contracted with *Levius* the Consul. Now when the Pretor, according to an ancient custome of their forefathers, had given liberty to whomsoever that would for to put interregatories unto the Embassadors, and the elder for such as had been present at the making of the capitulations and covenants concerning the said peace, and demanded of them, some one thing, and some another: and the Embassadors answered again, that by occasion of their young age (for they were all in manner but young men) they remembered no such thing: the whole court from all parts thereof cryed out and said, that this was but a fraudulent and traiterous Carthaginian trick, to chuse and send such for to sue for the old peace which they themselves could not remember. And when the Embassadors were voided out of the Senat-house, and the opinions of the LL demanded, *M. Livius* was of this mind, that *Cn. Servilius* the Consul, who was the neerer of the twain, should be sent for, that the treaty of peace might in his presence be consulted upon. For since that there could not lightly a weightier matter then it was, come after them to be determined of, he thought it stood not with the honor and reputation of the people of *Rome*, that such a matter should be debated without the personall presence of both, or at the leastwise one of the Consuls. *Qu. Metellus* (who three yeeres before had been Consul and Dictator) spake to the cause in this manner. For as much as *P. Scipio* by defeating and putting to the sword whole armies, by waiting and spoiling the territories of the enemies, had driven them to this exigent, that in humble fort they came to crave peace: and considering that no man living was better able to judge with what mind and intent they sued for this peace then himself, who warred ever before the gates of *Carthage*: therefore no mans advice was to be heard, but only his, either to accept of the said peace in question, or to reject it. *M. Valerius* *Levius*, who had been twice Consul, argued, that they were spies and not Embassadors, who now were come; and that it were a good deed to command them to avante and be packing out of the confines of *Italy*: & to send with them certain men of purpose to guard them to their ships. *Frey*, & to write unto *Scipio* to go forward with his wars & not to slack one jot. *Levius* & *Fulvius* added moreover and said, that *Scipio* laid this especially for his ground, to hope there might be peace, in case *Annibal* and *Mago* were not called out of *Italy*: As for the Carthaginians, they would make remembrance of any thing whatsoever, so long as they expected the leaders and those armies: but afterwards without remembrance of covenants, were they never so fresh and new, yea, and without respect of all the gods, they would (no doubt) maintain and continue the wars. In these regards they inclined the rather to *Levius*, and approved his opinion. So the Embassadors were sent away without any peace obtained, or certain answer returned unto them.

Much about that time, *Cn. Servilius* the Consul, who made full reckoning that he should have the honour of bringing *Italy* into quietnes, made pursuit after *Annibal*, as if he had been courted & given out by him: and first sailed over unto *Scily*, and then into *Africa*. Which being commonly tolled and bruited abroad at *Rome*, at the first the LL of the Senat thought good, that the Pretor should write unto the Consuls to this effect, that the Senat judged it meet and reason for him to return into *Italy*. But afterwards upon the Pretor his words, saying that the Consul would be taught by his letters, *P. Sulpitius* was created of purpose Dictator, who by vertue of that more sovereignty, rule and authority, called the Consul peremptorily home into *Italy*. And the

rest

rest that year, be together with *M. Servilius* the Generall of the horse, spent in progresses and visiting all the Cities of *Italy* which in time of war had shaken off their allegiance, and in taking due knowledge of all their causes and reasons severally.

During the time of the truce, there let forth alioout of *Sardinia* from *Leontium* the Pretor, an hundred hulks laden with victuals, together with a convoy and guard of twenty gallees of war, and passed over into *Africk* safe, both from the danger of the enemy, and also from the perill of tempests by sea. But *Cn. Octavius* as he was in his voyage from *Sicily*, with a fleet of two hundred hulks and thirty strong gallees, had not the like good speed. For as he sailed (well near) within the kenning of *Africk*, first he was calmed; then the wind turning South, troubled and disordered his ships, yea, and scattered them over the sea one from another. Himself with his gallees of war wrought against the wind and the current, and with exceeding toil and labour of the oars-men, I doubled the point of the cape of *Apollo*, & there in the bay rode at anchor; but the hulks for the most part fell with the land *Ægimurus* (which thrusteth upon the foreland, and lieth in the very mouth of that creek from the sea wherein *Carthage* standeth) almost ten leagues from the City: and some were driven by wind to a place called the *Hormwaters*, over against the City. All this happened within the sight of *Carthage*. And therefore out of all parts of the City, was great running to the market place. The magistrats assembled the Senat; the people at the entry and porch of the Council house, called upon the Senators and cried out; that they should not let slip to great a booty out of their eyes and hands. Some alleged against them, the fidelity of treating of peace: others also objected the faithfull promise of truce (the terme whereof was not yet expired). But at last when both Senat and people were intermingled all in manner together, agreed it by a general consent, that *Ashurban* with a fleet of fifty sail, should cut over to *Ægimurus*; and so from thence rally and gather together the Roman ships dispersed along the coasts and the havens. And the hulks (abandoned of their mariners that were fled, first from the land *Ægimurus*, and afterwards from the *Hormwaters* afore said) were drawn and towed as it were at the tails of their own ships to *Carthage*. As yet the Embassadours were not returned from *Rome*, neither knew they what the resolution of the Roman Senat was concerning war or peace, nor the day of the truce determined. *Scipio* taking the wrong and indignity to be more bawious, in that the hope of peace, and the assurance of truce should be violat by them first, who sought both for the one and the other: presently dispatched an embassage to *Carthage*. *M. Behnius*, *L. Servilius*, and *L. Fabius*; who being by the concurse and running together of the people, neer to a shrewd turn and mischief; and foreseeing their return like to be a dangerous, craved of the magistrats (who saved them from violence) to send certain ships to wait them. So they were allowed two gallees called *Tiuremes*, which having conducted them until they were arrived at the river *Bagrada*, where they were with in sight of the Roman camp, returned back again to *Carthage*. Now the Carthaginian Armado lay in the rode before *Vitea*. From thence there made out three gallees of four ranks of oars; whether it were upon some secret direction from *Carthage* so to do, or that *Ashurban* the Admirall of the fleet, upon his own head adventured to foul an action (the latter having no hand therein, and therefore not to be blamed) and elypping the Roman Galley of five banks of oars past the point of the cape, suddenly assailed her from the main sea. But neither could they invell and strike her with their beak heads, making to good way, and shifting to well by reason of her swiftness; neither could the armed fouldiers from out of their lower vessels boord her being to fall ship over them. And right valiantly the defended her self as long as shot lasted; which when it once failed, and that she had no other means to help her self, but only the nearness of the land and a number of fouldiers who from the camp were run to the shore, with the losse only of the ship all the passengers escaped safe to land.

Thus the truce being doubtles broken with one wickedness coming in the neck of another, *L. Lilius* at *Falvina* came in the very nick from *Rome*, together with the Carthaginian Embassadors: unto whom *Scipio*, having given his word, that though the Carthaginians had not only broken the faith and assurance given of the truce, but also the law of arms, in abusing and evilly intreating the persons of the Embassadors, yet himself would do nothing to them unworthy either the order of the people of *Rome*, or unfixing his own manner and custome, dismissed the Embassadors, and made preparation for war.

When *Anubal* now approached the land of *Africk*, one of the mariners was commanded to climb up to the top of the mast to discover the coast, and to see what part they were directed to; and when he made answer and said, that the prow made head upon a place called, the *Rainet spicubere*; he mislaid the omen and preface of that place, and commanded the pilot to passe by, and leave it: and so he put his fleet within the bay of *Lepis*, and there set his army a shore. And these were the affairs of *Africk* for that year. The acts ensuing, reach to that year, wherein *M. Servilius Geminus*, who then was Generall of the horse; and *T. Claudius Nero* were made Consuls. But in the end of that former year, when the Embassadors of the confederat Cities of *Greece* made complaints, that their territories were waited by the Kings garrisons: and when they sent their Embassadors into *Macedonia*, for to demand satisfaction and restitution, they could not be admitted unto the King, nor have audience; and moreover, they gave intelligence, that there were four thousand armed fouldiers transported over into *Spain*, under the conduct of *Seipio* to aid the Carthaginians: and certain summes of money likewise sent with them: the Senat gave order, that Embassadours should be addrest unto the King, to give him to understand,

As that the *LLI* of the Senat took all this to be done against the tenure and form of the league. So there were sent *C. Terentius Varro*, *Ch. Manlius*, and *M. Arelinus*. And three gallees of five course of oars they were allowed.

This was a year of special note; for a great scare-fire; whereby the publick cliff was burnt to ashes down to the ground: also for much abundance of rain and many floods, and exceeding cheapes of victual. For besides that all *Italy* was open by reason of a general peace throughout, *M. Fabius* Faler, and *M. Fabius* Bute, Adiles of the chair, divided the great store of corn that was sent out of *Spain* among the people, street by street; and let the price at four Asles the Modius. The same year *Q. Fabius Maximus* departed this life; a man of great years and exceeding old, as that be true which some writers report, that he was Auger 42 years. But certain it is, that he was a man worthy of great and honourable a surname, yea, and if it had begun first in himself. He surpassed the dignities of his father, he was equal in honor to his grand-father: *Rullus* his grand-father, I must needs say, had more titles of victories, and of greater battails: but one enemy of his, *Anubal*, may countervail them all, as many as they were. Howbeit, this man was counted more wary and advised, than hardy and forward: and as a man may well doubt whether by natural disposition he loved to take leisure in all his actions, or that it was a policy of his agreeable to the way properly then in hand; so verily nothing is more certain than this, that as the *Pote* *Ennius* saith:

This only man by wise delay,
Risor'd our state fall'n to decay.

C His son *Q. Fabius Maximus* was invested or installed Augur in his place, and for Bishop in his room (for two faceted dignities he had) *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* was chosen. The Roman plaies were exhibited one day; and the Plebeian Games thrice wholly renued by the Adiles *M. Sextus* *Sabinus* and *Cn. Tremellius* *Piscus*. They both, were made Pretors; and with them *C. Livius Salinator*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. The solemn election of the Magistrats for that year, whether *Cn. Servilius* the Consul held, or (because of important busines in *Tuscany*, about the examinations of the conspiracies there of certain great men, by commission from the Senate, which might keep him there) *P. Sulpicius* the Dictator by him nominated; it is uncertain, by reason of the variety and difference of writers in that behalf.

In the beginning of the year next following, *M. Servilius* and *T. Claudius*, after they had assembled the Senat in the Capitol, moved concerning the Provinces. And for asmuch as both of them desired *Africk*, they were willing that *Africk* and *Italy*, should be put to the choice of a Lottery. But by the especial travail of *Q. Metellus*, the Province of *Africk* was neither granted nor denied to either of them. And the Consuls were commanded to deal with the Tribuns of the Commons, that if they thought so good, they would prefer a bill unto the people, to know whom they would have to war in *Africk*. So all the tribes in general gave their voices with *P. Scipio*. Nevertheless, the Consuls (for so the Senat had decreed before) cast lots for the Province of *Africk*. Thus *Africk* fell unto *T. Claudius*, namely, that he should sail over thither with an armada of fifty ships, all gallees of five ranks of oars, and be joyed in equal communion with *Scipio*. And *M. Servilius* had *Hetruria* allotted unto him. In the same Province *Cn. Servilius* also was to continue in government, in case it pleased the Senat to stay the Consul in the City. Of Pretors, *M. Sestius* by lot had the rule of *Gallia*, with order, that *P. Quintilius Varus* should make over unto him the Province and two legions. And *C. Livius* took the charge of the Brutii with the two legions, which the year before were commanded by *P. Sempronius* the Vice-consul. *Cn. Tremellius* was appointed to govern *Sicily*, and to receive of *P. Villus Tappulus* the Pretor of the former year, that Province and two legions. And ordered it was, that *Vilius* as Propretor, should keep in obedience and defend the coast of *Sicily* with twenty ships of war, and a thousand fouldiers; and that from thence *M. Pomponius* should in the twenty ships behind embark one thousand and five hundred fouldiers, and transport them over to *Rome*. Unto *C. Aurelius Cotta* was the civil jurisdiction of the City assigned. All the rest continued still in their government, and had their commissions newly signed, according as they had either provinces or armies under their hand. And with sixteen legions and no more, was the State of *Rome* that year maintained. Now to the end they might begin all enterprises in the name of the Gods and proceed therein with their grace and favour, order was given, that the Consuls before they went out to war, should first offer those games and plaies, and sacrifice those greater beasts which *T. Manlius* Dictator in the year that *M. Claudius* *Marcellus*, and *T. Quintius* were Consuls, promised by solemn vow, in case the Commons weal continued for five years following, in the same good estate as then it was. So the games were exhibited in the great Cirque or show-place four daies together, and the sacrifices slain accordingly, as they were vowed to the Gods.

But all this while, as mens hope, for their fear all increased daily more and more, whiles they could not certainly resolve with themselves, whether they had more cause to rejoyce, that *Anubal* after sixteen years had abandoned *Italy*, and left the possession thereof free unto the people of *Rome*; or to be afraid, for that he had passed over into *Africk* with the safety of his army. For why? the place was only changed, and the danger all one. And surely *Q. Fabius* late deceased, no vain Prophet of so great a perill and hazard, was wont to foretell, and this was ever his saying. That *Anubal* would be a more dangerous enemy at home in his own country, than if he had been abroad in a forraign Land. And *Scipio* should find, that he had to deal neither with

* Three pence
English.

"*Syrphax* (King of a rude, untought, and barbarous country, who was wont to lead armies offhale
 "grooms, and little better than water-bearers and camp-slaves to keep one place, and not re-
 "move) not with *Asdrubal* his father in law, a Captain of all others most light of foot, and re-
 "died to run away, nor yet with tumultuary armies taken up in huff and raised suddenly, con-
 "fiding of a rabble of ruffical clowns and peasants armed by the halves; but with *Annibal*, born in man-
 "ner within the camp, yea, and in the royal pavilion of his father; a most valiant Captain, bred
 "and brought up amongst armed men; who long ago was no sooner a child, but he was a soldier,
 "and before he came to the prime and flower of youth, became a General: who growing to be
 "old in a continual course and train of victories, hath filled *Spain* and *France* from the one side
 "to the other, and *Italy* from the *Alpes* to the narrow seas, with the marks and memorable monu-
 "ments of worthy and noble exploits: and leadeeth still an army of as long standing and continu-
 "ance in warfare as himself, hardened and beaten to endure all those things which hardly one
 "would believe, men could abide and suffer; embrewed and bathed a thousand times in the blood of
 "Romans, and carrying with him the spoils not of common soldiers only, but also of most brave
 "Generals themselves. *Scipio* should be sure to encounter and meet in battail those who with their
 "own hands had slain *Pretors*, and killed *Consuls* of *Rome*; all bedight and goodly to be seen in
 "mural and vallare coronets; for their good service in scaling of walls, and mounting over rampiers
 "those I say who at their pleasure have ranged through the won camps and forced Cities of the
 "Romans. Neither at this day have the Magistrates of the people of *Rome* so many bundles of rods,
 "with axes bound before them, as *Annibal* hath taken from the Roman Generals who he hath slain,
 "So can it be left shew and carry before him, Casting and tossing these doubts and fears in their minds,
 "they themselves entreated their own care, and doubled their dread in this point also, that whereas
 "they were wont for certain years to make war in sight of home, in diverse and sundry places of
 "*Italy*, with a lingering kind of hope, without regarding any issue thereof like presently to enforce
 "*Scipio* and *Annibal*, Captains matched together (as one would say) to make a final end & tryal of,
 "had set all mens minds awork to expect the event now or never. And even they also who had re-
 "posed exceeding confidence, and grounded no small hope of victory in *Scipio*, the more their spir-
 "its were amused upon it, and desirous to see a speedy effect, the greater was their care and doubt
 "of the issue. The Carthaginians for all the world were likewise affected and disquieted in mind.
 "One whiles, beholding *Annibal*, and considering his noble and worthy acts, they repented that
 "they fled for peace. Another while again, when they looked back and remembered, how twice
 "they had been defeated in battail, *Syrphax* slain themselves driven out of *Spain*, chased and humiliated
 "out of *Italy*, and all this by the valor and policy of one man *Scipio*; they trembled for fear of him,
 "as if he were the fatal Captain born for their ruin and utter destruction.

Now by this time was *Annibal* come as far as *Adrumetum*; from whence, after he had bellowed
 "some few dayes in refreshing his sea-fick soldiers, he was routed with fearful postures
 "brought news, how all about *Carthage* was full of enemies and hostility: whereupon he made
 "long journeys till he came to *Zama*, This *Zama* is a Town distant from *Carthage* five dayes jour-
 "ney. From thence he sent out espials, who being taken by the Roman warders, were brought be-
 "fore *Scipio*, and he caused them to be delivered unto the Tribuns or Marshals, with command-
 "ment, that they should be led throughout the camp: and suffered without all fear, to see whatso-
 "ever they desired. And when he had asked of them whether they had perused and considered
 "everything to their content, and enough to serve their turn; he sent them back again to *Annibal*,
 "with a safe conduct to accompany them. *Annibal* took no pleasure at all in hearing of any thing
 "that they reported: for (among other particulars) they brought news that *Malcaniss* chanced
 "that very day to come thither with six thousand foot and four thousand horse. But most of all,
 "he was troubled and cast down with the resolute confidence and assurance of the enemy: which
 "no doubt (he thought) arose not of nothing. And therefore albeit himself was the only cause
 "of that war, and by his arrival had disturbed the truce concluded, and the hope of peaceable cov-
 "enants: yet supposing, that a more indifferent accord might be obtained, in case he sued therefore
 "while he was entire and unfoiled, rather than after he were vanquished and overcome; he addre-
 "ssed a messenger or purveyor unto *Scipio*, requesting that he might confer and commune with him.
 "Whether he did this of his own accord, or by direction from the publick Council of the State, I
 "have no reason to set down or avouch for certain, either the one or the other. *Valerius Antius*
 "writeth, That he was by *Scipio* defeated in the first battel, wherein were slain in field 12000 armed
 "men, and 1700 taken prisoners, whereupon himself in person came as Ambassador, with other ten
 "Orators into the camp unto *Scipio*. But howsoever it was, *Scipio* refused not to embrace; and so,
 "both Generals of purpose advanced forward and approached with their camps, to the end they
 "might be nearer one to the other when they should meet in conference. *Scipio* made choice of a
 "plot of ground not far from the City *Nadagara*: which as it was handsome and meet in
 "other respects, so especially in this, that it had a watering place within an arrow shot. *Annibal*
 "took an hill four miles from thence, sure enough and commodious otherwise, but only that they
 "were far from water. In the mid way between they chose a plain, open on every side, where they
 "might discover and see all about them, that no ambush there were laid: and after they had caused
 "their armed footsiders to retire a like distance from either party, then came together with one
 "truch-man or interpreter apace, not only the greatest and bravest Captains of their time, but al-
 "so equal to the mightiest Kings or Emperors of realm or nation that ever had been afore them

The enter-
view of *Scipio*
and *Annibal*.

A in any age and remembrance of man. For while they stood one beholding the other, and said
 "never a word, ravished and astonished with a mutual admiration: and at last *Annibal* began and
 "spoke in this wise. "If the Gods by destinies have appointed, that I who first levied war against
 "the Romans, and who first often have had the victory as it were in mine own hands, must needs
 "of myself and mine own motion, come now first likewise to sue for peace: glad I am and well
 "pleased, that it is my good hap to meet with you above all other men, at whose hands I should
 "seek the fame. And certainly, you also for your part among many your singular and excellent
 "leader, may I conceive this for none of the least, namely, That *Annibal* (unto whom the Gods
 "have vouchsafed the upper-hand over so many noble Captains of the Romans) hath yielded the
 "backen; and given place unto your self; now that you have had the honor to end this war,
 "more notable and renowned at the first for your losses and overthrows than ours: and that
 "fortune (as it is fallen out) hath made this prey (with me) who at the beginning took
 "arms when your father was Consul, gave him battail first of all other Roman Generals, and am
 "now come unarmed since his son to crave peace. Verily much better it had been, and simply the
 "very best, that the Gods had inspired into our fore-fathers this mind, That both you might
 "have contented your selves with the Dominion of *Italy*, and we likewise of *Africa*. For truly,
 "Sicily and *Sardinia* both, are nothing sufficient to make amends and satisfaction, and it were but
 "only of your part, what recompense of so many brave deaths, so many pusillan armies, and so many
 "famous Captains that ye have lost. But faults done and past may well be blamed and reprov-
 "ed, when they can not be corrected and reformed. So greedily were we on both sides to conquer
 "the lands of others, that in the meantime we have hazarded our own. Neither had ye war in
 "Italy only, or we again in *Africa* alone: but both ye have seen the ensigns and armies of ene-
 "mies laid at your gates, and in manner under your own walls: and we likewise from *Carthage*
 "have heard the noise and bruit of the Roman camp. Now then, that which we have caused most
 "to detest and abhor, and you to wish above all other things in the world; the treaty of peace is
 "fallen out in time of your better prosperity, and more favourable aspect of fortune unto you.
 "We againe the agents therein, whom it most standeth upon and importeth that there should
 "be peace; and who are assured, whatsoever we conclude, that the States and cities from whence
 "we come, will approve and ratifie the same. There needs no more but a willing mind, well
 "affected and inclined to those courses which tend to peace and quietnes. For mine own part,
 "and while age hath taught me, who am returned an old man into my country, from whence
 "I came a child: another while prosperity and adversity both, hath schooled me, that I would
 "now rather be ruled by reason, than I wayed by fortune. But I fear me greatly, that you as well in
 "regard of youth, as also of your continual felicity and fortunate train of success, are over-hasty
 "and stout; for to yield unto any peaceable wayes. For commonly he fore-calleth no variable
 "chances, who never tasted of adverse fortune. And the same are you at this day, that sometimes
 "I was at *Thermapyus* and at *Cannae*. You being hardly come to charge, which is meet for war-
 "like, had the charge and command of an army: and look what enterprises you took in hand
 "most successfully, the same you ever exploited as happily. You pursued the vengeance of fathers
 "and uncles death, and wan by the calamity of your house and family a notable name and reputa-
 "tion of singular virtue and piety. *Spain* full and wholly you have recovered and conquered a-
 "gain: four armies of Carthaginians you have chased from thence: no sooner were you created
 "Consul, but when all other mens hearts failed them to defend and keep *Italy*, you failed never-
 "theless, hither over into *Africa*: and after you had defeated here two armies, forced and burnt
 "in one hour two camps of your enemies, taken *Syrphax* prisoner, a most mighty and pusillan
 "Prince, vanquished many cities both of his Kingdom and of our dominions: you pulled me a league
 "my head out of *Italy*, whereof I had been now sixteen years possessed. Well may your hasty
 "mind affect victory rather than incline to peace. Full well I know of what spirit and stomach
 "you are, more respective to grandeur and honor, than to your good and profit. And the time
 "hath been, when I also had the lightesome countenance of fortune lovingly smiling and shining
 "upon me. And were we so blessed of God as to have our right wits and perfect senses in time of
 "prosperity, we would consider and think not of things only which have hapned, but of those
 "also that might happen. But if you should forget all other, I alone might serve as a sufficient
 "example & mirror of accidents of fortune whatsoever. For, whom not long since you either saw
 "or might have seen encamped between the river *Anio* and your City, and ready in manner to
 "take the walls of *Rome*; you see me now after the loss of my brethren, two right valiant warriors
 "and most renowned Generals, even here before the walls of my country little better than be-
 "sieged, making means in humble manner to avert and avoid those dangers from mine own City,
 "with which enemies I terrified yours. Well, the greatest and happiest fortune is left to be
 "ruled, and never is it worse relying on her, than when she is so free & boundless. Now that you
 "G both are and we fade, whiles you are afore and we sink; peace, unto you that giveth it, is a glo-
 "rious and goodly matter; unto us that crave it, more necessary than honorable. Better it is yet and
 "later of the twain, to enjoy a certain peace, than hope for a doubtful victory. The one lieth in
 "your hand to effect, the other as it pleaseth the Gods to dispose. Beware therefore, how in once
 "you hazard the felicity of so many years, And as you consider your own strength & forces:
 "I wish upon the power of fortune: let before your eyes the alternative course of *Mars*
 "in war. You shall see armor and the edge of the sword; you shall see the bodies of men as well of

The Oration
of *Annibal* to
Scipio.

"one side as the other and no where less than in war do events answer to our hope and expectation. And make full account of this, that you shall not gain so much overflow of honor, if haply you should win a field) above that which by granting a peace you may presently have in hand and be possessed of as you shall forgo and lose of the principal, in case you should do amiss and take the foil. One hour's misfortune is able to overturn all the honors and triumphs trophies as well past & gotten already, as in future hope to be obtained. In knitting and concluding a peace, O P. Cornelius, all lieth in your power. Remember that once and come to the trial of a battle, you must take your hap as God shall appoint. If M. Attilius in times past being conqueror, would have granted peace unto our fore-fathers at their suit and earnest petitions, rare and singular example had he afforded of virtue and felicity, and few comparable unto him: but not having the grace to see when he was well; not able to let a gage to his prosperity in some measure, and in due time; not willing to refrain and stop the pride and haughtiness of his good fortune, the higher he was heaved, the fouler was his fall; and the more he mounted, the greater was his overthrow. It is for him (I confess) that giveth peace, to capitulate and set down the covenants and conditions, and not for him that craveth the same. And yet peradventure we might not be thought unworthy, to set upon our own heads a fine and forfeiture. We refuse not therefore but are content, That all shall be yours, for which the quarrel and war first began: Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, all the Ilands whatsoever lying in the Sea between Affrick and Italy. And we Carthaginians holding our selves enclosed within the bounds and coasts of Affrick (since the will and pleasure of God is so) can abide to see you to rule and govern in foreign lands and strange seas, I cannot deny, but that you have good cause to suspect the Carthaginians for their faith & truth, whose late desire of peace and attendance about the same, was not so plain and simple as (should have been: Yet Scipio, take this wish: That it importeth much to the assurance of keeping and observing peace once intertained, to consider who the persons be that seek and crave the same. And even your own Senators and LL. of the Council, as I hear say, were moved not a little to deny and reject the motion of peace, for this cause, that our embassy seemed unto them not so honorable as it ought to have been. But now I, even I, no worse a man than Annibal, beseege you for peace; which as I would not seek, unless I thought it profitable; so I will intertain it in regard of that profit for which I sought it. And like as when I had once begun the war, so long as the Gods impeached and envied me not, I maintained it so, as no man of ours had cause to be weary thereof: so will I endeavour that none shall repent of the peace obtained by my means. When Annibal had thus said, the Roman General made answer again in this sort, "I knew full well, O Annibal, that the Carthaginians upon the hope of your coming, have both disturbed the assurance of the present truce, and also troubled the hope of the future peace. Neither do you your self dissemble so much, in defaking all out of the former conditions and capitulations of peace, save only those things which long since have been in our power and possession. But as you have a great care, that your fellow citizens should know & perceive, what heavy burdens they are by your means discharged and eased of; even so must I endeavour and labour, that the points which then they covenanted and agreed upon, they deduct not this day out of the articles and conditions of peace, for the hire and reward of their falsehood and treachery. For unworthy you are to have the overturn and possibility of any peace at all, ye seek also, that fraud and deceit may turn to your profit and commodity. Neither began our predecessors first to make war for Sicily, nor we since for Spain. But as then the danger wherein our allies the Mamerins stood: so now the ruin and destruction of Saguntum, moved us unto take arms off justly, even for pity and compassion. That you began the quarrel and provoked us first, your self confesses, and the Gods do witness: who, as in the former war, they granted and gave the issue, according to right, equity, and justice: so they do in this, and so they ever will. For mine own part, I remember well, and think upon the frailty of mankind, and the ticklishness of this world: I consider also the power of fortune and what she is able to do: I know likewise, that all our actions whatsoever, are subject to a thousand hazards and inconveniences. But as I would acknowledge my self to have dealt proudly and outrageously, if before I passed over into Affrick, when of N you yourself well nigh you abandoned Italy, when you had embarked your army, and came of your own accord to seek peace, I had then rejected you and cast you off: even so at this time, when I have haled and drawn you into Affrick by strong arm, as it were to tie an issue in law (all the hailing, all the shifting and resistance you could make to the contrary notwithstanding) am not bound to have any respective regard at all of you. Wherefore, if besides those points and capitulations, under which the peace at that time was like to be concluded (and what those were you know as well as I can tell you) you bring with you any recompence and amends for our ships, which being charged with victual and munition, you took perforce from us in time of the cessation of arms: as also for the outrage and violence committed upon the persons of our Embassadors: there is some reason that I should consider thereupon and be advised by my Council. But if you think hardly thereof also, as being thereby too fore pressed: look for battle, you that could not like of repose: provide for war, since you would abide no peace. Thus without any condition of accord they left parting: & being returned to their own companies, they related unto them, how their conference came to nothing, and all their words were but wind, and did no good: and therefore the matter was to be determined and tried by dint of sword, and they to trust to that fortune which the Gods had appointed for them. So soon as they were come into their camps, both

The answer of
Scipio to Annibal.

"of them made proclamation, that the souldiers should huckle themselves, make ready their armour, pluck up their spirits, and address themselves to a final trial of the quarrel: where, if they hoped well, they were to be victors, not for one day, but for ever and aye. For before the morning next at night, they should know, whether Rome or Carthage should give laws unto all nations of the earth. And as neither Affrick nor Italy, but the whole world shall be the prize and guardon of the conquerors: so they, whose hap were to lose the field, must make account of danger and damage, equal to the winnings and gain of the other. For as the Romans had no way to escape, nor place of safe retreat, being in a strange and unknown land: so Carthage (having laid all upon this one cast) if they now misde, made account that all was gone, and present destruction at hand. So the next day there advanced forward to this doubtful and dangerous trial, two most noble and renowned Captains, of two right mighty and puissant states: two most valiant and hardy armies came forth into the field, resolute that day either to win the purs or lose the shield: to gain more glory to their country, or else to lose all that ever they had gotten. Thus while the two hosts, and each of their minds were perplexed and distracted: and beholding one while their own forces, and another while their enemies power: measuring rather by their eye, than weighing by reason their strength, they had at once presented unto them, objects of joy and content, as well as of sorrow and heaviness. And look what the souldiers themselves could not think upon, those things their leaders put them in mind of, suggesting unto them by way of admonition and exhortation, whatsoever was thought expedient and good. Annibal rehearsed his noble acts achieved in Italy for the space of sixteen years, he reckoned up how many Roman Captains he had slain, how many armies he had defeated and put to the sword: and ever as he met with any souldiers of note and mark, or some worthy and memorable battail, he put them in remembrance of their honourable service and good deeds: Scipio related the conquest of Spun, recounted the fresh foughten fields in Affrick, alleged the very confusion of the enemies: who neither for fear could do other but seek for peace, nor yet upon an inbred liallood imprinted in their hearts, continue long in the same. Besides, he inserted the communication and speech of Annibal had with him in secret and apart from others: which according as he was disposed to devise, he might turn at his pleasure to his purpose. And inasmuch as the Gods had shewed unto them as they went out into the field the same signs and tokens of birds, by direction whereof their fathers before them fought in times past before the Ilands Agates: he offered and presaged that the war was come to an end, all dangers and troubles overblown, that the spoil and pillage of Carthage was at their devotion, and they at the point to return home unto their country, their parents, wives, children, and domestic Gods. And this he spake with such a lofty gesture of his body, with so pleasant and lovely a countenance, withal, that a man who had seen him, would have thought verily he had achieved the victory already. Then he embattailed first his Hastati (or spears) in the vanguard, behind them the Principes; and the rearward he guarded and fortified with the Triarii. Neither marshalled he whole cohorts thrust thick and close together, in the head of the battail before their ensigns, but divided them into Squadrons, distant a pretty way asunder one from the other: to the end there might be room and space to receive the Elephants of the enemies, that they should not break the array and ranks. As for Latinus (whom he had employed before as Lieutenant, but that year in quality of a Questor by a special order and direction from the Senat, and not by choice of lot) him with the Italian Cavalry he put in the left point: and Masinissa, with the Numidian horsemen in the right. The open waies and void spaces between the Squadrons stored, placed in the front before the ensigns, he filled with the Velites or Javelottiers, who at that time were light armed souldiers: with this commandment, that presently upon the violent charge given by the Elephants, they should either retire behind the files, or else run to a side, both on the right hand and the left, and joyn close to the foremost ranks, and make the Elephants way to run upon their shot from the one side and the other. Annibal to strike a terror into the enemies, first arranged the Elephants in the front, who were in number four-score, and more than ever he had before in any battail. Then he embattailed the aid-souldiers of the Ligurians and Frenchmen, with the Baleare slingers and the Mores intermingled amongst them. In the main battail he placed the Carthaginians and Affricans, with the legion of the Macedonians: behind whom (leaving a little space between) he let in array the battailon of the Italian souldiers in the rearward for succour: and those were most part of them Brutii: who followed him more perforce and by constraint, than of any good will, when he departed out of Italy. The Cavalry also he displayed and spread round like wings about the two points: whereof the Carthaginians kept the right, and the Numidians the left. Sundry and divers were the exhortations throughout the army, amongst so many men: whose language was dissimilar, whose complexions far unlike, whose manners and conditions were divers, who differed in laws and customs, whose armours were not all one, whose raiment and apparel not suitable, and finally, whose quarrel and cause of war was not one and the same. The auxiliaries and aid-souldiers fed themselves with the hope of ready and present payment and wages for the time past, yea, and with a double and triple augmentation thereof to boot, out of the spoil and pillage. The Frenchmen upon a special hatred of their own, and the same deeply seared, were soon kindled and enflamed against the Romans. The Ligurians, who were brought out of the rough and craggy mountains, and whose teeth watered at the fruit (not plentiful fields of Italy, were quickly by him moved to hope after victory. The Mores and Numidians he frightened with the proud and tyrannical rule of Masinissa, under which they should ever after

live. Before the Carthaginians he presented the walls of their native City, their houses and houses of God, the sepulchres and tombs of their ancestors, their children and parents, yea, and their timorous and fearful wives: he set before their eyes either final destruction of all those things and slavery of their persons, or else the empire and sovereign dominions of the whole world: and so mean between these extremities either of fear or hope.

When as the General was most buie this in exhorting the Carthaginians and the Captains of the strangers, amongst the soldiers of their own Nations, and that for the most part by means of interpreters, intermingled for the same purpose with them: the Trumpets sounded, and the horns blew from the Roman host. And such a wonderful shout arose from thence, that the Elephants turned upon the Mores and Numidians of their own side, especially in the left point of the battail. Whom *M. Janniss* seeing once affrighted, he soon redoubled their fear: and riding upon them with a hot charge, laid naked the battail of footmen on that side, and clean without the aid of their Cavalry. Howbeit, some few of the Elephants driven without fear full upon the enemy, made foul work amongst the ranks of the light armed Velites, and overthrow a number of them, not without many a wound and much hurt done to themselves. For the Velites leaping again nimbly to the Squadrons, after they had made way for the beasts, fearing they should be trodden underfoot by them, let fire their javelins at them from both sides, lying open as they did like boats to the shot on either hand. Neither lost they any time, who were in the vanguard before the Ensigns, nor gave over flinging their darts at them, until they were driven by a volley of shot lighting upon them from all parts, clean out of the Roman battail: and then they turned head also upon the very Horsemen of the Carthaginians in their own right point, and forced them to run away. *Lulius* for his part, seeing the enemies in disorder and sore troubled, charged upon them with his Hories, and encreased their fright. So as now the Carthaginian battail was disurnished and stript of their Horsemen on both wings. By which time the Cavalry joyned battail, whose hope was now quailed and strength abated, and therefore not able to make their parts good. Besides another thing there was, a small matter to speak of, but yet in fighting-time and in the very conflict, of great consequence and importun e. The shout and cry from the Romans was ever alike and consonant in all parts, and there o'the greater and more terrible: but the enemies made dissonant noises, according as they uttered in language, being as they were, of many and sundry Nations. The manner of the Romans fight was true and steadfast: by reason of the peltic of their own bodies, and the weight of their armour, bearing still a d pressing hard upon the enemies: but they on the other side, shewed more swiftness and agility than force and violence. And therefore at the very first shock the Romans incontinently enforced their battail to retire and lose their ground. Afterward they fell to flourishing and knocking them with the pikes and bosses of their bucklers: which done, they let foot forward a good round pace, and gained some ground of them, marching on still, and no man seemed to make head against them: whilst they that were hindmost in the files, perceiving once that battail to go on and wind ground, still put forward the foremost, which was the very thing that availed much, and was of great efficacy to put the enemies to flight. But the second battail which consisted of Africans, and Carthaginians, were so far from fearing and upholding the auxiliary strangers thus dimaching: that contrary-wise, for fear lest the Romans by killing them in the forefront (who stood to it lustily and made resistance) should come as far as to them behind, they likewise retired and gave backward. Whereupon the aid-souldiers also suddenly shewed their hin-parts and turning their face upon their own fellows: some of them retired for refuge into the second battail: others fell to killing of them that would not receive them within their ranks: and good reason they had, for as a while before they had no help at all of them, so then they were altogether excluded and shut out from them. So as now the Carthaginians had to deal at once in two skirmishes shuffled together, whilst they were compelled to dole and come to hand fight, both with their enemies, and also with their own fellows. Yet notwithstanding for all they were either so affrighted, or so angry with them receive them they would not in no hand into their battail: but keeping their ranks and files close together, they cast them to N side to the wings and the void ground without the place of conflict, and all because they would not intermingle any souldiers thus scared upon running away and many wounds, with that battail which stood still sure enough, and as yet unfoiled. But the place where a little before the auxiliaries were ranged, was so full of slain bodies, and weapons and armour thrumbled one upon another, that the Romans had welneer more ado to pass that way now, than they should have had through the press of the enemies standing thick together. And therefore the foremost of the Hastati following after the enemies, every one as well as he could over the heaps of bodies and armour on the earth, and through the slippery filth of the blood, made a pellmell of their own carriages, and confusion of their ranks. Whereupon the ensigns also of the Princes began to wave, when they saw the battail afore them to be wandering and inconstant. Which *Scipio* when he once perceived, commanded in all haste to found the retreat unto the Hastati: and when he had withdrawn as many of them as were wounded and hurt, and bestowed them in the rearward, he brought the Princes and the Triarii to the out-wings and flanks thereof: to the end, that the middle battail of the Hastati should be more sore and strong. By this means there began a new skirmish. For now were they come to their very enemies indeed: such as for armour and weapons of all sorts, for practise and experience of warfare, for fame and renown of worthy

A worthy exploits, and last of all for greatness either of hope or peril, were equal and comparable unto them. But both in number and also in courage, the Romans were superiour, for that already they had discomfited the Cavalry, put to flight the Elephants, beaten back the vanguard, and were ready now to encounter with the main battail. Now *Lulius* and *M. Janniss* having had the horsemen in chase a good way, whom they had compelled to flee as is before said, returned in good time, and charged hotly upon the tail of the enemies battail. And this assault of theirs it was, that struck the stroke, this did the deed and amazed the enemies. Many of them were environed and killed in the place, many fled and were scattered over the plains and open fields, and by the horsemen who had taken up all the avenues, and ranged all about, were caught up here and there, and so slain. Of Carthaginians and their Allies, were killed that day above twenty thousand, and welneer as many taken prisoners: of military ensigns there were gotten a hundred thirty three, and eleven Elephants besides alive. Of the conquerors there died about two thousand. *Annibal* with some few horsemen made shift to escape out of the tumult and heat of the execution, and fled to *Adramentum*, having assailed and tried all means possible, both in the very conflict, and also before the battail, ere he departed and left the fight. And this praise and commendation he won even by the confession of *Scipio* himself, and all others that were expert warriors, that with singular skill that day he ordered the battel, and marshalled the field. For the Elephants he had placed in the forefront, whose adventurous force and intollerable violence in giving the onset, might empeach the Romans from following their colours, and keeping their arrais: the only thing wherein they reposed their greatest hope and confidence. Then, before the main battail of the Carthaginians, he set the auxiliaries and aid-souldiers, of purpose, that being a confused rable and medley of all sorts of nations, such as were not bound by allegiance, but tied only by gain and wages, should have no liberty to retire themselves, and escape by running away: who also, as the sordid hope, bearing the furious heat of the first brunt, might weary the enemies with charging upon them, and if they did no other good, yet with receiving many a wound in their bodies dull and turn the edge of the enemies sword. After this in the battel, where all his hope was, he placed the Carthaginian and African souldiers: that being otherwise in all things else equal to the enemies, they might in this regard have the odds, in that they were to fight with them wearied and wounded, when they themselves were in heart and lusty. As for the Italians, who also were divided from the rest by a good space between he removed far off into the rearward, as doubtful whether they were friends or enemies, *Annibal* having done this doughty deed and work, as it were for the last proof of his virtue and valour, fled to *Adramentum*, and was from thence sent for to *Carthage*: whither he returned in the 36 year, after that he first departed thence a very child, where in the Council house he confessed and said, "That overcome he was not only in a battel once, but also in the main war for ever hereafter: protesting in plain terms, that now there was no other way but one to save themselves, and that was peace, if they could obtain it.

Scipio immediately after this battail, having forced by assault and rifled the enemies camp, returned with a huge booty to the Sea and his ships, being advertised afore by a messenger that *P. Lentulus* was arrived at *Utica* with five ships of war, and a hundred Hulks laden with provision of all kinds of victual. And supposing it good policy now that *Carthage* was troubled and thoroughly affrighted, to come upon them with all terror on every side: so soon as he had dispatched *Lulius* away to *Rome*, with tidings of this victory, he commanded *C. Otavianus* to lead the legions by Land against *Carthage*. Himself in proper person, after he had joined this new fleet of *Lentulus*, unto the old Armado of his own, weighed anchor and departed from *Utica*, and sailed directly to the Haven of *Carthage*. He was not far from thence, when there met him a ship of the Carthaginians, garnished with insules, ribbands, and white flags of peace, and belcet with bunches of Olive: wherein were ten Orators embarked, the best men of the City, sent by the advice and motion of *Annibal* to crave peace. Who as they approached the hin-deck and poop of the Admiral ship, put forth the vails and tokens of suppliants, praying and beseeching the protection and mercy of *Scipio*. Who had no other answer made them, but that they should repair to *Tunes*, whither he intended to remove. Then himself after he had well viewed the situation of *Carthage*, not so much to have the full knowledge thereof at this present, as to terrifie the enemies, returned to *Utica*, whither he had called back *Ottavius* also. As he marched forward from thence toward *Tunes*, he had intelligence given him, that *Perminia* the son of *Syphax* was coming to aid the Carthaginians with a power of more Horsemen than Footmen: whereupon, part of the army together with the whole Cavalry was sent: whereof the light horse and van-couriers charging the vanguard in their march, after a light skirmish discomfited the Numidians: and having stopped all passages every way men the Horsemen, so as they could not get out and flee, there were upon a fifteen thousand men of them slain, 1200 taken prisoners, 1500 Numidian Hories also were gotten from them alive, and 72 military ensigns. The young Prince himself in the midst of the tumult and conflict, with some few escaped, then encamped *Scipio* near *Tunes*, in the same place where he lay before: and thither repaired unto him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*. And they verily, as they were in harder case and greater distress, made much more pitiful entreating than before: but in their audience found less favour and mercy by a great deal, for their late treachery and falsehood to fresh in remembrance. Now albeit when they were set in counsel, all of them had just cause to be angry, and thereupon were provoked to destroy & rase *Carthage*: yet upon better advisement and consideration, how great and difficult and enterprize, and what a long

Annibal defeated by Scipio.

Or Ottavius tum, p. 616. Carthage, c. 616. M. Janniss.

live. Before the Carthaginians he presented the walls of their native City, their houses and house Gods, the sepulchres and tombs of their ancestors, their children and parents, yea, and their innumerable and fearful wives: he set before their eyes either final destruction of all those things and slavery of their persons, or else the empire and sovereign dominions of the whole world: and no mean between these extremities either of fear or hope.

When as the General was most buie this in exhorting the Carthaginians and the Captains of the strangers, amongst the loudiers of their own Nations; and that for the most part by means of interpreters, intermingled for the same purpose with them; the Trumpets sounded, and the horns blew from the Roman host. And such a wonderfull shout arose from thence, that the Elephants turned upon the Mores and Numidians of their own side, especially in the left point of the battail. Whom *Masaniassa* seeing once affrighted, he soon redoubled their fears: and riding upon them with a hot charge, laid naked the battail of footmen on that side, and clean without the aid of their Cavalry. Howbeit, some few of the Elephants driven without fear full upon the enemy, made foul work among the ranks of the light armed Velites, and overthrew a number of them, not without many a wound and much hurt done to themselves. For the Velites leaping again nimble to the Squadrons, after they had made way to the beasts, fearing they should be trodden underfoot by them, let flie their javelins at them from both sides, lying open as they did like butts to the shot on either hand. Neither lost they any time, who were in the vanguard before the Ensigns, nor gave over flinging their darts at them, until they were driven by a volley of shot lighting upon them from all parts, clean out of the Roman battail: and then they turned head alo upon the very Horsemen of the Carthaginians in their own right point, and forced them to run away. *Lulius* for his part, seeing the enemies in dismay and sore troubled, charged upon them with his Horses, and increased their fright. So as now the Carthaginian battail was distressed and stript of their Horsemen on both wings. By which time the Cavalry joynt battail, whose hope was now quailed and strength abated, and therefore not able to make their parts good. Besides another thing there was, a small matter to speak of, but yet in fighting-time and in the very conflict, of great consequence and importance. The shout and cry from the Romans was ever alike and consonant in all parts, and there of the greater and more terrible: but the enemies made dissimilar noises, according as they differed in language, being as they were, of many and sundry Nations. The manner of the Romans fight was true and steadfast, by reason of the pelfe of their own bodies, and the weight of their armour, bearing still a d pressing hand upon the enemies: but they on the other side, shewed more swiftness and agility than force and violence. And therefore at the very first shock the Romans incontinently enfor ed their battail to retire and lose their ground. Afterward they fell to floundering and knocking them with the pikes and bosses of their bucklers: which done, they let foot forward a good round pace, and gained some ground of them, marching on still, and no man seemed to make head against them: whilst they that were hindmost in the files, perceiving once that battail to go on and winground, still put forward the foremost, which was the very thing that availed much, and was of great efficacy to put the enemies to flight. But the second battail which consisted of Africans, and Carthaginians, were so far from seconding and upholding the auxiliary strangers thus dimarching; that contrary-wise, for fear lest the Romans by killing them in the forefront (who stood to it lustily and made resistance) should come as far as to them behind, they likewise retired and gave backward. Whereupon the aid-souldiers also indainly shewed their hin-parts and turning their face upon their own fellows: some of them retired for refuge into the second battail: others fell to killing of them that would not receive them within their ranks: and good reason they had, for as a while before they had no help at all of them, so then they were altogether excluded and shut out from them. So as now the Carthaginians had to deal at once in two skirmishes shuffled together. whilst they were compelled to close and come to handfight, both with their enemies, and also with their own fellows. Yet notwithstanding for all they were either so affrighted, or so angry with them receive them they would not in no hand into their battail: but keeping their ranks and files close together, they cast them on side to the wings and the void ground without the place of conflict, and all because they would not interminge any souldiers thus scared upon running away and many wounds, with that battail which stood still sure enough, and as yet unfoiled. But the place where a little before the auxiliaries were ranged, was so full of slain bodies, and weapons and armour thrumbled one upon another, that the Romans had welnear more ado to pass that way now, than they should have had through the pelfs of the enemies standing thick together. And therefore the foremost of the Hastati following after the enemies, every one as well as he could over the heaps of bodies and armour on the earth, and through the slippery filth of the blood, made a pell-mell of their own ensigns, and confusion of their ranks. Whereupon the ensigns also of the Principes began to wave, when they saw the battail order them so wandering and inconstant. Which *Scipio* when he once perceived, commanded in all haste to found the retreat unto the Hastati: and when he had withdrawn as many of them as were wounded and hurt, and bestowed them in the rearward, he brought the Principes and the Triarii to the out-wings and flanks thereof; to the end, that the middle battail of the Hastati should be more sure and strong. By this means there began a new skirmish. For now were they come to their very enemies indeed: such as for armour and weapons of all sorts, for practise and experience of warfare, for fame and renown of

worthy

A worthy exploits, and last of all for greatness either of hope or peril, were equal and comparable unto them. But both in number and also in courage, the Romans were superior, for that already they had discomfited the Cavalry, put to flight the Elephants, beaten back the vanguard, and were ready now to encounter with the main battail. Now *Lulius* and *Masaniassa* having had the horsemen in chase a good way, whom they had compelled to flie as it were before, returned in good time, and charged hotly upon the tail of the enemies battail. And this assault of theirs it was, that struck the stroke, this did the deed and amazed the enemies. Many of them were environed and killed in the place, many fled and were scattered over the plains and open fields, and by the horsemen who had taken up all the avenues, and ranged all about, were caught up here and there, and to slay. Of Carthaginians and their Allies, were killed that day above twenty thousand, and welnear as many taken prisoners: of military ensigns there were gotten a hundred thirty three, and eleven Elephants besides, alive. Of the conquerors there died about two thousand. *Annibal* with some few horsemen made shift to escape out of the tumult and heat of the execution, and fled to

Annibal defeated by *Scipio*.

Adrumetum, having assailed and tried all means possible, both in the very conflict, and also before the battail, ere he departed and left the fight. And this praise and commendation he won even by the confession of *Scipio* himself, and all others that were expert warriors, that with singular skill that day he ordered the battel, and marshalled the field. For the Elephants he had placed in the forefront, whose adventurous force and intollerable violence in giving the onset, might empeach the Romans from following their colours, and keeping their arrais: the only thing wherein they reposed their greatest hope and confidence. Then, before the main battail of the Carthaginians, he set the auxiliaries and aid-souldiers, of purpose, that being a confused rable and medley of all sorts of nations, such as were not bound by allegiance, but tied only by gain and meely, should have no liberty to retire themselves, and escape by running away: who also, as the foremost hope, bearing the furious heat of the first brunt, might weary the enemies with charging upon them, and if they did no other good, yet with receiving many a wound in their bodies dull and turn the edge of the enemies sword. After this in the battel, where all his hope was, he placed the Carthaginian and African souldiers: that being otherwise in all things else equal to the enemies, they might in this regard have the odds, in that they were to fight with them wearied and wounded, when they themselves were in heart and lusty. As for the Italians, who also were divided from the rest by a good space between, he removed far off into the rearward, as doubtful whether they were friends or enemies. *Annibal* having done this doughty deed and work, as it were for the last proof of his virtue and valour, fled to *Adrumetum*, and was from thence sent for to *Carthage*: whither he returned in the 36 year, after that he first departed thence a very child. Where in the Council house he confessed and said: "That overcome he was not only in a battel "once, but also in the main war for ever hereafter: protesting in plain terms, that now there was "no other way but one to save themselves, and that was peace, if they could obtain it."

Scipio immediately after this battail, having forced by assault and rifled the enemies camp, returned with a huge booty to the Sea and his ships, being advertised afore by a messenger that *P. Lentulus* was arrived at *Utica* with five ships of war, and a hundred Huls laden with provision of all kinds of victual. And supposing it good policy now that *Carthage* was troubled and thoroughly affrighted, to come upon them with all terror on every side: so soon as he had dispatched *Lulius* away to *Rome*, with tidings of this victory, he commanded *Cn. Octavius* to lead the legions by Land against *Carthage*. Himself in person, after he had joined this new fleet of *Lentulus*, unto the old Armado of his own, weighed anchor and departed from *Utica*, and sailed directly to the Haven of *Carthage*. He was not far from thence, when there met him a ship of the Carthaginians, garnished with insules, ribbands, and white flags of peace, and beset with branches of Olive: wherein were ten Orators embarked, the best men of the City, bent by the advice and motion of *Annibal* to crave peace. Who as they approached the hind-deck and poop of the Admiral ship, put forth the vails and tokens of suppliants, praying and beseeching the protection and mercy of *Scipio*. Who had no other answer made them, but that they should repair to *Tunes*, whither he intended to remove. Then himself after he had well viewed the situation of *Carthage*, not so much to have the full knowledge thereof at this present, as to terrifie the enemies, returned to *Utica*, whither he had called back *Octavius* also. As he marched forward from thence toward *Tunes*, he had intelligence given him, that *Vermis* the son of *Syphax* was coming to aid the Carthaginians with a power of more Horsemen than Footmen: whereupon, part of the army together with the whole Cavalry was sent: whereof the light horse and van-carriers charging the vanguard in their march, after a light skirmish discomfited the Numidians: and having stopped all passages every way with the Horsemen, so as they could not get out and flie, there were upon a fifteen thousand men of them slain, 1200 taken prisoners, 1500 Numidian Horses also were gotten from them alive, and 72 military ensigns. The young Prince himself in the mids of the tumult and conflict, with some few escaped. Then encamped *Scipio* near *Tunes*, in the same place where he lay before: and thither repaired unto him thirty Embassadors from *Carthage*, and they verily, as they were in harder case and greater distress, made much more pitiful entreating than before: but in their audience found less favour and mercy by a great deal for their late treachery and falsehood so fresh in remembrance. Now albeit when they were set in council, all of them had just cause to be angry, and thereupon were provoked to destroy & raze *Carthage*: yet upon better judgement and consideration, how great and difficult and enterprife, and what a long

long, piece of service it was to besiege a City so strong and so well fortified: and for that *Scipio* himself was troubled in mind with the expectation of a successor, who should come to win the credit and honor of finishing the war, which indeed was gotten by the travail and hazard of another, all their hearts were turned and inclined to peace. The morrow after the Orators were called again before them: and after they had been well checked, rebuked, and plainly told of their treachery and warned withal, that after so many losses and overthrowes which they had received, they should now learn to be wise, and at length believe that there were Gods in Heaven, and that an oath was to be regarded, these conditions of peace were tendered and offered unto them. *Item*, In what Cities was capitulated, That they might live free, according to the form of their own Laws: *Item*, What Cities, what territories (and within what bounds and limits) they held and were possessed of before the war began, the same they might keep still. *Item*, That *Scipio* and the Romans from that day forward should not wait and spoil the country. *Item*, That the Carthaginians should deliver all renegade traitors, all fugitive persons, all captives and prisoners, yea, and yield unto them all ships of war with brazen heads, above ten triremes or galleys of three ranks of oars. *Item*, That they should put into their hands all those Elephants which they had already tamed and manned and should break and tame no more of them. *Item*, They should make war neither in *Affrick*, nor without *Affrick*, but by order and warrant from the people of *Rome*. That they should make restitution and amends to *Masaniila* for all harms, and enter into league with him. *Item*, That they should find corn and money for the maintenance of the aid-souldiers: until their Embassadors were returned from *Rome*: yea, and tender payment of ten thousand talents of silver by even portions in fifty years. *Item*, That they should put in a hundred hostages at the pleasure of *Scipio* and none of them to be either under fourteen years of age, or above thirty. Last of all, they would grant a truce upon this condition, That the ships which were taken during the time of the former cessation of arms, should be restored back again, with all things else that were therein: otherwise no truce for the present, nor hope of peace hereafter. These articles and conditions the Embassadors were willing to return home withal. Which after they had related in the general assembly of the people, *Gisco* mounted up the pulpit to dissuade peace, and had audience given him with great applause of the multitude: who as they were heartless and unmeet for war, so they were as peevish and unkind, and could not long continue in repose. Hereafter, *Annibal* took great indignation, and was highly displeased, that in such a time, those things should either be delivered or heard: and he made no more do, but stepped to *Gisco*, laid hand upon him, and pulled him down from the pulpit out of which he spake: whereat the people were moved and grumbled in great discontent to see so strange a fight and unusual, in a free City. Then *Annibal*, as he was a meek martial man and could not skill of civil affairs, nor well away with these citizens' liberty. "I woe, quoth he, from you when I was but nine years old, and now after 36 years I am come again. All military skill and knowledge, which fortune sometime in my private matters, and other whiles in publick affairs, hath taught me from my childhood, me thinks I have learned sufficiently many for the rights and privileges for the laws, customs and fashions of the City and the common Hall I must be informed and instructed by you. Thus having pleaded ignorance for his excuse, he disordered at large of peace, arguing how reasonable and equal, yea, and how necessary it was. The greatest point of difficulty in all the capitulations ministered unto them was this, That touching the things above said which were taken during the abstinence of arms, there was nothing now forth-coming and to be seen but the bare vessels: and no easy matter was it to seek up the rest. Now when as they that gained the peace were convinced and put down by reason, agreed it was, that the ships should be redelivered, and the men likewise be sought out and found: as for all the rest that was wanting, there should an estimate be made according to the value, at the discretion of *Scipio*, and so the Carthaginians to make all good in money. Writers there be that have delivered, how *Annibal* presently from the field sped him to Sea, and there finding a ship ready prepared for him, straight-ways embarked and went directly to King *Antiochus*: Alas, when *Scipio* demanded above all other things that *Annibal* should be yielded into his hands, answer was made, that *Annibal* was not in *Affrick*. After that the Embassadors were returned to *Scipio*, the Quaestors or Treasurers were commanded to draw an extra according to their books upon record, of all such things as were in the ships, and appertained to the City: and look what belonged to private persons, the owners thereof were willing to declare and testify. In consideration and recompence whereof, there was a sum of money set down, amounting to 25000 pound weight of silver, and the same to be paid presently out of hand by the Carthaginians. Thus a truce was granted to them for three months: with this clause annexed over and besides. That during the said term they should send their Embassadors to no other place but only to *Rome*: and what Embassadors soever came to *Carthage*, they should not let them depart before they had certified the Roman General both who they were, and what their message and errand was. Then with the Carthaginian Embassadors were sent to *Rome*, *L. Veturius Philo*, *M. Marcius Ralla*, and *L. Scipio*, brother to the General. At that time there came such store of grain and victuals out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and thereby corn was so cheap, that the Merchant was fain to leave corn behind him to satisfy the shipmen and mariners for the portage and carriage thereof.

Now there had been much trouble and fear at *Rome* upon the first news and alarm, that the Carthaginians had taken arms again: and *T. Claudius* had commission to conduct a fleet with all speed

A speed into *Italy*, and from thence to pass over into *Affrick*: likewise the other Consul was commanded to stay still at *Rome*, until it were certainly known in what terms all matters stood in *Affrick*. But *T. Claudius* went but slowly to work, either in preparing and rigging an armada, or in putting it to sea: because the LL. of the Senat were of opinion, that as touching the peace and the conditions thereof, it was rather at the disposition of *Scipio* than of the Consul. Moreover, there were certain prodigious signs reported even presently before the very rumour of the foresaid rising and insurrection, which caused men to fear greatly. At *Cumes*, the circle and compass of the sun appeared less: and it rained a good shower of stones. Also in the territory of *Vesuvius*, the earth felt, and sunk, and made huge hollow chinks, in so much as trees were quite swallowed up under the ground. At *Aricia* the market-place and the shops all about, likewise at *Frangus* the wall of the City in divers places, yea, and the gate, were smitten with lightning from Heaven: and in mount *Palatine* it rained stones. This wondrous sight laid rehearsed, was expiate after the ancient customs, by keeping a Novendial sacrifice and fast for nine days: the rest by killing of greater sacrifices. Among all these were unusual deluges and inundations of waters, which troubled the minds and consciences of men: for the *Tiber* to swell and rise so high, that by reason that the shew-places of the *Cereus* was overflowed, preparation was made for the letting forth of the games *Agollinarius*, without the gate *Collina*, near the chappel of *Venus Erycina*. But upon the very day when the plaies should be exhibited, it grew to be so fair weather of a sudden, that the pageant and pompous train of the shew, which was going to the gate *Collina*, was called back and conveyed into the *Circus*: and word brought, that the water was fallen and gone clean out from thence: so the people were more joyous, and the patimes celebrated with greater rejoyce, for that the usual and ordinary place served again for the solemnity to be performed.

Claudius the Consul at last departed from the City of *Rome*, and went to sea: where between the havens of *Cyssa* and *Laurissus*, he was overtaken with a terrible and fearful tempest that arose and put him in exceeding fear. From thence he came to the *Populonia*, and there staid until the tempest was overblown and gone. Then he fell with the Ile * *Iluu*, and from *Iluu* he failed to *Corfica*, and from *Corfica* he passed over to *Sardinia*: where, as he doubled the point and was passing the trace of the mountains called * *Infantis*: there arose a far more cruel gulf, and in places of more peril and hazard, which scattered the fleets. Many of the ships were weather beaten and fore-shaken, many lost their tackling quite, yea, and some were creakt and split. Thus the Armado being much rotted and torn, arrived at length at *Carades*: where, whilst the ships were drawn up into the dock to dry Land, and there repairing, the winces came upon them, and they turned about. And so *T. Claudius* (as a private person, by reason that no man renewed his commission for a farther time): brought the Armado back to *Rome*. But *M. Scrotilus*, because he should not be called home to the City for the solemn election of Magistrates, had he declared Dictator, *Cn. Servilius Geminus*, departed into his Province. And the Dictator chose *P. Atilius Patrus* General of the Horsemen. Oftentimes went the writs out for publishing of the election, but by reason of tempests it held not, nor was performed. And therefore when the old Magistrates left their office after the Ides of *March*, and none was substituted in their room, the City was clean without any Magistrates of state to sit in the ivory chair. *L. Manlius Torquatus* a Bishop, that year died. In his place was invested *C. Sulpicius Galba*. The Roman games were thrice exhibited anew by *L. Lucius Lucullus* and *Q. Fulvius* Ediles of the chair. The Clerks and Scribes belonging to the Ediles, together with their beadies and summoners, were detected for carrying forth certain money out of the treasure and chamber of the City: and being thereof convicted, were therefore condemned, not without some touch and discredit of *Lucullus* himself the Edile. *P. Rilius Tuberos* and *L. Lictorius* Ediles of the commons, for that there was some error and default in their election, resigned up their places, after they had represented the playes, and in regard thereof solemnized the feast of *Jupiter*, and set up besides in the Capitol three images made of the silver that was forfeited and raised upon the fines of the persons condemned aforesaid. The Dictator and General over the Horsemen, by order from the Senat exhibited the games called *Cereales*, to the honour of *Ceres*.

When the Roman Embassadors and Carthaginians together, were come out of *Affrick* to *Rome*, the Senat assembled to give them audience in the Temple of *Bellona*: where *L. Veturius Philo* after he had declared (to the exceeding joy of the LL. of the Senat) that they had fought a battle with *Annibal* (the last that ever the Carthaginians were like to fight) and that this grievous and lamentable war was now come to an end, he went on still and related, that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* was vanquished and subdued: which was no small increase of the other exploits so happily achieved. Then he was commanded to go forth from thence directly to the assembly of the people, there to impart these glad some news unto the multitude. Whereupon (for exceeding joy and in token of thanksgiving) all the Temples in the City were set open, and solemn processions decreed for three days. Now when as the Embassadors of the Carthaginians and King *Philip* (for they also were arrived) required to have a day of audience in the Senat: the Dictator by direction from the Senat, returned them this answer, That the new Consuls should satisfy their request. After this, was the solemn assembly holden for the election of Magistrates: and Consuls were created *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Atilius Patrus*: for Pretors, first *M. Junius Pennus*, who was allotted to have the civil jurisdiction in the City: then *M. Valerius Edo*, unto whom the Britian country fell by lot to govern: next, *M. Fabius Buteo*, whose hap was to rule *Sardinia*, and

* *Elba*,
* *Mainomona*,
* *Pileum*, *Cannet*,
* *Agostoderni*.

and *P. Atilius Tubulus*, to be L. deputy of *Sardinia*. Concerning the *Dumovices* wherein the *Carth* and the *Carth* were to be employed, it was not thought good to determine any thing, before the Embassadors of King *Philip* and likewise of the *Carthaginians*, had delivered their embassages: for as they saw the end of one war, so they foresaw the beginning of another. *Cn. Lutatius* the Consul was inflamed with an ardent desire of the Province of *Africk*: for if he was considered, he wished an early victory: and if it were at the point of an end, he gaped at the honor of finishing the same, and hoped to have the name; That determined it was whilst he was Consul. And therefore he protested plainly, that he would suffer nothing to pass before that the Province of *Africk* were assigned to him. His colleague (a sober, temperate, and discreet man) gave his consent for he saw full well, that as the contending for that glory with *Scipio*, was unjust and unreasonable, whilst he would be overmatched, and never able to import and carry it away from him. *Q. Mucius Scaevola* then went about to compass that, which was commenced and assented in vain the year before by *T. Clabellius* the Consul. For when by warrant from the *Senat* a bill was proposed unto the people, wherein their pleasure was to nominate for government of *Africk*, all the 35 Tribes gave their voices and awarded that Province to *P. Scipio*. Much contention there passed sundry bickraments both in *Senat*-house and before the people, in the debating of this question: but in the end (they grew to this point, to refer all to the judgment of the *Senat*) with their oaths (for so it was agreed upon) thus concluded and gave this order. With their oaths, namely, which of them should have the rule of *Italy* and who the charge of a fleet of ships at sea. Item, to whether of them twain belie the navy, he should fall over into *Sicily* and if peace might not be fully concluded with the *Carthaginians*, then to cross over into *Africk*; where the Consul should war by Sea, and *Scipio* by Land, by virtue of the same commission and authority that he had already. Moreover, if the conditions of peace were accepted of both parties, then the Tribunes of the Commons should propound unto the people, as touching their will and pleasure, whether the Consul or *P. Scipio* should conclude the peace; and which of them (if these victorious army after conquest obtained) were to be brought back out of *Africk* should have the conduct thereof home again. Also, if they nominated *Scipio* for to make the peace, and bring away the army likewise, then the Consul should not cross over from *Sicily* to *Africk*: for the other Consul who had the government of *Africk*, he should receive of *M. Fabius* the Pretor, two legions. So *P. Scipio* had his commission fulfilled again for to remain in the Province of *Sicily*, with the same forces which he there had. *M. Fulvius* also the Pretor in the Brutian country was allowed those legions whereof *C. Livius* had the command the year before. It was further more agreed, that *P. Atilius* the Pretor should take the two legions in *Sicily* of *Cn. Tremellius*; and that one legion which *P. Lentulus* the Pretor had under his conduct, was appointed to *M. Fabius* of *Sardinia*. And *M. Servilius* the Consul of the former years continued also in his government with his own two legions for *Hetruria*. As concerning the provinces of *Spain*, *L. Cornilius Lentulus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus* had been there for certain years, the said Consul was to deal with the Tribunes, that if they thought it good, they should propound unto the Commons, for to know their minds whom they would appoint to govern *Spain*: and that he whosoever it was, should lead out of two armies enrol one entire legion of Roman soldiers, and of the allies of the Latination make up fifteen cohorts or regiments, and with the strength of them jointly, keep in obedience and defend the province. Item, that *L. Cornilius* and *L. Manlius* should bring over the old soldiers into *Italy*. Unto *Cornelius* the Consul was assigned a fleet of fifty ships, to be deducted and drawn out of two other Armadoes: the one of *Cn. Octavius* which was in *Africk*, the other of *P. Villius* which guarded the coasts of *Sicily*: and to choose thereunto what ships he would: and that *P. Scipio* should keep those fifty ships of war which he had already. And in case his pleasure was that *Cn. Octavius* should be Admiral over them still, like as heretofore: then *Octavius* was to continue in government for that year as Vice-pretor: but if he made *Lentulus* the Admiral, then *Octavius* should depart and come home to *Rome*, and bring back with him those ships that the Vice-consul had no use or need of. *M. Fabius* likewise had ten gallees of service allowed him into *Sardinia*. And the Consuls were appointed to muster and enrol two legions of citizens, that with the power of fourteen legions, and an hundred ships of war, the affairs of *Rome* that year might be managed.

These things thus ordered, they began to debate in counsel about the Embassadors of *Philip* and the *Carthaginians*: and thought good it was to admit the *Macedonians* into place for to have audience. Divers and sundry speeches they made, whilst they laboured partly to clear that point as touching the complaints that the Embassadors sent from *Rome* made before the King, for the foraging and spoiling of their confederates: and partly complained themselves of the allies of the people of *Rome*, laying much to their charge: but far more bitterly accusing *M. Aemilius*, for that he being one of the three Embassadors sent unto them, laid behind and took matters of soldiers' eyes, and against the covenant comprised in the league, made war upon them, and oftentimes gave battle unto their Captains and Governors in open field: partly also they determined, that the *Macedonians* and their Captain *Sopater*, who had served in the wars of *Antioch* for wages, and were taken prisoners and kept bound in prison, might be enlarged and set at liberty.

To

A To these points *M. Furius*, sent of purpose from *Aurelius* out of *Macedonia*, made answer briefly in this wise, That *Aurelius* who was left behind, for fear that the associates of the people of *Rome*, wearied with rodes and incursions into their territories and other injurious oppressions, might revolt unto the King: never departed out of the confines of the associates aforesaid, and endeavoured only, that those robbers and foragers of the country should not invade and over-run their lands, and go clear away without any harm. As for *Sopater*, he was a state and peer of the realm, and one nearly allied unto the King, who lately was sent into *Africk* with four thousand *Macedonians* and with money, to aid and assist *Antioch* and the *Carthaginians*. When as the *Macedonians* being required what they could say to their challenges, framed but a doubtful and intricate defence, before they had well made an end they received this for their answer: That since the King fought war, if he proceeded and went on still, he should shortly have his hands full but forasmuch as he had broken the league in two points, first in offering wrong to the allies of the people of *Rome*, and molesting them by way of war and hostility: and secondly, in helping their enemies with men and money, they deemed thus much of it, that not only *P. Scipio* both did & doth well and justly, in keeping them still in prison as enemies, who bare arms against the people of *Rome*, and were taken captive: but also *M. Aemilius* performed good service to the State, and a great pleasure to the *Senat*, in defending the Allies of the people of *Rome* by force of arms, when by right of league he could not. When the *Macedonians* had their dispatch, and were sent away with this heavy answer, then the *Carthaginian* Embassadors were called in.

When they beheld their reverent age, and the dignity of their personage (for they were the chief and principal men simply of their City) then every man was fully persuaded for his own part and said, That now they talked no longer, but meant in deed and good earnest to crave & have peace. But the chief and most portly person of them all was one *Asdrubal*, in his country and among his citizens (surnamed *Hadur*, a man that ever periwaded peace, & opposed himself against the *Barchine* faction. And therefore he had the more credit and authority, when he derived the blame from the Common-wealth, and laid all the fault upon the willfulness and greedy aversice of some few. Who after he had used diverse and sundry speeches, one while excusing and clearing the crimes, another while confessing some things objected, left it they had denied certain truths, they should with more difficulty have obtained pardon and peace: now and then also giving the LL. of the *Senat* an admonition and warning by the way, to use their property and good fortune modestly and with moderation; he added moreover and said, That if the *Carthaginians* would have been ruled by him & *Hanno*, and had been so wise as to have taken their time and the opportunity when it was, they should themselves have given those conditions of peace, which now they are constrained to crave. But for men to be fortunate and wise both at once is a rare and special gift, and seldom seen. And here it is that the people of *Rome* (quoth he) is invincible, because in prosperity they can remember to be wise, and to take the best way for themselves. And certainly, a wonder it were, if ever they should do otherwise. For those commonly who happen to meet with some new good success, and have not been used thereto before, overthrow and pass themselves too much in excessive joy, which they have not the grace to govern with sobriety and discretion: whereas the people of *Rome* have ever been accustomed to the continual felicity of joyous victories, inasmuch as they are grown into a distule of taking pleasure and delight in them (so common they are) and have encroached their dominion & Empire, more (in manner) by sparing and pardoning those whom they have conquered, than by the very conquest of them indeed.

The speech that the other Embassadors made, was more pitiful and lamentable, whilst they recounted before the *Senat* from what high estate, and to how base condition they were fallen: who but a while since held by force of arms, as it were the whole world, & had nothing left them now but the bare walls of the City of *Carthage*, within which they were shut up, and could see nothing either by land or sea, which they might rightfully claim as their own. Nay, the very City it self and their houses, they were to enjoy no longer than the people of *Rome* is willing, and forbear to proceed by rigour and extremity against the same, since there is nothing else behind to work upon. Now when as the LL. of the *Senat* seemed to incline to mercy and compassion one Senator there was amongst them (by report) who upon a deep and inveterate hatred of the *Carthaginians* (treachery, spake out aloud and said, What Gods will they regard and swear by in making of a new league, who have broken their oath, and taken their name in vain whom they called to witness in the former? Mary (quoth *Asdrubal*) even those and no other that are so sharp revengers and heavy enemies to the breakers of league and covenant. So when all their minds were inclined to peace, *Cn. Lentulus* the Consul, who had the government of the navy, opposed himself against the decree of the *Senat* for to cross the same. Then *M. Atilius*, and *Q. Minucius*, Tribunes of the Commons, preferred a solemn bill unto the people, in this form: Pleaseth it you, and will you grant, That the *Senat* shall resolve and determine, that peace may be concluded with the *Carthaginians*? Pleaseth it you to choose and appoint who shall be the man to make that peace, and who shall bring the army out of *Africk*? As concerning peace, the tribes every one as they were demanded their voices, granted affirmatively (*His rogatus*) that *Scipio* should conclude it, and also bring away the army. By virtue of this Act passed by the people, the *Senat* made a decree, that *P. Scipio* by the advice and counsel of ten Commissioners, should conclude an accord with the people of *Carthage*, under what conditions he thought good. After this

The Orator of *Asdrubal* *Hadur* in the *Senat* of *Rome*.

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the Carthaginians rendered thanks to the LL. of the Senate, and requested that they might enter into the City, and talk with their fellow citizens and country-men, who had been taken captives a long time; and lay in the common gaol and prison. For there were amongst them some of their kinsfolk and friends, noblemen of birth and of good quality; others also, unto whom they were to deliver some message and credence from their kinsmen. When they had spoken and commended with them, they came with a new petition and made earnest suit, to give them leave to ransom and redeem as many of them as they would: whereupon they were willing to give them their names; and when they had named said upon two hundred an order was granted out of the Senat, that the Roman Commissioners should take over with them into Affrick unto Scipio two hundred of those captives whom the Carthaginians would make choice of; and declare unto him from the Senat, that in case the peace were fully agreed upon and finished, he should deliver those two hundred to the Carthaginians, freely without paying any ransom. Now when the heralds of arms were appointed to go into Affrick; for to confirm and establish the peace according to the solemn order, at their own request there passed an act of the Senat framed in this form and tenor. *In primis*, That they should carry with them every one by himself, certain flint stones of their own, and likewise *Vervens*. *Item*, That the Roman Pretors should command them solemnly to pronounce the league, and then they to ask of the Pretor sacred herbs or *Vervens*. A kind of grass or herb this is, which was wont to be gathered from off the Capitol hill, and given to the Heralds.

Thus were the Carthaginians dismissed and sent from Rome: who being come into Affrick to Scipio, concluded peace with the same capitulations as is above said. And so they delivered up their galleys and ships of war, their Elephants, the renegade traitors, the vagrant fugitives, and thousand prisoners. Among whom was *Q. Terentius Cuncto*, a Senator by his calling. As for the ships, so soon as they were lancht forth into the deep, Scipio caused them to be set on fire and burnt. Some report that they were five hundred in number, one with another, of every fort, and all directed and guided by oars. Presently were they set a burning: a dolorous sight and heavy spectacle (no doubt) to the Carthaginians for to behold, as if *Carthage* it self had been on a light fire. The renegade traitors and rebels were punished more grievously than the fugitives. As many of them as were of the Latin Nation lost their heads: all that were natural Romans, were crucified and roundly trussed up on the gallows. Forty years before was the peace last made with the Carthaginians, when *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* were Consuls. The war began three and twenty years after, while *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And the same ended in the eighteenth year after, *P. Cornelius*, and *P. Aelius Pater* being Consuls. Many a time after, Scipio by report, would say, that the willful and covetous desire of *T. Claudius* first, and afterwards of *Cn. Cornelius*, was the only stay and let, that this war ended not with the final ruin and utter destruction of *Carthage*.

When as the Carthaginians, who by long and continual wars were grown bare & poor, thought the levy and contribution of money for to furnish out the first payment, lay heavy and sore upon them; inasmuch as in their Senat-house, there was great sorrow and heaviness, yea, and piteous weeping; it is said, that *Annibal* was seen to laugh a good while. And when *A. Hannibal* rebuked him for laughing in that public lamentation of the City, considering that himself was the cause of those tears. "If *qd. Annibal*," as we see by our eye the outward disposition of the face and countenance, so we could look within & behold the affection of the mind, ye might soon perceive, that this laughter of mine, which ye so much blame, proceedeth not from an heart that is glad and joyful; but rather senseless, stupidified, and attonied with the exceeding griefs and calamities that have happened. Yet is not it so unreasonable and impertinent to our present condition, as these tears of yours, and weeping that you make, is absurd and nothing to the purpose. Then should ye have wept and shed tears, when our armor and weapons were taken from us, when our ships were set on fire, when we were interdicted and forbidden to make war with foreign nations; for then had we our deadly blow, then our backs and hearts were broken. And never think that the Romans have proceeded hardly against you, in comparison of the hatred that ye N bare one to another. No great City and mighty State can long continue and rest in quiet. It have no enemies abroad, it findeth some at home: much like unto strong and lusty bodies, which seem to live enough against all outward accidents and causes of sickness, are overcharged with their own strength and fullness of humours, and thereby subject to most deadly maladies. So much, forsooth, and no more we feel of the publick miseries & common calamities, as toucheth and concerneth our selves in particular: wherein nothing pincheth us more, nor goeth nearer to the quick, than to forgo our money, and part with our pence. And therefore when *Carthage* was conquered and depoyled of all her ancient honors, when ye saw her disarmed and stripped naked, when ye saw her forlorn of all the armed nations of Affrick; no man then sighed, no man grieved thereat; but now when the tribute imposed, is to be paid out of your private purses, ye O keep a weeping and wailing, as in some publick funeral and mortuary carried forth. Buriall, I fear me greatly that ere it be long, ye shall find and feel, That your weeping this day hath been for the least loss of all the rest. Thus spake *Annibal* to the Carthaginians.

Scipio having assembled his whole army together, before them all, restored *Masini* to his father's Kingdom; and over and besides, ended him with the possession of the City *Cirra*, and other Towns and territories which belonged to the realm of *Syfax*; and were now in subjection to

to this people of Rome. *Nates Cn. Officiarius* he gave order to conduct the fleet into *Sicily* and there to make it over to *Cn. Cornelius* the Consul. The Carthaginian Embassadors he would forgo to *Rome*; that those acts and capitulations which were concluded by him with the advice of the Roman Commissioners, might likewise pass under the approbation of the Senat, and the consent of the people; and to be ratified and confirmed for ever.

Thus *Scipio* having obtained peace both by sea and land, and embarked his army, sailed toward *Sicily*; so arrived at *Lilybæum*. From whence he sent away a great part of his army by sea; and himself passed by land through *Sicily*, which now was joyfully as well for the peace concluded, as the victory achieved. Where all the way as he went, not only the people came forth in multitudes out of the Cities to do him honour, but numbers also of the country peasants out of the Villages, filled all the high-ways along until he came to Rome: where he entered the City, riding in the most stately and magnificent triumph that ever had been. He brought into the City Chamber 100033 pound weight of silver; he divided among his soldiers out of the spoil four hundred Attas a peece. *Syfax* by his death rather disappointed the people of a goodly shew and pageant in the triumph than diminished any whit the glory of the triumph: he died at *Tybur* not long afore, to which place he had been removed from *Alba*; howbeit his death was not obscure, by reason that he was solemnly carried to his buriall, with the pomp of a publick funeral at the charges of the City. But *Polihius* a writer of good account, reporteth, That this King was led in the very triumph, As *Scipio* rode triumphant. *Q. Terentius Cuncto* followed after with a cap of liberty set upon his head, and ever after so long as he lived, he honoured him (as becoming it was) and acknowledged him the author of his freedom. But as concerning his surname *Africanus*, I cannot for certain learn, whether it were the favour of his soldiers first, or the affectionate love of the people afterwards that brought it up, or rather began upon some of his own house and lineage that counted and flattered him therewith: like as in our fathers daies *Sulla* was surnamed ** Felix*, and *Pompeius*, ** Magnus*. This is certain that he was the first General that ever took his name of the country and nation by himself subdued, and thereby was renowned. But by his example afterwards, others nothing comparable to him in victory and conquest won goodly titles and glorious inscriptions to their Images, and honoured their houses with noble titles and additions.

* Or, as some think 40.
will have it to be 6, d.
English.

* Happy.
* Great.

The one and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and thirtieth Book.

The causes of the war begun again with Philip King of Macedony, which had discontinued, are set down to be these: In the time of the holy feast of Ceres, two young men of Acarnania, who had not been professed in these sacred mysteries, came to Athens; & chanced among other of their countrymen to go into the Chappel of Ceres. For which, as if they had committed some heinous fault in the highest degree, they were by the Athenians executed. The Acarnanians moved with indignation for the death of their neighbours, required aid of Philip to be revenged for them: Some few months after peace granted to the Carthaginians, in the five hundred and fifty year from the foundation of the City of Rome, when the Embassadors of the Athenians, who now were besieged by Philip, craved aid of the Senat, and that they be assisted and resolved to help them, notwithstanding the Common gain and loss (by reason that they thought the continual troubles of so many wars were grievous and heavy unto them) yet so far prevailed the authority of the Nobles, that the people also gave their consent to succour their confederate City. This war was committed to the managing of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul: who led an army into Macedony, and fought certain battels fortunately against Philip, which were performed by horse-service. The Athenians being invested and beleaguered round about by Philip, following the example of the Sagaritians, slew their wives and children, and their own selves after them. L. Furius the Prator overthrew in a pitch field the Gauls, called *Insubres*, that rebelled, and likewise *Amilcar* the Carthaginian, who began to make war in those parts, where *Amilcar* was slain, & with him five and thirty thousand men. Moreover, this book containeth the expeditions and voyages of King Philip and *Sulpitius* the Consul. And the winning of certain Cities by them both, *Sulpitius* the Consul warred with the help of King *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, L. Furius the Prator triumphed over the Gauls.

The one and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Full well apaid am I likewise, that I am now come to an end once of the Punick war, as if myself had been in person there, and born my part in the toil and danger thereof. For albeit nothing it is forme, who have undertaken and professed to boldly to write a compleat and full story of the Romans, to be wearied in the several parts of so great a work: yet when I think

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think and consider; how three score years, and three (for so many are reckoned from the first Punic war, to the end of the second) have taken up no fewer books, of mine than four hundred eighty eight years before, even from the foundation of Rome, unto the Consulship of this *Appian Claudius*, who was the first that was made upon the Carthaginians; and that of force already, that like as they who being once entered into the Gallies, both the sea, are trained on hill, and venture to wade into the sea, even so, the stronger I go forward, the deeper I step, and am carried away in a vast Ocean, and horrible gulph, (as it were) which cannot be founded; and that my work groweth still upon me in my hands, which I have sent away apace, and said matters as the first, I might have thought by this time should have decreed.

The Carthaginian peace was no longer required, but the Macedonian war straightway ensued: nothing comparable to the Punic, it required the hazard and danger, the same state Captains for direction, or prowess of the soldiers; but if a man consider the Nobility and reputation of the ancient Kings, the fame and antiquity of the nation, the greatness of their territory and dominion, who in times past had conquered and held by the sword much of *Asiatic*, and the better part of *Africa*, I dare well say, as noble and renowned, if not more, but the war commenced against *Philip* ten years almost before, had ere three years end been laid down and discontinued by treaty of the *Ætolians*: who as they gave occasion to enter into arms, so they wrought a composition of peace. But afterwards in process of time, when the Romans by reason of peace with the Carthaginians, had nothing to do, and were at leisure; and yet bearing an inward grudge, and having a displeasure to *Philip*, as well for his faithless peace with the *Ætolians* and other allies and confederates of that country, as also for aid both of men and money lately sent into *Affrick* to *Antibal* and the Carthaginians; behold, the Athenians, whose territories he had clean wasted and spoiled, and whom he had driven within their City walls, impudently then with their prayers and persuasions them to take arms and renew the war afore said. And much about the same time that arrived Embassadors from King *Antalus* also from the *Pæthodians*, giving notice that divers Cities and States of *Asia* were solicited likewise by *Philip* to band against the Romans; These Embassadors had their dispatch, and received this answer, That the Senate would have a careful eye to the affairs of *Asia*. But the entire treaty and consultation concerning the Macedonian war was wholly referred and referred unto the Consuls, who then were employed in the war with the *Boii*. In the mean season three Embassadors were addressed unto *Ptolemy* the King of *Egypt*, to wit, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *P. Semprenius Tuditanus*, with this commission: First, to signify and let him understand, that *Antibal* & the Carthaginians were subdued; secondly, to give thanks unto the King for continuing so fast and faithful unto the Romans in this difficult and adversity, when other of their allies, and even their next neighbours forsook and abandoned them: last of all, to request him, that in case they should be forced by wrongs and injuries offered, to wage war against *Philip*, he would vouchsafe the same mind full and his wonted affectionate favour toward the people of *Rome*.

Near about this time, *P. Ælius* the Consul being in *France*, advertised that the *Boians* because his coming had made rodes into the lands of the friends and allies of the Romans, presently he had levied and enrolled two legions upon the rumour of this tumult, and trouble: and joining therunto four cohorts of footmen out of his own army, sent *C. Appian* Colonel or Captain of the Confederates, with this power to suddenly raised, and with commandment to march through that part of *Umbria*, which is called the *Tribe Sappina*, and to invade the territories of the *Boii*, whilst himself in person led his forces the open way traversing through the mountains, and came thither. *Appian* being entered into the confines of the enemies, at the first had a good hand, and sped well in foraging the country with safety of himself. But afterwards, having made choice of a meet place near unto a Castle called * *Mutulum*, for to cut down and reap the corn; (for so the fields were ready for harvest) but yet, without spies sent out to discover the coasts about, without setting strong and sufficient guards, which being well appointed and armed, might defend the unarmed that were busy in their harvest work; he chanced himself and all his forragers and reapers to be surprised at unawares by the Frenchmen, and assailed on every side. Whereupon they also that were armed fled in great fright; and 7000 men straggling here and there over the corn fields, were slain; and among them *C. Appian* himself their leader. The rest for fear were driven to put themselves within their Camp: from whence without direction and guidance of any certain Captain and only upon a general consent of the souldiers, the next night following they abandoned their hold, left much of their baggage behind them, and through blind forests, chafes, and wild mountains (in manner unpassable) they came in the end to the Consul: who, after he had performed in his Province no memorable act, save only that he wasted the borders and frontiers of the *Boii*, and made league with the *Ingauni* (a nation of the *Ligurians*) returned to *Rome*. So soon as he had assembled the Senat, all the whole house with one voice called upon him to treat and consult upon no other matter before they had determined of King *Philip*; and the complaints made by their allies: so he proposed that out of hand to be debated in Council. And the Senat in a frequent number there met, passed a decree, that *P. Ælius* the Consul should send whom he thought good with commission and authority for to receive the Armies, which *Cn. Octavius* was to bring out of *Sicily*, and therewith to cross over into *Massania*. So *M. Valerius* *Levinus* the Vice-Prætor, was sent: and when he had taken the charge of the fleet, com-

* *Mutina*,
Levinus.

A City of eight and thirty fall, at the hands of *Cn. Octavius* about *Pico*, he passed the seas to *Messina*. Now when *M. Aemilius* the Lieutenant was come, and had informed and advertised him, what hostile armies, what numbers of ships the King had prepared and gotten together; how partly himself in person by going about not only to all the Cities of the Confederates, but also the Islands in the sea; and partly by sending his Embassadors every way, had solicited unto war; and raised much people to take arms: shewing moreover, that the Romans were not to enter into that war without preparation of greater forces; and that more speedily, for fear lest if they made slow haste and lingered, *Philip* might enterprise that adventure which *Pyrrhus* (a Potentate and Prince of a far lesser Dominion) had done before: it was thought meet, that *Aemilius* should dispatch his letters to the same effect unto the Consuls and the Senat.

In the end of this year, when a motion was propounded in the Senat-house as concerning the taking out of lands unto the old souldiers for recompence of their good service; who, under the conduct and fortunate government of *Scipio* the Pro-Consul, had brought the war in *Affrick* to the end, the Senat enacted a decree, that *M. Junius* the Prætor of the City, if he thought it good, should create ten Decemvirs as surveyors, for to measure out and divide among them the lands in *Samnium* and *Apulia*, so much as had been forfeit and confiscated to the people of *Rome*. And these were they; namely, *P. Servilius*, *Q. Cæcilius*, *Mecellus*, *Cneus* and *Marcus*, named *Servili*, and both named *Gentili*, *Lucius* and *Aulus*, both *Hofitii*, and furnished *Cato* likewise, *P. Villius* *Tappulus*, *P. Fabius* *Flaccus*, *P. Ælius* *Pæmus*, and *Q. Flaminius*.

At the same time *P. Ælius* the Consul, called the assembly and high Court of Parliament for election of *Prætor* Officers: and for *Col*, were created *P. Sulpicius* *Galba*, and *C. Aurelius* *Cotta*. After them were the *Prætors* chosen to wit, *Q. Minucius* *Rufus*, *L. Furius* *Purpureo*, *Q. Fabius* *Gillo*, and *C. Servilius* *Pulcher*. The Roman stage-plays were that year exhibited with great state and magnificence, and especially by *L. Valerius* *Flaccus*, and *T. Quinctius* *Flamininus*, *Ædiles* of the *Choir*, and for whose great games were represented new. These *Ædiles* distributed and divided most faithfully among the people a mighty deal of corn, which *Scipio* the Pro-Consul had lent out of *Affrick*, at four *Ales* the Modius: whereby they won great love and favour of all men. Also the *Plebeian* Games were thrice let forth all whole again by the *Ædiles* of the Commons, *L. Appian* *Enlio*, and *Q. Minucius* *Rufus*. This man from his *Ædileship* stepped to the *Prætor* place. And by occasion of those plays there was a solemn feast celebrated in the harbour of *Jupiter*.

In the 124 year from the foundation of the City, which *P. Sulpicius* *Galba*, and *C. Aurelius* were *Col* the war with King *Philip* began, within four months after peace granted to the Carthaginians. And before all other matters this affair was propounded in the Senate by *P. Sulpicius* the *Col*, upon the Ides of *March*, the very day on which at that time they used to enter upon the *Consulship*. Where by the Senat it was decreed, *Imprimis*, That the Consuls should sacrifice with greater beasts to what gods themselves thought good, with a solemn prayer in this form: That what soever the Senate and people of *Rome* minded and intended to do, either concerning the affairs of the Common-wealth, or the undertaking and enterprise of this new war, the same might speed well and happily in the end, to the behoof of the people of *Rome*, their allies, and especially the nation of the *Latines*. Item, That after sacrifice and divine prayer they should confer with the Senat about the estate of the City, and the government of the Provinces. At the same time it fell out very fitly to provoke and stir up their minds unto war, that shortly letters were brought from *M. Aemilius* the Lieutenant, and from *M. Valerius* *Levinus* the Vice-Prætor: by also a new Embasie of the Athenians arrived; the one importing, and the other reporting, that the King drew near and approached their confines; and within a while would be not only Lord of their lands and territories, but also Master of their City, unless the Romans let too their sleeping hand. After that the Consuls had openly pronounced and declared, that the sacrifices were performed rightly and according to order, and that the Gods gave ear unto their prayers, and accepted thereof: and the four souldiers and bowmen likewise out of their learning, made answer and shewed, that the inward of the beasts were as they should be, and signified happiness; namely, the enlarging of their confines and borders, with the achieving of victory and triumph. Then were the letters above said of *Valerius* and *Aemilius* read, and the Athenian Embassadors had a day of audience. After this, there passed an Act of the Senat. That thanks should be rendered unto their allies, for that they being long tempted and solicited for to revolt, yet notwithstanding had not failed in their allegiance, nor forsaken their fealty, no, nor forsworn; when the Consuls had their Provinces allotted unto them; and when the Consul whose favour it should be fit to go into *Macedony*, had proposed unto the people, That *Antibal* should be given to *Philip* King of *Macedony*, and open war proclaimed against him. Now it fell out unto *P. Sulpicius* to take that charge in *Macedony*, who preferred and presented a bill unto the people in this manner: Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed and denouncing against King *Philip* and the Macedonians within his Realm and Dominion for the wrongs offered and the war levied by them upon the friends and allies of the people of *Rome*? Unto the other Consul *Aemilius* befall the Province of *Italy*. Then upon this the *Prætors* cast lots for their Provinces, *Cn. Servilius* *Pulcher* had the jurisdiction of the City, *Q. Fabius* *Gillo* was to govern the Province of *Sicily*, *Q. Minucius* *Rufus* of the *Brittish*, and *L. Furius* *Purpureo* of *France*.

The Oration
of P. Sulpicius
to the people
of Rome.

The foresaid bill as concerning the Macedonian war, in the first Parliament assembled about it, was in manner by all the centuries in the formost scrutinies nipped & staled denied. Which thing, partly men of themselves were forward enough to do, as being over-wearied with long and sore wars, and worn out for very intricaments of tedious travel, and painful perils: and partly *Q. Fabius* a Tribune of the Commons, failed not to set them on: who taking the old course and way of blaming and accusing the nobles, had laid to their charge, that they fowed the seeds of war till, and ceased not to raise war upon war, to the end, that the commons might never be at rest, and enjoy the repose of peace. The LL. of the Senat took this to the heart, in such fort, that the Tribune was shaken up and much reviled in the Senat-house with most opprobrious and reproachfull terms: and every man did his part to encourage the Consul to publish a new assembly and scrutiny, for the proposing of the same bill: to challenge and rebuke the sloath and idleness of the people: yea, I and to open and shew unto them what great damage and loss, how much shame and dishonour they should incur by these delays before the war began. Then the Consul having assembled the people for this purpose in *Mars* field, before that he cited the Centuries to give their voices, called them all together and made a speech unto them in this wise: "It seemeth (quoth he) that you are ignorant, my Masters and Citizens of *Rome*, that the matter put to question is not, whether ye would have war or peace, (for *Philip* will not permit that to be at your disposition and pleasure, who already prepareth mortal war both by sea and land) but whether ye would rather choose to transport the legions into *Macedony*, or receive your enemy here within *Italy*. And what difference there is between the one and the other, you have had sufficient proof and experience (if ever at any time before even in this last war, especially with the Carthaginians. For who is he that maketh doubt, but if we had with speed relieved the Saguntins besieged, who fled unto us for help, and earnestly craved for our protection, like as our ancestors and progenitors in due time assisted the Mamertians; we should have turned the whole violence and force of the war into *Spain*, which by our long driving off & lingering delays we entertained in *Italy*, to our great loss and grievous calamity. Neither need we to doubt of this, but that we have hitherto lost *Philip* in *Macedony*, (who without question had combined with *Annibal* by means of letters and entreaties of Embassadors, for to have passed over into *Italy* before this time) only by sending of *Lavinus* with a fleet, to begin with him at home, and to make war in his own kingdom. Deter we then to do that now, when *Annibal* is chased out of *Italy* and the Carthaginians are defeated; which then we did, when we had the same *Annibal* our enemy within *Italy*? Go! we on still and suffer the King by winning the City of *Athens* (like as we permitted *Annibal* by forcing of *Saguntum*) to try and see our slackness and cowardise: we shall have him i *westra* you arrived in *Italy*, not at five months end, as *Annibal* was after his departure from *Saguntum*; but within five daies, after he is dislodged once & under sail from *Corinth*. See can ye will not compare *Philip* with *Annibal*, no, nor the Macedonians with the Carthaginians; yet I am sure ye will make them matches, and equal with King *Pyrhus*: so far forth I say, as one man excelleth another in valour, and one nation surpasseth another in power. *Epirus* hath never been accounted, nor is at this day, but the smallest appendant to the kingdom of *Macedony*, and of least importance. But as for *Philip*, the whole and entire signory of *Peloponnesus* is under him, and Lord he is of *Argos* it self a City nobled as well by the death of *Pyrhus*, as the ancient name and renown that goeth off it. Compare now again the times of our state. How much flourished *Italy* in those daies more than now? Our affairs were then much more found and unfoiled: our Captains safe, our armies all, so many as they were, untainted; whom the Carthaginian wars afterwards consumed: yet as puissant and great as we were, *Pyrhus* assailed us, he put us to trouble and sorrow enough, yea, and came in train of victory to shake our free hold, even well-near to the City of *Rome*. So as not only the Tarentines, and all that tract of *Italy*, which they call the greater *Greece*, banded with him in such sort, as a man would have thought they had followed the very language and those of their name; but the Lucans also and the Brutians, yea, and the Samnites revolted from us, and rebelled. And are ye of believe that these will be quiet and remain in loyalty and obedience? *Philip* once were passed over into *Italy*? yes many will they, there is no question: for they stood fast afterwards, and continued true in the Punic war. Nay, never make reckoning that these States will not revolt from us so long as they know any on unto whom they may turn and range themselves. If ye had thought much of it, and been loath to pass over into *Affrick* in truth at this day ye should have had *Annibal* and the Carthaginians your enemies (still in *Italy*. Let *Macedony* therefore be the seat of war rather than *Italy*: let our enemies Cities and lands be destroyed with fire and sword. We have found well by good experience, that our fortune is better, and our forces more puissant abroad in forrain parts, than at home in our own Country. Go to therefore in the name of God to the scrutiny and give your voices; and those things that the LL. of the Senat have devised to do, grant ye the same, and yield your assent. Ye have not only the Consul, author of this advice and counsel, but also the immortal gods (who as I offered sacrifice and prayed devoutly unto them, that this war might redound to the good and benefit of my self, of the Senat, of you, of our allies, of the Latine nation, and finally of our armies and armados) have vouchsafed me all the signs and tokens of comfort and joy, and assured me that all shall be well and according to our hearts desire. This Oration of his once ended, they went presently to deliver up their voices, and gave affirmatively for the war, & suffered it to pass according, as he had propounded. Then by an order from the Senat, there was a solemn supplication

* *Virg. Georg.*

A for three daies proclaimed: and in all Churches and Chappels, and before every shrine & altar the gods were prayed unto, that the war (which the people had allowed of) against *K. Philip* might be well achieved, and have an happy end. Moreover, the Consul *Sulpicius* conferred with the heralds, and asked their advice. Whether they would ordain, that the war to be denounced against *King Philip* should be intimated to himself in person: or though it sufficient to be proclaimed within the confines of his dominion, at the next frontier town of all, where he kept a garrison and guard: they pronounced again, That it mattered not, but the Consul should please himself, and do full well in the one and the other. Then the Consul was permitted by the LL. of the Senat to chuse whom he would, so he were not a Senator, for to send as a messenger or pursuivant of arms, to give the King defiance, and to publish war. After this it was debated in Council, how the armies should be disposed as well of Consuls as Prators. The Consuls were commanded to enroll two legions, and to discharge and call the old armies. *Sulpicius*, who by a decree was to manage this new war of so great name and consequence, was allowed to take with him out of that army which *Scipio* the Vice-Consul had brought out of *Affrick* as many voluntaries as he could procure: but in no case to urge any old soldier against his will. Albeit it was decreed, that the Consul should allow unto the Prators *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *Quintus Minutius Rufus* 5000 men apiece of the associates of the Latine nation: whom they should employ, the one in the Province of *Gallia*, and the other in the Brutians country to defend those parts and keep them in obedience. *Q. Fulvius Gelo* was himself likewise commanded to chuse out of that army which *P. Aelius* the Consul commanded, as many as had served fewest years, until he made up the number of 5000 all of the allies & Latines; which should be a garrison to keep in order and safety the Province of *Sicily*. *M. Valerius Falto*, Prator the year before, and *L. deputy* of the Province of *Campany*, had his Commission signed anew, to continue for the term of one year longer, and as Vice-Prator to pass over into *Sardinia*, with direction to chuse out of the army there 5000 of the allies and Latines, such as had served least time. And the Consuls were commanded to take up two legions of Citizens, which might be sent to any place, as need should require, considering that many nations in *Italy* tainted and infected with the fellowship and company of the Carthaginians during the wars and ever since, were swelled with anger and despite against the Romans. Thus the Common-wealth for that year was to the employment of six Roman Legions.

Amidst these preparations for war, there arrived Embassadors from *K. Ptolemy*, giving intelligence, that the Athenians had craved aid of their King and Master, against *Philip*. And although they were confederate as well with him as the Romans, yet the King would send into *Greece* neither a fleet of ships, nor an army of men, defensive, or offensive to any, but by authority and consent of the people of *Rome*. In case therefore the Romans were resolved, and sufficient withall of themselves to defend their allies, he would be willing to sit still and take his repose at home. Otherwise, if the Romans were rather disposed to rest and take their ease, he would himself be well content to send such forces to the aid of the Athenians, as should defend them easily against all the power of *Philip*. The Senat returned great thanks unto the King, with this answer, That the people of *Rome* were purposed to protect their own allies: but if during this war they stood in need upon any occurrence that might happen, they would give knowledge thereof to the King: as being assured and making full account, that all the puissance and wealth of his kingdom was a sure prop and trusty pillar of their State and Common-wealth. This done, by order from the Senat the Embassadors had given them for a reward five thousand Askes apiece. Now whilst the Consuls were busy in taking musters, and providing all things meet for the war, the City very devout and given much to religion, in the beginnings especially of all new wars, after they had performed their supplications aforesaid, and done their devotions at every altar and shrine: because nothing might be for-let and left out, that at any time heretofore had been done; ordained that the Consuls, unto whom the Province of *Macedony* fell, should vow solemnly to exhibit to the honour of *Jupiter*, the great games and plaies, and a rich present beside. But *Licinius* the High Priest staid this publicke vow for the time that it went not forward, alleging that it was not lawful to make a vow of an uncertain sum of money not determined: & if such money might not serve for the use of war, it ought presently to be let by and laid up safe, and not be mingled and shuffled with other monies: and unless that were duly done, the vow could not be paid and performed according to the order of holy rites, Albeit the thing it self and the person of the man that moved this scruple, troubled and troubled them much, yet they would needs that the Consul should propound the matter to the college of the Priests and Bishops, to know their resolution, whether a vow might not directly be made of an uncertain peece of money. The Bishops set down their opinion and judgement, that it might be well enough, yea, and better than otherwise. Whereupon the Consul pronounced the vow, according to the very same form of words (as the High Priest entided and spake before him) which aforesaid they were wont to use, in making the quinquennial vows from five years to five: save only thus much, that he vowed and promised to represent the plaies, and to present oblations unto *Jupiter*, amounting to such a sum of money, as the Senat should set down when the vow was to be performed. So many times before had the great games been vowed, and a determinate sum of money ever assigned: but these were the first that were not limited within any certain flint and compass.

Now when all mens minds were wholly bent upon the Macedonian war, behold on a sudden, when they feared nothing less than such a thing, there arose a rumour of French troubles and tumults.

cumulus for the Insulars, the Cenomans and Boii, having solicited and raised up by way of infection the *Sallii*, the *Ilvations*, and other States of *Liguria*, under the conduct of *Amilcar* the Carthaginian, who in those parts laid behind with the remnant of *Asdrubal* his army, were seized of *Placentia*; and after they had sacked the City, and for very spiteous anger burnt a great part of it, leaving hardly two thousand persons of all sorts, which amidst the fire and ruins thereof, chanced to save themselves, crossed the river *Po*, and advanced forward to the spoil and pillage of *Cremona*. But the inhabitants of that Colony, having heard of the military and calamity befall upon their neighbour-City, had some respite and time to shut their gates, and to bestow their guards upon the walls: so as, they should at least live be besieged or ever they were forced, and might be able to dispatch messengers unto the people of *Rome*, *L. Furius Purpureo* was governor of that Province for the time; who having by order from the Senat dispatched all the rest of the army but only five thousand allies and those Latins, abode with that power in the next country to that Province, about *Ariminum*. He then addressed his letters unto the Senat, signifying in how bad terms the province stood, namely, that of those two Colonies, which all the time of the Punick war had escaped those great storms and tempests of troubles, the one was won by the enemies and put to the laccage, the other now besieged, and at hand to be lost: neither would his forces be sufficient and able to help the distressed *Cremonians*, unless he should willingly cast away five thousand allies, and expose them as a prey unto forty thousand of the enemies (for so many they were strong to have their throats cut, and to be hewn in pieces: and by great loss and overthrow of his to give more heart and courage to the enemies, who are now in their ruin, and pushed up with pride for the ruin of one Roman Colony already). Upon the reading of these letters, there went forth a decree from the LL. of the Senat, that *C. Aurelius* the Consul should send out precepts for the army to be ready at *Ariminum* that very day, on which he appointed them to the *Rendezvous* in *Hetruria*; and that either himself in his own person, if it might stand with the good of the State, would go with a power to suppress these French commotions, or else write to *L. Furius* the Prator, that when the Roman Legions presented themselves unto him out of *Hetruria*, he should send in their lead his own five thousand allies for the guard of *Hetruria* in the mean time, and make a journey himself in person to raise the siege before *Cremona*, and to set the Colony free that now was beleaguered. They thought good besides to dispatch Embassadors into *Affrick*, who should go to *Carthage*; and afterwards to *Masaniissa* in *Numidia*, to *Carthage*, for to intimate unto them, That *Amilcar*, a Citizen of theirs, left behind in *France*, (and whether he were of the army of *Asdrubal* before or afterwards of *Mago* they knew not for certain) waged war there against the covenants in the League contained: that he had assembled certain forces of French and Ligurians, to enter into arms against the people of *Rome*; and therefore, if they had any love to entertain peace, they should call him home, and deliver him to the people of *Rome*. Over and besides they had in commission to give them to understand, that delivery was not yet made of all the runagate rebels, but many of them, by report, were retired to *Carthage*, and there went up and down, and conversed openly: which persons were, after diligent search made, to be attached and apprehended, that they might, according to the tenor of the accord, be sent home again, and delivered into the hands of the Romans. And thus much concerning their message to the Carthaginians. Now they had in charge besides to congratulate with *Masaniissa*, and to declare what joy they took in his behalf, namely, for that he had not only recovered the inheritance of his fathers kingdom, but also enlarged his dominion, by conquest of the most flourishing part of the Realm of *Syphax*. Moreover, commanded they were to signify unto him, that they had undertaken to war upon King *Philip* because he had befriended and aided the Carthaginians; and by offering and doing wrong to the friends of the people of *Rome*, even at what time as all *Italy* was full of troubles and wars, enforced and put them to it, so to send their armies and their armados into *Greece*, and so by disembarring and dividing their forces into sundry places, was the principal cause that they were so late ere they passed over into *Affrick*: requesting him for the maintenance of this war, to send over certain aids of Numidian horsemen. These Orators had great gifts and honourable presents given them for to carry unto the King, to wit, divers pieces of purple border'd with gold and silver, a purple robe of State, with a rich cassock or coat wrought in palm-tree work, with a royal Scepter of Ivory, also a robe embroydered before with purple, with an Ivory chair of state. Last of all, they are willed to make promise unto the King, that if he could think upon any thing needfull and expedient either to establish his kingdom, or to advance his royal estate, the people of *Rome* would endeavour respectively for his good demerits to compass the same to the utmost of their power.

There arrived also about that time Embassadors from *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, and presented themselves unto the Senat, excusing the error, and pretending the youth of the Prince, clearing him of all fault, and laying the whole blame upon the fraud and treachery of the Carthaginians, promising for their King and Master in this wise, That like as *Masaniissa* of a professed enemy was become a friend to the Romans, even so would *Vermina* do his best, and gain himself, that in all offices of friendship toward the people of *Rome*, neither *Masaniissa*, nor any other should surpass and go beyond him; and making petition in his name, that the Senat would vouchsafe to give him the titles of King of *Ally*, and Friend unto the Romans. These Orators had this for their answer, That not only *Syphax*, his father before him, of a confederate friend, suddenly without any cause at all proved an enemy to the people of *Rome*; but also himself had practised already in his

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A young years, and laid the first ground of his warfare in annoying and troubling the Romans by war; and therefore he was to seek pardon and crave peace at their hands, before he might be invested by them with the terms of King of *Ally*, and Friend for the honour of that title the people of *Rome* were wont to vouchsafe to none, but those Kings only who had deserved singularly well of them. Many there should be certain Roman Legats in *Affrick*, unto whom the Senat would give order to minister and tender unto *Vermina* certain conditions of peace, according to a large and absolute commission that they had from the people of *Rome*. To do what they thought good. And in case the King misliked ought in those capitulations, and were desirous to have any article added, put out, or altered, he must recour again to the Senat, and demand the time. So there were Legats or Commissioners sent into *Affrick* with such a Commission above said, namely, *C. Terentius Varro*, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Cn. Octavius*, and each of them had a gallee directed with five rows of oars.

After this were the letters read of *Q. Minutius* Prator in the Province of the *Bruttii*, importing thus much, That the consecrated money of *Proserpina* at *Locri* was by night stolen out of her treasury: but to say who should do the deed, they had no presumptions to give light and lead them directly. The Senat took the matter in very ill part, and grieved exceedingly. That sacrilegious men fell still to Church-robbing, and would not give over: and that the late and fresh example of *Pleminius* (so notorious as well for the heinous fact as the fearful punishment) was not able to terrify them and give them warning. So *C. Aurelius* the Col. was enjoined to write unto the Prator into the *Bruttians* country to this effect: That it was the Senats pleasure, that due enquiry and examination should be had of the Treasury thus robbed, after the same precedent and course that *M. Pomponius* the Prator took three years before. And look what money could be found, it should be laid up duly in the place; and what was not forth-coming, it should be supplied and made good again. Also (if he thought meet) that there should be certain purgatory sacrifices, according as the Bishops before ordained in the like case, for the expiation and satisfaction of the violating and defiling of the Temple. Moreover, there chanced about the same time divers prodigious tokens from many places to be reported. In the *Lucans* country the rumor and voice went, that the welkin was on fire; and at *Privernum*, while the sky was bright and fair, the sun appeared red all day long. At *Lanuvium*, in the Temple of *Juno Sospita*, there was heard in the night-season a mighty great noise, Nay, and more than this, in sundry places (as men say) were many monstrous and strange births seen. In the *Sabins* country one child was born, and no man knew what to make of it, male or female: and another likewise was found of sixteen years of age, a very Hermaphrodite of doubtfull sex between both. At *Frisino* there was a lamb yearly with a swines head: and at *Sinussa* a sow farrowed a pig with the head of a man. In the *Lucans* country there was spoken upon the common ground a colt with five feet. All these monsters were ugly to see and abominable, and holden for great defects and errors of nature working strangely out of kind. But above all others, those births both male and female, (or rather neither) were most abhorred and detested, and order was given presently, that they should be cast into the sea: even as of late daies when *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Consuls the like deformed monster was thither had away and drowned. Nevertheless the Decemvirs were commanded to turn over and peruse the books of *Sibylla*, to know what such prodigious monsters might portend: who by their learning and out of those books, gave direction to make the same sacrifices which last of all for the like uncouth sights were made. Moreover, they gave commandment, that certain hymns and songs should be chanted throughout the City by three several quires, of nine virgins in every one; and an oblation to be offered by them with all devotion to queen *Juno*. *C. Aurelius* the Consul carried all this to be performed according to the order and direction of the Decemvirs.

And as in our fathers daies *Livius* composed the ditty of the hymn, so at that time *P. Licinius* *Tegulatus* made and set down a form of song which they could sing. Thus when all things were expiated, and satisfaction made accordingly for the appealing of the wrath of the gods, (for even at *Locri* also the sacrilege was found out by *Q. Minutius*, and the money missing was raised out of the goods of the offenders and guilty persons, and bestowed there again in the treasury) as the Consuls were minded to take their journey into their Provinces, there repaired many private Citizens unto the Senat, unto whom the third payment was due that year for the loan of money, which in the time of *M. Valerius* and *M. Claudius* Consuls they had lent out and disbursed, because that the Consuls had made them answer, That the stock of the City Chamber was hardly able to defray the charges of a new war, which required maintenance of a mighty Navy and of passable armies, and therefore flatly denied them, and said, That they had not wherewith to satisfy and make present payment. The Senat could not endure that they should have this occasion to make complaint: considering, that if the Common-wealth would still employ the money upon the Macedonian war also, which was granted in loan for the Punick war,

G this would be the end of it, that (one war following thus in the neck of another) their own money which was lent upon a curse and benevolence out of their private purses, should be little better than confiscate for some forfeiture, and fall to the Exchequer and common Chest of the City. These private persons demanding nothing but reason and right, and the City withall not able to discharge her debt, the Lords set down a middle and indifferent course between honesty and profit: and that was this: That so far much as many of these men said, that the City had much land upon sale, and they were to buy and make purchase, therefore the common grounds

grounds lying and being within fifty miles of *Rome* every way, should be granted unto them in fee farm, and the Consuls to set down an estimate of their value and worth, and charge them with a chief rent or tribute of three farthings an acre by the year, to testify only that they were the Cities lands: to the end that if any man hereafter (when the City should be abroad and in case to repay the former debt) were desirous to have money rather than land, he should restore the lands and possessions again into the Cities hands and receive his money. These private Citizens (who were the foreaid creditors) accepted gladly of this offer and condition. And hereupon this land was called by the name of *Trientia* and *Tribunia*, because it was let out and granted in lieu of a third part of the lone money. Then *P. Sulpicius* after he had pronounced his vows above said in the Capitoll, and departed out of the City in his coat of arms, with the Licitors and Uthfers afore him, arrived at *Brundisium*: and so with the old voluntary souldiers drawn out of the army that was returned from *Africa*, (whom he had enrolled into legions) and ships choen out of the fleet of *Cornelius* the Consul: he loosed from *Brundisium*, and the next day after landed in *Macedonia*: where attended him the Embassadors of the Athenians: who humbly besought him to deliver them from the siege that invested their City. So *C. C. C. C.* was incontinently sent to *Athens*, furnished with twenty long ships of war, and a strength of men for the King himself in person besieged not *Athens*, but even then made her assault upon the town *Abydos*, as having already given proof of his forces in sea-fight, both with the Rhodians and King *Attalus*, and in neither battell had good success. But besides the ordinary rounesse and pride engrained in him by nature, he was aloft now and looked high, by reason of the alliance made between him and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, with whom he had parted the riches and Realm of *Egypt*, unto which they both aspired, upon the news they heard of the death of *Ptolemy*. Now the Athenians had drawn upon themselves the war against King *Philip*, upon a small occasion and of no importance: who of all their ancient estate and glory, retain nothing else but great heart and haughty spirit. It fortuned that two young men of *Acarnania*, who had taken no orders and were not consecrate, entered among the other multitude into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the time of the feastival daies, and celebration of sacrifices to that goddess belonging: and being altogether ignorant in the custome of that solemnity and religion, and asking some foolish absurd questions, nothing fit for that time or place, were soon bewrayed by their speech and language: who being convened before the Prelates of the said Temple, notwithstanding it was evidently proved and known, that upon an error only & oversight, and not for any ill intent they were come into the Church, yet were they put to death as fellows, and guilty of some hainous fact in the highest degree. The people of *Acarnania* complained unto King *Philip*, and informed him of this villainous part and hostile act by them committed: and obtained a grant from him, that they might be permitted with the aid of the Macedonians, to make war upon the Athenians. This army at first invaded the territories of *Athens*, and with fire and sword made waste & havock of all, and so with a rich booty of all sorts returned unto *Acarnania*. These were the first quarrels on both sides, that stirred coals and kindled fire between them. Afterwards was defiance given, and open war proclaimed, by the general decrees of both States. For when King *Attalus* and the Rhodians pursued after *Philip*, as he retired into *Macedony*, and were come as far as *Egina*, then the said King passed over to *Pyrraeus*, for to renew and confirm the league with the Athenians. Against his coming the whole City went forth with their wives and children to meet him on the way: the Clergy with their rich vestments and goodly ornaments were ready to receive him as he entered the City: the very gods themselves in a manner abandoned their shrines to give him entertainment. Immediately was the people summoned to a general assembly, that the King might deliver his mind before them all: but afterwards, upon more sage advice, it was thought to stand better with the honour and Majesty of a Prince, that he should set down in writing what he thought good, rather than in open place, either to blush himself in recounting his favors and good turns done unto the City, or in hearing the acclamations of the multitude in token of joy, to be ashamed and ashamed of their grofs and unmeasurable flattery. But in his letters which he sent unto the assembly, and were there openly read and published, first he made a rehearsal of the benefits that this confederate City had received at his hands. Secondly, he discoursed of the worthy exploits which he had performed against *Philip*. And finally he knit up all with an exhortation, that whilst they had himself, the Rhodians, and especially the Romans to friend them, they should put themselves in arms and begin war: as who, if they now forsook the enterprise, and let slip the present opportunity, should hereafter seek in vain to find it, which once they had so rectfully lost. Then had the Rhodian Embassadors audience given them, who lately had done the Athenians a great pleasure, in recovering and sending home unto *Athens* four long foists, which newly had been boarded and taken by the Macedonians. Hereupon with general accord they decreed to denounce and wage war against King *Philip*. But first they did King *Attalus* incredible honour beyond all measure, and then likewise to the Rhodians. Then and never before there was some speech moved of adjoining unto the ten ancient tribes, one other tribe, which of the Kings name should be called *Attalus*. Unto the City of the Rhodians they gave in token of verne, a Crown of beaten gold. And like as beforetime the men of *Rhodes* had granted free Burgeoisie of their City to the Athenians, so they of *Athens* now endured the Rhodians their liberties and franchises. This done, *K. Attalus* returned to his fleet in the rode of *Egina*. The Rhodians then weighed anchor, and from *Egina* sailed to *Crea*. From whence along the Islands, they passed to the *Rhodes*: and

* *Zia*.
* Called *Cydrus* in the
Rhodian sea, or
Archipelago.

And in their voyage confedered themselves with them all, excepting *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Cythera*, which were guarded by garrisons of the Macedonians. In *Egina* King *Attalus* made his abode a certain time, and entered into no action, by occasion of messengers whom he had sent into *Andros*, and Embassadors that were expected from thence. But as he could not prevail with the *Etolians*, & persuade them to take arms, contenting themselves with the peace that in some sort they had concluded with *Philip*: so himself, and the Rhodians (who, no doubt, if they had pressed and followed hard upon *Philip* might have gained and enjoyed this glorious title, That they alone of themselves had delivered Greece from servitude) by inferring him once again to cross the seas as far as *Hellestus*, and to possess himself of the commodious and important towns of *Greece*, thereby to re-enforce his power and gather more strength, gave food and nourishment to the war, and in the end let the Romans go away with the honour, both of managing and also of finishing the same. *Philip* carried with him yet a more princely mind and Kingly courage: who, although he was not able to match and make his part good so much as with *Attalus* and the Rhodians his enemies, yet was he nothing at all daunted with the thundering threats of the Roman war: but sent *Philoteles*, a Captain of his, with a power of two thousand foot and two hundred horse, to invade and spoil the territory of the Athenians, committed his Armado to the charge of *Heraclides*, to set sail for *Maronea*, and himself in person marched by land thither with another regiment of two thousand footmen lightly appointed, and two hundred men of arms. *Maronea* he forced at the first assault. But as for *Egina*, after he had with much labour and travail laid siege thereto a long time, in the end he was Master thereof through the treason of *Ganymedes*, a deputed C. L. Governor there for King *Ptolemy*. After this he surprised and won other Cities, as *Cypris*, *Duriscus*, and *Serrheum*. From thence he advanced forward to *Cherfus*, where he gained *Alexus* and *Alopecomnestus*, which willingly surrendered: *Callipolis* also and *Madytus*, with some other peeces of base account and reckoning. But the Abydens shut their gates against the King, and would not suffer so much as his Embassadors to set foot within their Cities. There lay *Philip* a long time before the town and beleaguered it: and surely had not *Attalus* and the Rhodians forsaken the time, it might have been saved and the siege raised. *Attalus* sent thither three hundred souldiers and no more to lie in garrison, and the Rhodians one galley only with four banks of oars out of the navy when it rode at *Tenedos*. And afterwards when as *Attalus* himself was thither come at what time as the townsmen could hardly hold out any longer against the siege, he made them a shew only near at hand of some help: other relief would he afford none to his allies either by land or sea. The Abydens at first planted their engines and artillery along the walls, and with shot from thence not only distressed their enemies, and kept them from approach and entrance, but also annoyed them as they lay in harbour with their ships: but afterwards, seeing part of their walls ruinat and laid open; and perceiving besides that the enemies had undermined and were come under the ground as far as the inner countermure, which the inhabitants in great haste had raised within, forthwith they sent Embassadors to the King to treat and article about some conditions for delivering up the City. The townsmen capitulated and demanded, that the Rhodian Galley afore said, with all her mariners, and the garrison also of King *Attalus*, might be sent away in safety, and themselves permitted to depart the town every one with a single suit only of apparel. But *Philip* made answer again, that they had no peace for them at all, unless they would quit the place, and simply commit themselves unto his mercy. This Embassage related unto them, set them in such an heat and choler, that partly for spite and indignation, and partly upon despair, they fell into the like rage that the *Saguntins* did in times past. All the dames and wives of the City they commanded to be shut up within the Temple of *Diana*: their young-boys and maidens that were free-born, the sucking babes, together with their nurses, they caused to be bestowed within the common place of public exercise: their gold and silver they took order to be brought into the market place: their rich attire, their costly apparel and furniture, to be cast into the two Gallies, the one of *Rhodes*, and the other of *Cyzicus*, which rid in the haven: and last of all, that their Priests should be brought forth with their heads for sacrifice and altars erected in the midst of the place. There first were certain men chosen of purpose: who so soon as they perceived the battailon of their contrimen defeated and slain, fighting before the breaches of the wall, immediately should run upon their wives and children, and kill them without mercy, cast away into the sea their gold and silver, and all the furniture above said that was in the Gallies, and let the edifices and houses as fire, as well public as private, in as many places as possibly they could. For the performing and execution of these premises, they were bound by an oath ministred unto them: the form whereof, with a cursed malediction thereto annexed, they pronounced word for word from the Priests mouth. Then, as many as were of lawful age to bear arms, (ware likewise, That not one of them would depart out of the battell alive, but with victory. Thus remembering the oath they had taken, and how they called the gods to witness, they fought so resolutely, that whereas the night would have parted the combat, the King terrified with their furious rage, first gave over the conflict. The chief and principall men of the City, whose charge was to play the more cruel and horrible part in this tragical act, seeing there remained but few alive after this skirmish, and those grievously wounded and dried out of heart for weariness: the next morning early by day-break sent their Priests with their infules and robes of office, to tender the City unto *Philip*. Before the town was fully yielded, *M. Emilius* the youngest of those three Roman Embassadors which were sent to *Alexandria*, hearing of the

* *Andros*.
* *Paros*.
* *Cythera*, or
Cithira.

* *Stretto* of *Callipolis*, *Brasibus* *S. Georgii*, *S. Georges* arms.

* *Maronea*, vel *Marelia*.

the straight siege of the Abydens came by the consent of the other two unto *Philip*. Where he laid open their grievances and made complaint. That he had warred upon *Amisus* and the *Rhodiens*, and namely, even then besieged and assailed *Abydos* most forcibly. And when the King answered that *Abydos* and the *Rhodiens* without just cause on his part offered, began first to molest and trouble him. What (quoth *Amisus* again) were you molested and troubled first by the *Abydens* too? *Philip* who was not wont to be told the truth so plainly, thinking this rejoinder of his more bold and more pertinent than to be offered to a King. Your youthfull age, quoth he, *Amisus*, and above all the Roman name make you hardy and audacious. But I would advise you all, first to remember your covenants, and to entertain peace with me. For in case ye once begin with me, and put me to it: I do you understand, that I also am fully resolved to make you all the smart, and know, that the realm and nation of the Macedonians is no less renowned with arms of arms than the Romans, *Philip* having dismissed the ambassadors, and seized upon all the gold and silver that lay on an heap together, lost all the booty of men of quality that might have yielded him a round ransom. For the multitude of common people fell into such a fit of rage and madness, that all of a sudden they imagined those who let their lives in the conflict were rewarded: and so calling one in another's teeth their perjury, and charging the Priests especially, that they were forsworn in delivering them alive unto the enemy whom they had devoted and appointed to death: they ran at once from all parts to the pitifull massacre of their own wives and children: and when they had to done, they made no more ado, but by fire, by sword, by drowning, hanging, and one way or other, they wrought a quick dispatch and clean riddance of themselves also. The King attemped to see them thus hurried, said the bloody his own soldiers, saying, that he would allow the *Abydens* three daies to dye in. During which term of time, the conquered *Abydens* exercised more fearful cruelty upon their own persons than ever the conquerors would have put in practice in the height of their heat and cholerick fury. Inasmuch as there was not one of them came alive into the enemies hands; but such as either fast tied with bonds, or otherwise by some forcible means were staid from being their own hangmen, and the butchers of their proper bodies. *Philip* after he had placed a garrison at *Abydos* returned into his own Realm. Now when this miserable calamity of the *Abydens* had distressed *Philip* to enterprize war against the Romans, like as *Annibal* afore him took heart by the wooll destruction of *Saguntum* to do the semblable: behold, he was encountered with posts that brought news, how the Consul was in *Egna* already, and had withdrawn his land-forces to *Apollonia*, and bestowed his servants at sea in *Car-L* *issa*, there to winter.

In this while the Embassadors who were sent into *Africa* had their dispatch and this answer from the Carthaginian. First, as touching *Amisus*, the General of the army and forces in *France*, they could no more but banish his person, and confiscat his goods. Then concerning the fugitive traitors and rebels, which were run from the Romans, they had sent home again unto them as many as they could search out and come by: and to that purpose they would address Embassadors themselves unto the Romans, to satisfy the Senat in that behalf. And presently they sent to *Rome* two hundred thousand Modii of wheat, and other two hundred thousand into *Macedony* to the army there. From thence the Roman Embassadors went forward to the King in *Numidia*. To King *Masaniassa* they delivered the presents which the Romans sent, and declared unto him their commission: at whole hands they received a thousand Numidian horse, whereas he offered them two thousand: himself took order for their embarking, and so dispatched them into *Macedony* with provision of two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and as many of barley. A third Embassage they had to *Vermisus*, who met the Embassadors as far as the utmost marches of his Realm, and to their disposition and discretion referred the drawing and penning of all conditions of peace as they would themselves: saying withall, that he held any peace whatsoever, that he should have with the people of *Rome* for good and just. So there were presented unto him certain articles and conditions of peace, and for the ratifying thereof he was enjoyed to lend his Embassadors to *Rome*.

Much about the very same time *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Vice-Prator returned out of *Spain*: N who having declared in the Senat his valiant and fortunate exploits, that for many years together he had conquered in *Spain*: and in consideration thereof, demanded that it might be lawful for him to enter the City in triumph: the Senat judged that his noble acts deserved no less than he sued for: but they had no such precedent from their ancestors, that he should be allowed to triumph. They had warred neither as Dictator, nor Consul, nor Prator: and as for *Lentulus*, in quality of Vice-Prator only, and not of Consul or Prator he took upon him the charge of the Province of *Spain*. Howbeit, in the end they came down to this point, that he should ride into the City on horseback as Ovant. But *T. Sempronius Longus*, Tribune of the Com, interposed his negative, alleging that they had as little example to shew for that; and no precedence or custom at all of their ancient predecessors. But in fine the Tribune gave place to the general accord of the LL, O and was content to be over-ruled. So after the order let down by the Senat, *L. Lentulus* entered *Rome* in that solemnity and pomp before named. He presented in shew of the pillage that he had got, 4400 pound weight of silver, 2450 pound weight of gold. To his soldiers he distributed out of the Spoil 1200 Asles apiece, and 1200 Asles apiece.

Now was the army of the Consul transferred already from *Arretium* into *Ariminum*, and five thousand *Lance* allies were sent upon their march into *Germa*. Therefore, *L. Furius* departed from *Ariminum*.

Ariminum made haste by taking great journeyes to come against the Gauls who then laid siege to *Cremenna*, and encamped within a mile and an half from the enemy. Means and opportunity he had to do a notable exploit, and win a good hand of the enemies; it immediately upon his first coming might have assailed their Camp: for they wandered to and fro in lattering wine up and down the Country, a foraging, and had left no sufficient guard for the defence of their Camp. But he feared greatly that his soldiers were weary and tired: because the Companies marched apace thither to exceeding great haste. Howbeit the Gauls being called back by the hooping and hollowing of their fellows, let go their booty which they had in manner as good as in their hands, and returned to the Camp, and the morrow after ranged themselves in battell array. The Romans were not behind for their parts, albeit they had hardly time enough to let themselves in order, the enemies ran so suddenly and made such haste to fight. The right wing (for the army of the allies was divided into wings) was placed in the vanguard: the two Roman legions in the reeward: *M. Furius* led the right wing, *M. Caelius* had the conduct of the legions; and *L. Valerius Flaccus* (all three Lieutenants) commanded the Cavalry. The Prator kept with him two Lieutenants, *C. L. L. L.* and *P. T. T.*, by whose means he might look about from every part, and be ready to oppose himself against all sudden attempts whatsoever of the enemies. At the first the Gauls hoped that with their numbers they should be able to tread down and trample under their feet that right wing of allies which was in the forefront: and to that effect they reduced their multitudes into one place, and charged upon it with all their might and main together. But seeing this enterprize sped not well, they endeavoured to environ the corners and sides, and to compels the enemies round about: which they thought they might soon do, being so many as they were in comparison of so few: which when the Prator perceived, to the end that he also might spread out his battallions at large, he displayed the two legions in the reeward, so as he compassed on both hands that wing which fought in the vanguard: and therewith vowed two Chappels to *Jupiter*, if that day he might be so fortunate as to vanquish his enemies. To *L. Valerius* he gave direction, that of one side he should with the Cavalry of the two legions, and on the other side with the horse belonging to the allies charge upon the wings of the enemies, and not suffer them in any case to enclose the battell about. Herewithall himself also, eipping the middle battallion of the Gauls to be but thin; by reason they were stretched out from thence to the corners and points of each hand, commanded his souldiers to keep close together, to advance forward and break through their ranks. So were the wings of the Gauls by the souldiers discomfited, and they in the midst repulsed back & chased by the footmen: and when the enemies thus at once on every hand were beaten down and killed, they shewed their backs, and fled as fast as they could to the camp. The horse pursued them in the rout and chase: and anon the legionary footmen made after also, and gave an assault upon their Camp. There escaped from thence not out six thousand: slain there were and taken prisoners above 25000, with severall banners and ensigns, and more than two hundred French wagons; charged and laden with much pillage. In this conflict, *Amisus* the General of the Carthaginians lost his life, and three Noblemen of the French, Leaders of mark and name. The Placentine captives, to the number of two thousand men of free condition, were delivered again to them of their own Colony. This was a goodly victory: and upon the letters which came with tidings thereof to *Rome*, received therewith great joy: and ordained it was, that a solemn procession should be held for the space of three daies. Of Romans and allies one with another, there died in this battell two thousand: most of them were of that right wing, upon which the enemies in the beginning of the conflict most of all discharged their fury.

Albeit the Prator had brought the war to a good pass, and in manner finished it, yet the Consul also *C. Aurelius*, having accomplished his necessary affairs at *Rome*, made no stay but took his journey into *France*, and received the victorious army of the Prator. The other Consul who came into his Province but a little before the end of Autumn, wintered about *Apollonia*. The Romangallies which from the Armado that lay in dock at *Coryra*, were sent as is aforesaid to *Athens* with *C. Claudius*, were no sooner arrived at *Pyreneum*, but they mightily comforted the allies, whose hearts were well-nigh done: for neither were there any more invaders now by land as there were wont to be from *Corinth* side by the way of *Megara* along into their territories: and the men of war and Pyrats ships which from *Chalcis* had made not only the seas dangerous to the Athenians, but also the maritime & sea coasts, durst not now approach nearer than to the cape of *Sunium*, nor venture into the open main sea from out of the Straights of *Euripus*. Over and besides, there came in to them three Rhodian gallies with four banks of oars: there were also three open ships of *Athens* well rigged and appointed, for to keep the quarters that lay along the river. *Claudius* was well appaid, and thought he had got enough for the present, in case the City and Territory of *Athens* might be sufficiently guarded by this fleet. But see, there presented unto him an occurrent besides of far greater importance and consequence. Certain banished persons of *Chalcis*, expelled from thence by the wrongs and violence of those that sided with King *Philip*, advertised him, that the City of *Chalcis* might be easily surprised without any conflict or resistance at all: for, not only the Macedonians ranged abroad every where up and down, because there were no enemies near at hand to fear; but also the townsmen presuming upon the garrison of the Macedonians, neglected the guard of the City. Upon the assurance of their words, he set forward: and although he was arrived at *Sunium* with so good speed, that he might with ease have sailed to the entrance of the Straights of *Euboea*, yet for fear of being

* 127500 li.
ster. after 5
the ounce.
* 88200 li.
ster. at 3 li.
an ounce.
* 7 li. 4 s.
English:

* Coryth.

being discovered (when he was once got past the cape) he kept his fleet within the bay still until night: and at the shutting in of the evening he weighed anchor and lanch'd forth, and having a calm sea, he arriv'd before *Chalcis* a little before the break of day, and presented his forces against those parts of the City that were least peopled: and with the help of some few souldiers he scaled and got the Tower that stood next with the wall about it, while in some places the Wardens were found asleep; and in others not at all to be found. Then they advanced forward upon those parts that were more inhabited, and stood thicker with houses: where, after they had killed the guard and broken open a gate, they received into the town all the rest of their souldiers. Whereupon there was running now on every hand into all parts of the City, and much hurry and confusion; which was the greater, because the enemies had set fire on the houses about the market place. The Kings garners also were of a light fire, together with the arsenal and armory. Where there was exceeding store of provision, of engines, of artillery and other ordnance and instruments for war. After this they fell to execution and to massacre in every place, as well those that fled as those that made head: so as they mist not one that was of age meet to bear arms, but either he was killed or put to flight. *Sepater* likewise the Acarnanian Captain of the garrison was there slain. All the pillage was first brought and piled up together in the common place of the City, and afterwards embarked. The common Goal besides was broke open by the Rhodians, and the prisoners and captives let out, whom *Philip* had there lodged as in a place of surety guard and custody. Then they overthrow the Images and statues of the King, and brake their necks: which done, they founded the retreat, went a shipboard and returned to *Pyraeum*, from whence they came. But if the number of Roman souldiers had been such, that they might have kept *Chalcis* still with a garrison, without quitting and abandoning the defence of *Athens*, a great matter had been got in the very beginning of the war: to wit, the City of *Chalcis* and the passage of *Eurippus* had been taken from the King. For as the narrow pass of *Thermopylae* stoppeth the waies into *Greece* by land, so the streights of *Eurippus* maketh all force by sea. *Philip* at that time lay in the City *Demeirias*: where, after he heard the news of the calamity befall upon a confederate City, albeit now it was too late to help when all was lost: yet because he would be revenged (which is a thing that cometh near to the nature of aid and succour) he went forth immediately with five thousand footmen lightly appointed and nimble, and three thousand horsemen, with all the speed and haste he could to reach near unto *Chalcis*: making full reckoning that the Romans might be surpris'd on a sudden: but being disappointed of this hope, and thither come where he could see nothing else but a pitious spectacle of a friend City half ruin'd and still smoking, and so few people left alive, that they hardly were able to bury their dead, he returned as hastily as he came: and having pass'd over *Eurippus* at a bridge, he led straight to *Athens* by the way of *Bavaria*, with a deep perswasion and hope, that a like enterprise unto the Romans should have the like issue. And verily he had not mist of the semblable effect, correspondent to his designs, but that a certain watchman (one of those whom the Greeks call *Hemerodromos*, that is, posts and carriers that in one daies space will run and rid a mighty deal of ground) descried from a watch-tower the Kings troops marching: whereupon he ran out afore, and came to *Athens* ere midnight. There were they all asleep, and as reckless as they of *Chalcis* were a few daies past, which was the loss of their town. The Pretor of the Athenians, and *Diopippus* the Captain of a regiment of hired strangers and aid souldiers, awoke at this so fearful and sudden tidings and got up, assembled the souldiers into the market-lead, and commanded to sound alarm from the highest place of the City, that all men might take knowledge that the enemies were near at hand. By which means they ran every man from all parts to the gates and up the walls. Within few hours after, and somewhat before day-light, he approached the City: and seeing many lights every where, hearing also a noise of people running to and fro (as in time of such a tumult) he staid his march, and commanded his souldiers to sit them down and rest themselves, intending to proceed by overt and open forces, face cover and crafty courses sped no better: and so at length he came before *Dipylus*. This *Dipylus* is a gate, standing in the very front of the City, greater and wider a great deal than the rest. Both within and without that gate are large and broad streets, so that both the inhabitants within may marshall an army, and lead in battell array from the common place directly to the gate, and also the enemies without have room at will to conduct a power as well of horse as foot, by means of a spacious cauley or high-way, which reacheth out almost a mile in length from the foresaid gate, and leadeth to the place of exercise or school called *Academia*. At this quarter of the City the Athenians, together with the garrison of *Attalus*, and the regiment of *Diopippus*, issued forth, and entered the cauley abovementioned, having first within the gate set their men in order of battell. Which when *Philip* saw, he made full account, That he had his enemies as he would himself to do his pleasure with them, and that now he should have his fill of a massacre and slaughter that he had wished for so long (for there was not a State or City in all *Greece* that he maliced more than this of *Athens*.) And therefore he exhorted and encouraged his souldiers, that they should have their eye upon him ever as they fought, and know well this, that where the King was, there should the banners and cornets be displayed there should the strength and force of the battell be: and so he set spurs to his horse, and ran with full career to charge the enemies. Thus was he not only carried away with heat of choler, but ravished also with a desire of glory, esteeming it a goodly thing, and a matter tending to his great honour, for to be seen fighting in the view of a great multitude of people that had taken up and filled the battlements of the walls

(as it were) to behold a solemne spectacle. Thus being advanced a good way before the main battell, accompanied with some few men of arms, he rode among the mids of the enemies; where he bare himself so valiantly, that as he mightily heartned his own men, so he affrighted no less his enemies. Many a one he wounded with his own hand, reaching at them that were near, levelling at those that were farther off, and drove them afore him like sheep, and followed hard upon them in perion to the very gate; where he made foul work among them, thronged and crouded as they were together in the stright of the passage, for half they made to escape, and committed a grievous slaughter. And albeit this was but an unwise and rash adventure of his; yet he rectified himself in safety, without farther danger of his person, by reason that they who were placed in the corners of the gate, forbore to shoot and lance their darts, because they would not hurt their own side, intermingled among the enemies. But after this, when the Athenians kept their souldiers within the walls, *Philip* founded the retreat, and pitched his tents at *Cynsarges*, where there was a Temple of *Hercules*, and a school of learning, and a grove standing about it. As for *Cynsarges*, and the school *Lyceum*, and whatsoever was either religious, or pleasant and desirable about the City, was burned. And not only the edifices, but the sepulchres also and monuments of the dead were defaced and call'd down: in which furious heat of anger, nothing was spared, were it sacred or profane, without regard of God and man. The next morning, when the gates were first kept shut, and afterwards let open again upon a sudden, because the garrison of *Attalus* entered into the City from *Egina* and the Roman from *Pyraeum* side: *Philip* dislodged and removed back from the City almost three miles. From whence he went to *Eleusis*, hoping to surpris the Temple at *Cumawares*, together with the Town and Cattle, which both environeth the Temple, and also commanded the lame. But when he perceived that the corps de guard was not neglected, and that a fleet battell was coming from *Pyraeum* to succour them, he gave over this design, and led his army to *Megara*, and so straight forward immediately to *Corinth*, and having intelligence, that the Achaes held a general Diet and counsel at *Argos*, thither he came unlooked for of the Achaeans, and put himself amongst them at the very session and assembly. Consultation there was; about waging war with *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedaemonians: Who seeing, that the Seignory of *Achaia* was taken from *Philopamenes*, and conferr'd upon *Cycliades*, a Captain not to be named and compared with him, and perceiving also that the aids which the Achaeans had, were fallen from them and gone, took their advantage, renew'd the old quarrel, and made fresh war upon them, passing the villages and territories of the borderers, yea, and threatening the good Towns and Cities also. Now whilst they sat, devising and consulting together what number of souldiers should be levied and enrolled out of every several State and City, for to withstand this common enemy, *Philip* frankly promised to ease them all of that care as touching *Nabis* and the Lacedaemonians: and not only to impeach them from spoiling the lands of their Allies, but also to lead his army out of hand into the very territory of *Laconica* and *Sparta*, and thither to turn the whole terror of this war. This kind speech and friendly offer of his, being with a general applause of them all accepted. "Mary, this you must (quoth he) take withal, that good reason it is, whilst I myself am content to defend and maintain your country by my forces, mine own territories in the mean time be not disurmished of their garnisons and left naked: and therefore, if ye think it good, provide me as many souldiers as may suffice for the guard of *Oreum*, *Chidea*, and *Corinth*, that thus making all sure behind me, I may be secured from danger that way and with more resolution prosecute the war against *Nabis* and the Lacedaemonians. The Achaeans smell'd him quickly & knew full well to what end this gracious promise of his and frank offer of aid against the Lacedaemonians tended. His only drift was to draw forth of *Peloponessus* the youth and flour of the Achaeans as a pledge and sure hostage, for to engage the whole nation so far as they should be interested in the war that he had with the Romans. *Cycliades* the Pretor of the Achaeans thinking it bootless, and no good policy, to discover so much and to enforce that point against him, interred only this speech and said, That it was not lawful by the customs and ordinances of the Achaeans, to propose other matters to parle of, than those for which they were assembled together: and so after the order enacted for levying and waging a battell against *Nabis*, he dissolved and brake up the assembly, which he now had held right stoutly and with the liberty of the place, who otherwise, before that time was taken ever for no better, than one of the Kings flatterers and favorites. Thus *Philip* put besides the great hopes that he had conceived, levied some small number of voluntary souldiers, and returned to *Corinth* and the land of *Attica*.

During the time that *Philip* was in *Achaia*, *Philotes* a Captain under the King, departed out of *Evbea* with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians, for to wait and spoil the confines of the Athenians; and over against *Eleusis* passed over the forrest and hill *Cytheron*, from whence having sent out the one half of his forces every way to prey upon the plain country, he fast himself down close with the other half in a convenient place for an ambush, to the end, that if peradventure they should make out from the Fort at *Eleusis*, and set upon his souldiers as they drove booties, he might suddenly arise and charge upon the enemies at unawares, spread and scattered all abroad. But this ambushment was discovered. And therefore after he had called the souldiers back who were run all abroad a foraging, he put them in order well armed & appointed to besiege and assault the Fort of *Eleusis*, against which he led all his forces: but after much hurt and many a wound received from them, he retired, and joined with *Philip* as he returned out of *Achaia*. The King also himself in person, assisted to force and batter the said hold: but the Romans

ships coming from *Pyrrhus*, and a fresh garrison received into the place, caused him to retire to give over the enterprise. After this the King divided his power, and sent one part thereof against *Athenes*, under the conduct of *Philocles*, and himself with the other marched to *Pyrrhus*: that while *Philocles* kept the Athenians within the City, by approaching their walls, and threatening to besiege and assault it, he might himself with facility win and gain *Pyrrhus*, wherein there was left but a small and slight guard. But he found as but a peevish service about the affluence of *Pyrrhus*, as before at *Elusine*, by reason of the same soldiers in manner that defended as well the one as the other. So on a sudden he departed from *Pyrrhus*, & marched directly toward *Athenes*. From whence he was repulsed and chased by a sudden fall both of horse and foot made from the heights of the wall half ruined; which wall stretching out, as it were, two arms, joyntly from the *Pyrrhus* to *Athenes*. So he left battering and assaulting the City, and parting again his army with *Philocles*, he went out to forage and spoil the country: and as in his former passage he exercised himself in demolishing the tombs all about the City, to because he would leave nothing entire and safe, he commanded the chapels of the Gods, which were consecrate in every village and hamlet, to be pulled down, rased, and burnt.

The country of *Attica* was marvellously beautified and embellished (as it were) with godly peeces of work in that kind, (by reason as well of the store they had of native marble, as also of their industrious and excellent workmen) which ministered matter and occasion unto him of this outrage and madness. For not contented and satisfied with the ruin of the Temples, and casting down of images, he commanded that the very stones should be broken and barreled in peeces, that left being whole and found they might serve to make up and stop the breaches of the ruins. And after that his fell mood and anger was not so much satisfied and satiate, as it wanted matter to work upon in that place, he departed out of his enemies country into *Bœotia*, and performed no other deed in *Greece* worthy of remembrance.

Sulpicius the Consul at that time lay in camp between * *Apollonia* and * *Dyrrachium*, neer the river *Apus*: and having caused *T. Appianus* the Lieutenant to come thither, he sent him with part of his forces to walt the borders of his enemies, * *Apollonia* after he had foraged the frontiers of *Macedony*, and forced at the first assault certain holds, as *Corraghæus*, *Gervhenium*, and *Orygellum*, came with his army before *Antipatria*, a City seated in the narrow straits of a certain passage. And first he called forth the principal and chief citizens to a party and assailed to persuade and induce them for to commit themselves under the protection and safeguard of the Romans: but afterwards, seeing they trusted upon their greatness, the strong wall and situation of the Town, and therefore made no reckning of his negatives, but rejected them, he assailed it by force of arms, and won it in the end. All that were above fourteen years of age he put to the sword: the whole pillage he dealt amongst the soldiers: the walls he rased, and let fire on the Town. The fear of like misery was the cause that *Codrus*, a Town of good strength and well fortified, was yielded to the Romans without assault, or any sword drawn. There he left a garrison: and after that, he forced *Illyria*, a Town better known for the fame that in carth of the other famous *Ilum* in *Asia* than for any thing else. As the Lieutenant returned with a great booty to the Consul, one *Athenæus* a Captain under the King, charged upon the tail of the army, and disordered the hindmost, and impeached their passage over the river: but the Lieutenant at their cry and sudden affright rode on all back, caused them to turn again and make head, set them in battail ray, and bestowed all their bag and baggage in the mids upon a heap. The Kings soldiers not able to abide the violence of the Romans, were many of them slain, and more taken prisoners. So the Lieutenant having retired his army in safety, was immediately sent back unto the Consul to the *Armado*.

The war being thus begun, and the exploit of this first expedition happily performed, the Princes, Potentates, and LL, that bordered upon the Macedonians, repaired into the Roman camp, to wit, *Pleuratus* the son of *Scerdetius*, *Aminander* King of the *Achamans*: and from *Dardania*, *Bato* the son of *Longarus*. This *Longarus* had waged war sometime in his own name and quarrel with *Demeetrius* the father of this *Philip*. These States offering and promising their aids unto the Consul, had this answer from him, That for the *Dardanians* and *Pleuratus*, he would use them, when he entered with an host into *Macedony*. As for *Aminander*, he gave him in charge the while to solicit the *Ætolians* to war. The Embassadors of *Attalus* (for they also were come at the same time) he dispatched with this order, That their King should attend the coming of the Roman fleet at *Egina*, where he wintered: with which and his own jointly together, he should assail *Philip* at sea like as he had done beforetime. Embassadors also were addressed to the *Rhodiens*, that they likewise should have their hand and be seen in this war. *Philip* for his part forewore not to make preparation (for now by this time was he come into *Macedony*) and sent with part of his forces for to keep the heights of the passage of *Pelagonia*, his son *Perseus*, a very child of young years, having chosen certain of his trusty friends, to direct and govern his tender age. As for *Sciatius* and * *Peparethus*, two Towns of no small importance he destroyed, for fear the enemy's fleet should seize upon them, and with their pillage content and pay themselves. He sent likewise Embassadors to the *Ætolians* (a nation inconstant and unquiet by nature) that they should not upon the arrival of the Romans, change their allegiance. Now the Diet or general council of all the States of *Ætolia*, which they call *Panætolium*, was to be held at a certain day appointed. And therefore to prevent and meet with all dangers, both the Kings Embassadors made hast to be present thereto, and also *L. Furius Purpurio* presented himself there, as sent Embassador from the Consul.

* *Sissipoli*, *Di-*
* *meis*, *Pivgæ*,
* *Nigro*,
* *Durozæ*,
* *Proo*, *Nigro*.

* *Sciatia*,
* *Lemna*.

A Consul, The *Athenian* Embassadors likewise were at this assembly. And first the *Macedonians* (with whom a league was but lately concluded, and therefore fresh in remembrance) had audience, who said, "They had no new matter to speak of, seeing there was no new occurrence and business fallen out: only this, that upon what motives and considerations they were entered into an accord and peace with King *Philip*, (as having experience that the alliance with the Romans never did them good) for the very same they should maintain it still, being once concluded & confirmed: Or, love ye rather (quoth one above the rest of the Embassadors) to imitate the Romans licentiousness or their levity, I know not whether? who, as they gave order and commandment, that your Embassadors being at *Rome*, should receive their dispatch and answer in these terms: Come ye now to us indeed my matters of *Ætolia*, when without our consent and warrant ye have made peace with *Philip*? so likewise at this present are ready to require that ye should band with them, and war upon *Philip*. They pretended aforesaid that they took arms against him, by occasion of you, in your quarrel and defence: & now they forbid you to be in peace with *Philip*. At first, they entered into *Sicily* for to aid and succour *Messana*. A second time they went thither to set free and deliver *Syracusa* out of the oppression of the *Carthaginians*. And now at this time they hold in possession both *Messana* and *Syracusa*: and all *Sicily* entire they have made it tributary, yea, and reduced it into the form of a Province, to be ruled under their ward, and the jurisdiction of their Deputies and Magistrates. In good faith, I assure you, that as ye according to your laws & customs hold your Diets & Councils at *Naupactum*, by your own Magistrates elected and created among your selves, wherein ye have liberty to make choice both of friends and enemies whom ye will and to entertain either peace or war at your pleasure: so, as writs are sent out to the States of *Sicily* for their knights and burgesses, to assemble in Parliament at *Syracusa*, at *Messana*, or *Lilybaeum*. And the Roman Pretor it is and no other that summoneth them thither, as also to their Assises and Sessions: at his commandment & not otherwise they are cited to general Councils. Him they see sitting on high in his tribunal seat, guarded with *Lictors*, attended upon with *Ulfers*, there to hear and determine causes, and from aloft to pronounce hard sentences and proud awards. His rods threaten their backs and sides, his axes are ready to chop their heads from their shoulders: & from year to year new Lords still they choose and lend among them. And this dealing, none of them either can or ought to marvel at: for why they see Cities of *Italy*, by name *Rhegium*, *Tarentum*, and *Capua*, (to speak nothing of their neighbour Towns, by whole fall they arose, by whose ruins *Rome* grew mighty) subject likewise to the same rule and government. As for *Capua*, the very sepulcher and tomb of the Comnation (now that the natural people thereof are either dead and buried, or driven out as exiled persons) remaineth at this day as a monster and wonder in nature, resembling a headless and limbless dismembered trunk of a body: a Town (I say) without Sent, without Commonalty, without Magistrates: where more cruelty was shewed in leaving it to itself thus abandoned, and in this manner to be inhabited, than it had been clean rased and laid even with the ground. Meer folly it is and without all sense and reason, to believe or hope, that if these strangers and aliens born (who differ more from us in language, in customs and laws, than they are distant and disjoined by space between of land and sea) be once seized and possessed of these places, that any thing will continue long entire in the present state. The Kingdom of *Philip* ye will say is a block in your way and seemeth to prejudice your freedom & liberties: yet he being made your heavy friend, and that through your own fault and desert, required no other thing at your hands for amends, but peace: and even now desireth nought else but your allegiance, and the faithful observance of the same. Acquaint foreign legions once with this your country: you take the yoke of servitude upon your necks for ever. Accept the Romans once for your Lords: too late it will be then and in vain for you to seek *Philip* again, and with him your ally. Small matters and momentary occasions may well cause the *Ætolians*, *Acarnanians* and *Macedonians*, (men of one language) to fall out, and as slender motives, will soon make them friends again: a little thing between them at a jar, and as little ringeth them in tune. But all *Grecians* both are and ever will be at war with Barbarians: enemies they are by nature, which is perpetual and immutable: and not by occasions which alter every day. But where I begin my speech there will I leave & make an end. In this very place you the same men, agreed three years past to have peace with *Philip*: and the self-same Romans as they mistook then and disavowed that peace, so now they will needs disquiet and trouble it after it is once passed and accorded. And since the case still is all one, and fortune hath made no alteration, I see no reason why ye should vary and change your minds. After the *Macedonians*, the *Athenians* entered in place, for the Romans were well contented therewith, and would needs have it so: "These *Athenians* having suffered many wrongs and indignities at the Kings hands, had juster cause of complaint, and more reason to inveigh and agitate matter against his cruelty and outrageous dealings. First, they bewailed the piteous spoil & miserable sackage of their territories: neither complained they so much and found themselves grieved, in that they had sustained arms and suffered hostility from an enemy, (for there be certain laws and rights belonging unto war, by virtue whereof, to give and take, to suffer harm and to do harm interchangeably, is an ordinary matter and allowable: As for example, the burning of standing corn in the field, rasing and pulling down of houses, harrying and driving of booties both of men and cattail, rather pitiful calamities, than shameful indignities to endure.) But this is the point say they, and hereof we complain, That he who termed the Romans,

The Orator
of the Macedo-
nian Embassa-
dors.

The Orator
of the Atheni-
an Embassa-
dors.

The Oration
of the Roman
Ambassadors.

"strangers born, and barbarous, hath so polluted and violated at once all laws of God and man;
"so as in his former rage and expedition he seemed to make most impious war with the infernal
"Gods and Spirits beneath; and in the second, with the heavenly powers and Gods above. All
"the monuments and tombs within their confines are defaced and destroyed: the dead in their
"graves are all laid bare, not so much as the bones of any one lie covered with mould. Temples
"we had and Chapels, which, as in times past when our ancestors inhabited those small holds,
"hamlets and villages, they consecrated and hallowed: so when they were reduced into one City,
"and enrolled into wards and parishes, they forsook not nor abandoned altogether. Round
"about these sacred Churches hath Philip set fire, and consumed all: the holy images of the Gods,
"lie some scorched and half burnt: others headless and dismembered, among the pillars and posts
"of the Temples thrown along on the ground. And look what tool work he hath made in the
"country of *Aetolia*, so rich and so beautifully adorned in times past, the like havoc, if he might
"be let alone, would he make in *Aetolia* and in all *Greece* throughout. For had not the Romans
"come in time to succour, our very City also had been so served and piteously disfigured. For
"with like mischiefous intent came he to the City which worshipped those Gods, not sparing
"the goddess *Minerva*, the patroness and protectress of our Town and Cattle: the same wicked
"mind he carried against the Temple of *Ceres Eleusina*: and no better affected was he to *Jupiter*
"and *Minerva* in *Pyrrhus*. But being repelled by force and arms not only from our Temples,
"but also from the walls of our City, he wreaked his anger and raged against those Chapels and
"religious houses, which had nothing for their defence, but only the reverent regard of the Gods,
"whereof he had none. Hereupon, they prayed and humbly besought the *Aetolians*, to have com-
"passion of the Athenians, and to enterprise the war, under the conduct first of the immortal
"Gods, and then of the Romans, who next to the Gods are most powerful and mighty. Then
"the Roman Embassadors spake in this wise. "The Macedonians first, and after them the Athe-
"nians, have altered the whole course and form of my speech. For, whereas my coming hither
"was to complain of the injuries done by Philip to many Cities of our allies and associates: the
"Macedonians by accusing the Romans first, have put me too hardly to my shits, that I need
"rather employ my wits in making a defence of our selves: than in framing an accusation against
"others. The Athenians again in reckoning up and recounting the impious, abominable, and in-
"human parts of King Philip committed against the Gods, both above and beneath, what have
"they left behind for me or any man else to object against him besides? What they have laid,
"you may well think, and truly suppose, that the men of *Chios*, *Abydos*, *Enos*, *Mareone*, *Thespi*,
"Purros, *Samos*, *Larissa* and *Messene*; those also here of *Achaia*, complain of the same, yea, and
"of more grievous and cruel enormities: as whom he had greater means to annoy and hurt. As
"for such things as he hath laid to our charge, if they deserve not honor and glory, I confess they
"cannot be answered and defended. Reproached us he hath with *Rhegium*, with *Capua*, and *Syracuse*.
"I cannot deny, but during the war of *Pyrrhus* we sent a legion to *Rhegium*, theretole
"in garrison at the instant prayer of the Rhegians themselves, who requested us to lend them.
"This legion I confess, most wickedly and treacherously seized upon the City, and possessed it
"to their own use, for the guard and defence whereof they were first sent. A vowed we (I pray
"you) that act of theirs? Nay, punished we not by arms that lewd legion and urgratious? And
"when we had them in our power and at our devotion forced not we them to make amends and
"satisfaction to our allies, with the smart of their back and sides, and with the loss of their heads
"in the end? And when we had done, restored we not unto the Rhegians their City, their
"Lands, all their goods whatsoever together with their liberties, franchises, and laws? As for
"the Syracusans, when they were oppressed by strange and foreign tyrants, we judging it to be a
"great indignity, relieved and succoured them: and after we had been (for three years space)
"most wearied and toiled out with continual siege and unceasing assault both by land and sea of
"their City, so exceeding strong and so well fortified: we seeing that the Syracusans themselves
"made choice rather to be in servitude under those tyrants, than to be taken by us, gave them
"their City again both forced and freed by the same armies. Neither deny we that *Sicily* is now
"Province: and that the Cities which took part and sided with the Carthaginians, & jointly with
"them accorded to wage war against us, are tributaries unto us, and pay us yearly rents and pen-
"sions: nay, we are so far from not taking this upon us, that contrary-wise we would, that both
"you and all nations besides well knew, that every one received at our hands that measure of for-
"tune that he duly deserved. And now as touching the Capuans, should we repent that we have
"chastised them in such sort, whereof they themselves verily can not complain? These men, after
"we had maintained war against the Samnites in their quarrel and defence, for the space well near
"of seventy years, to no small defence of ours, and with many a loss and overthrow, after we had
"linked them unto us first by league and alliance, then by marriage and affinity, and last of all, by
"freedom and bourgeoisie of our City: these men I say, in our adversity, were the first, all other
"nations of *Italy*, that villainously massacred our garrison there, and revolted unto *Annibal*: and
"then for very spite and indignation that they whereby we besieged, sent *Annibal* to assault the City
"of *Rome*. And if we had proceeded in that rigour against them, that we had left neither City
"(standing nor any one person of them living, who could take offence thereat, and justly say, That
"they had been more hardly entreated and dealt withal than they deserved? There were more of
"them, that upon touch and prick of guilty conscience for their lewd and wicked deeds, made
"them-

"themselves away and so perished, than were by us executed and put to death. As for the rest, we
"took from them indeed their Town, we deprived them of their possessions and livings, yet so, as
"we left them both lands to occupy, and place to dwell in: the guiltless Town itself we suffered
"to stand till safe and found, that whoever at this day seeth it, can not find the least token or
"show of a City either forced or won. But what I speak I of *Capua*: seeing we have afforded unto
"Carthage (a City conquered and subdued) both peace and also liberty? Inasmuch as we have
"caused rather to be afraid, left by remissness and over-willingness to pardon those whom we have
"vanquished, we give occasion to many more to be so bold as to trie the hazard and fortune of
"war against us. And thus I had to say in defence of our selves. Now somewhat I have to speak
"against King Philip, whose horrible murders committed upon those of his own house, even his
"nephew King *Siolo* and friends: whose loose life and unbridled lust (more unkind and inhuman in
"manner than his cruelty) ye know better that are nearer unto *Macedony*. As for you, my ma-
"sters of *Aetolia*, we have for your sakes begun war with Philip, and you again without us have
"concluded peace with him. It may be you will alledge, that whiles we were occupied in the
"Punic war, ye were forced and compelled for fear to take such conditions of peace at his hands,
"who was the stronger: we likewise pressed with greater affairs and troubles) forbore to pro-
"tect and follow that war, which by you first was laid down & given over. At this present, seeing
"by the grace and goodness of the Gods the Punic war is come to an end, both we have em-
"ployed and bent all our forces against *Macedony*, and ye also have good occasion and opportuni-
"ty offered to reenter into amity and alliance with us, unless ye had rather perish with Philip,
"than vanquish with the Romans.

When the Roman Embassador had ended this Oration, the *Aetolians* generally were inclined
"and affected to the Romans: but *Damocritus* their Pretor (corrupted as the speech went with a
"sum of money received from King Philip, and made for him) gave assent neither to the one party
"nor the other, but said, "That in counsels of great weight and importance, there was nothing
"more hurtful and prejudicial, than haft-for repentance (qd. he) follow it never so soon, when a
"thing is once done, yet it cometh too late and booteth not: considering, that rash counsels can
"not be revoked, hasty and headlong courses cannot possibly be recalled, nor matters once past be
"reduced again to their former state. As for the proper time of that resolution now in hand,
"whereof my self am of advice, that the due maturity & full ripeness should be expected: it might
"now at this present be set down and concluded upon, for seeing that by our laws & ordinances
"provided it is that we may not treat of any affairs concerning peace or war, but in the general
"councils called *Panetolai* or *Pylai*: therefore for the present I would have you to ordain and
"decree, that your Pretor without fraud or covin might call and hold a Diet or court of Parlia-
"ment, whensoever he is minded to treat of war or peace: and whatsoever then and there shall be
"proposed and determined, it may stand in as good force, strength, & vertue, as if it had passed in
"a full *Panetolai* or *Pylai* council. Thus the Embassadors being dismissed and sent away in
"suspense, and nothing decided and concluded, he said, That he had performed a singular piece of
"service to his nation and country. For now they would fide and take part with those, whose
"fortune it were to speed better in the field. Thus went matters in the assembly of the *Aetolians*.

E Now Philip with all diligence prepared for war, both by sea and land. His sea forces he assem-
"bled together unto *Demetrias* a port in *Thessaly*, making account, that *Attalus* and the Roman fleet
"would in the beginning of the next spring depart from *Egina*. Over his navy and all the sea coasts
"he appointed *Heraclides* Admiral, like as he had done aforetime. Himself levied and gathered his
"land-forces, supposing verily that he had debared and bereft the Romans of two great means of
"aid; to wit, the *Aetolians* of the one side, and the *Dardani*ans of the other; in that the narrow
"streights and passage of *Pelagonia* was stopped and made fire against him by his son *Perseus*. The
"Consul on the other side made no preparations for war, but was on foot and in action already,
"conducting his army through the confines of the *Dassaretians*, and transporting with him out of
"his wintering harbor all the provision of grain, whereof the country yielded him sufficient to the
"F maintenance of his soldiers. The great Towns and Villages were surrendered unto him, partly for
"love and partly for fear: some were forced by assault, others abandoned by the inhabitants, and
"were found desolat, by reason that the barbarous people were retired into the mountains near by,
"to save themselves: and at *Lingum* near the river *Bevus* he encamped: from whence he sent to pur-
"vey for corn of the farmers and bairns of the *Dassaretians*. Philip saw well enough that the
"country all about was in an hurry, and the people in great fear and fright; but being uncertain to
"what place the Consul intended to march, he sent out a comet of light horsemen as espials to dis-
"cover what way the enemies took, and whither they pretended to go. The Consul likewise for his
"part was as doubtful: well he wist that Philip was dislodged from the places where he had winter-
"ed, but in what quarter he journeyed, he knew not: and therefore he also had set forth certain
"horse in espial to scour the coasts. These two bands or troops from divers and contrary parts, en-
"countered in the end in one way, after they had a long time wandered at adventure through the
"country of the *Dassaretians*. Both parts knew well by the noise they heard a far off, as well of men
"as horse, that enemies approached: and therefore they had both horse & armour in readines, before
"they were in sight one of another: so soon as ever they were within their interview, they made
"no stay, but charged immediately and joyned issue. It fortuned, that for number and valour both,
"they were equally matched: as being choice and elect men of either side: whereupon they fought
"for

* *Panetolium*.
A general council, where the
States of *Aetolia* were
assembled.
* *Pylaeum* con-
sultum. Another
Diet, holden at
Thermodon, where the
States of *Greece*
or *Amphipoli*
ones met, and
sent each one
their deputy or
agent, called
tylagon.

for certain hours alike, until such time as their own weariness and the fatigues of the day had wearied the battal in doubtful victory. Of the Macedonians there died 40 horsemen; and of the Romans five and thirty. And for all this neither brought the Macedonians any better intelligence of their King, nor the Romans to their Consul, of the place where the enemies were incamped. But certain fugitive traitors gave advertisement thereof: who commonly in all wars upon a running head and light humour that naturally they have, are given to hearken after news, and to enquire in what terms enemies stand. *Philip* imagining that it would avail somewhat both to punctuate the affectionate love of his soldiers, and also to induce them more cheerfully and readily to undertake all hazards for his sake, in case he seemed to have a careful regard to bury those horsemen which were slain in the journey and expedition afore said, commanded their bodies to be brought into the camp, so the end that all men might see what honour he did them in their funerals. But he saw how nothing is more uncertain, nor where of a man may make less reckoning than the minds and affections of the multitude. That which was thought would have made them more willing and forward to enter into any danger and jeopardy whatsoever, even that, wrought a contrary effect and caused them to be most fearful and backward. For they who were used to fight with Greeks and Illyrians, and to see men's bodies wounded with push of pike, galled with arrow, and pierced with lance here and there, in this or that part, after they beheld once their fellows so butchered mangled with the Spanish curuleaxes and cutting swords, the arms cut away from the body, the heads either smitten clean off by the neck, or cloven down right, and lying on the shoulders; their panes ripe with the bowels open, and guts drawing after; with other deep wounds and broad slashes, most hideous and fearful to behold; then they saw all full well (fearful creatures as they were), what manner of weapons, and what kind of men they were to deal against. *Nyas* the King himself was terribly afraid, who had not as yet encountered with the Romans in any letch. Whereupon he sent for his son to come back with the garrison that he had in the regions of *Trigonia*, thereby to increase and strengthen his own forces; and so laid open the way into *Macedonia*, for *Phlegetas* and the *Dardanians*. Himself in person with a power of 30000 foot, and 4000 horse, guided by the fugitives afore said, marched toward the enemy, and about a quarter of a mile or somewhat less from the Roman camp, possessed himself of a little hill near to *Athacum*, which he fortified with trench and rampier. From whence, when he beheld the Romans encamped hard under him he wondered (by report) to see not only the whole body of the camp, with the form and order thereof in general, but also how every part was ranged and set out in detail, both in the manner of quartering and pitching their pavilions, and also in the proportion of the wayes for breadth and length between. And having viewed and considered every thing accordingly: "Believe me (qd. he) there is no man who seeth this, that can either think or say, it is the camp of a barbarous nation. For two daies (pace the Consul and the King (expecting one another attempts and enterprises) kept their footsides close within their holds. When the third day was come, the Roman General brought forth his whole power into the field. But the King fearing to hazard all so soon upon a cast, drew forth 400 Triballians (which were, as we have said elsewhere, of the Illyrian nation) and 300 Cretensians, all footmen, accompanied with the like number of horsemen; and sent them under the conduct of *Athenagoras*, one of his courtiers and gallants, for to brave the Cavalry of the enemies, and to challenge them to fight. The Romans, whose main battail was little above half a mile off, put out against them their light armed van-curriers, and as it were, two companies or cornets of horsemen: to the end, that they might be equal with the enemy in number, both of foot and horse. They of the Kings part supposed verily, that they should fight after their old and accustomed manner: namely, that the horsemen should by turns, one while ride forward in the face of the enemy, other while retire again; sometime follow in chase and have use of their darts and weapons, and sometimes turn and fiew their back parts: that the nimbleness and activity of the Illyrians would stand in good stead to make excursions and suddain skirmishes; also that the Cretensian archers should be employed in shooting arrows aloof at the enemies, as they advanced and came forward, or flung out all abroad on every side; but the violent charge of the Romans, no less continual and obstinate, than fierce and eager, put them quite out of this manner of service, and disordered all. For no otherwise than if it had been a set battail between two entire armies, their footmen lightly armed, so soon as they had lanced and let go their javelins from them, took them to their swords, and came to hand fight: the horsemen likewise, no sooner affronted the enemies, but either staying their horses they fought on horseback, or else alighted on foot, and among the footmen maintained the skirmish. By this means neither the Kings Cavalry could match the Romans, because they had not been used to a steady battel; nor his footmen who were wont to traverse their ground, and skirmish, never standing still, and withal in manner half naked for any harness they had, was able to make their parts good with the Roman light appointed footmen, who had their (words and bucklers, and were furnished with armour, as well defensive as offensive. So they could not endure long to maintain fight, but were forced to retire into their camp; and by nothing else saved themselves but by good footmanhip and riding apace. These passed one day between, when the King minding to try a conflict with all his forces of Cavalry, and footmen lightly appointed, had laid in wait by night certain targaters, whom they call *Pelissas*, in a convenient place between both camps, and given direction and charge unto *Athenagoras* and his men of arms. That if they sped well in open battel and plain fight, they should on still and follow their good fortune: but if they went by the

wayes,

A worse, and were too weak, they should give ground by little and little, and train the enemy to the place of ambush. Well, it fell out so, that the horsemen indeed retired as ordinarily; but the leaders of that cohort afore said of targaters, not attending the signal long enough, but raising their men out of ambush before time, lost the opportunity of playing their part & performing a good service.

The Roman Consul having both obtained victory in open battel, and escaped the danger of a covert train, retired himself into his camp. The morrow after, he came down into the plain field with all his forces, and put them in battel array, having arranged his Elephants in the forefront of the vanguard. And this was the first time that ever the Romans had use in their wars, of this beast; by occasion, that in the late Punick war, they had taken some of them alive from their enemies. But perceiving that *Philip* kept himself close within his camp, he approached under the very rampier, yea, and reproached him for his cowardice. And seeing for all that, he could not even then be drawn to a battel: considering also, that if he kept there a standing camp long, so near unto the enemy, his provision of corn should be exposed to dangers; for no sooner should the purveyors and foragers be gone abroad into the country, and spread over the fields, but the enemies light horsemen would be ready at their heels to fetch them in, and cause them to come short home: therefore he removed his camp to a place almost eight miles off, called *Otholophum*, where he might make his provision with less danger. Now when the Romans purveyed for corn and victuals in the territory thereabout, and were come upon a time somewhat near and within danger of *Philip*, at first the King let them alone, and kept his men within their camp; to the end, that they might be more bold and venturous, and withal, less wary and circumspect: but spying them once straggling afield here and there out of order, he set forward with all his Cavalry, and the auxiliaries of the Candiot, and marched so fast, as the swiftest of his footmen by running might keep pace with the horsemen: thus having gotten between them and home, he pitched down his ensigns betwix the Roman camp and the foragers. Then divided he his forces in two companies, the one he sent forth to courtie and chase them, so dispersed as they were: giving special charge and direction, not to leave any of them alive that they could reach: with the other he staid himself behind, and beset all the wayes, and stopped the passage: by which the enemies were like to retire and have recourse unto their camp. Soon were they killed or put to flight in every place, and as yet not one escaped to the Roman camp, for to bring news of this discomfiture: for, as many as fled chanced upon the guard that the King had set: and more were slain by them, than he let the waies, than those that were sent out to the pursuit and execution. At length some hapned to escape through the midst of the Kings corps de guard, and in great haste and fearful manner came into the camp with a trouble some noise and tumult, rather than any certain tidings. The Consul, after order given to the horsemen; that every man should incurr and rescue what way soever he could, their distressed fellows in this extremity, himself led forth the legions out of the camp, and marching in a foursquare battail on advanced toward the enemies. The Horsemen being spread over the fields in divers places, some lost their right way, being deceived by other outcries heard from a contrary part: other some met with their enemies, and at one instant, the skirmish began in many and sundry places. The band that guarded about the Kings, fought most fiercely and cruelly: for both they were for their own number as full of horse as foot, a full army well-learned; and also most of the Romans light upon them, because they kept the very port and roadway in the mids. In this regard also were the Macedonians the better and had the vantage, because the King himself was present in person to encourage and exhort them: and withal the auxiliary Candiot wounded many of the Romans ere they were aware of them: for why, they were well prepared aforehand, ranged thick and close together, and so fought against them that rode scattering abroad one from another, and without array. And verily, if they could have kept any mean and measure in their chase, they had mightily advanced themselves, not only in winning the honor of that day, but also, in the main point of the whole war. But pursuing them beyond all reason, and without discretion, upon a bloud-thirsty desire that they had of massacre, they chanced upon the Roman Squadrons which were gone before with the Tribuns and Colonels: into match as the Horsemen afore said, who before fled, when they once saw the ensigns of their own infantry, reined their horse heads, and turned again upon the enemy that ran with bridle in horse neck: and so in the turning of an hand, the fortune of the battail changed and came about, and they that ere while made pursuit, now shewed their backs, and fled again. Many of them were slain that came to close hand fight, many likewise of those that ran away. Neither tell they all upon the edge of the sword, for some there were who plunged into bogs and marshes, where both horse and man sunk in the deep mud and mire, and so were swallowed up and perished. The King himself also was in great danger: for his horse being wounded under him and fallen, he also came headlong down to the ground, and hardly escaped, but he had been troden under foot, and mischief as he lay along. One horseman & above the rest saved his life, who hastily leapt himself from horseback, and withal mounted the King (so feared as he was) upon his own horse: who being now on foot, and not able to run as fast as the horsemen that fled away, was with many a stab and thrust soon dispatched by the enemies that came running together to the King when he was seen to fall, and the King after he had ridden in fearful flight about the fenay meers, one while where there was some way, and other-whiles where there was none at all to be seen, chanced at length to come to his camp, when most men were in despair that he could possibly escape in safety. In this skirmish there were 300

Maced

Macedonians slain, a hundred almost taken prisoners; fourscore brave and goodly couriers, with rich caparions and other furniture, together with the spoil of fair armours carried away.

There were that blamed the King for being too rash that day, and the Consul for his slackness. For Philip say they, should have kept him quiet, in rest and repose, knowing, as he did, that the enemies within few dayes would have been brought to extrem want and penury, now that the territory all about was clean spoiled and wasted. And the Consul for his part, when he had foiled the Cavalry and light armed souldiers of the enemies, and as good as taken the King prisoners, ought presently to have advanced against the Kings camp: for never would the enemies so discomfited have stood to it: and to in the minute of an hour, they had been vanquished for ever. This is soon said, but (as most things else) not so soon done. For in case that the King had likewise brought forth into the field all his Infantry, peradventure in that tumult, when all his men were discomfited and driven to flee out of the field to their camp, yea, and to keep within the rampier, for fear of the enemy, ready upon his victory to get over the counterfarp and other fortifications, the King might have been diseized of his hold, and lost all. Again considering, that the whole power of Philip his footmen remained still intire within the camp, the *corps de guard* before the gates waiting: the sentinels and watch fire in convenient places of the rampier attending: what other good should the Consul have done in advancing thither, but imitated the rash fool-hardiness of the King, who a little before so hotly followed the chafe of the horsemen discomfited? Neither was the Kings first discomfite to be reprov'd and found fault with, when he charged upon the foragers, scattered as they were over all the fields: if he could have seen when he was well, and have used his good hand in measure and moderation. Less marvel it is besides, that he was willing to trye the fortune of a battail: because there ran a rumor, that *Pleuratus* and the Dardaniens were departed from home, and with a puissant power entered already into *Macedony*. And if he thus were beset round about with these armies, there was no doubt, but the Romans might have vanquished and subdued him, and never stirred foot for the matter. Philip therefore supposing that upon these two late received foils of the horsemen, he should have but unquiet and dangerous sitting in the same standing camp still: and minding to dislodge from thence, and in his remove to beguile the enemy and not be seen, dispatched a Pursivant at arms or herald unto the Consul a little before sun setting, to crave forsaite of arms, until he had buried his horsemen that were slain: and at the relief of the second watch he deceived the enemy: for leaving many fires through all his camp, he marched without any noise and departed. The Consul had newly slept, and was going to rest, when he was advertised that a Pursivant was come, and what his errand was. And for the present, he made the messenger no other answer but this, that the next morning he would talk with him, and give him audience. But Philip by this means got the advantage of that whole night, and part of the next day, to gain riddance of way in his journey, which was the only thing he sought for. And toward the mountains he took his flight, for that way he wist well the Romans would not follow after, with an army so heavy and charged as it was. The Consul by day break, granted the Pursivant a cessation of arms, and gave him his dispatch: but it was not long after that he was advertised how the enemy was gone: and not knowing which way to follow after, he passed some few dayes in foraging and purveying provision all about the place where he lay encamped.

After this he marched to *Synthera*, and gathered together all the grain that was to be had about *Pellagonia*. From thence he went forward as far as to *Pluvina*, and all this while knew not for certain into what quarter of the countrey the enemies were retired. Philip having first set him down and encamped before *Synthera*, and departed from thence by crots and crooked wayes, struck a suddain feare into the enemy, whereupon the Romans dislodged from *Pluvina*, and neer unto the River *Ospagus* pitched their pavilions. The King likewise rested himself not far from thence, and had cast a trench and raised a rampier along the banks of the River, which the inhabitants call *Erigonius*. And after he was for certain advertised, that the Romans intended to go to *Erydania*, he marched aforesaid to seize upon the streights, and to empeach the enemies, that they should not gain the passage that lyeth as it were in a narrow gullet, barred and enclosed on N each side. There he raised in one place a rampier, and cast a trench in another: made barricades here and there, partly by piling stones up on heaps in stead of a wall, partly by felling of trees across, according as either the ground would give leave, or the place afforded matter: And thus stopping up all the wayes by sundry devices and means, he made the place (to his thinking) both unpassable and impenetrable, which of itself by nature was hard enough and troublesome. The countrey all about was for the most part forreits, and full of woods, very incommodious, especially for that manner of battalions and ordinance of array, which the Macedonians call *Phalanx*; which serveth them in small or no stead at all, unless with their long pikes they may make a pallisade, or stay (as it were) and oppose them before their shields: which they cannot well do, unless they have free scope and liberty of plain and open ground. The Thracians also were souly troubled and cumbered with their spears named *Rhomphae*, which were likewise of a mighty length, and by reason thereof (catching as they did, and sparring within the boughs and branches of Trees that grew in their way every where about) hindered them very much. There remained the Cohort or band of the Candioti, that seemed of some use for the use employed. And yet the same also as it was able to discharge arrows against both horse and man, and to annoy them so long as they lay open and exposed to shot, if haply they offered

A offered to charge: to they were not of strength sufficient to drive their shafts level, and to pierce thorough the Roman targets: for otherwise there was no part of the body offered it self unarmed and naked for to aim at. And therefore so soon as they perceived that kind of shot to serve them to little or no purpose, they caught up stones which lay all over the valley, and let them flye at the enemy. Which stones, as they light and beat upon their bucklers, kept a great clattering, and with the sound they made (rather than with any hurt besides) kept the Romans for a time from mounting up the bank. But the Romans making no reckoning of these (stones, neither, partly by pay galls and target-fences over their heads, made way directly through the thicket of their enemies: and partly by wheeling a little and fetching some compass about, gained the pitch of the hill, and were got up to the very top: from whence they drove the Macedonians (all affrighted as they were) down the hill, and chased them from their holds and guards: and by reason they had much ado to flee (the ground was so rough and uneven), most of them were killed and cut in pieces. Thus the difficulty of the streights was overcome, and they were possessed thereof, with far less trouble and consist than they looked for and made account of. Then they marched on forward as far as to *Erydania*, where the Consul after he had put the fields all over to the wast, retired himself to *Elimeia*. From thence he forced *Oresthides*, and assailed the Town *Celerium*, situate as it were, in a demy land: there is a lake that environeth the walls; and one way by land that leadeth to the Town from the main, and the same very streight and narrow, in form of a gullet. At the first when the Town was summoned the inhabitants trusting to the natural strength of the place, kept their gates shut against the Consul, and refused his summons. But after they saw once the ensignes displayed and mark hanging against them, when they perceived the enemies defended under a pavois to approach close to the gate, and the narrow streight and avenue aforesaid, beset with a band of them: before they would encounter and fight, they yielded themselves for the City *Pluvium*. From *Celerium* he marched on towards the *Dassaretians*, and with assault the City *Pellum*. From thence he carried away the bondslaves, with the rest of the pillage; but all persons whatsoever free born, he left at liberty without paying ransom. The Town he gave them again after he had planned in it a strong garrison: for it stood well, and in every good place, for to make roads and inursions into *Macedony*. Thus the Consul having ranged over the countrey of the enemies, brought his army back through the peaceable parts into *Apollonia*, where he began first to make war.

Now the *Ætolians* the *Athamans*, and *Dardaniens*, and many other were rising suddenly at once, some from one place and some from another, had diverted and turned Philip a contrary way. Against the *Dardaniens* (as they returned out of *Macedony*) he sent *Athenagoras* with the footmen lightly armed and appointed, and the greater part also of the horse giving him in charge and direction to follow them hard at their heels as they departed, and to play upon their backs, and cut off the rail of their rearward: to teach them against another time, not to be so hasty to come abroad with an army again. *Democritus* the Governor of the *Ætolians* (who in the Diet aforesaid held at *Nausipetium* perswaded to take a longer time for to combat about this war) had in the next Council or Parliament following, moved the *Ætolians* to enter into arms; namely, upon the fame that was spread abroad of the horsemens fight before *Ololephus*: and also upon the coming of the *Dardaniens*, and *Pleuratus* with the *Illyrians* into *Macedony*: besides the arrival of the Roman fleet at *Oreum*, and the general voice and bruit that went, how *Macedony* should shortly be assailed also by sea, over & above to many notions that from all parts about were come already by land. These motives regained *Democritus* and the *Ætolians* to friend the Romans again. Who joyning unto them *Antimander* the King of the *Athamans*, went forth together for to besiege *Cerintium*. They within the Town had shut their gates, whether by constraint or willingly of themselves, it was not known for they had the Kings garrison within among them. How ever it was, within few dayes *Cerintium* was taken and burnt. As many as remained alive after that great defeat, as well bond as free one with another, were with the rest of the pillage carried away. This fearful example caused all the people inhabiting about the marsh of *Babe*, to abandon their cities, and to retire themselves for security into the mountains. The *Ætolians* for want of rich prey and booty (which they could not find there) turned from them and marched toward *Perrebia*. In that quarter they won by force the City *Cynthia*, and cruelly put it to the ransack. The inhabitants of *Mallora* surrendered of themselves without compulsion and were received into protection as allies. Out of *Perrebia* *Antimander* was of advice and desirous to march against *Comphar*, by reason that the countrey of *Abamanti* bordered to neer upon that City, and it seemed easy to be forced without much trouble. But the *Ætolians* fingers tickled and itched again to be doing with the rich and fertile fields of *Thessaly*, and thither went they to raise booties and seek pillage. *Antimander* followed still for company, albeit he liked well neither of these fashions of the *Ætolians* thus outrageously to make roads and to spoil every where: nor of their manner of encamping at adventure, in what places soever they chanced to come, without all discretion, regard, and care of fortifying and guarding the army. Fearing therefore lest their inconsiderate rashness and supine negligence, might be an occasion that he or his should come to a shrewd turn, and incur some damage, spied his time; and seeing them to incamp in a plain neer to the City *Phacadium*, he took a little Hill little above half a mile off, where both he and his, might with the help of any small guard, lie in security. Now when as the *Ætolians* seemed in manner to have forgotten that they were in the enemies countrey, but that they drove some booties: whiles they were some of them wandering and stragling, disbanded and half armed,

others within their camp without any *corpi du guards*; swelling and sleeping all night and day long, and made no difference of the times, *Philip* came upon them before they looked for him. And it being once known by the report of some that fled out of the fields in great affright, that he approached: then *Damocritus* and the rest of the Captains began to quake for fear. Now was it about noon-tide of the day, at what time as most of them having taken their full load of wine and viands, lay along fast asleep. Then they fell to awake and raise one another, and to give the alarm: and then they sent out every way to call in those that were spreading abroad in the fields. So much they were astonished, that for half many of the horsemen went forth without their swords, and most of them forgot to put on their cuirasses. Thus being led out in post haste, and hardly in all (soor and horse together) able to make up the number of six hundred, they light upon the Kings Cavalry: for number, armour, and courage much better than themselves: And therefore at the first push were discomfited: for before they were well entered into skirmish, they fled shamefully away toward their camp. Some of them came short thither, and were either slain or taken prisoners, even as many as the Kings horsemen overtook, and gat between them and their other companies. *Philip*, when he saw his men approach neer unto their camp, commanded to sound the retreat: for both horse and man was weary, not so much with fight as with their long journey and the exceeding speed that they made. Whereupon he gave commandment, that the Horsemen by troops, and the light armed Footmen by their companies and Squadrons should water their horses one after another, and go to their dinner and repast. Others he kept still in armour for a guard attending the Regiment of the footmen, that came but slowly forward, by reason they were heavily armed at all pieces: who being come, they also were enjoined to pitch down their ensigns, and lay their weapons before them, and to take a short bait and hasty pittance, lending two or three at the most out of every band to water the horses. All this while the horsemen, together with the light armed soldiers, stood well appointed and in readiness, if haply the enemy would have given any attempt. The *Ætolians* bestowed armed men all about the gates and the rampier, intending to guard and defend their strength and fortifications, for now by this time they also that were scattered over the fields, had retired themselves into the camp. And so long as they beheld the enemies to keep quiet, and not stir, and were themselves in a sure hold, they made their bravadoes, and were very lusty: but after that the ensigns of the Macedonians began to advance forward, and march in order of battel well appointed, close unto their tracks: all at once they abandoned their guards and quarters, and ran out at the back part of their camp, and fled to the forehead hill, where the Athenians were encamped. Many of the *Ætolians* were likewise in this hasty flight killed or taken prisoners. *Philip* made no doubt, but that the Athenians also might have been driven from their hold, if there had been day enough behind: but the day being spent already first in the skirmish, and afterward in the ransacking of their camp, he let him down upon the next plain, hard at the foot of the hill aforesaid, intending very early the next morning to assail the enemy. The *Ætolians* feared as much now, as they were before when they quit their own camp, fled scattering away the night following. Here *Aminander* flood them in very good stead, by whose good guidance and direction, the Athenians being skillful in the coasts of the country, conducted them into *Ætolia*, over the high mountains, whereas the enemies followed after them in blind and unknown by-ways. Some few of them hapned in this confused and scattered flight to lose their way, and stumble upon the Macedonian horsemen, whom *Philip* by day light, had sent to cut off the tail of the enemies, so soon as he perceived the hill abandoned. About the very same time, *Athenagoras* a Captain under the King, overtook the Dardanians as they returned into their country, and at the first put their rearward in disarray. But afterward the Dardanians turned head again, and embattelled themselves: so they fought on even hand, and nothing was won nor lost on any side. The Dardanians began not so soon to advance forward and march on again, but the Kings power, with their horsemen and light armed soldiers came upon them afresh, and put them to great trouble. For they had no such means of help, and were besides furcharged with heavy armour, and withal, the place gave great advantage to those of the Kings part. Very few were slain more wounded, none at all taken prisoners: for the manner of the Dardanians, is not to break out of their ranks and arraies for a little, and upon small occasions; but as they fight close, so they retire together, and part not. Thus *Philip* having restrained these two nations, by two brave exploits, which were as happily performed as bravely enterprised, recovered the losses again, by him received in the Roman war. There hapned besides another occurrence, which diminished the number of his enemies the *Ætolians*. For *Scopas*, one of the chief noblemen of that nation, being sent from *Alexandria* by King *Ptolomæus*, with a mighty mass of gold, carried away with him into *Egypt* six thousand footmen, and certain horsemen, waged for money to serve. Neither had he left behind him any of the flour and youth of *Ætolia*; if *Damocritus* had not chafied and rebuked them, and so by that means kept some of them at home; making remonstrances unto them, one while of the war that was toward, and another while of the desolation which was like to ensue thereupon. But whether he did this upon a good zeal and care that he had of his country, or only to cross *Scopas*, because he had not fed him well with rich rewards and fat presents, it is not known. And thus much concerning the affairs passed between *Philip* and the Romans for that summer.

The Roman fleet having in the beginning of the same summer committed to Sea from *Corynth*, together with the Lieutenant *An. Apollonius* passed beyond the point of the cape *Malea*, and joyed

A joined with King *Attalus*, neer *Scyllium* in the territory of *Hermione*. Then the whole City and State of *Athens*, upon hope of present aid and succour, brake out and poured forth at once all the hatred and malice which they had conceived against *Philip*, and which a long time for very fear they had held in, and therefore kept themselves in good and reasonable terms with him. Now in this City there never want prompt and ready tongues to stir up and provoke the common people to a commotion. And as in all free States generally such kind of men are entertained and born out by the favour of the multitude, so in *Athens* especially, where eloquence is in most request, and beareth greatest sway. Presently therefore an A.S. was put up and proposed unto the common people, and by them granted and confirmed, That all the Statues and Images of King *Philip*, together with their titles and titles, likewise of all his progenitors and predecessors, as well men as women, should be defaced, pulled down, and destroyed. Item, That all the festival daies, the sacrifices and sacrificers, which had been instituted and ordained for the honor of him, should be profaned and unhallowed again. Item, That the very places, wherein ought had been erected, or inscriptions graven to his honour, should be held as detestable and accursed: and that from thence forward, it might not be lawful to set up there any of those things that ought to stand, and be dedicated in a pure and clean place. Item, That the publick Priests of the City, in all their prayers, and so often as they praised for the good estate of the people of *Athens* and their allies, for the preservation of their armies and armadoes; should detest and curse by name King *Philip*, his children and realm, his forces both by land and sea, with all the race and name of the Macedonian nation. Moreover, it ran on in the decree, That if any man from that time forward, should prefer and propound any thing that might tend to the disgrace and infamie of *Philip*, the whole people of *Athens* should approve and allow the same whatsoever, and make an act thereof. Contrary-wise, if any person say or do anything for honour, or to impeach and check his dishonour, whosoever should happen to kill the said party, he should be deemed and reputed, that he had killed him justly and lawfully. Finally, this branch was comprised within the decree, That all things ordained in times past against *Pigramus* his line and progeny, should be observed and stand in force against *Philip*. Thus verily warred the Athenians against *Philip* with letters and words: wherein they are right valiant, and to say truth, good at nothing else. But *Attalus* and the Romans, having from *Hermione* shaped their course for *Pyreum*, arrived there. And after they had journeyed some few daies in *Athens*, and were laden with a number of decrees, wherein the Athenians recounted the praises and commendations of their allies beyond all measure, like as they had before exceeded in shewing their malice against their enemies: they set sail from *Pyreum* to *Andros*. Where, riding at anchor in the bay called *Gauvelon*, they sent certain men to sound the minds of the inhabitants, Whether they would chuse to yeeld the Town willingly, or rather abide the hazard of a forcible assault. Who answered again, that the Kings Garrison being possessed of the Castle, and keeping it for *Philip*, they were not their own masters. Whereupon the King and the Roman Lieutenant set their forces on land, and with all preparation of engines and artillery fit for an assault, approached the City divers waies. The Roman standards and their arms, not seen before in those parts, the resolute courage also of the soldiers, who so lustily and nimble came neer to scale the walls, terrified and amazed the Greeks, much more than any thing else. Therefore immediately they fled into the Castle, and the enemies were LL. of the City. Now, after they had for two daies space held out in the fortrels, presuming more upon the strength of the place than the force of their armour and weapons: they and the garrison together, compounded upon the third day to quit the place, so they might be brought with a convoy to *Delium*, a Town in *Boeotia*, and every man to have one single suit of apparel. Then the Romans leaving the bare City unto King *Attalus*, ransacked it themselves, and took away with them all the pillage and ornaments that beautified the same. And to the end, that the Isle should not lie waste and desart, *Attalus* perswaded the Macedonians in manner all, and certain also of the *Andrians*, there to remain. Afterwards, they also who by composition were transported to *Delium*, were by the fair promises of the King drawn away from thence: which they gave ear and credit unto the sooner, for the love of their native country, the miseries whereof they might hardly brook. From *Andros* they crossed to *Cythus*. There they spent certain daies in assaulting the City, to no purpose: and seeing the gains would hardly quit their pains, they departed from thence. Neer unto *Præsa* (which is a place of *Ætica* within the main) there joined unto the Roman fleet twenty pinnacles of the *Illyrians*, who were sent to rob and spoil the territory of the *Carystians*: the rest of the fleet remained at *Gereffum*, a noble rode and port of *Eubœa*, until such time as the *Illyri* were returned from *Carystum*. Then all together they made sail, and passing the mids of the main sea, they fell with the Isle of *Ieus*, neer unto *Seyrus*. There they were staid for certain daies, by reason of the raging North wind: which being once laid and the sea calm again, they passed to *Scyros*, a City lately pillaged and ransacked by *K. Philip*. The soldiers ranged over the country, and brought home with them to their ships & whatsoever else was fit for mans food: Other booty neither was there any, nor deserved had the Greeks to be spoiled at their hands. Thence they bent their course for *Candæa*: and first they rode at anchor neer unto *Mendis*, a village situate by the sea side, and belonging to that State. From whence having sailed beyond the cape, & desirous to come about with their vessels for to approach the very walls of the City, there arose a tempest & sudden gulf: wherein they had like to have been cast away: but scattered they were asunder: & having for the most part lost the tackling of their ships, they escaped with much ado to land. This tempest at sea, was also

a fore-token prefiging unto them, that they were to follow the war by Land, and to give over sea service. For when they had brought all their ships together and let their men ashore, they assailed the Town: but they had the repulse with many a bloody blow besides (for there was within, a strong garrison of the Kings) whereupon they gave over their enterprise, returned back and failed over to *Cassianum* a City of *Pallene*. And having doubled the point of *Torona*, they set their course for *Acanthus*. There at first they foraged the territory, then forced the Town, and ransacked it. And for that their ships had their tull draught and charge of pillage, they sailed no farther forward, but returned from whence they came to *Sebastus*, and from thence to *Euboea*: where leaving behind them their main navy, they put in with ten ships lightly appointed, to the Bay or gulf of *Malea*, for to parley with the *Ætolians* about the whole course and managing of the wars. The chief of this embassy sent from the State, was one *Siphriscus* an *Ætolian*, who came to *Hercules* for to treat and confer about these affairs together with the King and the Roman Lieutenant. They demanded of *Attalus* by virtue of the accord and agreement before made, to furnish them with a thousand souldiers: for so many ought he by right to set out and maintain, whensoever they were to wage war against *Philip*. But this demand was denied to the *Ætolians*: in regard that aforetime they likewise thought much to make a rode to spoil *Macedony*, at what time as *Philip* kept foul work about *Pergamus*, burning all edifices before him, as well faced as prophane, when they might have drawn him perforce from thence into his own realm to look unto his proper affairs there. Thus the *Ætolians* were dismised with more hope than help: for the Romans sent them only wish fair words, and large promises of all things. Then *Apollonius* with King *Attalus* returned to the fleet.

After this they laid their heads together, and began to consult about the siege and assault of *Oreum*. A strong City this was both in regard of the walls, and also of a good garrison, by reason that heretofore it had been once assailed. Now there were 20 sail of Rhodian ships all clovered with hatches and decks, which under the conduct of Captain *Agemimbratus*, had joined with the fleet of *Attalus* and the Romans, after the winning and conquest of *Andros*. These ships they sent to lie in the Bay of *Zelephium*, (a promontory or cape above the City *Demetrias*, lying very conveniently over against *Isthmia*) for this intent, that if the Macedonian ships should come abroad from thence, they might be ready in gard to make sail against them. *Heracleides* an Admiral for King *Philip*, lay there at rode with the navy, attending rather some enterprise by opportunity and vantage of the enemies negligence, than by plain and open force. The Romans and *Attalus* in the mean time planted their ordnance against *Oreum* at divers parts. The Romans at the Castle side that standeth upon the Sea: The King from the vale that lieth between two founts, where as the City is enclosed also with a wall. And as they assailed in sundry places: so their manner of assailing was much different, and their engines divers. The Romans assayed to approach the wall with tortoises, pavoises and mantlets, and to shake it with the Ram: They of the Kings part used Crossbows, Balists, Catapults, and all manner of engines to fling forth quarrels and darts, yea, and to level and weigh mighty stones of exceeding great weight. They undermined also: and in sum, they practised all means which they saw by experience did good during the former assault and siege. But the Macedonians were not only more in number than the time before to defend the City, but also of better courage and resolutions: by reason that the King had rebuked them sharply for their fault passed: and they remembered well both his menaces, and also his promises for the time to come: in so much as the assailants had small hope to win the Town in haste. Mean while the Roman Lieutenant, supposing that some other exploit might be performed, leaving a sufficient number (as he thought) for the finishing of the Fabricks begun, and other engines of assault, put over to the next places of the continent: where he surprised on a sudden *Larissa* (not that noble and renowned City in *Thessaly*, but another, which they call *Cremasta*) and won it, all but the fortres. *Attalus* in like sort took *Agelone*, fearing nothing less than such an accident from them that were busied in besieging another Town. By this time, as the engines and other Fabricks without *Oreum* were at the point of finishing, and ready to perform the battery for which they were made: so the garrison within was overtoiled with continual pain and travail, spent with watching night and day, and faint with many a grievous wound. Moreover, part of the wall, shaken underneath with a butt and push of the Ram, was already fallen down in sundry places, in so much as the Romans entred by night at the open breaches, and all the way above the Key, and so were possessed of the Castle. *Attalus* likewise by the break of day, after he saw the banner reared upon the fortres, and the signal which the Romans put forth, entred the City: for now the walls in many places lay along. The garrison and the Townsmen fled to a second citadel that they had, from whence after two days they yielded. The City was the Kings lot: the bodies of the prisoners were the Romans share. Now drew the sun near unto the Equinoctial line in Autumn, at what time the Eurozan gulf called *Cala* is dangerous, and not well trusted of mariners. Therefore being desirous to be gone into a place of safe retreat, before the troublesome winter weather overtook them, they turned their course and made head to *Pyræum*, from whence they came: where *Apollonius* leaving behind him thirty ships, set a compasses about the cape of *Malea*, and failed to *Coreyra*. But the King Hayed till so long as the festival days of *Ceres* continued, because he would be present at the celebration of those solemnities. After the feast ended, himself likewise retired into *Asia*: but first he sent *Agemimbratus* and the Rhodians home again. These were the affairs and exploits performed this summer by sea and land,

by the Roman Consul and the Lieutenant Generall, with the aid of King *Attalus* and the Rhodians against King *Philip* and his allies.

The other Consul *C. Aurelius* being come into his Province when the war was brought to an end, could not smother and conceal his anger conceived against the Prætor for fighting in his absence. When he had taken order therefore to send him into *Etruria*, himself with the legions invaded the country of the enemies: where by way of robbing and spoiling he warred: so as he got more prey than prairie. But *L. Furius*, seeing there was little to do in *Etruria*, and withal desirous rather than his life of a triumph over the Gauls (which he supposed to obtain with more ease, whilst the Consul was absent, who was both angry with him, and also envied at him) arrived at *Rome*: before any man looked for him, and assembled the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*. Where, after he had declared what acts he had achieved, he requested that he might be permitted to ride into the City with triumph. In great credit and account he was with many of the Senators, both for his noble and worthy deeds, in which regard they honoured him: and also for a special favour and love, in which respect they affected him. But the more ancient and elder Senators denied him triumph, as well for that he had warred with the army of another, as also because he had abandoned his own Province and government, upon a greedy desire to catch a triumph, by waiting his opportunity, and taking advantage: a thing not warrantable by any former precedent or example: And as many of them as had been Consuls said moreover, That above all things he ought to attend upon the Consul his return. "For well might he (say they) being encamped near unto the City, have defended and guarded the Colony only, and so have drawn the time out until his coming, and never needed to have fought a set battell for the matter. And although the Prætor have omitted to do so, yet ought not the Senat to follow his example, but expect the Consul. When as therefore they have heard the Consul and Prætor discoursing and arguing the matter both together face to face, then they should be able to judge better and more soundly of the cause. A great part of the house was of opinion that they ought to look unto nothing else but the good service done, and whether he were lawfully called thereunto, as a Magistrate of himself, to manage his affairs by his proper conduct and the guidance of his own fortune. "For, of the two Colonies (say they) which were opposed at two forts and bulwarks to restrain the sudden impressions and tumults of the French: when the one was sacked and burnt, and the time fire like to leap from it to the other so near, (as from house to house that join together) what could the Prætor have done otherwise in that case? For if there might be nothing attempted without the Consul, it must needs follow that either the Senat did amiss in giving the Prætor the charge of an army (for if their will was that the war should be managed not by the Prætor, but by the Consuls, they might have limited it in the Commission by especial words, expressly forbidding the service to be done by the Prætor, but only by the Consul) or else the Consul hath committed a fault, who having commanded the army to go out of *Tuscany* into *France*, came not himself in person to *Ariminum* to encounter the enemy, and be present in that war, which without him might not be lawfully fought. Over and besides, the occasions and seasons of war attend no staies, and tarry for no politick delays of Generals. And otherwhiles, fight is a man must, not because a man is willing thereto, but because his enemy puts him to it. To conclude, the very battell it self, and the happy issue thereof, ought only to be considered and regarded. The enemies are defeated and slain: their Camp taken and ransacked: the siege raised from the one Colony, and it prevailed: the captives of the other recovered and restored to their friends: and to be brief, in one battell the quarrel is decided, and the war finished. And not only men have rejoiced for this victory, but also there have been precessions for three daies space to the honour of the immortall gods: (For that *L. Furius* hath managed the Commode well and happily and not ill and rashly. Finally, these French wars fall by a fatal destiny to the house and race of the *Furii*. By these and such like remonstrances alledged by himself and his friends, the majesty of the Consul absent was over-weighed with the favour born to the Prætor present. And so in a frequent assembly of Senators a decree was granted, That *L. Furius* should ride in triumph. Thus triumphed over the Gauls *L. Furius* Prætor, whilst he was in office. He brought into the common treasury 370000 *Ales*, 170000 pound weight of silver. But neither were there any prisoners led captives in the war, nor spoils carried in pomp before his chariot, nor yet his souldiers followed after: So as it appeared, that all other things besides victory alone, pertained properly to the Consul.

After this were the plaies exhibited with great magnificence by *P. Cornelius Scipio*, which he had towed in *Africk*, during his Consulship. Also there passed an order for the lands of his souldiers: That for so long as each one had served in *Spain* or *Africk*, he should have two acres for every year: and that these lands should be set out and assigned unto them by *Decemvirs* for the purpose deputed. Then were certain *Triumvirs* created for to supply and make up the number of the Roman Inhabitants in *Venusia*, by reason that during the time of *Annibal* his war, the strength of that Colony was much enfeebled and impaired. *C. Terentius Varro*, *V. Quintilius Plautinius*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cneus*, enrolled new Coloners to inhabit *Venusia*.

The same year *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, who governed *Spain* as Pro-Consul, discomfited a great host of the enemies in the country of the *Sedetans*. In which battell, by report, were slain 15000 Spaniards, and 78 military ensignes taken. *C. Aurelius* the Consul, when he was returned

out of his Province to Rome against the solemn election of Magistrates, complained, not as though made reckoning he would have done, (that the Senat expected not for his coming, nor that the Consul was not permitted to debate the matter with the Prætor) but found himself grieved, "That the Senat had decreed a triumph so, as the party only was suffered to speak who was to triumph, and none of them might be heard who were present at the battell. And whereas our forefathers ordained, that Lieutenants, Colonels, Marshals, and Centurions, yea, and in one word, the souldiers should bear a triumph: for this end and purpose, that the truth might appear to the world, of all things achieved by him unto whom so great honour was to be done: Was there any one (quoth he) of all that army which fought with the Gauls, I say not a souldier, but so much as a lackey or horse-boy following the Camp, of whom the Senat might enquire, whether the Prætor spake true or false? This done and said, he published the day of assembly for the election above said: wherein were created Consuls L. Cornelius Lentulus, and P. Villius Tappulus. After them were Prætors chosen L. Quintus Flaminius, L. Valerius Flaccus, L. Villius Tappulus, and C. Cælius Pamphilus. Grain and other victuals that year were cheap. Great store of corn was brought out of Affrica, which the Ædiles of the chair distributed to the people, at two Asces Modius. They also set forth the Roman games and pastimes right sumptuously; yea, and represented them one day more than ordinary. Moreover, of the silver raised by fines and forfeitures, they made seven brazen statues, which they set up in the treasure-house of the City. The Plebeian plaies likewise were three times recalled all over by the Ædiles of the Commons L. Terentius Maffius, and C. Cælius Pamphilus: Prætor elect, Finally, the funerall games that year were four daies together exhibited in the common place of the City, occasioned by the death of M. Valerius Leuinus; and celebrated they were by his two sons P. and M. who also shewed unto the people a brave spectacle of offenders at the tharp: wherein there were five and twenty couples that ended the lists and performed combat, M. Aur. Luc. Cotta, one of the Decemvirs, that year departed this life; and in his place M. Atilius Glabrus was subordinated. In the solemn assembly for electing Ædiles of the chair, it chanced that those two which were chosen might not immediately enter into office: for C. Cornelius Cethegus was created in his absence, while he governed the Province of Spain. And C. Valerius Flaccus who was present at his own election, might not be sworn to maintain the laws, because he was the Flamin or Priest of Jupiter. For lawfull it was not for any Magistrate to exercise his place above five daies, unless he were sworn to the laws. Then Flaccus preferred a petition that he might be dispensed with: whereupon the Senat ordained, That if the Ædile would find one to swear in his name at the good pleasure and discretion of the Consuls, then the Consuls (if they thought it meet) should deal with the Tribunes of the Commons, to propound it unto the people that it might pass under their grant. So L. Valerius Flaccus (the Prætor elect for the year following) was presented to take the oath for his brother. Then the Tribunes put it to a canvass before the people, and they enacted, That the oath of his brother should be of the same validity as if the Ædile himself had taken it in his own person. Concerning the other Ædiles also there passed an act of the Commons. For when the Tribunes propoosed unto the people, Which two they would have to go into Spain as LL. deputies, with command over the armies: the people ordained, that C. Cornelius the Ædile of the chair might come home to bear his office, and L. Manlius also after so many years, depart out of his Province: the people ordained, that Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Stertinius should have the conduct and government in Spain, in quality and title of Pro-Consuls.

The two and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the two and thirtieth Book.

Many strange and prodigious sights (as they were reported from divers countries) are here related, and set downe: among which, this is one, that in Macedony there was a bay tree sprung up of it self in the poop of a galley. T. Quintus Flaminius the Consul fought fortunately against Philip in the Straights of Epirus: and having put him to flight, he compelled him to return into his own kingdom. Himself with the assistance of the Ætolians and Achæans, infested sore and plagued Thessaly, which bordereth upon Macedony. L. Quintus Flaminius the Consul his brother, by the aid of King Attalus and the Rhodians, made conquest by war at sea, of Eubœa and all the sea-coast. The Achæans were received into amity. The conspiracy of slaves, that conspired to deliver and set at large the hostages of the Carthaginians was detected and took no effect. The number of Prætors was increased to six. The Consul Cornelius Cethegus defeated the French Infuriants in battell. League and amity was concluded between the Romans and the Lacedæmonians, with their tyrant Nabis. Over and besides, there is contained in this book the winning of many Cities in Macedony.

The two and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

When the Consul and Prætors were entred into office upon the Ides of March, they cast lots for the government of the Provinces. To L. Lentulus, fell Italy; and to P. Villius, Macedony. As for the Prætors, L. Quintus had the jurisdiction of the City of Rome, and C. Cælius the government of Ariminum; L. Valerius ruled Sicily, and L. Villius his lot was to command Sardinia. Lentulus the Consul had order given him to levy new legions, and Villius to receive the army of P. Sulpicius, with commission and licence to take up as many souldiers as he thought good himself to furnish the same with a fresh supply. Those legions which C. Aurelius Consul had in charge, were assigned over to Cælius the Prætor, with condition to keep them with him, untill the Consul were arrived in France with a new army; and (as soon as he came, to discharge and dismiss all the souldiers home to their houses except 5000 men: forasmuch as this number was thought sufficient to govern the Province about Arimi-

The Prætors of the former year continued still Commanders of their armies. Cn. Sergius was employed to see and take order, that certain lands should be set out for those souldiers who had served many years together in Spain, Italy, and Sardinia. And Q. Minimus had in charge to go through with that inquisition of certain conspirators and traitors in the Brutians country, upon which he had siven already as Prætor with great fidelity and diligence: and also to send unto Locor to receive due punishment of those prisoners, whom being attainted and convicted of a felony, he had first bound to Rome. And finally, to cause all the treasure taken out of the Temple of Proserpin, to be restored thither again, with an over-encrease, to make satisfaction and to raise out the wicked part committed. The Latine feasts and holy daies were solemnized again by virtue of an ordinance of the Bishops, upon this occasion, That certain Embassadors from Arden complained in the Senat; how they had not their ordinary allowance of flesh at the Latine feasts abroad in the mount Alba, according to the old custome. News came from Suesia, that two of their City gates, and all the wall between, was smitten with lightning. Messengers also from Formia reported that their Temple of Jupiter was likewise blighted. Moreover, they of Ostia brought word of the like mischance with them in the Church of Jupiter. And from Velutridings came of the like mishap, fallen upon the Temples of Apollo and Sanguis. And that in the Temple of Hercules there sprung up a bush of hair. Letters came also from Q. Minimus the Pro-Prætor out of the Brutians country that there was a colt foaled with five feet, and three chickens hatched with three feet apiece. After all this, P. Sulpicius the Pro-Prætor sent letters from out of Macedony, containing among other matters this news, that there was a Laurell tree grew of it self in the poop of a galley.

The Senat in regard of all the former prodigious sights, ordained, that the Consul should sacrifice greater beasts, unto what gods he thought good: but about this last rehearsed, the Soothsayers that cry into beasts inwards, were sent into the Senat-house: and by direction of their answer, an Edict went forth, That the people should go in procession, and make supplications one day, and in all Temples and Altars of the gods there were sacrifices celebrated with great devotion.

The Carthaginians this year came to Rome with the first payment of the tribute imposed upon them: and forasmuch as the treasurers and receivers of the City made report, that the silver was not good and lawfull, and being brought to thertial, was found too light by one fourth part washed away: those Carthaginians were constrained to take up money of the bankers of Rome, and to make good the defect and loss of the silver above said. They put up a petition besides unto the Senat that it might stand with their good pleasure to re-deliver now their hostages. Whereupon an hundred of them were rendered back, and good hope there was of the rest, if so be they continued loyal and fast in their allegiance. And when they made a farther request in behalf of those hostages which were not delivered, that they might be transported from Norba (where they were not to their good liking and ease) to some other place, granted it was, that they might remove to Signia and Tarentum. In like sort, the Gaditans made humble suit, and obtained this liberty, that there should not be sent from the Romans captain to govern Gadets, any thing to the contrary in their covenant, concluded with L. Marcius Septimius, when they yielded themselves under the subjection of the Romans notwithstanding. Moreover, forasmuch as the Embassadors of Carthage made complaint, that they had not their full number of inhabitants, and that there were certain strangers entertained among them, not of their own nation, who bare themselves as Citizens: wherefore L. Cornelius the Consul was commanded to create three Deputies or Commissioners, called Municipes, to reform this disorder. And chosen there were for this purpose, Publius and Scipio Aelius, who had both of them the surname of Patris, and C. Cornelius Lentulus. This that was granted to them of Narria, was denied to the Embassadors of Cæssa, who likewise requested that the number of their inhabitants might be increased.

The affairs thus handled at Rome that there were to be done, the Consuls went into their severall Provinces. C. Cælius soon as he was arrived in Macedony, was welcomed at his first coming with a dangerous mutiny of the souldiers, which long after being kindled, was not well quenched.

at the first beginning. These were those two thousand, which after the defeat of *Annibal*, were sent out of *Africa* into *Sicily*; and from thence, a year after almost, transported into *Macedony* for voluntary soldiers; but they themselves stood stoutly to it, that it was no voluntary act of theirs, but that they were shipped by their Colonels and Tribunes full against their wills. And howsoever it was, whether they served willingly or unwillingly, it was but meet and good reason, that the time of their soldiery should run out, and their service have an end at length. Alledging, that for these many years they had not seen *Italy*; that they waxed old men under their harness, having born arms in *Sicily*, in *Africa*, and in *Macedony*; that with toil and travel so tedious, they were weak and feeble; and after so many wounds and hurts received, they had no more blood to lose. The Consul made them answer, that their cause was good and reasonable, but marred in the handling; and meet he thought it, that they should be dismissed, if they could have requested it in modest terms; but neither it, nor any cause else whatsoever was warrantable to make a mutiny and sedition. Therefore, if they could be content to keep to their colours, and be at command as loyal soldiers, he would in their behalf write his letters unto the *Senat*, as touching their conge and dismissal: for be they well assured, that they shall get more by sober and gentle behaviour, than by any such stubborn, forward, and willful demeanour.

At the same time *Philip* besieged the City of *Thaumaci* with terraces & manlets in all forcible manner, so that he was now at the point to batter & shake the wall with the ram. But the sudden arrival of the *Ætolians* enforced him to increase his enterprise; who by the conduct of *Archibulus* having passed through the midst of the Macedonian guards, & entered the town, never ceased day nor night to make sallies forth, one while upon their standing watch, otherwhiles upon their fabricks & engines. The natural situation of the place yielded them good help and vantage: for the town of *Thaumaci* is seated on high to arms thinking as he goeth from *Pyle* & the gulph of *Malaba* by the way of *Lamia* & sheweth it self aloft, seeming to overlook & command the straight passage of the torrells called *Calv*. Again, when one travelleth over the craggy places and the crooked wyes entangled with so many windings in the vallies of *Thessaly*, and is approached once near to the City, all on a sudden he may discover before him a mighty large and open plain, as it were a wide and vast feld, so as a man shall have much ado to reach with his eye so far as these downs upon every way under him and see all over them. And hereupon by reason of this strange and marvellous prospect, the City is called *Thaumaci*. Over and besides that the high grounds afford it security, it standeth also upon a huge rock, divided into divers crags and broken cliffs. These difficulties forced *Philip* to give over his attempt, and namely, when he considered and weighed withall that the town it self when it was won, would not quit the painful labour, and pay for the danger about it. Besides the winter was now at hand, when he departed from thence, and retired his forces into *Macedony*, there to harbor. Where, when all others, during the time that they could catch any repose and rest, refreshed their spirits and bodies with some recreations and sports; *Philip* only how much respite soever he had, either of intermission or remission from continual labour of marching in journey, and fighting in battell; so much more trouble he had in his mind while he couched and discoured with himself, what the total and final issue might be of this war; while he stood not only in fear of the enemies, who persecuted him by sea and land, but also in doubt, as well of the heaits of his allies, as of the affections of his own subjects: lest the one in hope of the Romans friendship should revolt, and the other (even the Macedonians themselves) detest novelties, and long for a change. Therefore he addressed his Embassadors into *Achaia*, both to exact an oath of the *Achaians* for their allegiance (for they had capitulated in the accord and agreement made yearly to swear fealty unto *Philip*); and also to deliver into their hands, *Orchomenus*, *Herica*, and *Triphylia*. And when they demanded also *Aliphera*, the Embassadors answered, that the City never pertained to *Triphylia*, but that of right it ought to be restored unto *Philip*: as being one of them, which in the general council and assembly of the *Arcadians*, were assigned and set out for the building of *Megalopolis*. And thus verily he entertained firm alliance with the *Achaians*. As for the Macedonians he quickened their hearts unto him; by occasion of *Heracles*: for seeing that by means of him he incurred their exceeding ill will and hard conceits, and that he was changed with many grievous crimes, he cast him in prison to gratifie his own bloodie desires: where the people took great joy, and heeded content. Then made he preparation for war, with an earnest desire, as at any time before: he exercised as well the Macedonians as mercenary soldiers in pay, namely to wear their armor and handle their weapons; & in the very prime of spring, he sent all his footmen and light armed soldiers, under the leading of *Athenagoras* into *Boeotia* by the way of *Eretria*, to seize upon the straight passage near to *Antigonis*, which the Greeks call *Stena*. Himself six daies after followed with his main army more heavily appointed. And when he had well viewed & considered the situation of the country, and how it lay, he judged that the quarter coaling upon the river *Aoni* was the meetest place to fortifie and encamp in. This river between two hills the one by the peasants of the country called *Eropus* the other *Apsalus*, runneth within a narrow vale, and yieldeth but small passage upon the bank side. He commanded *Athenagoras* to gain and fortifie *Apsalus* with his light armed soldiers: himself encamped upon *Eropus*. And took what way as the hill was fenced with broken and cragged rocks, there he kept a small guard of some few soldiers: but whereas there was more danger, and easier access for the enemy, he fortified with trenches, rampiers, and bulwarks. He planted also and disposed in convenient places a great number of engines to send out quarrels and other shot, for to keep the enemies aloof,

The fight of the City, Thaumaci.
Admirable, or wonderful.

about the steep pavilion of the King himself was pitched before the rampier upon a bank in a most conspicuous place of open sight, for to terrifie the enemy, and also to encourage and hearten his own men, when they should see him so confident and resolute. The Consul advertised by *Charops* the *Ephorus*, what passages the King with his army was possessed of, after he had passed the winter in *Coryra*, himself likewise in the beginning of Spring, went up into the main land, and held on his march toward the enemy. And being advanced almost within five miles of the Kings camp, he took his legions in a strong fenced place, and went himself in person forward with certain lightly appointed in epical to discover the quarters. And the morrow after held a consultation, whether he might do better to assay to pass through the place which the enemy kept (notwithstanding he saw evidently before his eyes great trouble and hazard in that adventure) or to bring his army about and let him a compass the same way, whereas the year before *Scipio* entered into *Macedony*. This deliberation he did him for certain daies in even balance and suspense, until new mess came unto him that *T. Quintus* was created Consul; and having the Province of *Macedony* allotted unto him made haste thither and was already passed to *Coryra*.

Vulturnus Aulus writeth how *Villius* was entr'd the pass aforesaid & because he could not take the straight and direct way (by reason that the King and his forces had beliet all places) followed the valley along through the middle whereof the river *Aoni* runneth; and having made a bridge over it, in great haste passed over to the bank, whereas the King was encamped, and there fought a bloody battell wherein the King was dismissed and put to flight, and driven out of his camp: that 12000 enemies were slain in that conflict, 1200 taken prisoners, 132 engines won and carried away besides 200 horse. Also that during the combat there was a Temple vowed unto *Jupiter*, in case the Consul might pass well in the battell. But all other writers both Greek and Latine, at least write whote *Annals* I have read, report that *Villius* performed no memorable act, and that the Consul *T. Quintus* who next succeeded, took in hand the whole and entire war himself.

Whiles things thus passed in *Macedony*, the other Consul *L. Lentulus* who staid behind at *Rome*, held a general assembly for the election of Censors. And among many famous and noble persons who sued for that dignity, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, and *P. Aelius Paetus* were created Censors. These two agreeing together in great concord, both elected a *Senat* without defaming any person; and also limited out the toll or portage of all things that were sold at *Cypria*: Item, they let & to farm let the toll for passage that way whereas the camp stood and where now there is a town built and enroled three hundred Colonies (for that number was limited by the *Senat*) there to inhabit. They sold also the lands of *Copa* lying under the hill *T. F. A.*

About the same time *L. Marcus Acidinus* departed out of *Spain*, and was prohibited by *M. Porcius Cato* a Tribune of the Commons, to enter at his return into the City with the solemn pomp of an *Quation* notwithstanding he had that honour granted by the *Senat*. So he came in to *Rome* as a private person and brought into the Chamber of the City 1200 pound weight of silver, and thirty pound weight well near of gold. The same year *Cn. Babius Tullianus*, who had received the Province of *France* from *C. Aurelius* the Consul of the former year, engaged himself faithfully within the marches of the French Inhabitants, and was environed and enclosed and smothered both he and in manner his whole army. He lost above 6600 men. See what an overthrow was effected in a war, whereof there was no reckoning made, and from whence no danger was feared any more. This caused *L. Lentulus* the Consul to come out of the City of *Rome*, who being arrived into a Province full of trouble and tumult, after he had received the charge of distressed and distressed army, gave the *Prator* a great check and rebuke, & took him up roundly with reproachful terms, yes, and commanded him to get him gone out of the Province, and to repair to *Rome*. Neither performed the Consul himself any exploit worthy of remembrance by reason that he was called home to *Rome* for to hold the solemn election of Magistrates: which also was staid by *M. Fulvius*, and *M. Curius* Tribunes of the Commons: who likewise would not suffer *T. Quintus Flamininus*, having been but *Quator* for to stand for a Consulship. "Now adies, say they, the dignities of *Ædiles* and *Prators* are bought for by, and not worth the seeking for: and these *Prators* will needs mount into the Consuls place, nor by steps and degrees of other offices, wherein they should make proof and give good testimony what their carriage is, but leaping over those in the midst, joyning the lowest and highest together. This debate which began in *Mars* field in the assembly of the people, came at length to be decided before the *Senat*. And the *Æd* ordained, That forasmuch as he which sued for that dignity, was by law capable thereof: it was just that the people should have plenary and absolute power to create him, or whomsoever they pleased, so the Tribunes submitted themselves under the authority of the *Senat*. And forsook, were elected *Sex. Aelius Paetus*, and *T. Quintus Flamininus*. Then ensued the election of the *Prators*, in which were created *L. Cornelius Merula*, *M. C. Claudius Marcellus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, and *C. Helpius*, who had been *Ædiles* of the Commons. By whom the Plebeian places were renewed, and a solemn feast made in the honour of *Jupiter* in regard of those places. The Curule *Æd* likewise *C. Fulvius Placcius*, who also was the *Flamine* Dial or Priest of *Jupiter*, and *C. Cornilius Cethegus*, exhibited the Roman games with great magnificence. The great Pomices or *Þhopos* *Þurinus Scipio* and *L. Gallia* died that year: in whose places were entailed *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. Now when *Sex. Aelius Paetus* and *Titus Quintus Flamininus* the *Consuls* were entered into their Magistracy, they assembled the *Senat* in the Capitol: where the *Consuls* were created, that concerning the two Provinces of *Macedony* and *Italy*, the Consuls should either

Rom. Phil.
Ovid. & Nels.
Pieris. Nigra.
Vergil. Aeneid.

either agree between themselves, or else cast lots whether of them should govern the one or the other: And that he, whose hap was to have the charge of Macedonia, should enroll of Romans three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen: Also of Latine allies five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, for to supply and furnish out the legions. And for the other Consul it was decreed, that he should have an army all entire and new. *L. Lentulus* the Consul of the former year, continued still Governour in the Province, with express commandments, that neither himself should leave the government, nor withdraw his forces from thence, before the Consul were come with the new legions. So the Consuls referred themselves to the direction of the lots. *Titius* fell Italy and Macedonia to *Quintus*. As for the Prætors, who all were guided by lots, *L. Cornelius Merula* had the jurisdiction of the City of Rome, *M. Claudius* governed Sicily, To *M. Porcius* was allotted Sardinia, and *C. Helvius* his lot was to be *L. Deputy in Gaul*. After this they began to take musters. For over and besides the Consular armies, the Prætors also were charged to levy soldiers. To *Marcellus* were assigned four thousand footmen of Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen to go into Sicily. And for *Cato* three thousand foot of the same kind of soldiers with two hundred horse to serve in Sardinia: upon condition, that when both these Prætors were come into their Provinces, they should discharge all the old soldiers there, as well footmen as horsemen.

Then the Consuls granted the Embassadors of King *Attalus* leave to come into the Senate-house: where having audience given them, "after they had declared how their King and Master had assisted the State of Rome with his forces as well by sea as land, and shewed himself clear, full, ready, and obedient to this present day for to execute and perform whatsoever the Roman Consuls had enjoined him to do: they said now that they much feared lest from henceforward he would not be able to do the same by reason he was impeached by *Antiochus*. For *Antiochus* taking his vantage, and finding the realm of *Attalus* disarmed of garrisons, and unprovided of forces both by sea and land, had invaded the same. For which occasion *Attalus* besought the LL. of the Senat there assembled, that if they minded to use his navy, and employ the means that he could make, in the service of the Macedonian war, they would then send him a sufficient garrison to defend his kingdom: but if they thought not well thereof, his request was to permit himself to return with his fleet and other forces to the defence of his own. The Senat gave order to return this answer unto the Embassadors: "Whereas King *Attalus* had succoured the Roman Captains with his Armado and other means of war, the Senat accepted thereof as the best part. But as touching *Antiochus* the King, an ally and friend of the people of Rome, they neither would send any aid against him: nor yet detain the aids of King *Attalus* in any service of theirs, longer than the King himself should think it flood with his own commodity. For the manner of the people of Rome hath alwaies been to serve their own turn with the help and assistance of others, but yet at the good pleasure and discretion of others. And whosoever were willing to relieve the Romans, they were at their own liberty to begin and end when they would themselves. Howbeit they purposed to address their Embassadors unto *Antiochus* to advertise him and let him understand, that the people of Rome employed the help of *Attalus* his ships and soldiers against *Philip* a common enemy: and the Senat would take it kindly at his hands, if for their sakes he forbore the Realm of *Attalus* and abstained from war. For meet and reason it was, that the Kings who were friends and allies to the people of Rome, should likewise entertain peace and amity among themselves.

T. Quintus the Consul made haste to be gone into his Province: and when he had levied and mustered his soldiers so, as that he had enrolled thoe old experienced levitours for the most part, who had given good proof of their valour in the service of Spain and Affrick, he was determined to leave Rome by occasion of certain prodigious signs reported. untill he had taken order for the appeasing of the gods, and expiation of them. The lightning forked and blasted the great port way from *Venus*: the Common Hall likewise of publick assemblies, and the Temple of *Jupiter* in *Lanuvium*: also the Temple of *Hercules* in *Ardea*: the walls besides and turrets of *Capua*, and the Temple there which is called *Alla*. At *Arretium* the sky appeared to be on a light fire. N. At *Vulturne* the earth fed and sunk down, leaving a great gaping chink for the compass of three acres of ground. Word moreover was brought, that in *Suessa Apurina* a lamb was yeared with two heads: and in *Sinessa* a porker with a mans head. In regard of these prodigies, there was a procession and supplication one whole day, and the Consuls intended devoutly to their sacrifices: and after they had pacified the gods, they took their journey into their Provinces. *Titius* together with *C. Helvius* the Prætor went into France and gave unto the said Prætor the army which he received of *L. Lentulus*, and should have dismissed and discharged of their service: because he purposed himself to employ in his own wars the fresh and new legions which he brought with him: but he performed no action worth the report. The other Consul *T. Quintus* having taken the sea, and departed from *Brundisium* sooner than other Consuls were wont, arrived at *Corycia* with eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. From thence he crossed the seas with a gale of five ranks of oars, directing his course for the nearest coasts of *Epirum*: and by great journeys made haste untill he was come to the Roman camp: from whence after he had licensed *Vilius* to depart, and laid there some few daies, untill his forces which were at *Corycia*, could overtake him, he called his Council together to resolve, Whether he should keep on his journey directly, and make way through the midst of his enemies where they lay encamped, or rather without any such

A such attempt (which could not but carry with it great pain and peril) fetch a compass about with safety, and to enter into Macedonia by the way of the Dardanian country and *Lingus*. And verily this latter course of the twain had taken place, but that he feared, when he were retired once far from the sea, and had let the enemy slip out of his hands, if the King haply were minded (as he had done before) to defend himself within the defents and forests, that he should spend all the long summer and do no good. Therefore come what would of it he resolved to assail the enemy in that very place as difficult as it was, with all the disadvantage whatsoever. But as they determined in their intention thus to do, so they were not so ready in the means to execute and effect the same. Thus they sat still and spent to by daies within the eye of the enemy, and made no attempt. Then *Philip* conceived some hope to assuage a peace, by the means and intercession of the *Epirot* B. nation. And after consultation had there were certain agents chosen for that purpose to wit, *Pausanias* the Prætor, and *Alexander* General of the horse: who brought the Consul and the King together for to part, unto a place whereas the river *Jonis* is narrowest, and the banks nearest together. The demands of the Consul in sum were these: That *Philip* should remove his garrisons out of the Cities *Irem*, that whose territories or towns he had pillaged and spoiled, he should make reparation again unto them all those things that were extant and so be found: as for the rest, they should be prized and valued indifferently to their worth. *Philip* made answer again, "That all those peeces were not of like quality and condition. As for such as he had taken himself, he would be content to let them at liberty: but for those that were left unto him by his progenitors and predecessors, he would not forgo the possession thereof, since he held them lawfully in right of inheritance. Finally, if those Cities wherewith he had warred made complaint, that they were ever endangered by him, he would report himself to what Cities and States they would themselves, and stand to their award, so they were neutrals, or in peace as well with the one side as the other. The Consul hereunto replied and said, That for this matter it was needless to refer themselves to the arbitrement or doom of any. For who seeth not evidently (quoth he) that he hath done the wrong who first took arms? And that *Philip* before eye that he was molested and troubled by any war from others, offered violence first unto all? After when it was debated what Cities should be free, the Consul named first of all *Thessalonice*, that which word the King was in such a heat of choler that he cried out aloud "What harder condition O *Quintus* would you impose upon him that you had vanquished? and withall, he swung away in a chafe from off the place of meeting and interview, and would no longer stay. And much ado they had on both sides to hold their hands from shooting one at another, for the river ran in the midst between them that they could not try it out by the ears. The morrow after they passed many light skirmishes between the *corps de guard* on both parts by way of excursions, first in a plain that lay out broad enough for that purpose: but afterwards as the Kings men retired themselves into the narrow straight and rough rugged places, the Romans of an ardent desire to be fighting, endured this: soon after, The Romans had on their side the benefit of good order and military discipline and were furnished with such kind of weapons as were fit for to maintain a skirmish in a close battell. The enemies again for their parts had the vantage of the ground, and the help of sundry engines to call forth that afar off (as ballists and catapults) planted and ranged almost upon every cliff and rock: as it had been upon the walls of a City. After they had on both sides given and taken many a wound, so as divers of them were left slain on the earth, as if they had fought in a full battell the night at length parted them asunder.

Things thus standing in these terms, there hapned a certain herdman sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* to be brought before the Consul: who gave him to understand that he kept cattle grazing in that forest (which then was overspread with the Kings pavilion) and knew all the fanks, all the windings, turnings, and blind waies of thole mountains: promising, that if he would send out a band of soldiers with him, he would conduct them thorow a place that was neither dangerous, nor yet difficult and hard of ascent: which if they had once gained, they should be over their enemies heads and able to command them. And these things (quoth he) you may safely trust upon: for *Charopus* willed me to make declaration, That he could with you the Consul were Matter of all rather than any other. The Consul was desirous to believe all, but did not credit him. And thus being troubled in spirit, whiles he entertained in his heart both joy and fear together, at length the authority of *Charopus* induced him to resolve and give the advantage of this hope thus offered and presented unto him. And to the end that the enemy might distrust and suspect nothing, for two daies following he never ceased to assail and provoke him; setting companies of armed soldiers in every place, to charge upon him, and ever seconding them with fresh men to succeed in the place of the wearied. After this, he delivered to a Tribune of Colonel four thousand chosen footmen, and three hundred horsemen: with this direction, to lead forward the Cavalry, as far as the ground would give leave: and when they were come once to a place where the horsemen could not pass nor march farther, then to plant them in some plain and even ground: willing the footmen to march on as the guide should lead them and point out their way: but after they were mounted above the enemies heads, according as he undertook and made promise, then to give a sign by smok, and not to shout and to set up a cry untill one might guess that upon signal of battell by him given, the battell was begun. And the Consul gave commandment to march by night (for as good hap was, the Moon was at full, and shone all night long) and take their recreation and sleep in the day time. As for the guide aforesaid, he

he made upon him many fair and large promises if it might appear, that he meant truth, and dealt faithfully: howbeit in the mean time he delivered him bound to the custody of the said Colonel. When these companies were thus sent away, the Roman General travelled and endeavoured to catch the more to gain vantage of the enemies' guards. All this while the Romans that were sent out with the Colonel, marched forward; and upon the third day, when they had given rest by smothering that they had won the pitch of the hills as they intended, and held it till then the Consul divided his forces into three squadrons, and entered the midst of the valley with the main strength of his army, but he led forth the wings of his battell, both the right and the left, against the very camp of the enemies. Who also for their parts were not behind to re-encounter and receive him. And all the whiles that they advanced without their fortifications of defence upon a hot desire of conflict it fell out, that the Roman soldier had the better a good deal, as being more valourous, & more skilful, and better appointed with weapons for that kind of service. But after that the Kings' soldiers, who many were wounded or killed outright, retired themselves to places of safety, either by natural situation or by art of man the danger returned upon the Romans heads, who inconsiderately were engaged into places of disadvantage, and into narrow streights, from whence they could not retire with ease. And surely they had not returned back again unpunished for their rashness, but that the Kings men hearing first an outcry behind their backs, and seeing also a skirmish begun, were astonished at the sudden terror, and put besides themselves. Some fled here and there away, others that made a stand and carried ill, for that they rather wanted ground to flee than had heart enough to fight it out, were environed by their enemies both before and behind. The whole army might have been utterly defeated, if the winners had lustily followed the chase. But the straightness and the roughness of the waies hindered the horse, and the weight of armor cumbered the footmen. At first the King rode amain with bridle in horse neck without regard of any thing, of looking behind him: but after he was got five miles before & guessing (as it was indeed) that by reason of the disadvantage of the place the enemy could not pursue him, he was afterwards reposed upon a certain mount and sent his people all abroad over hills and dales, to rally his soldiers together that were dispersed. Thus with the loss not all out of two thousand men the rest of the multitude met together, as if they had repaired to a Rendezvous upon some signal given, & so marched with a great train into *Thessaly*. The Romans pursued them as fast as they might with safety, killing them and rifling the dead, and ransacked the Kings camp which though it were naked without defendants, yet for the difficult access unto it, they had much trouble to win; & that night they lodged in their own camp. The next day the Consul made pursuit after the enemy along the straightness, whereas the river runneth among the valleys. The King came the fifth day unto the bold or camp of *Perrus* (a place so called in *Triphalia* belonging to the territory of *M. Ionia*: From whence the morning after he made a mighty journey with his whole army (for needs he must go that way) & approached the mountain *Lunges*. These mountains are in *Epirus*, situate between *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*. The side that lieth to *Thessaly* regardeth the East: that which butteth upon *Macedonia* hath the North directly before it. Covered they are and overgrown with abundance of woods, yet so as the very tops do afford open plains and running waters. The King keeping his camp there for certain daies, was much troubled and perplexed in his mind, calling and revolving, whether it were expedient for him to return immediately into his own kingdom, or possibly to retire himself into *Thessaly*. In sum, his resolution was to bring down his army into *Thessaly*, And to do so he had the next way he possibly could. From thence he passed in great haste through all the Cities that were in his way. As many men as were able to follow, he forced to quit their habitations and dwelling houses. The towns he set on fire: yet he permitted every one to carry away with him as much as he could of his own goods: all the rest fell to the soldiers share. No manner of cruelty there was, that the very enemy could exercise, but he praised among his own allies. And Philip himself in the execution thereof, grieved not a little, and was vexed at the heart: but alas he could do no other: yet his desire was in that country which within a while should be possessed by the enemy to further the bodies at leastwise of his associates. In this manner were ransacked & spoiled their towns following, *Phacium*, *Treife*, *Eubadium*, *Exeris*, & *Palaphatu*. Against his coming to *Phae* the gates were shut upon him. And because it would ask some time to win that town by assault and no sure he had thereto, he gave over that enterprise, & passed into *Macedonia*: for the bruit went that the Aetolians also approached. Who having heard of the issue of the battell fought by the river *Aous*, first waited and ransacked all the country near unto *Sperchia* and *Tharra*: Come (as they call it) and having from thence passed over into *Thessaly*, won *Gyphus* and *Angora* with the first assault. Howbeit, a repulse they took at *Maropoli*, whilst they harried the fields about it by reason that the townsmen ran together to the defence of their walls. After this they gave the attempt upon *Calithora*, where they found the like resistance and violence of the enemies: but there they persisted longer, and gave not over, nay, they draw the enemies that stood forth within their walls at contenting themselves with that victory, they departed thence seeing no great hope to force the town. Then they won and pillaged two villages, *Therma* and *Calubana*. As for *Achara*, it was surrendered by composition. And upon the like fear *Xonia* also was abandoned of her own inhabitants. These Citizens thus driven out of their own houses, stumbled at a venture upon a garison which was a leading into *Atthamania*, for the better speed of the foragers that were to purvey corn. This multitude, I say, marching disorderly without armour, pell mell together, with a sort that were unmeet for war, was hewn in pieces by

As by the armed soldiers, and *Xonia* was sacked, thus left and forsaken as it was. After this, the Aetolians won *Gyphus* a fort and town of strength, well seated for to encompass and command *Dolopia*. These exploits performed the Aetolians hastily in a few daies. Neither did *Aminander* nor the Athamans quiesce till, after they heard the news of the prosperous battell which the Romans had fought. But *Aminander* reposing small trust in his own soldiers, craved of the Consul a small supply of other forces: and as he marched toward *Gomphi*, he surprised forthwith and tor, ed a town named *Phaceliatu* between *Gomphi* and the straightness that divide *Thessaly* from *Atthamania*. From thence he advanced before *Gomphi*, and assailed the town, which was defended right valiantly for certain daies: but after that he had ended all his ladders against it, he forced the townsmen within, for very fear to yield and render all into his hands. The surrender of this City terrified the Thessalians exceedingly: in such sort, that the Cities of *Argenta*, *Pherium*, *Thina* and *Lisina* *Stimons*, and *Lampsum*, one after another submitted themselves, with other peeces thereby of small importance. Whiles the Athamans and Aetolians (secured from all danger of the Macedonians) made spoil and raised again to themselves by the victory of others: whiles *Thessaly* was pillaged and sacked by three armies at once, and knew not their friends from their foes, nor whom to trust: the Consul passed over into the country of *Epirus*, by the way of the straightness which he had opened and made clear by reason that the enemies were fled. And albeit he knew full well which way all the Epirots in general went, and with whom they had sided, excepting only Prince *Charopus*, yet because he law them not only careless to make amends and satisfaction, but also willing and forward to do whatsoever he commanded, he esteemed, and regarded them by their present state, more than by their demeanor past, and so by shewing himself inclined to mercy and ease to pardon a fault, he won their hearts and gained them unto him for the time to come. After this he dispatched messengers to *Corcyra*, to wit that the kauls and ships of burden should put into the gulph of *Ambracia*, whilst himself travelled by ease journey: and the fourth day after pitched his tents upon the hill *Cerevius*: and thither he sent for *Aminander* to repair with his aids, not for any need he had of his forces, so as much as of his guidance to direct him in his journeys for *Thessaly*. Most of the Epirots also, for the same intent were received, who voluntarily offered their help and assistance. The first City that he assailed in *Thessaly* was *Phaleria*, wherein there lay a garison of two thousand Macedonians. Who at first held out and resisted most manfully, and as much as either armor or the walls were able to do, defended themselves. But the assault & battery continuing incessantly both night and day, overcame at length the constant and resolute valour of the Macedonians. For the Consul made this reckoning, that upon this point depended the heards and dispositions of all the other Thessalians: if the first should not be able to abide the violence and force of the Romans, *Phaleria* was no longer won, but thence came Embassadors from *Maropoli* and *Pura* to render up their Cities into his hand, who gave pardon and returned it, *Phaleria* was burnt and sacked. From thence he set forward to *Egium*, but seeing that place defensible with any small garison, and in manner impregnable, he bestowed some small force of dris upon the next camp of guard, and turned his army toward the country again: *Gomphi* and from thence he marched down into the Plains of *Thessaly*. And because his army was diminished of all necessities (for that he had forborn to make spoil in the territories of the Epirots) he had sent out emissaries afore, to discover whether the hulks abo, said were arrived at *Laracra* or *Ambracia*, he sent out his companies one after another to *Ambracia* for to purvey corn and victuals. The way between *Gomphi* and *Ambracia*, as it is cumbersome and hard for passage, so to gain, it is but short and very pernicious. So that within few daies he had transported certain convoys of victuals from the port of *Ambracia*, whereby the camp was stored with plenty of all provision. From thence he passed to *Rhages*, a town almost ten miles distant from *Larissa*. The Citizens thereof are defended from *Perrus* and *Phacia* and the City is self seated upon the river *Peneus*. The Thessalians were nothing afraid at the first coming of the Romans. As for *Philip*, like as he durst not himself in person march forward into *Thessaly*, so having taken a place within *Tempe*, which he held with a standing camp, he elided into what quarters the enemies intended to go, and ever as he could find opportunity and advantage, sent underhand succour and relief thither accordingly. Much about the same time that the Consul first encamped against *Philip* in the straightness of *Epirus*, *L. Quinctius* also, the Consul his brother, who by commission from the Senat had the charge of the fleet and the government of all sea-coasts, sailed beyond *Corcyra* with two Gallies of five banks of sail: and bearing that the navy was departed from thence seeing also there was no staying there, he made full sail after space, and having overtaken them at the *Ile Zamma* he dismissed *Apollonius* in whole place, he succeeded: from thence he went fair & softly haling after him the most part of the ships which followed with the provision of victuals, until he came to *Mileta*. From whence, when he had given order, that the rest should make as good speed as possibly they could, he went with three Quinquerees lightly appointed, and arrived before at *Pyrænium*, where he received the other ships that *L. Apollonius* the Lieutenant had left there for the guard and defence of *Adens*. At the same time there were two Armadoes set out of *Aisa*, the one conducted by King *Asius*, consisting of four and twenty (all of Quinquerees: the other were of Rhodians, and stood of twenty covert ships with decks and hatches, commanded by *Agimbrotus* the Admiral. These

These fleets, coming together about the Island *Andros*, crossed the narrow seas from distance to distance. And first they fortified the territory of the Cyprians: afterwards, seeing *Corymbus* strong enough against them by reason of a partition lent to them in all haste from *Chalcis*, they swooped on *Chalcis*, having intelligence that King *Antalus* was come, repaired thither also with *Antalus*, which had been at *Pyrrhus*, and gave commandment, that as many ships as were fit to be brought to his fleet, should bend their course for *Euboea*. Now was *Euboea* by all possible means attacked, for not only the vessels of three joyn't navies had brought thither all sorts of engines and artillery devised for to shake and batter the walls of Cities, but also the field and country hard by, yielded them plenty of timber, and other matter to make new. The towns-men from the very first day shewed no valour and courage in defending their walls: and afterwards when they were wearied, and some of them hurt, and saw withall a part of their wall overthrown by the ordinance and engines of the enemy, enclined to yield: but they had amongst them a generation of Macedonians, whom they feared no less than the Romans. Moreover, *Philotas*, a Captain under the King, sent messengers unto them from *Chalcis*, assuring them, that if they could hold out still and endure the siege, he would in good time be with them, and bring relief. Thus hope and fear together constrained them to drive off longer than either they were willing or well able to do. But when they heard once that *Philotas* had a repulse by the way, and in great haste and fear was retired and fled to *Chalcis* again, then immediately they sent their Embassadors unto *Antalus* to crave pardon and protection. Whiles they were wholly bent to seek peace (whereof they had some hope) and forelacked the affairs of war-service, opposing their *corpe* *quid* on that side only of the wall where the breaches were, and neglecting all besides, behold, *Quintus* in the night, leagued a camifado in that quarter which was least suspected, and with scaling ladders won the town. The whole multitude of the inhabitants fled with their wives and children into the Castle, which also afterwards was rendered up. As for money, gold, and silver, there was no great store to speak of: but Images, and painted tables of antique work, artificially wrought, and such like ornaments, there were more found, than for the proportion of the bigness, or other wealth besides, of such a City as that was. From thence they set sail once again for *Corymbus*, where the whole multitude, before the enemies were put on land, having abandoned the City, were fled into the forests: from whence they sent their Orators unto the Roman General, humbly craving the intercession and protection. The townsmen presently had their lives and liberties granted them. But the Macedonians were put to their ransom, and they compounded to pay three hundred silver talents, and to give up their armour and weapons, and so to depart: With this sum of money having redeemed themselves they were set out disarmed into *Boeotia*. These forces at sea having in few days gained two noble and renowned Cities in *Euboea*, coasted about *Saintus*, a promontory or cape within the territory of *Attica*, and arrived before *Chenecra*, a town of merchandise and traffick belonging to the Corinthians.

The Consul all this while had longer and more dangerous piece of service in the siege of *Rhodes* than all men looked for. And the enemies within made resistance, where he would have least of all suspected. For he supposed resty that all the trouble and difficulty would be in battering down the wall, and making some breach. For thus he thought, that if he had once opened way for his armed souldiers to enter into the town, the enemies afterwards would either flee or be slain, as it falleth out commonly in Cities when they are forced. Howbeit, when part of the wall by the battery of the Ram lay flat along, and the enemies were got over at the breaches & ruins thereof, then began their labour and pains anew, as if they had had no trouble nor toil aforesaid. For the Macedonians in garriſon, who were many in number, and those approved and select souldiers, thinking how honourable a service it would be to defend the City by valour and dint of sword, rather than by the strength of walls, had ranged themselves in a battell within, strongly manœuvred into many ranks and files close together, and when they perceived the Romans were mounting over the breaches to enter the City, they repelled and beat them back in that place of great disadvantage, where they had much ado to recover and resiste themselves. The Cos, hereat was much displeased, and vexed in himself: and making this account, that such a foul foil and disgrace was not only an occasion of a longer tract of time, before he could force that one City: but also material and important for the main progress and proceeding of the whole war, which commonly depended upon the occurrences of slight matters and of small moment in the beginning: after he had rid and cleared the place which was choaked up with the ruins of the half-broken wall, there upon he set a tower or frame of timber of a huge height to overtop the walls, composed of many stories and floors one over another, which contained and carried a mighty number of armed men, and drave the same upon wheels and rollers close to the wall. Moreover he sent out certain engines, one after another by turns, to break through by force (if it were possible) that strong and close battailon of the Macedonians (which they themselves call *Phalanx*). But the place being in strength (for that the breach of the wall was nothing broad) the enemies had the vantage both in regard of the weapons which they used, and of the form of battell wherein they were ranged. For when the Macedonians standing close one to another with a continued roof or fence of targets over their heads, opposed their pikes before them which were of an exceeding length: the Romans whether with their darts could hurt them at all, or not with their swords drawn come near them to fight close at hand, or cut their pikes in two: and if it chanced that they whipt off or snapt any under, yet the steel and trusture thereof

thereof being sharp still at the point (headless though it were) among the other pikes that were headed, served to make a fence as it were an hay or palliade. Over and besides that part of the wall that stood whole and sound still, was a sure defence unto both flanks of the enemies: neither had the Romans any room at length to return, and from thence to fetch their beir, and to give a violent charge, which is the thing that usually breaketh and disordereth ranks. Moreover, there chanced one thing by meer fortune that encouraged them within: for as the tower aforesaid was in driving over a terrace or bank, whereof the floor was not fast and soundly hardened with the rammer, one of the wheels hapned to sink in and make a deep rout in the ground, whereby the whole frame nodded so forward that the enemies without thought verily it was ready to fall, and the armed souldiers standing upon it within, quaked for fear, and were put well-near besides their wits. Thus when nothing that was provided might avail and come to any great effect, the Consul was vexed at the heart, to see himself so over-matched in souldiers, in armour, and in manner of service: and withall he considered, that he had no help to force the City, and to win it in any short time, nor could make means to pass the winter in those parts so far from sea, and left naked already and waste by those calamities that follow ways. Whereupon he raised the siege: and because there was no haven in all the tract and coast of *Acarnania* and *Etolia*, which was able both to receive and harbour all his hulks that brought victuals for his army, and also to yield winter lodging for his legions; he thought upon the Isle *Anticyra* within the country of *Phocis*, which lying toward the gulph of *Corinth*, seemed to him most fit and commodious for his purpose: because they should not remove far from *Theffaly*, and the territories belonging to the enemies having besides *Peloponnesus* affront even over against them, divided but by a small arm of the sea: at their back *Etolia* and *Acynania*: and of each side *Locris* and *Bœotia*. At the first assault, the Consul without any resistance won *Panopea* in *Phocis*. *Anticyra* likewise long endured not the siege. Then *Ambrysus* and *Hyampolis* were received by composition, *Daulis* by reason that it was situate upon an high hill could neither be scaled nor forced by instruments and engines of battery. But the Romans by lancing their darts and shooting arrows against them that were in guard, trained them forth to skirmish: and after some light scuffings to no effect, whilst one while they seemed to flie, and other whilst to pursue, they brought them to be so careless, so negligent and so little respective, that when the enemies fled back within the gate, they entered pell-mell with them, and so were Masters of the town. Other small towns likewise of *Phocis* yielded rather for fear than any force offered unto them. *Elatia* kept their gates shut, and made a countenance, that unless they were driven thereunto, they would receive within their walls neither Roman captain nor army.

Whiles the Consul lay at the siege before *Elatia*, there was presented unto him the hope of a greater matter, namely of withdrawing the nation of the *Acha* from the Kings alliance to the amity of the Romans. For they had expelled and banished *Cyclas* the chief of that faction that sided with *Phil*: and *Aristhenus* who friended the Romans and fought to be confedered with them, was Prætor for the time.

Now the Roman Armado, together with *Antalus* and the Rhodians, rode at anchor in the haven of *Chenecra*, and they all were agreed in common to assail *Corinth*. But the Consul thought good, before that they should put that designment in action, to send Embassadors to the State of *Achaia*, promising, if they would revolt from the King and turn to them, to deliver *Corinth* into their hands: for to be incorporate into the ancient league and council of their nation. And so by the advice of the Consul, there were Embassadors addressed to the Achæans from his brother *L. Quintus*, from *Attalus*, the Rhodians, and the Athenians. And at *Sicyone* was there a Council held for to give them audience. Now the Achæans were not all of one mind and alike affected. The Athenians (a dangerous an ordinary, and continual enemy of theirs) put them in fear of one side: the Romans they had in dread and horrour of another. To the Macedonians they were obliged and bound by many good turns and favours, as well old as new. The K. himself they held in jealousy for his cruelty and treachery: and calling a proof and conjecture by those confutes which he then took, and by his practices for the time they foresaw well that after the war ended he would be intolerable and a very tyrant over them. They were besides not only ignorant, what every man had said in the several councils of every particular State, and in the general Diets of the whole nation, when they were required to deliver their opinions: but also uncertain and unresolved among themselves in their own minds what to will or wish. Unto men thus doubtfully disposed and unsettled, the Embassadors aforesaid were admitted, and license was given them to deliver their message. First the Roman Embassador *L. Calpurnius*: after him, those that were for King *Antalus*: and in the third place, the Rhodians spake and made discourse: and consequently, the Embassadors of *Phil* were permitted to parl. The Athenians had audience given them last of all, and were relieved of purpose to confute whatsoever should be spoken and alleged by the Macedonians. And these Athenians inveighed most sharply and bitterly against the King, for none had received either more wrongs, or suffered the like indignities at his hands as they had. So this assembly verily for that time by reason that the day was spent in hearing the continued orations of so many Embassadors brake up about sun setting. The morrow after they assembled again: where the Magistrates by the voice of the Beadle or publick crier (after the custome of the Greeks) gave liberty to every person to deliver his mind, and no man stepped forth. Great silence there was, and not a word among them for a long time, looking

wisely one upon another who should begin first. And no marvel if they whose spirits were allotted in some sort within them, when they of their own accord cast and tossed in their minds things so different and contrary, were now more troubled and perplexed by those orations besides that had lasted all the long day, broaching, uttering, & advising many matters so harshly, so difficult, and impetuous unto them. At length, because the Council should not be diffolved without some speech and parl, *Aristhenes* the Prætor of the Achaëans began to speak, and said: "What is become (my Masters of Achaëa) of those hearts of yours and courageous stomachs, whereby at all your feasts and in your private meetings (when talk is ministered of *Philip* and the Romans) you can hardly hold your hands, but are ready to fly one in another's face? And now, when as this honourable Court of Parliament is published & holden for the same purpose only; when ye have heard the reasons & allegations of the Embassadors of all parts; when the Magistrates propound I the matter to be debated in council; when the publick crier calleth you to give your opinions, ye are mum and mute? If the regard of the common good and welfare of us all, will not cause you to open your lips; cannot the private respects and affections neither (which have inclined and carried your minds to the one side or the other) fetch out a word from any of your mouths? Considering especially, that no man is so gross and blockish, who can be ignorant that now is the very time or never for each one to say and deliver his mind as he will himself, and as he thinketh best, before we resolve and determine of any course: and when a decree or act is once passed, that all men are bound (even they themselves that before misliked it) to defend and maintain the same, as a good and profitable accord. This admonition of the Prætor was so far forth of drawing any one of them to utter his opinion, that it caused not so much as the least noise or humming in so frequent an auditory and congregation of so many States together. Then *Aristhenes* the Prætor began again and followed his speech in this manner: "It seemeth (my Masters & friends of Achaëa here assembled) that ye are not so much to seek for counsel and advice, but ye are as short of your tongues and loath to speak. And every one here is unwilling to provide for their general good, for fear lest he should incur some particular peril. My self likewise peradventure would be silent and hold my peace if I were a private person: But now being Prætor, I see thus much, That either there should have no audience at all been given unto the Embassadors, or else, that they ought not to be sent away from hence without an answer: and answer them how can I without your ordinance? now seeing that there is none of you all, who have been summoned hither to this Council, that either will or dare say a word to the cause: I let us examine thoroughly and consider well in lieu of your opinions, those speeches which yesterday were pronounced by the Embassadors: let us (I say) revise them too, as if they had not demanded those things which concerned their own good and commodity, but as though they proposed such points they esteemed profitable and expedient for us all. The Romans, the Rhodians, and King *Antiochus* require our alliance and amity: and in that war which they wage against *Philip* they think it reason to be aided from us. *Philip* again putteth us in mind of our society with him and of our oath. One while he requireth us to stand and band with him: otherwhiles he saith he will be content that we should sit still, and meddle neither one way nor other. Is there no man here indwelt with the reason, why they that are not yet our allies demand and crave more than he that is our ally already? Is it neither the modesty of *Philip*, nor the impudency of the Romans that is the cause hereof? The ports and haven-towns they be of Achaëa, which minister confidence and assurance to those demanders, and take away the same from them again. From *Philip* we see nothing but only an Embassador. The sea-forces of the Romans and their fleet, ride in the harbor of *Cenchreae*: they carry aloft them in shew the spoiles of the Cities in *Eubœa*. The Consul himself with his land-army of the legions we see disjoyined from us by a small arm only of the sea, ranging at their pleasure all over *Phœcia* and *Locria*. Marvell now longer if you can, why *Chromedon* the Embassador of *Philip* demanded erewhile so coldly and diffidently, that we should take arms for the King against the Romans: who, if we by verue of our same league and oath; wherewith he seemed to charge us in conscience, required of him again, that *Philip* should defend us both from *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians, and also from the Roman mans: would be to seek not only of a garrison and power of armed men to shield us, but likewise of a very answer to shape us. And verily he would be no more ready to satisfy us, than *Philip* was himself the last year: who notwithstanding he frankly promised to levy war against *Nabis* & thereby offered to train and draw the flower of our youth from hence into *Eubœa*; after that he saw once that we neither agreed to send him that power, nor yet were willing to entangle our selves & be interested in the Roman war, forgot soon that society that now he hath death and verther so much of, and left us to the merry and devotion of *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians: to be spoiled, pillaged, & wasted at their pleasures. And surely so much as I can conceive of (as *Chromedon* his Oration me thinks it hangeth not well together and one piece thereof setteth not well with another. He seemeth to speak of the Roman war contemptuously, as if it were a manner of nothing; saying the event & issue thereof would be like the former, which they maintained with *Philip*. How is it then that he keepeth himself away, and in his absence demandeth our help rather than with his personal presence protecteth us both from *Nabis* & the Romans? What say his ancient allies? But what speak I of us? Why hath he suffered them to go to force and ruin *Thracia* and *Carthage*? Why endured he, that so many Cities of *Thracia* should be lost? Could he abide *Locria* and *Phœcia* to be over-run, so as they are? And *Elain* now at this day

* Megropoli.

A "day so freightly besieged, and hotly assaulted? Why quit he the straits of *Epirus*, and abandoned those impregnable holds upon the River *Aous*, by force, for fear, of his own accord, or howsoever? and when he had forgone and disused himself of that pais which he held, why retired he into the inland parts of his realm for his safety? If willingly and of his own accord he abandoned to many of his allies, and left them to be spoiled and rancked by the enemy, what can he alledge or say for himself, why those allies afore said may not provide for themselves the best they can? If for fear, let him pardon us likewise if we be afraid. But if he were vanquished by force of arms, and therefore retired back, shall we, good *Cleomedor*, sustain and endure the Roman puissance and their mighty armies, against which ye Macedonians were not able to stand? Or, would you have us to believe you, that bear us in hand, how the Roman war not at this present, either with greater numbers or stronger forces than they have done heretofore, rather than trust our own eyes, and that which daily we see before our faces? In those daies they succoured the Aetolians with their navy, and warred neither under the conduct, nor with the army of a Consul. The maritime Cities of the confederats of *Philip*, were then in trouble and tumult: but all the mediterranean parts within the continent, were so secure and fortified from the Roman forces, that *Philip* spoiled and forraged the Aetolians, imploiring and seeking for help of the Romans, but all in vain. But now at this day the Romans having finished the Carthaginian war, which for sixteen years space they supported in the very heart and bowels of Italy, have not sent a garrison to succour and maintain the Aetolians in their wars, but are come themselves, as leaders and commanders General, and by Land and Sea at once have warred upon *Macedony*. And this is the third Consul of theirs, who at this present mainrained mortal war upon it, to the uttermost of his power. *Sulpicius* hath encountered the King in the midst of *Macedony*, bidden him battel, discomfited and put him to flight, after he had laid waste and desolated the wealthiest quarter of all his Kingdom. *Quintus* lately hath driven him out of camp and field, notwithstanding he were possessed of the freight avenues of *Epirus*, and bare himself boldly and confidently upon the natural situation of the ground, of his strong defences, and force of a complete army: and having pursued him as he fled into *Thessaly*, hath taken the garrison Towns of the King, and in manner within his own fight, won by mere force his confederate Cities. Suppose and say, that all those things which the Athenians erewhile have alledged concerning the cruelty, the avarice, and unbridled lust of the King, be not true, but (supposed standers) admit that those enormities and wicked parts committed within the Attick land, against the Gods of Heaven above, of the infernal spirits beneath, touch not us at all, and are much less pertinent, than those outrages which the Eleantians and the Abydens, so far remote from us, have endured. Forget we our selves, if ye will, the hurts, the wounds, and losses that we have received the murders the piling and rifling of the goods of *Messina* in the midst of *Peloponnesus*. * *Marta* Likewise, how his friend and host *Gargæus* at *Cyprius*, was killed against all Law of God and man, even in a manner sitting at the board with meat in his mouth. Say we nothing also of *Attalus* the father and son both Sicyonians, who were cruelly massacred; and yet he was wont to call the silly and wretched old man, Father. Also forbear we to speak of the ionic wife, who was carried away into *Macedony*, to make her his harlot and concubine, and to abuse her at his pleasure. Let other rapes of virgins, forcings of honorable dames be forgotten: let us imagine that we have nothing to do, nor to meddle with *Philip* for fear of whose cruelty ye were all so fure, and could not open your mouth. For what other cause of silence had ye, being called hither to this council? If we put the case, that we were to debate the matter with *Antigon*, that most mild and just Prince, at whose gracious hands we have received so many favours and pleasures above all other Kings: would he demand, think ye, that we should do that which possibly then could not be done? *Peloponnesus* is a demy Island, joined to the firm continent and main land by the narrow straight or bank of *Isthmus*, lying open and expoled to nothing more than to Sea-forces. If one hundred covert and decked ships with hatches, and fifty lighter vessels which are open, together with thirty Brigantines or foists of *Issa*, should come to pill and spoil our sea-coasts, and begin to assail our Towns and Cities that lie open upon the River, even on the very strand and Sea banks; should we retire our selves, think ye, into our Cities within the Land? Why? what else? As though we were not already afflicted and plagued with intestine war, which flourisheth even within our ribs and bowels? When *Nabis* and the Lacedæmonians by land, the Roman navy by Sea shall lie upon us, to do us all annoy, how should I call upon the Kings society, or for the help of the Macedonians? Or shall we of our selves, by our own strength and means save our Cities which shall be assaulted against the puissance and power of the Romans? For in the former war we bravely defended (did we not?) the City of *Dyme*. We have examples enough of the fearful calamities and losses of others, that we need not to make our selves examples unto others. Take heed (I beseech you) how you set light and disdain, that the Romans have of their own motive offered their friendship and alliance, which indeed ye were to wish for, and seek all that ever ye could. It is for very fear (no doubt) that they are driven, being in a strange land to flee unto you for your alliance, because they would gladly shroud themselves under the shadow of your wings, be harboured within your havens, and sustained by your victual and provision. No, no, Lords they are first of the seas who can deny it: there is not a land they set foot into, but immediately it is their own, and in subjection unto them: whatsoever they seem to request, they can command if they list. And because they are willing to spare and forbear you,

"therefore it is that they suffer you not to enter into any action that might be cause of your ruin
 "and overthrow. For whereas *Cleomedon* seemed to shew and lay before you a mean and
 "indifferent course, and that forthwith which should be the safest way, which you could take, name-
 "ly, to enter into no arms at all, to sit still and sleep in a whole skin; that, I say, is no middle way, no
 "nor (to speak truth) any way at all. For besides this, that ye must either accept or refuse the alli-
 "ance with the Romans; what else will become of us, but to be a prey unto the conqueror, having
 "lost the grace and favour both of the one and the other? as men that like neutrals, expecting the
 "issue of the war, frame our designments and counsels to the blind direction of fortune. Well, once
 "again I say, take heed you think not scorn of that which with all your heart you should wish;
 "and pray for only for that it is tendered and presented unto you. And never think, that because to-
 "day you have the choice of both in your own hands, therefore ye shall ever have the same liber-
 "ty hereafter. Occasions & opportunities are not always the same, neither do they continue long.
 "All this whiles have ye had a desire to save and free your selves from *Philip*, but evermore by
 "wishes & prayers in secret heart, rather than by taking arms in open hand. Now there are those
 "which with great armies & armadoes have passed the seas, who without your pain and peril are
 "ready to deliver you from his hands. These men, if ye reject and refuse for your allies, ye are not
 "well in your wits, & have them you must either your allies or your enemies, there is no remedy.
 "After this Oration of the Pretor, there arose a muttering and noise in the assembly, whiles some
 "approved and gave assent unto that which he said, others rebuked in churlish wise those that ac-
 "corded. Insomuch, as they jangled not one with another in particular, but the very States there
 "assembled were at variance, yea, and this debate between the Magistrates of the whole nation
 "(whom they call *Demiurgi*, and ten they are in number) was as hotly maintained, as amongst the
 "multitude. Five of them said, they would propound unto the people, and debate with them in
 "council about accepting the alliance of the people of *Rome*, and put it to voices. The other five
 "protested, that this was directly against a law, in that case provided, forbidding expressly that no
 "Magistrats should either propound or determine ought in any Diet, prejudicial to the society and
 "league with *Philip*. Thus this day also spent in debating and wrangling, and nothing done.
 "There remained one day yet of a full Diet and Council, for by law they were to conclude and de-
 "cree somewhat within three dayes at the farthest. Against that time, the parties were so hotly
 "bent one against the other, that the fathers could hardly forbear to offer violence to their very
 "children. There was one *Rhipisalus* of *Pellea*, a who had a son named *Memnon*; and he was a *Demi-
 "urgus*, who took part and sided with them that would not permit the matter to be put to ques-
 "tion, and determined by a scrutiny of voices. This *Rhipisalus* having instantly a long time importuned
 "his son, and besought him to induce the Achæans to provide for their weal publick, and not by his
 "peevish stowardness undo the state of the whole nation: when he saw once that all his prayers
 "prevailed nothing, he swore a great oath that he would kill him with his own hands, and not take
 "him for his son, but for an errant enemy. By which his menaces, he gained thus much in the end,
 "that consent he was the next day to joyn with them that put the matter to question: who now
 "being more in number than the other made a report and proposed the cause to the assembly: and
 "when all the States in manner there met, enquired thereunto, and approved thereof, so as they ac-
 "cording openly what they would ordain: the Dyemeans, Megapolitans, and certain Argives, before
 "the decree was enacted, rose up all at once, and departed out of the assembly, and no man either
 "wondered at it, or blamed them for it. As for the Megapolitans, no longer ago than in their grand-
 "fathers dayes, at what time as they were expelled out of their country by the Lacedæmonians, *K. Ar-
 "gigonis* had restored them again. The Dyemeans being but lately taken prisoners, and ransomed by
 "the Roman army, *Philip* having given order that they should be redeemed wheresoever they were
 "in slavery and bondage, he not only let free, but also replanted in their own country. The Argives
 "last of all, besides that they are of a settled opinion and belief that the Macedonian Kings are de-
 "cended from them, were for the most part linked unto *Philip* in the right and regard of privat-
 "hospitality, and familiar friendship. In these respects, they went out of that assembly which inclined
 "to the contract of alliance with the Romans, and were held excused for this departure: being thus
 "obliged unto *Philip* the adverse part, by great favours and benefits, yea, and those newly received
 "at his hands. All the other States of the Achæans, when they were demanded their opinions, with-
 "out delay confirmed by their immediate decree, the society with *Attalus* and the Rhodians: but
 "the league with the people of *Rome*, because it could not be ratified and established without the
 "Aid of the people, was referred and put off until the time that Embassadors might be sent unto
 "*Rome*. But for the present it was thought good that three Embassadors should be addressed unto
 "*L. Quintinus*, and that all the forces of the Achæans should march toward *Corinth*, for that *Quintinus*
 "having won the port of *Cenchrea*, was already at the siege and assault of that City.

These Achæans encamped themselves over against that gate that openeth toward *Sicyone*: the
 "Romans lay against that part of the City which looketh toward *Cenchrea* and *Attalus* having led
 "his army through the narrow strait of *Isthmus*, assailed them of *Lechaia* side, which is as haven
 "of the other Sea. At the first they made no hot assault, hoping that there would be some unity
 "between the Towns-men and the Kings garrison. But perceiving they were all of one mind and
 "resolution, and that both the Macedonians defended the City, as their own native country:
 "and also the Corinthians were content to bear the full command and direction of *Androthous* the
 "Captain of the garrison, as well as he had been their fellow-citizen, and lawfully chosen by

A their own election and suffrages: then the assailants had no other hope but in the violent force
 "of arms and engines. And of all sides they had rail banks and mures, and were come close to the
 "walls, although with hard access thereto. Now had the Ram, from that quarter where the Ro-
 "mans lay, beaten down a good part of the wall. To which breach, because it lay naked without
 "defence, all the Macedonians ran to guard and defend by thrusting of arms: where there was a
 "crossfight between them and the Romans. At the first the Romans were looted repelled by means
 "of the great numbers of defendants: but after the succours of the Achæans and *Attalus* came unto
 "them, they received them with equal valour: neither doubted they but to be able with ease to
 "drive the Macedonians and the Greeks from their standings, and force them to retreat. But there
 "were within the Town a multitude of Italian fugitives revolted and fled from the Romans: part
 "of them, a residue left of *Annibal* his army: who having transgressed the laws, for fear of punish-
 "ment were fled from the Romans and took part with *Philip*: part also were mariners and sea-
 "ring men, who for hope of more honourable intertainment and service, had abandoned their ships,
 "and were gotten into the City of *Corinth*. These fellows put all hope of life, if the Romans haply
 "should have the better hand, and were more like mad men than hardy and audacious soldiers. Now
 "there is over against *Sicyone* a promontory of *Iuno*, which they call the Cape of *Acroia*, and it run-
 "neth into the Sea: from whence the passage over to *Corinth* is a cut almost of seven miles. Thi-
 "ther *Philetes*, a Captain also under King *Philip*, had conducted through *Boetia* 500 footsolders;
 "and certain Brigantines of *Corinth* were there ready to embark that supply of aid, and to transport
 "them to *Lechaia*. By this time *Attalus* advised to let on fire the engines and fabricks that they had
 "made, and presently to give over the siege. *Quintinus* persisted yet more obstinately in his enterprise
 "begun. But he also seeing the Kings guards ranged and quartered at every gate, and that if they
 "should but to fall out, their violence would hardly be restrained, was of the lame mind with *At-
 "talus*. So without effecting anything, the Achæans were dismissed, and the rest returned to their
 "ships, *Attalus* to *Piræum*, the Romans to *Corycia*.

During this service by Sea forces, the (other) Consul who lay in camp before *Elania* in *Phocia*,
 "first assaied to gain the City by conference and partly with the principal citizens thereof: but after
 "answer made, that it lay not in their hands, and that they who were for the King, outwent the
 "Towns-men both in number and strength: then at once, from all parts he gave an assault unto the
 "City both by force of arms, and also by engines of artillery. The Ram was bent against the walls,
 "and as much thereof beaten down with a mighty crash and fearful noise, as stood between the
 "Towers: whereupon the Town was dismantled and laid naked, and withal a cohort of Roman
 "soldiers entered at the open breach: so as from all parts the defendants abandoned their guards,
 "and ran to that place that thus was distressed by the enemies. And at one instant the Romans ad-
 "vanced themselves over the breach, and let up scaling ladders against the wall which was standing
 "and whiles the enemies were armed wholly, and had their eye only upon that one place where
 "the conflict was, the wall in many parts was scaled, and armed soldiers mounted into the City.
 "At which sudden tumult and alarm, the armed men having quit the place which they guarded
 "with a thick troop fled all into the castle for fear; and the unarmed and naked multitude followed
 "after. Thus the Consul was master of the City: which being ransacked, he sent unto the Castle
 "certain messengers, promising life to as many of the Kings garrison as would depart away without
 "arms, and offering liberty to the Elians: and after security given hereto, within few dayes the
 "Castle also was rendered into his hands. Moreover, by the arrival of *Philetes* (a commander for
 "the King) in *Achaia*, not *Corinth* only was delivered from siege, but the City also of the Argives,
 "was by certain of the principal rulers betrayed unto *Philetes*, who before had sounded and solli-
 "cited the minds and affections of the common people. There was a custom in this City, that upon
 "the first day of their general assemblies, the Pretor should in token of good luck pronounce the
 "names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*: and afterwards ordained it was besides by a law, that the
 "name of *Philip* should make up the fourth. Now after the alliance accorded between them and the
 "Romans, it hapned that the beadle or publick cryer left out the name of *Philip*: whereat the mul-
 "titude first began to mutter and grumble: then arose a loud cry of those that put him in mind to
 "name the King, willing him to give him his honor due by law: until at last his name was also pro-
 "nounced with great applause and consent. Upon the confidence and assurance of this favour *Phile-
 "tes* was sent for, who by night seized upon an hill that commandeth the City which commonly
 "is called the fort of *Larissa*: and having put a garrison there, the next morning betimes he ad-
 "vanced forward with banner displayed, and came down toward the common place lying under the
 "forts and assailed: where there encountered him a band of armed men well appointed in order of
 "battail. These were the garrison of the Achæans lately there placed, to the number of 500 elect men
 "chosen forth of all the States of *Achaia*: and one *Eusebidemus* a Dyemean was their commander.
 "Unto him *Philetes* (one of the Kings Captains afore said) addressed a special messenger to per-
 "suade and exhort him to quit the City: giving him to understand, That he and his Company
 "were not able to match the Town-men alone, who carried the same mind that the Macedonians
 "had done: much less then should they stand out when the Macedonians were joyned unto them:
 "the Macedonians (I say) whom the very Romans themselves could not sustain at *Corinth*. At
 "first he did no good either with leader or soldier: yea, and when within a while they beheld
 "the Argives also marching armed against them with a great troop from another part, and saw
 "present death before their eyes, yet it seemed they would have put it to the hazard of a conflict,

and fought to the last man, in case their Captain would have stuck to it, and not relented. But *Espeidimus* for fear left together with the City, the flour of all the youth of *Achaia* should perish, capitulated with *Philotes*, that they might be permitted to depart and go their way: but himself kept his ground till in his armour, with some few of his followers and vassals, and removed not a foot. Then *Philotes* sent out unto him, to demand, What he meant thereby? Unto whom he gave no other words, but holding forth his shield before him made answer, That armed as he was he would live, and die in the guard and defence of that City which was committed to his charge. Then by the commandment of the Captains, the Thracians lanced their darts and shot at him, and so both he and the company about him were slain every one. Thus after the accord of alliance between the Achaeans and Romans, two most noble and famous Cities (*Argi* and *Corinth*) came under the subjection of the King. These were the acts achieved by the Romans as well by Land as Sea this summer.

In *France* there was no exploit performed worth remembrance by *Sext. Elius* the Consul, notwithstanding he had under his government two entire armies: the one that he retained till with him, which by order he should have discharged, and was the same that had before been commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Pro-consul, and now by him was committed to the charge of *C. Elius*, the other, that he brought himself with him into the Province. So that he employed the whole year almost in compelling the men of *Cremona* and *Placentia* to return into their Colonies, from whence by sundry casualties of war they were chased and dispersed. As *France* that year was in quiet beyond all hope and expectation, so about the City of *Rome* there had like to have been a commotion and tumult of bondslaves. The Carthaginian hostages were in guard and kept at *Seia*, where they had attending about them (as meet was for the children of the chief Nobles and Princes of *Carthage*) a mighty train and retinue of servants. The number of them was the greater by occasion of the late African war; during which time and presently after, the *Seians* also themselves had bought up many of that nation which were taken captives, and came in port-folio with the rest of the prizes. These having conspired together, sent out certain of their own company to solicit also the other slaves that were in the territory of *Seia*, and so forth, as many as they could find about *Norba* and *Circeti*. Their plot was, that when all things were provided beforehand, they should upon the very day of the solemn games and plaies (which shortly were to be exhibited and set forth in *Seia*) take the opportunity of the time, when as the people were busy in beholding the spectacle and shew repented unto their eye, and to run upon them: and when they had by massacre in this sudden hurlyburly possessed themselves of *Seia*, then to go forward and surprise *Norba* and *Circeti*. This horrible complot and conspiracy was detected, and information given at *Rome* to *L. Cornelius Merula* Pretor at that time of the City. For two bondslaves early in a morning before day, presented themselves unto him, and opened from point to point in order, namely, what had been contrived and done, and what remained yet to do. The Pretor having taken order for their safe custody at home within his own house, called the Senate together: where, after he had recounted and declared unto them what these informers had revealed, he was commanded to go abroad to search out and repress this conspiracy. Forth he marched with five Lieutenants of the camp, and look how many he could meet with in his way all over the fields, villages, and hamlets, he tended unto them a military oath, and constrained them to arm and follow him. Thus in this hasty manner of levy, he armed well near 2000, and with them all together (who knew not whither he meant to go, nor to what piece of service he led them) to *Seia* he came. At his first entrance, he suddenly in great haste apprehended the principal heads of the conspiracy: whereupon the slaves fled out of the Town. Then were sent out certain into the fields, to trace and to find them out by their tracks. In this business there were two bondslaves and one free man that performed singular good service. Unto him the LL. of the Senate gave order, that there should be paid 1000000 *Affes* in brass coin: but unto the slaves 35000 and their freedom. For the redemption of whom, their masters were contented their full price out of the Chamber of the City. Not long after, it was reported that the remnant of this conspiracy purposed to surprise *Prentis*. Thither marched *L. Cornelius* the Pretor of the City, where he executed about 500 persons who were found guilty. The City was in great fear to see how the hostages and captives of the Carthaginians practised such troubles. Therefore in *Rome* a standing watch was kept in every street: and the inferior Magistrats were charged to see to it and to walk the round, and the Triumvirs likewise (for three Sheriffs) to have a better eye and look to the Quarry-prison. The Pretor also directed his letters into all quarters of the Latin nation to this effect, That all the hostages should be kept within doors, and not suffered to go abroad into the streets: that all captives and prisoners should have gyes about their heels of ten pound weight at least, and be kept in no other ward but in the common goal.

The same year came Embassadors from King *Attalus*, who presented in the Capitol a golden Crown of 246 pound weight, with great thanksgiving unto the Senate, that King *Antiochus* in O regard of the authority and countenance of the Roman Embassadors, had withdrawn his forces out of the confines of *Attalus*. The same summer two hundred men of arms, ten Elephants, and 200000 Modii of wheat sent from King *Masiniſſa*, arrived at the camp in *Greece*. Likewise out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, there was sent great store of victual and liveries for the army. In *Sicily* *M. Marcellus* was L. Governour, and in *Sardinia* *M. Porcius* Cent, an upright man and living without touch and reproach, save only he was thought somewhat too severe in restraining of

See the account of the lost Clavis, l. i.

66 6 lib. English in angel gold, or there about.

ultry. He banished out of that land all usurers: he abridged also and cut off clean, the charges which the allies were wont to defray for the entertainment of the Pretor.

Sext. Elius the Consul being returned to *Rome* out of *France* in regard of the general assembly for election of Magistrats, created Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. And two daies after, the election was held for Pretors. This year first were chosen six Pretors, by reason that the number of Provinces encreased, and the Roman Empire and Seignory extended farther. And there were they, to wit, *L. Manlius Volſo*, *Cn. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Helvius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *L. Aclius*. Of these, *Sempronius* and *Helvius* were *Adiles* of the Commons: *Q. Minutius* *Thermus* and *T. Sempronius Longus* *Adiles* of the chair. The Roman games this year were four times renewed. *Cn. Cornelius* and *Q. Minutius* being Consuls, above all things went in hand with the Provinces of Consuls and Pretors: and first they dispatched those that concerned the Pretors (a matter that might be decided by calling lots.) To *Sergius* was appointed the jurisdiction of the City, and to *Minutius* the foreign, over strangers. *Aclius* was appointed to *Sardinia*, *Manlius* to *Sicily*, *Sempronius* to that part of *Spain* between *Italy* and *Iberia*; and *Helvius* unto the other beyond the River.

When the Consuls were upon the point to call lots likewise for their provinces: namely, *Italy* and *Macedony*, *L. Oppius*, and *Q. Fulvius* Tribunes of the Commons, interposed themselves and staid them, alleging, That *Macedony* was a province lying far off, and there was no one thing that had more impeached and hindered the proceeding of wars to that day than this, That in fo remote parts, the Consul ever of the former year was called home before he were felled in his affairs, and when he should be employed most in wars. Now have there four years already gone over our heads, since we decreed and concluded to follow the Macedonian war; during which time, *Sulpicius* spent the greater part of his year in seeking after the King and his army; *Vilius*, when he should encounter the enemy, was called away before he had effected any exploit; as for *Quintius*, he was kept at *Rome* till for the most part of the year, in attendance about Church-matters and sacrifices: howbeit the affairs of wars under his conduct were managed so well, that it either he had gone sooner into his province, or the winter had been later, he might have dispatched the wars there: and now, that he is ready to retire into his landing camp and wintering harbors, the reports, that he hath brought the war to that good pass and forwardness, that unless he be not hindered by a new successor, in all likely-hood and appearance, he will make a final end thereof the next summer.

With these speeches they prevailed so much, that the Consuls for their part promised to be ordered and set down by the Senat in this behalf upon condition, that the Tribunes would be content to do the like. Now when of both sides, they had referred themselves to a free and absolute consultation, the LL. of the Senat assigned to both the Consuls the government of *Italy*, and continued the command of the army still with *T. Quintius*, until there came another to succeed him. Two legions were appointed for the Consul, with commission to war upon the Gauls between *Rome* and the *Alps* who had revolted from the people of *Rome*. And for *Quintius* ordained it was, that there should be sent into *Macedony* unto him, a new supply of 5000 foot, 300 horse, and 3000 sea-servitors and mariners. And likewise, that the same *L. Quintius Flaminius* should be Admiral of the navy, as before. For the Pretors who were to go into *Spain*, there was an allowance of 8000 footmen out of the allies of the Latin nation, and 400 horsemen, to that they dismissed the old soldiers out of *Spain*: and enjoined they were to limit and set out the bounds of their several provinces, whereas the higher *Spain* and the lower should part. And for *Macedony* there were two Lieutenants more for the army appointed, to wit, *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Vilius*, who had been Consuls both, and in that province.

Before that either Consuls or Pretors went out into their provinces, it was thought good to take order for the prodigious tokens which hapned. For at *Rome* the Temple of *Vulcanus* and *Saturnus* at *Fregella* the wall and a gate of the City, were stricken with lightning. At *Arifino* it appeared light (as it had been clear day) in the night season. At *Asclani* a Lamb was yeamed having two heads and five feet. Also at *Formia* two wolves entered into the Town, and worried somewhat where in their way. Last of all, at *Rome* there was a wolf, that not only came into the City, but went forward as far as to the Capitol.

C. Aclius a Tribune of the Commons proposed a law, that there should be five Colonies committed to the Sea side and there planted: two at the mouth of the Rivers *Vulturnus* and *Lenturnus*, ducted to the Sea side and there planted: two at the mouth of the Rivers *Vulturnus* and *Lenturnus*, one at *Puteoli*, another in the Burrough Town of *Salernum*, and to make the fifth *Interamna* was adjoined to the rest. Into every Colony order was taken, that there should be thirty households sent. The three Commissaries, called Triumvirs, for the conducting of these Colonies were created; namely, *M. Servilius Geminus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. These three had commission to continue in the charge of this office three years. And the matter, and all other matters accomplished, pertaining to God and man, that were by the Consuls to be performed, then they set forward both, into their provinces. *Consul* took his way directly against the Infubrians, who accompanied with the Cenomans, were entered at that time into arms: *Q. Minutius* in his journey bare on the left hand of *Italy* toward the nether sea; and conducting his army to *Genoa*, began with the Ligurians to make war. *Clasidium* and *Litium* towns both of the Ligurians, likewise two States of the same nation, the *Celatis* and the *Cerditis* the surrendered unto him: inasmuch as all the country on this side the *Po*, were in subjection to the Romans,

Six Pretors first created.

Prograde.
Pretor of the Commons.

jecting merely at *Phœneus*, who was troubled with a pair of bad eyes. And given he was by nature fit to be pleasantly conceited, yea, and fuller of his frumps, I wot than becomed the Majesty of a King: to as many times even in treaty of serious matters and of great consequence, he could not forbear but make himself merry and laugh a good while. "Afterwards he fell to a fit of choler and indignation, that the Ætolians should take upon them like Romans to command him out of Greece, who if they were put to it, were not able upon their knowledge to set down the bounds of Greece & limit how far it reached. Forasmuch as the Agrei, the Apodotes and Amphiphoi, which take up a great part of Ætolians are not within Greece. And what just cause (quoth he) of complaint have they in that I have not spared some of their allies? Why? even they themselves hold this old custom for a law, namely, to permit their youth to take arms and serve against their own allies. So they do it without the publick order and warrant from the State: and very often a man may see Ætolians in contrary armies, & come to aid as well the one side as the other. As for *Chius*, it was not I that forced it: I did no more but aid *Prusias* my friend and ally, in the siege and assault thereof. And as touching *Lysimachia*, I defended it against the Thracians: but forasmuch as of necessity I was called away from the guard thereof unto this war, the Thracians how hold it, I thus much by way of answer to the Ætolians. Now concerning *Attalus* and the Rhodians, by right I owe them nothing: for it was not I but they, that began the war. Howbeit, for the honor that I bear to the Romans, I will make restitution to the Rhodians of *Peraea*, and restore I will to *Attalus* the ships and the captives as many as are forth coming and may be found. As for the restitution and making good again of *Nicephorium* and the Temple of *Venus*, what answer should I return to them that demand it, but this, that I will endeavour and be at charge of planting new trees (which is the only way and means whereby groves and woods that are cut down and fallen, may be recovered again) seeing that ye will needs have it, that Kings (forsooth) must commune and reason to and fro about such matters as these. In the last place, he framed his speech to answer the Achæans: wherein, first he began with the benefits and pleasures that *Antigonus* had done unto that nation: then, of the favours and good turns they had received from his own self: and with all he commanded their decrees and edicts to be read, containing all kind of honors as well divine as human: adding moreover the late and fresh revolt of their army from him: and albeit he inveighed sharply against their disloyalty and treachery, yet he promised to render *Jyrgos* unto them. As for *Corinth*, he would confer and consult with the Roman Generals, and demand of him, whether he thought it reason, that he should depart from those cities which he won by arms, and held by right of conquest, or dispose himself of those also, which he received from his progenitors as his lawful inheritance? The Achæans and Ætolians addressed themselves to answer those points: but the sun was wellnigh down: whereupon the conference was adjourned unto the morrow. *Philip* retired to the harbor from whence he came, and the Romans with their allies to their camp. The day following, *Quintus* at the time appointed was ready before the City of *Nicea* (for that was thought a convenient place.) But *Philip* appeared not, nor for the space of certain hours came there any at all from him: not to much as a messenger. Now when they were out of all hope of his repair thither, behold of a sudden his ships were despatched. For himself he laid by way of excuse, that considering how hard, how grievous and intolerable indignities were imposed upon him, he had employed all that day time until then in consultation, and could not resolve. But it was generally thought among them all, that he had of purpose prolonged the time, and made it so late even toward evening, because the Achæans and Ætolians should have no leisure to answer unto him. And this opinion of theirs himself confirmed, in that he requested that he alone might parley with the Roman General himself, and that all others should go aside and abient themselves: to the end they two might spend and lose no more time in debate and wrangling, but go briefly to the point, and make an end one way or other. This petition of his would not at first be accepted by *Quintus*, pretending that he would not have it seen that the allies were excluded out of the conference. But afterwards upon his importunit suit, by the advice of them all the Roman General together with *Ap. Claudius* a Colonel, when the rest were voided away, advanced forward to the bank side: the King with the other two whom he had with him the day before came a land. There after they had parled in secret together a certain time, they parted. What *Philip* related unto his company is not certainly known: but *Quintus* made report unto his allies of their conference in this wise: namely, that *Philip* was content to quit the whole coast and tract of *Libyrum*, for the Romans to enter upon. Item, to send back all the traitorous renegats, and as many captives as were to be found. Item, to redeliver unto *Attalus* the ships and the mariners taken prisoners therein. Item, to render unto the Rhodians the country of *Peraea*: but in no wise to be diffided of *Iassus* and *Beryllæ*. Item, to deliver unto the Ætolians *Pharsalus* and *Lorissa*, but not *Thebes* in any case. Last of all, to part not only with *Argos*, but with *Corinth* also, for the behoof of the Achæans. There was not one of them all well pleased at this limitation and setting out of particular parts, which he would deliver, and which he would not. For in this reckoning & account they should be more losers than winners. For unless (say they) he remove his forces and garrisons out of all Greece throughout, he will never cease to give or take occasions of quarrel. As they all cried out from the whole assembly to this effect, their high voice was heard of *Philip*, albeit he stood aloof. Whereupon he requested *Quintus* to refer the whole matter once more unto the next day: and then certainly without fail, he would either persuade him and his allies and bring them

to his mind, or else would come off and suffer himself to be persuaded and over-ruled by them. The place of meeting was appointed upon the strand near *Thronium*: and thither they repaired on both parts betimes. There *Philip* first and foremost, behought both *Quintus* and all those that were present, not to disturb the hope of peace, but that it might come to some effect: and in conclusion, craved time wherein he might send his Embassadors unto the Senat of Rome: assuring them, that if he could not obtain peace under those articles above said, he would accept of any other conditions, which it should please the Senat to put upon him. All the rest milked hereof, supposing that he sought for nothing else but delays and tract of time, whiles he might gather his forces together. But *Quintus* inferred again, That well it might be and a truth indeed that they alleged, if it were summer time and a season fit for war and martial exploits: but now, considering winter was at hand, they could lose nothing by granting him respite to address an embassy. For neither (quod he) will any capitulation and composition which we should make with *Philip* stand good and firm without the approbation of the Senat: and in this one winter (when of necessity we must surcease from war) it may be known what the Senat by their authority will approve. To this advice the chief of the confederats accorded, and therein rested. So there was a cessation of arms for two moneths granted: in which mean time it was thought good, that each of them likewise should dispatch one Ambassador to advertise the Senat, to take heed they were not over-raught by the subtilty and fraud of the King. But provided it was in the covenant of the truce aforesaid, That incontinently the Kings garrisons should void the territories of *Phœtia* and *Læris*, *Quintus* also himself sent (together with the Embassadors of the allies) *Aminander* King of the Athamians: and to make the embassy more honourable, *Q. Fabius* (his own wives sisters son) *Q. Fulvius* and *P. Claudius* accompanied the King.

When they were arrived at Rome, the Embassadors of the allies had audience given them before those that were sent from King *Philip*. Most of their speeches were spent in railing against the King: but in this one point they most of all moved the Senat to give ear unto them, namely, when they described by demonstration (as in a map) the situation of those countries as well by Land as Sea, that all men might plainly see, that if the King might hold in his hands the City *Demetrias* in *Thessalia*, *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, and *Corinth* in *Achaia*; Greece could not possibly be at liberty, considering that *Philip* himself was wont to term them (no less truly than tauntingly) The shackles and fetters of Greece. After them were the Kings Embassadors permitted to enter into the Senat-house: and having begun to make a long Oration, their speech was cut off with this one brief and short interrogatory, Whether *Philip* would quit those three Cities aforesaid, or no? Whereupon they made this answer, That they had no express warrant in their commission touching that matter by name. So the Kings Embassadors were sent away without conclusion of any peace: and *Quintus* had full authority to determine of war or peace at his pleasure. Who seeing plainly by this, that the Senat was not weary of war, and being himself more desirous of victory than peace, he would never after grant *Philip* any more parlies, but gave him to understand, that he would admit no other embassy from him, but that which should bring him news of his departure quite out of Greece.

Philip seeing no other way now but that he must needs fight and trie the issue by a main battle, and that he was to gather his forces together from all parts: being perplexed most of all for the Cities of *Achaia* (a country far remote from him) and yet more careful in regard of *Argi* than *Corinth*; he thought it best policy to make it over (as it were upon trust) into the hands of *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, upon condition, That if he obtained the victory, *Nabis* should deliver it up unto him again; but if ought should come to him but well, then *Nabis* himself to have and hold it as his own. Unto *Philoetes*, Governor of *Corinth* and *Argi*, he dispatched his letters, That he should himself in person commune with the tyrant above named about it. *Philoetes*, besides that he came now with a present, added moreover of his own head (for the better assurance and pawn of amity between the tyrant and the King.) That *Philip* would give his daughters in marriage to *Nabis* his sons. The tyrant refused at the first to accept of that City, unless he were sent for, by a decree of the Argives themselves to come for to aid the City. But afterwards when he heard say, That in a frequent assembly there, they not only rejected him, but also detested and abhorred the very name of a tyrant, as an execrable abomination: supposing now that he had a good occasion and quarrel offered to make a spoil of them, he willed *Philoetes* to deliver the City unto him when he would. So the tyrant was received into the Town in the night season, without the privy and knowledge of any person: and by break of day he seized upon all the higher places. The gates were shut, and few of the principal heads in the beginning of the tumult made shift to escape. Those that were absent had their houses rancked and their goods pillied: as many as were present, had all their gold and silver taken from them; besides, great sums of money were imposed upon them to be paid. They that made speed and were not long about it, but tendered ready coin, were let go without any outrage or hurt done unto their bodies: but such as were suspected either to hide or keep ought back, were mangled and tortured like bondslaves. After this, he assembled the people together and published two Laws: the one, for crossing all debt-books and cancelling obligations: the other, for division of Lands among the people by the poll: two fire-brands to serve their turn that seek for change and alteration in a State: enough to set on fire the Commons against the Nobles and chief of a City.

When the City of *Argos* was thus brought in subjection under *Nabis*, the tyrant never remembering at whose hands, nor upon what condition he had received it, sent Embassadors to *Elainus* unto *Quintus*, likewise to *Attalus* winning them in *Argina*, certifying them, that *Argos* was in his hands and at his devotion; and if *Quintus* would repair thither to parle with him, he doubted not but they two should agree well enough in every point. *Quintus* granted to come thither, to the end, that by this means he might dismissh *Philip* of that garrison: and he sent likewise to *Attalus*, willing him, that he would depart from *Argos* and meet him at *Sicyone*: himself looked from *Anticyra*, and with ten Galeaces called *Quinquereces*: which (as hap was) *L. Quintus* his brother some dayes before had put to sea out of the winning harbor of *Corcyra*, crossed overso *Sicyone*. Now was *Attalus* there already, who making remembrance unto *Quintus*, that it became a tyrant to come unto a Roman General and not a Roman General to go unto a tyrant, induced *Quintus* to condescend unto his opinion, and not to enter the City of *Argos*. Not far from the City is a place called *Mycenæ*, where they agreed to meet and commune together. *Quintus* came to the place, accompanied with his brother and certain Colonels. *Attalus* was guarded with his Princely and Royal train. *Nesistratus* the Pretor of the Achæans repaired thither, attended with some few auxiliary souldiers: and there they found the tyrant expecting their coming with all his forces. And armed as he was with his guard likewise armed, he advanced himself into the midst (well neer) of the plain that lay between. *Quintus* unarmed, came forward with his brother and two Colonels. King *Attalus* likewise between the Pretor of the Achæans of the one hand, and a courour of his on the other, both unarmed. The tyrant began the speech with an exult. That being in arms and attended with a guard of armed men, he presented himself to a parle seeing the General of the Roman and King *Attalus* unarmed: and said that he stood not in fear of them, but of certain exiled perions of the Argives. After this, when they came to treat as touching the conditions and covenants for the contract of amany, *Quintus* the General demanded two things: the one, That *Nabis* would make an end of warring with *Elainus*: the other, That he would send with him certain aids against *Philip*. And verily to send succour hegranted: and in lieu of peace he was content they should be a truce, until the war with *Philip* was dispatched. Al o about *Argos* King *Attalus* began to enter into some question saying: That having the City treacherously betrayed unto him by *Philoetes*, he now held it by force of arms: but he answered again, That he was left for by the Argives themselves, for to protect them. Then the King required that the Argives might be assembled together, that he might know the truth. The tyrant made no denial thereto. The King replied again, that the assembly should be free, and at their liberty to speak, and to that effect the garrisons were to be removed out of the City, and no Lacedæmonians intermingled among them: to the end that the Argives might frankly speak their mind. But the tyrant flatly denied to withdraw from thence the guards. So this arguing came to no conclusion, and the conference brake up, after that the tyrant had given the Roman General 600 Cadours, and a truce made for the term of four moneths, between *Nesistratus* Pretor of the Achæans, and *Nabis* the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians. From thence *Quintus* departed to Corinth and approached the gate with a Regiment of Cretenians, that it might appear to *Philoetes* the Kings Captain there that the tyrant was revolted from *Philip*. *Philoetes* also entered into a parle with the Roman General, and when he was exhoried by him to depart out of hand and yield the City, he returned such an answer unto him, that he seemed rather to defer, than to deny the thing. From Corinth *Quintus* crossed the Sea to *Anticyra*, from whence he sent his brother to found the nation of the Acarnanians. And *Attalus* departed directly from *Argos* to *Sicyone*. Where the City not only increased the ancient honours of the King, with the addition of new: but also the King over and besides that he had purchased for them in time past the sacred land of *Apollo*, with a great sum of money, because he would not seem now also to pish by this friend City allied unto him, without some royal bounty and munificence, he gave freely unto them six talents of silver, and 1000 Meddins of corn: and so returned to his ships at *Cenchrea*. *Nabis* also having strengthened the garrison in *Argi*, returned to *Lacedæmon*: and alter himself had robbed the men of their money and goods, he sent his wife thither to do the like by the women. Who sending for the honourable and worshipful dames of the City, inviting them one by one to her house, and otherwiles many together at once, such as were of kin one to another, by flattering and by threatening ga from them not only all the gold that they had, but in the end strip off their apparel also, and all the jewels and ornaments that they wore.

The three and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and thirtieth Book.

Titus Quintus Flamininus the Pro-consul ended the war with Philip, after he had vanquished him in a pugil field neer Cynoecephalus in Thessalie. L. Quintus Flamininus, brother to the said Pro-consul,

A consoling, having forced Leucas the head City of Acarnania, received the Acarnanians upon their submission and surrender. C. Sempronius Tuditanus the Pretor was slain, and his army defeated by the Celtiberians. Attalus being fallen suddenly sick, was removed from Thebes to Pergamus, and there departed this life. Peace was granted to Philip upon his suit, and liberty restored to Greece. L. Furius and C. Claudius Marcellus, the two Consuls, subdued the Boians and Insubrians in Gaul, Marcellus triumphed. Annibal having practised in Attirick to raise war, but to no effect, was thereupon accused unto the Romans, by letters sent from the principal of the aduerser faction: but for fear of the Romans, who had dispatched their Embassadors to the Carthaginian Senat about him, he fled unto Antiochus King of Syria, who also prepared then to make war upon the Romans.

B

The beginning is not extant in the Latine.

adjoining in those quarters to *Acarnania*. There was a straight pass or gullet there, half a mile almost in length, but not half a mile in breadth: at the end of this straight standeth the City *Leucas* planted against an hill that turneth to the East, and looketh toward *Acarnania*. The bafe Town is built upon a plain reaching along the sea that divideth *Leucas* from *Acarnania*. Whereupon the City, as well on the land side, as by sea, is easie to be forced. For the floods of the water resemble a standing lake rather than a Sea, and the whole soil is a light earth, minable and easie to be wrought into, so that in many places at once the walls either undermined or shaken with the ram, came tumbling down. But as the Town it self was affailable, so the hearts of the Townsmen were invincible. For night and day they gave not over, to repair the cracks of the shaken wall, to fill up the open breaches and ruins to make head lustily, and skirmish with the enemy, and rather to defend the walls by force of arms, than to save themselves by strength of their walls. And surely a longer siege they would have made of it than the Romans hoped but that certain banished perions, Italian born dwelling in *Leucas* let in and received armed souldiers on the Cattle side. Howbeit, the Leucadians embattelling themselves in their market place, encountered them as they ran down from the higher ground with a great cry and noise, and maintained battel with them for a long time. In this mean while, the walls in divers places were scaled with ladders, and the enemies mounting over the heaps of stones that lay at the breaches, entered the Town. And now by this time the Lieutenant in perion, with many companies environed them as they fought: some slain in the midst, others flung away their weapons, and yielded to the conquerour. After few dayes, upon the news of the field fought at *Cynoecephala*, all the States of *Acarnania* came in, and submitted themselves to the Lieutenant.

At the same time, whilst fortune turned thus about, and bare down a side all at once, the Rhodians also sent out *Panphystratus* their Pretor, with 800 footmen of *Achaia* & about 1900 souldiers well armed, gathered out of all sorts of auxiliaries, to regain and reconquer from *Philip* the country of *Peraa*, lying in the main and firm land, which had been held sometime, and possessed by their ancestors. And these aids were compounded and mixed of French, Numers, Pincters, Tanians, and Arcans of *Africa*, and Laodiceans of *Asia*. With these forces *Panphystratus* encamped in the territory of *Syratonia*, and there he seized of a commodious place, and very good for his purpose, unawares to the Kings company that had holden the same. Thither came also to aid them in very good time, a Regiment of a 1000 foot and a 100 horse of Achæans, levied for that purpose, and were commanded by *Theoxenus*. *Dimerates* a Captain under the King, willing to recover the laid hold again, first pitched his tents, hard against the enemies camp. But afterwards he removed to another fort in the territory likewise of *Syratonia*, which they call *Abragion*: and having rallied together all the garrisons dispersed asunder in divers places, and sent for the auxiliary bands also of Thessalians, even from *Syratonia*, he took his way and marched toward *Alauda*, where the enemies were. The Rhodians likewise for their part were ready for battel, and after they were encamped of both sides neer together, immediately they entered into the field to fight it out. *Dimerates* placed in the right point 500 Macedonians, and the Agrians he put in the left, in the main battel he belowed all those that he had gathered together out of the garrisons belonging to the forts above said, who for the most part were Carians, the points he flanked round about with his cornets of Horse. The Rhodian cohort was marshalled in this manner: The auxiliaries of the Candioters and Thracians kept the right point, the hired souldiers (and they were a power of elect footmen) stood in the left, in the midst were the aids (a mixture of many nations:) the Cavalry and all the light armed souldiers that were, compassed the corners like wings. All that day the two armies stood only upon the bank of a brook which ran between them with a small and shallow water: and after some looe shot discharged, they retired into their tents. The next day they were ranged in like order, and struck a battail exceeding the proportion of their number: for on each side there were not above three thousand foot, and upon a hundred horse: but they were even matched not in number only and armour, but also in equal courage and hope alike. The Achæan first passed over the said brook, and charged upon the Agrians: afterwards the whole army ran as one would say, over the River. The fight continued long doubtful. The Achæan being of themselves in number a thousand, disordered some four hundred of the other, and forced them to retreat: and afterwards the entire right point of the battail began to shrink and give ground. As for the Macedonians, so long as their battail called *Phalanx* kept their array and stood close together, could not possibly be stirred or removed: but after their left side was laid naked, and they

began to reach out on all hands their long pikes against the enemy, charging them across upon the flanks, they were presently troubled: and first they put themselves in disorder, afterwards they turned their backs, and last of all flung their weapons from them, and ran away for life, until they were come to *Bargilia*. Thither also was *Dinocrates* fled. The Rhodians having followed the chase as long as they had any day to see, retired into their camp. And for certain it is known, in this train of victory they had presently made speed to *Stratonicea*, they might have been masters of the Town, and never drawn sword for it: but while they spent time in recovering the burrough Towns and forts of *Peraa*, they let this opportunity slip out of their hands, and lost it for ever. For in the mean space, they that lay in garrison and held *Stratonicea*, were encouraged, and took better heart. *Dinocrates* also anon with those forces of his that remained, put himself within the walls. Then was the Tower besieged and assailed, all in vain, neither could it be forced and won but by *Antiochus*, a certain time after. Thus went the affairs in *Thessalie*, in *Achaia*, and in *Asia*, much about one and the self-same time.

Philip being advertised that the *Dardanians* were entred within the confines of his realm, and waited the high country of *Macedony*, albeit he saw that almost in all parts of the world unhappy fortune still followed and coursed both him and his wherefore they were: yet esteeming it more grievous and heavy than death it self to be deified of the possession of *Macedony* also, he made a levy in great hast out of all his cities of fix thousand foot, and 500 horse: with which power of Macedonians, he suddenly surprized the enemy (unprovided and not aware of his coming) about *Stobi* in *Pelagonia*. Great numbers of men were slain in conflict, but more in the fields, such as were disbanded, and ranged abroad for greediness of booty and pillage. But as many as could make means to flee more readily and easily away, never stood out the trial of a battail, but returned home into their own country. Having thus put life as it were again into his men by this one expedition and exploit (a matter of no consequence to the total adventure of his whole estate) he retired himself to *Thessalonica*.

The Punick war was not achieved and brought to an end so happily and in so good a time for the Romans (who otherwise should have warred at once both against the *Carthaginians* and *Philip*) but it fell out as well and in as fit a season, that *Philip* was now vanquished: just against the time that *Antiochus* in *Syria* prepared to levy war against them. For besides that the service was much more easily managed against them single and apart, than it would have been if they had been banded both at once, and brought their forces together, it chanced also that *Spain* about the very same instant brake out to a tumultuous insurrection.

Antiochus being returned to *Antioch* there to winter, after he had the summer before brought under his subjection all the Cities belonging to *Ptolemæus*, within the country of *Cæle-Syria*, was yet never the more at quiet, and mindful of peace afterwards. For when he had assembled a puissant power both of Land and also of Sea-forces, and purposed to employ the whole strength of his realm, he sent afore by Land in the beginning of the spring, his two sons *Arduus* and *Mithridates* with a mighty army, commanding them to attend him at *Sardis*: himself in person set forth a Voyage by Sea, with a fleet of a hundred sail of covert ships with decks and hatches, besides two hundred lighter Vessels, as Gallions and Brigantines, purposing at one time to assail all the Cities in *Cilicia* and *Caria*, coasting along the Sea side, which were within the Dominion of *Ptolemæus*: and withal to aid *Philip* as well with shipping as soldiers, for as yet *Philip* was not utterly subdued, nor the war with him brought to a final end. Many brave and worthy exploits enterprised the Rhodians both by Sea and Land, in their loyalty and faithfulness to the Romans, and for the safeguard and defence of all the Greekish Nation. But no one thing shewed their magnificence more than this, that being nothing terrified at that time with such a World of wars threatened against them, they sent Embassadors to the King, to let him understand, that if he sailed forward and layed not his Armado, they would encounter him at the Bay of *Nephelæ* (which is a promontory or Cape of *Cilicia*, renowned for the ancient league of the Athenians.) And this they did, not upon any hatred they bare to his person, but to impeach him only for coming to join with *Philip*, thereby to hinder the Romans in their good course of setting *Greece* at liberty. N At the same time *Antiochus* was busied in the siege and assault of *Coraceum*, against which he had placed all ordnance and engines of battery: for he was already master of the Cities of *Zephyrinus*, *Soli*, *Aphrodisias* and *Corycus*, and having doubled the point of *Anemurium* (a Cape or forland all of *Cilicia*) he had won likewise the City of *Selinus*. All these, and many other forts of that coast being yielded unto him by composition, either for fear or willingly, without any assault, only *Coraceum* shut their gates against him, and staid his progress beyond his expectation. There the Embassadors of the Rhodians had audience. And albeit that embassy was such as might have set a King into a fit of choler and chased his blood, yet he tempered his anger, and made answer that he would send his Embassadors to *Rhodes*, and give them in charge to renew the ancient rights and privileges as well of his own as of his ancestors with that City and State, and to will them not to stand in fear of the Kings coming, for that neither they nor any allies of theirs should sustain harm or damage by him. For it was no part of his meaning to infringe and break the amity which he had with the Romans, as it may appear as well by his late embassy sent unto them, as also by the honorable decrees and answers made by the Senat and fere unto him. For it fortune that even then the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* were returned from *Rome*, having had a friendly audience there, and a gracious dispatch, according as the time re-

* otherwise called *Tripletus*, of three cities therein.

* *B. & C.* of *Bo-caliber*.

* *Turcomania* and *Fimicia*.

* *Scandellus*, *S. Theodorus*, *Coccy*, or *Charachis*, *Stalennus*, *Afennus*.

A quired: for as yet the issue of the war against *Philip* was uncertain. While the Kings Embassadors delivered these points in the assembly of the Rhodians, there arrived a post with news, that the war was ended by means of a victory achieved by the Romans against *Philip* at *Cynosephalus*. These tidings being once heard, the Rhodians past all fear now of *Philip* were of advice to meet *Antiochus* at sea with their navy. For they had a second care besides which they neglected not, to maintain the liberty of those allied Cities pertaining to King *Ptolemæus*, against which war was menaced from *Antiochus*. Some they succoured with sending aid unto them, and others by force-call and giving them warning of the depredations and enterprizes of their enemies: whereby they were a caule, that the *Cannus*, *Myndis*, they of *Helicarnassus* and *Samos* enjoyed still their chuse freedom. But needless it is for me, to prosecute all the occurrences and affairs that passed in these parts, considering how I shall have enough to do, and hardly be able to set down and go through with those that properly concern the Roman war. At the same time also King *Antiochus* was brought sick from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, and there departed this world in the seven-and-twentieth year of his age, when he had reigned forty four. This man was behoven to fortune for nothing else but riches, that might commend him to the hope of a kingdom. He employed the same with such wisdom and magnificence, that first in his own conceit, and afterwards in the judgement of others, he was not thought unworthy to be a King. Afterwards when he had vanquished in one battell the Gauls (a nation at that time newly arrived in *Asia*, and therefore the more dread and terrible) he took upon him to be styled King, and ever after carried a mind answerable to the grandeur and Majesty of that name. His own subjects he governed with singular justice. To his allies he shewed himself most fair and faithful. His friends he used with all kindness and bounty. A wife and four children he had living when himself died: and left his kingdom secure and well settled, that the possession thereof continued firm to the third descent and generation after him.

The common opinion of King *Antiochus*.

While things stood thus in *Asia Greece*, and *Macedony*, and the war with *Philip* scarcely ended, or at leastwise peace not fully concluded, there arose a mighty war in the Province of *Spain* beyond the river *Iberus*. *M. Helvius* at that time was governor there, who by his letters advertised the Senat, That *Colas* and *Luscinus*, two Princes in those parts, were gone out, and had taken arms; that with *Colas* there banded seventeen towns, and with *Luscinus* the strong and puissant Cities *Cardo* and *Barido*: that the whole sea coast, which hitherto by open revolt shewed not their rebellious heart, would doubtless upon the commotion of those their neighbours, make likewise an insurrection together with them. After these letters were read by *M. Sergius* the Praetor, who had the jurisdiction between Citizens and aliens, the LL. of the Senat ordained, that after the election of new Praetors was past, he to whole lot the government of *Spain* fell, should propole unto the Senat in all convenient speed as touching the war in *Spain*.

About that very time the Consuls repaired to *Rome* (from their Provinces) who held an assembly of the Senat in the Temple of *Bellona*: and when they demanded triumph in consideration of their good service, and happy exploits in war achieved: *C. Atinius Labes* and *C. Manlius*, Tribunes of the Commons required. That the Consuls should speak severally by themselves concerning triumph: for suffer them they would not jointly to propound that thing in the house, to the end, that equal and semblable honour should not be conferred upon persons of unlike quality, worth, and desert. And when *Manlius* interred again and said, That the Province of *Italy* tell unto them both in one commission, and *Cornelius* seconded him withal; averring, That he and his companion in government had managed all their affairs with one mind by common council and advice; that the Romans who passed over the river *Po* against him for to succour the *Insubrians*, and *Cænones*, were forced to turn back again to defend their own, by reason that the other Consul his Colleague made such waste and pillage in their fields and villages. The Tribunes confessed that *Cornelius* indeed had achieved to worthy exploits in war, that there was no more doubt to be made of his triumph, than of rendering praise and thanks to the immortal Gods: but neither he nor any other Citizen stood ever at any time in such grace, favour, and credit, that having obtained the honour of a triumph for himself, he should impart that glory unto his Colleague and fellow, if he were so shameless as to crave it. As for *C. Manlius* (say they) he made some slight skirmishes with the *Ligurians* not worth the talking of: many in *France* he lost a good number of his soldiers. And with that they named *T. Juventius* and *Cneius* the brother of *Labes*, two Colonels of Tribunes of the camp, who were slain in an unfortunate battel, with many a brave and hardy man besides, as well Citizens as allies. And to conclude, there were some few towns and villages colourably yielded and rendered up for the time, without any assurance and security. These janglings and debates between the Consuls and the Tribunes continued for two daies: but in the end, the Consuls being overcome with the importunity of the Tribunes, were content to propole the matter discreetly by themselves. And with the general voice and accord of all, a triumph was decreed for *C. Cornelius*. The *Placentians* also and men of *Cremona*, were a great caule that this Consul found more favour by reason that they gave thanks, and reported on his behalf, that they were delivered by his good means from the siege, yea, and most of them recovered from servitude out of the hands of their enemies. *Q. Minucius* having only cast a proffer and made an assay of proposing his caule to the Senat, seeing them wholly banded and set against him, said aloud, That in maintenance of Consular authority, and by vertue of

* In token
that they were
by him freed
from captivity.

that place, yea, and according to the good examples of divers noble and renowned personages, he would triumph and aske them no leave, in the mount *Alban*. But *Cn. Cornelius* while he was in office, triumphed over the *Inlubiars* and *Cenonians*. He carried in pomp before him a num^r of military enigms: he cauled great store of French spoil and pillage to pass in a pageant upon chariots taken from the enemies. Many Noblemen of *France* were led in a shew before his own triumphant chariot: among whom (as some write) was *Amilcar* Generall of the *Carthaginians*. But above all others, the goodliest sight was, a number of Coloners and inhabitants of *Cremna* and *Placentia*, who with "bonnets or caps of liberty on their heads followed his chariot. He bare in triumph 237500 *Sesterties*. 7900 *Bigats* of silver coin. He divided among his horsemen severally *Asses* apiece, to every horseman he gave double, and to each Centurion trebble to much. *Q. Minutius* likewise triumphed in mount *Alban* over the *Lugurians* and the *Boians* in *Gaul*. The honour of this triumph as it was less in regard of the place, and of the name that went of his doings, as also because all men knew full well, that the charges went not out of the common Chest or Chamber of the City: so for number of ensigns, of chariots and spoils gained from the enemies, it was in manner equall and comparable to the other. And of money he brought well near as much as *Cornelius*: for of brasse coin he had in shew 254000 *Asses*, of silver coin in *Bigat* peeces 53200. To common souldiers of footmen, to Centurions and horsemen, he gave as much as his Colleague. After this triumph there was a generall assembly held for the election of *Magistrats*: wherein were created *Consuls*, *L. Furius Purpurio*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. The next day after these *Prætors* were choien, *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *T. Sempronius Longus*, *Q. Minutius Thermus*, *M. Acilius Glabrio*, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *C. Lelius*.

In the end of that former year, letters came from *T. Quintius* with this intelligence, That he had fought in battell ranged with King *Philip* within *Thessaly*, where the army of the enemies was defeated and put to rout. These letters were first read in the Senat by *Sergius* the *Prætor*, and then by order from the LL. in the publick assembly of the people. For this happy luckie, it was ordained, That there should be solemn processions for five daies. Shortly after there arrived *Embassadors* both from *T. Quintius*, and also from the King. The *Macedonian* *Embassadors* were brought without the City to the place of hamlet called *Villa publica*, where they were appointed their lodging: rich presents were given them, and allowed they were the charges for themselves and their train. In the Temple of *Bellona* the Senat was assembled, where there passed not many words by reason that the *Macedonians* promised, That the King should perform whatsoe^r the LL. Senat would set down. So (according to the ancient custome and manner) there were appointed ten *Committees* or *Delegates*, by whose advice and counsel *T. Quintius* the Generall, was to present and tender unto *Philip*, articles and conditions of peace: provided, that in the said number of *Delegates*, *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Valerius* should be compyled by name; who when they were *Consuls* governed the Province of *Macedony*. The same day, the *Collians* demanded and made lib^t, That the number of their Coloners or inhabitants might be augmented: whereupon an order was granted, That there should be a thousand new enrolled to the former: with this proviso, that in this number none of them should be matriculated, who alter the *Consulship* of *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius* had been enemies to the people of *Rome*. The *Roman* games and plaies were that year exhibited as well in the *Circus* as upon the stage in the Theatre, by the *Ædiles* *Curule* *L. Corneli*, *Scipio* and *Cn. Manlius Volsus*: which, as they were set out with more state and magnificence than ever before, so they were beheld with more joy, contentment and pleasure, in regard that all things fell out so fortunately in the wars: and they were renewed and represented all three over, for the plaies called *Plebeian*, they were set forth no less than seven times one after another. *Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Lelius* exhibited thole patimies: who also of their silver that arose of fines and forfeitures, caused three cast images of brasse to be made, and erected them to the honour of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*.

Now when *L. Furius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were entered into their Magistracy, and after question made concerning their Provinces, the Senat passed a decree, That both of them joyntly should govern *Italy*: they requested that they might cast lots for *Macedony* and *Italy* together. *N. Marcellus* more desirous of the twain of the Province of *Macedony*, alleged, that the peace was not found, but counterfeited, pretended, and deceitfull; and that the King would take arms and war again, in case the army were withdrawn from thence: by which words he put the LL. of the Senat into a deep study and suspense, what to do, or to think of it. And haply the *Consuls* had obtained their request, but that *Q. Marcius Rex*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*, two *Tribunes* of the *Commons*, protested, that they would oppose themselves and cross it by their negative voice, unless they might first propose unto the people to know, Whether their will and pleasure was to entertain peace with King *Philip*, or no? This bill being preferred and read in the Capitoll before the people, was granted, and all the tribes or wards, even five and thirty, every one gave their affirmative voice, *His rogatus* i.e. So be it as ye demanded. And to the end, that all men might have more cause to rejoice that peace was confirmed with *Macedony*, there came heavy news out of *Spain*, and letters were divulged abroad, containing thus much, That *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* the *Vice-Prætor* in the hither Province of *Spain*, was vanquished in battell, that his army was discomfited and put to flight, and divers men of name and mark slain. That *Tuditanus* himself was carried forth of the conflict grievously wounded, and soon after died. The Province of *Italy* was assigned for both the *Consuls* with thole two legions which the former *Consuls* had in charge, and order

An order granted, that they should levy and enroll four new legions, whereof two should be sent whither it pleased the Senat to appoint, and *T. Quintius Flamininus* was commanded to rule his Province still with the same army, and his *Commitment* of longer government was renewed. After this the *Prætors* cast lots for the parting of their Provinces. *L. Apustius Fullo* obtained the jurisdiction of the Citizens of *Rome*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio* was *L. Chief Justice* between Citizens and forrainers. *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of the baile or farther *Spain*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus* of the higher or hither *Spain*. To *C. Lelius* fell *Sicily*, and *Sardinia* to *T. Sempronius Longus*. And ordained it was, that unto *Q. Fabius Buteo*, and *Q. Minutius*, to whom the rule of the Provinces in *Spain* befell, the *Consuls* should out of thole four legions which they had enrolled, deliver one legion apiece, which they thought good and of allies and of the *Latine* nation, four thousand footmen besides, and three hundred horsemen to either of them. And these *Prætors* were enjoyned to go to their charges with all speed possible.

The war in *Spain* began afresh, in the fifth after that the former together with the *Phinick* war was ended. But before that these *Prætors* went forth to this war (which may be counted as it were new, in regard that the *Spaniards* now first, and never before, warred in their own proper name, without either leader or army of *Carthage*) and before that the *Consuls* themselves departed out of the City, order was given, that according to the old custome they should provide for the prodigious tokens that were reported, *L. Julius* as he rode on horseback into the *Sabins* country, was both himself and his horse under him thricken dead with lightning. The temple of *Feronia* in the territory of *Capena*, was likewise smitten and blasted from heaven. At the Temple of *C. Moneta*, the Iron heads of two Ipears were sent to burn on a light fire. A Wolf sprung to enter into the City at the gate *Esgulina* and ran through the most populous part thereof as far as into the market place, and so forward to the *Tulcan* street, and from thence through the *Melium*, and passed forth again at the gate *Capena* untouched, and in manner without taking any harm.

These prodigious signs were purged by the sacrifices of greater beasts. At the same time *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, who had governed the Province of high *Spain* before *Tuditanus*, entered the City by order from the Senat in a kind of triumph, and carried before him in pomp 1515 pound weight of gold: of silver likewise in bullion 20000 pound weight: and in coin 34550 deniers. *L. Sertorius* from the nether *Spain*, brought into the treasury 50000 pound weight of silver, and never pretended any hope that he had to obtain a triumph. Moreover, of the prizes and spoiles won from the enemies, he cauled two arches to be erected in the beast market, even before the Temple of *Fortuna* and the goddess *Minerva*: and one besides in the grand *Circus* or shew-place. And upon these arches he set up gilded Statues. These were all the affairs, to speak of, that passed this winter-season.

There wintered at that time in *Athens* *Quintius*. And among many other suiters that came unto him with their petitions, the *Boeotians* exhibited a request, and obtained the same, to wit, that as many of their nation as had served in the wars under *Philip*, might be restored and sent home again unto them: which was easily granted by *Quintius*, not so much, for that he thought them worthy of that labour, but because he was to win the love and affections of the States in *Greece* unto the *Roman* name, now especially that he had some doubt of King *Antiochus*. They were not delivered so soon, but seen it was, how little the *Boeotians* would be beholding to him for they had been delivered by him, and not by *Quintius* and the *Romans*. And in their next assembly generally for their solemn election, they chose one *Barcellus* for their *Boeotarches*, or Lord-governour of *Boeotia*: for no other reason, but because he had been the Colonell of thole *Boeotians* that bare arms for the King: but they passed by *Zenippus*, *Pisistratus*, and others, that had persuaded to make a league with the *Romans*. This wrought discontentment in these persons for the present, and fear for the time to come. For thus they reasoned with themselves, if they would do this while the *Roman* army lay encamped near to their gates, what should become of them when the *Romans* were departed into *Italy*, and whiles *Philip* was so near at hand to assist those that sided with him, and to annoy those of the adverse part and faction? Therefore they conspired and concluded in the end to make away *Barcellus*, the head of the Kings bend, whiles the *Roman* forces were at hand. And so chusing a convenient and fit opportunity for their purpose, at what time as he returned homeward drunk from a publick solemn feast, accompanied with certain pleasant and effeminate persons, who to make sport and mirth had been at that great feast: he was tormented and beset with six armed men, whereof three were *Italians*, and three *Ætolians*, and he was murdered: His train that attended him ran away, and raised hue and cry, and called for help. Much trouble and hurly-burly there was throughout the City, much running to and fro with torch-light. But they that did the deed were escaped out at the next gate. In the morning betimes the people in great number assembled in the Theatre, being called together by the voice of the common Beldie, as if the murderers had been detected. Openly it was in every mans mouth, that he was killed by his own retinue, even thole filthy wanton persons that he had about him: but secretly in their minds they deemed *Zenippus* the author of the murder. For the present it was thought good to apprehend them that were in his train, and that they should be examined. Whiles search was made for them, *Zenippus* came forth into the assembly, with the like intent to avert all insinuation of crime from himself, saying, that men were much deceived to think that so horrible and strange a murder was committed by such weaklings & persons as they were.

made silence, he pronounced with a loud voice in this manner: "Be it known unto all men, that the Senate of Rome, and T. Quintus the General of their army, having vanquished King Philip and the Macedonians, do ordain, that the Corinthians, the Phocians, and the Locrenians, be all free, and delivered from all taxes whatsoever, and to live according to their own laws, Item, That the Ile Eubœa, the Magnesiens, the Thessalians, Perthebians, Acheans, and Phthioti do enjoy the like freedom and immunity. And consequently he rehearsed all the nations which had been in subjection to Philip. Upon this proclamation of the beadle there was such joy, that men were not able to conceive and comprehend it. Every man could hardly believe that he had heard the thing which he so wished and desired afore to hear: one looked upon another wondering at the matter, as if it had been a vain vision or illusion of some dream; and well they trusted not their own ears in hearing that which particularly concerned every one, but enquired of them that stood next unto them. The Crier was called back again: such a desire had each one not only to hear the glad tidings, but also to behold the happy messenger of this their liberty: and no remedy there was, but once again he must publish and pronounce the same. Now when their joy was once confirmed, they set up such a shout, and followed it so with clapping of hands, redoubling the same so often, as evidently it appeared, how there is no earthly good in the world more pleasing and welcome unto a multitude than is liberty. After this, the games were performed in such haste, that neither the mind of any man was bent to intend, nor the eye busied to behold the sight thereof, so wholly had that one joy possessed them and forestalled the sense of all other pleasures and delights. But when the pastimes were once ended, they all in manner ran apace to the Roman General, insuch sort, that his person was in some danger of the multitude, crowding so hard upon him alone, for desire they had to come unto him, to touch his right hand, and to cast garlands of flowers and labels of sundry colours upon him: but being a man full upon three and thirty years of age, both the vigour of youth, and also the joy that he took for the accomplishment of so glorious an act, afforded him strength enough to abide the press of the people. This gladness of all men shewed it self not only for the present, but continued also for many daies space, entertained not only in thankful minds, but expressed also in joyful discourses: namely, "That there was one nation yet in the world, which at their proper cost and charges, with their own pain and peril made war for the freedom of others: who afforded this favour and pleasure not to the neighbours and borderers only, or to those that were joynt near to them in the continent and firm land, but patrolled over the seas: to the end, that throughout the whole world there should be no unjust and tyrannical government, but in all places, right, reason, and law, might prevail most and carry greater sway. Lo, how by the only voice of one Beadle all the Cities of Greece and Asia are set free. To conceive and enterprize to great a thing proceedeth from a brave mind and noble heart: but to effect the same is a singular virtue and rare singularity.

This done, Quintus and the ten Delegates gave audience to the embassages of divers Kings and Princes, Nations and States. And first of all others were the Embassadors of King Antiochus called in: who used the same speech in manner that they had at Rome, vinting great words without any ground and substance of credit. But answer was returned unto them, not covertly by way of circumstance as aforetime (when Philip was on foot and things stood doubtful) but openly in plain terms. *Imprimis*, That Antiochus must quit and abandon all the Cities of Asia, which belonged at any time either to King Philip or King Ptolemeus, Item, That he meddle not with any free City or State, and especially with those of Greece: but above all, warned he was and forbidden, either to pass over himself, or to send any forces into Europe. After the Kings Embassadors were licensed to depart, all the nations and states had a general session and meeting together, which was the sooner dispatched, for that in the decrees of the ten Delegates all the Cities and States were pronounced by name. Unto the Orestians (a people in Macedonia) for that they revolted first from the King, their own lands and privileges were restored. The Magnesiens, the Perthebians and Dolopians were likewise declared free. Unto the people of Thessaly over and above the grant of their liberty, the Phthiotian Acheans were annexed, excepting the City of Thebes in Phthia and Pharsalus. As for the Ætolians who required, that according to covenant Pharsalus and Lencus should be rendered unto them, they were put over unto the Senat. But they awarded them the Phocenes and Locrenes, with other appurtenances adjoynt before by virtue of the decree. Corinth, Triphylia, and Hæra (which also is a City of Peloponnesus) were rendered unto the Acheans. Moreover, these ten Delegates gave Orontum and Eræria unto Eumenes the son of Attalus, but by reason that Quintus would not agree thereto, the matter was referred over to the Senat, to be decided: and the Senat granted freedom unto these Cities, together with Caristum. Unto Pleuratus were freely given Lingur and Parthenius, which were two nations in Illyricum, and had been both subject to Philip. It was ordained also, that Aminander should hold those Castles still, which during the wars he had won from Philip. When the assembly was dissolved, the ten Delegates having divided between themselves their several charges, departed every man to see for the Cities of their particular regions and quarters, P. Lentulus to Baryllæ, L. Stertinius to Hephæstra, Thasus, and other Cities of Thracia: P. Villius and L. Terentius toward King Antiochus; and G. Cornelius toward Philip. Unto whom after Cornelius had declared his Commission concerning some smaller matters, and withal demanded of him, Whether he could with patience abide to hear counsel not only profitable unto himself, but also necessary? The King made answer again and said, That he would not only give him the hearing, but also yield him thanks besides.

As in case he would deliver ought unto him for his good. Whereupon he perswaded him earnestly, that so much as he had obtained peace already, he should send his Embassadors to Rome to crave league and amity: to the end, that if Antiochus began to stir, he might not be thought to have attended and waited for some occasions and opportunities to make war. [This conference and communication with Philip was at Tempe in Thessaly.] And when he answered, That he would immediately dispatch his Embassadors, Cornelius came to Thermopye, where a solemn Diet and assembly of all Greece is wont to be held upon certain fest daies, and thither resort great numbers of people. Which meeting is called Pyliæum: where he advised the Ætolians especially to persevere constant and faithfull in the amity of the people of Rome. Some of the principal Ætolians seemed to complain between whites, that the Romans were not so well affected to their nation after victory, as they were in time of the war: but others, more sharply blamed and reproached them, and upbraided them with this, That Philip could not have been vanquished, no, nor the Romans ever able so much as to pass over into Greece, without the help of the Ætolians. Cornelius forbore to make answer again to those points, for fear of farther wrangling and altercation; and promised, that if they sent to Rome they should obtain any thing that was reason. Whereupon by his advice and approbation there were deputed Embassadors. This was the issue and end of the war with Philip.

Whiles these affairs thus passed in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, all Tuscan manner was gone out and risen up in arms by occasion of a conspiracy of bondslaves. For to enquire into these troubles and to repress the same, there was sent M. Achilius Prætor (who had the civil jurisdiction between Citizens and aliens) with one of the two legions of Roman Citizens. Some of them, who were already assembled together and grown to an head, he overcame in fight: of whom many were slain, and many taken prisoners. Others he scourged and round trussed up, hanging them on gibbets, even as many as were the principall and chief of the conspiracy: and others there were whom he sent home again to their Masters.

Now the Consuls were gone into their Provinces. Marcellus so soon as he was entered into the marches of the Boii, and had over-wearied his souldiers with marching all day long, fare him down upon a certain rising of a hilly, and there as he was encamping himself and his men, Corollanus a Prince or great Lord of the Boii, with a mighty power assailed and charged him, and slew upon three thousand of his men. In which sudden and tumultuary skirmish, certain brave men of mark were slain; among whom were T. Sempronius Gracchus, and M. Junius Syllanus two Colonels of the allies: also A. Ogulnus and P. Claudius two Knight Marshals or Tribunes of the second legion. Howbeit the Romans strongly fortified their tents and defended them valiantly, which the enemies upon their fortunate victory had long assailed to no effect. And in the same standing camp he continued certain daies, whiles he cured his souldiers of their wounds, and recovered their hearts after so great a fright. The Boii (as they are a nation that of all things cannot endure any tedious delay of time) dispersed themselves into their towns and forts. Then Marcellus presently crossed the Po, and led his army into the territory of Comum, where the Insubrians lay encamped after they had solicited and cauled those of Comum to take arms. The legions made no more ado, but gave them battell in the very way: and at the first encounter the enemies charged them so hotly that they forced the forefront of the battell to give ground. Which when Marcellus perceived, fearing lest being once discovered they should be replenished and discomfited, he made a cohort of Marians to make head; and at once set forth all the troops of the Latine Cavalry against them. Their first and second charge both, mightily impeached and quailed the enemy, advancing forward lustily and pressing upon them in great fury: whereby the rest of the Roman army taking heart again and being encouraged, at the first received them manfully and made resistance only, but afterwards followed fiercely upon them: in such manner as the Gauls were able no longer to abide their violence, but turned their backs, took them to their heels, and ran away by heaps. Valerius Antius writeth, that in this battell there were forty thousand men slain and above five hundred and seven military ensignes taken, with 432 chariots: besides many chains of gold, whereof Claudius presented one (very massive above the rest and of great weight) unto Jupiter, which was hung up within the Temple in the Capitoll, as he writeth. The same day was the Camp of the Gauls forced and ransacked, and the town of Comum also within few daies taken by assault. Upon this there were eight and twenty boroughs or forts that fell away and revolted to the Consul. But the Historiographers agree not upon this, Whether the Consul led his forces against the Insubrians first, or the Boians: and whether he raised out the dishonour of a former foil and defeat by a fortunate victory in this battell: or contrariwise, after a prosperous fight achieved before Comum, he blotted and defaced the same with a shamefull overthrow received at the Boians hand.

During this variable and alternative fortune, L. Purpurio the other Consul, marched into the Boians Country through the tribe Sappinia. And when he was approached near to a Castle called * Mutinus, he feared lest he should be enclosed and intercepted by the Boians and Ligurians: whereupon he retired with his forces the same way that he came, and fetching a great compass about through the open country in safety and security, he came at length to his Collegue. Who having joynted both their powers together, first ranged over the Boians territories, wasting and spoiling untill they came as far as * Felsina. This Town with other strong burroughs and forts, and in a manner all the Boians yielded themselves, save only their youth, who were up

up in arms to pill and spoil, and were at that time retired unto the forests and glins out of the way. After this the army marched toward the Ligurians. The Boians making full account to assail the Roman army at unawares, which marched without good regard of themselves, and nor close together (for that their enemies seemed to be far off) followed after through the blind and covert forests. But when they saw that they could not overtake them, they suddenly all at once perished over the Po in small bottoms and punts, and after they had spoiled and pillaged the Ligurians, as they returned from thence with a booty raised out of the country, they changed in the utmost frontiers of Liguria, to light upon the army of the Romans in their march. Sooner and with more eagerness fell they to fight, than if they had appointed both time and place, and been prepared beforehand to strike a battell. There it was appeared, of what force anger is to prick on and sharpen mens spirits to conflict. For the Romans more greedy of murder and bloodshed, than of victory, fought so, as they scarce left the enemies one messenger to carry the news of their unhappy overthrow. In regard of these exploits, upon the Consuls letters brought to Rome, ordained it was, that there should be a solemn procession and thanksgiving to the gods for three daies. Shortly after Marcellus came to Rome, unto whom was granted a triumph with great content of the L.L. of the Senat: and while he was in his Magistracy he triumphed over the Insubrians and Comians, leaving for his Colleague good hope likewise of a triumph, because himself (to say a truth) in that nation fought but unfortunately, whereas his Colleague sped well enough, and had a lucky hand. Much spoil of the enemies was carried in a pomp, upon the Chariots that were taken and won from them. Many ensigns and banners were born in a show, besides in money, to the value of 320000 siles of brass coin; and 234000 bigate peeces of silver. The footmen had 800 siles given them apiece, every horseman and centurion had thrice as much.

The same year King Antiochus, while he kept his winter at Ephesus, assailed to reduce all the Cities and States of Asia unto the ancient form of government and subjection, assuring himself, that the rest would not be hard to be subdued and brought under, because the towns were either situate upon plains, or nothing well fortified with walls, and not furnished with men and munition. As for * Smyrna and * Lampacus, they stood upon their freedom, and challenged it. Doubted it was, and great danger, that if he should let them go clear away to, some Cities in * Asia and * Ionia would take after Smyrna, and others in * Hellepontus follow the example of Lampacus. Therefore both himself sent from * Ephesus to lay siege unto Smyrna, and gave commandment, That the forces which were at Ephesus (leaving only a small garrison behind) should be lead to the siege and assault of Lampacus. And yet he threatened and terrified them not to much with forces and violence, but assailed them rather by fair means, sending to them his Embassadors, to ask, partly by flattering and gentle words wherewith he entertained them, and partly by mild reproof for their rashness and obstinacy, he endeavoured to put them in some hope, that shortly they should have whatsoever they desired: and then, both they themselves, and all others should evidently see, that they had obtained their liberty by the especial grace and favour of the King, and not usurped and gained it by occasion of some advantage and opportunity. To this they answered again, That Antiochus ought neither to marvel, nor be offended and displeased at them if they could not well endure the hope which they had of freedom, thus to be deferred from time to time. Then he departing from Ephesus in the beginning of the spring, sailed unto Hellepontus with his fleet. His land forces he transported over to * Madyra a City in Chersonesus, and joyed them to his strength by sea. And because they that the gates upon him, he environed the town with armed men, and when he was at the point to give the assault, and to bend his engines of battery against the walls it was surrendered into his hands. Upon the like fear the Inhabitants also of other Cities in Chersonesus yielded themselves. After this he came to * Lysmachia with his whole power, as well of land-fouldiers as sea-fervitors. And finding it abandoned, ruinat, and lying as it were along, (for but few years before the Thracians had forced, sacked, and burnt it) he had a great desire to rear and set upright again that noble and famous City, seated in so good and commodious a place. And therefore he took great care, and employed all his endeavour to re-edifie the walls, to re-build the edifices, to redeem and ransom the Lysmachians that were in slavery, to seek out all those that were dispersed over Hellepontus and Chersonesus, and gather them together, yea, and to enroll new inhabitants upon hope of gain and profit, and by all means possible to store and people the City again. And withal, because he would ease them of the fear they had of the Thracians, he went in person with the one half of his land-forces to waste and spoil the confines of Thracia, the other part with all the sea-fouldiers and mariners he left hard at work about the repairing of the City.

About this time as L. Cornelius (being sent by the Senat to compose the controversies and variance between the two Kings, Antiochus and Ptolemus) abode at Scylabria: so of the ten Commissioners above said, P. Lentulus departed from Berylle, P. Villius and L. Trecentius from Thafius, and arrived all three at Lysmachia: where L. Cornelius likewise met them from Scylabria; and a few daies after King Antiochus being newly returned out of Thracia. The first meeting and salutation between him and the Commissioners was friendly and courteous, yea, and there passed to and fro afterwards divers amiable kindnesses and loving entertainments mutually. But when they entered once to parl of their Commission that they had in charge, and of the present State of Asia, then there was fretting and fuming, and their blood up. The Roman Agents stuck not to tell him to his face that all that he had done, since he took the sea, and departed with his fleet out of Syria

* Smyrna, Leuc-clavio.
* Lysmachia, Lysmachia.
* Ephesus.

* Madyra.

* Hellepontus, Scythianopolis, Caffra, Naxos.

A was displeased unto the Senat, saying, "That they thought it meet, that all the Cities should be restored unto King Ptolemus, which had been under his dominion. For as touching those towns, which sometime Philip had been possessed of, and which Antiochus had surprized and seized upon, taking his time and vantage, when Philip was employed another way in the Roman wars, it was no reason, nor a thing tolerable, that the Romans should for so many years space, by land and sea endure so great toil, and hazard such perils, and suffer Antiochus in the end to go away with the fruit and reward of all the service. But let the Cities that the Romans would take no knowledge of his coming into Asia, as a matter impertinent unto them; as they dislikeable also, that now he is come over unto Europe with all his forces both for land and sea, and little wanteth of making open war upon the Romans? Mary, as for him, he will not let to deny that he loveth any war, although he were arrived and landed in Italy. To these challenges the King made answer, and said, That he saw well enough and knew before that the Romans were inquisitive and curious enough to search what King Antiochus ought to do, but they never once thought of their own selves, how far forth they should by right proceed, as well by land as by sea. As for Asia, it appertained not at all to the people of Rome, neither had they more reason to enquire what Antiochus did in Asia, than Antiochus to search into the actions of the people of Rome in Italy. As concerning Ptolemus, from whom they complain that he had taken certain Cities, he did them to understand that there was samity between him and Ptolemus, and they were now in terms of knitting themselves shortly in nearer bonds of alliance and affinity. Neither sought he the spoil of Philip, and to enrich himself by his adverity and misfortune: or palled over into Europe against the Romans. But when he was vanquished once, all that ever he had, by right and law of war, became the possessions of Seleucus: and consequently as he thought it appertained unto him. And during the time, that his progenitors and predecessors, were buffed and troubled with other affairs, first Ptolemus caught at some things, and Philip after at other, and so between them they misured and seized upon other mens possessions, and namely, of certain places near and hard by in Thracia, which without all controversy belonged unto Lysmachia. For to reduce which into their ancient State, he was thither come, and now was in hand to re-edifie Lysmachia anew, lately destroyed by the violence of the Thracians, to the end, that Seleucus his son might hold it as the royal seat of his kingdom. Thus as they continued arguing and debating for certain daies, there ran a rumor, but without any certain author, That King Ptolemus was dead: wherupon they could grow to no conclusion of all their parties: yet they made semblance on both sides that they heard nothing thereof. And as well L. Cornelius, who was sent in Embassy to both the Kings, Antiochus and Ptolemus, requested respite of some small time to confer with Ptolemus, to the end that himself might be arrived in Egypt, before any alteration were made in the new possession of that kingdom: as also Antiochus made reckoning, that Egypt would be his, if this good occasion then were presented unto him. Therefore having dismissed the Romans and left his son Seleucus behind him with all the land-forces, for to finish the building again of Lysmachia which he had begun, himself with a little fleet sailed to Ephesus: and having sent his Embassadors to Quintus to treat soberly about a league and smity he coasted along Asia and so arrived in Lycia. And when he heard for certain at Patara that Ptolemus was yet living, he gave over his purpose of sailing into Egypt: yet nevertheless he shaped his course and left sail for Cyprus: and when he had doubled the point of Chelidonium, he laid awhile in * Pamphylia about the river * Eurymedon, by occasion of a mutiny among the mariners & oar-men, from thence he weighed anchor, and when he was failed as far as a place called [The heads of the river * Syrus] there arose a gulf and fearful tempest, wherewith he had like to have been cast away and drowned with all his fleet. Many of his ships were run aground, & many of them swallowed up of the sea, so as there escaped not one of them by swimming to land. A number of men there perished, not of bale mariners only, and unknown common souldiers, but also of his near and special friends. Having rallied the dispersed reliques of this shipwreck, seeing he had no means and was not able to reach and gain Cyprus, he returned again to Seleucia, with an army nothing so puissant nor so well furnished, as when he let out in his voyage. There he commanded his ships to be haled a land, and laid up in their docks (for winter now approached) & himself took his journey to * Antiochia, there to lye all that winter time. And in their terms stood the affairs of the Kings.

At Rome there were first instituted in this year three Triumvirs called Epulones, to wit, C. Licinius Lucullus, T. Romulus (who was the man that put up the bill for their creation) and P. Porcius Lecca. And by a law in that behalf ordained, these Triumvirs were allowed as well as a Bishop, the long embroidered robe of purple. But in this year great debate & variance there was between the Questors or Treasurers of the City Q. Fabius Labeo & L. Aurdus of the one side, and all the Priests on the other side. These treasurers were at some fault for money, because they were minded and appointed to make the last payment unto certain privat persons, for the loan-silver which they had disbursed for the wars: the Priests demanded of the Augurs and Bishops, to furnish out the said payment: for that during the wars, they only had not been contributors in any levy. The Priests appealed to the Tribunes, and called for their lawful favour: but all was in vain, and so they were forced to satisfy all the arrearages for the years past, wherein they had paid nothing. This year there died two Bishops, and new were installed in their rooms, M. Marcellus the Consul entered in place of T. Sempronius Tuditanus, who deceased Praetor in Spain; and L. Valerius instead of M. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Fabius Maximus also an Augur died a very

Some what wanting in the Latin.

* Berylla, Gi-rava.
* Vateria.
* Cestria, where of the North part is called Caraman, and the rest Scandaron, Niger.
* Zaccali, Theveo.
* Sargia.

* Antiochia, Nigro, Altopro, Villenovanus.

young man, before he had born any office of State: but for that year there was not substituted a new Angur in his room.

After this, *M. Marcellus* the Consul held the solemn assembly for the election of Consuls, and Consuls were created *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Porcius Cato*. Then were the Prætors chosen, namely, *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, *Cn. Atinius Labeo*, *C. Manlius Volsus*, *Ap. Claudius Nero*, *P. Manlius*, and *P. Porcius Leeca*. The Ædiles of the chair, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *C. Flaminius* divided among the people 1000000 Modii of wheat, at two asses a Modius. This store of corn had the Sicilians brought to Rome for the honour of *C. Flaminius* and his father. And *Flaminius* was content that his companion in office should reap a full part of the thanks for this gratuity. The games called Roman were exhibited in most sumptuous manner, and thrice repeated all over again. The Ædiles of the Commons *Cn. Demetrius Enobarbus*, and *C. Sempronius*, who also was the high Priest, and Superintendent, called *Curio Maas*, called in question many of the City Bailiffs that gathered their rents for pastures, judicially to answer upon their accounts before the people. Three of them were condemned, and of their silver railed upon their fines, they built the Temple of *Faunus* in the Island. The Plebeian plaies were renewed for two daies, and a solemn publick feast was celebrated in regard of them.

The same day that *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius* entered their office, they proposed unto the Senat concerning the government of the Provinces. And order was given by the LL. of the Council, that forasmuch as the war increased so in Spain, as required not only a Consular army, but a Consul also for the Leader; the Consuls should either agree between themselves for the government of the two Provinces, to wit, the higher Spain, and Italy, or else to cast lots therefore: that he whose hap it was to rule Spain, should have with him two legions, five thousand Latine allies, and five hundred horse; and likewise to have the conduct of a fleet of twenty galleys of war: that the other Consul should levy and enroll two legions; which were thought sufficient to defend and keep France in obedience, considering the courages of the Insularians and *Boni*, were well cooled and abated the last year. *Cato* by lot had the charge of Spain, and *Valerius* of Italy. Then the Prætors cast lots for their Provinces. To *C. Fabricius Luscinus* fell the jurisdiction over the Citizens of Rome: to *C. Atinius Labeo* over the strangers, *C. Manlius Volsus* governed Sicily, and *Ap. Claudius Nero* the farther Spain, *M. Porcius Leeca* was assigned to rule Pise, to the end he might be upon the back of the Ligurians, and *P. Manlius* was appointed as an assistant and coadjutor to the Consul in the higher Spain. As for *T. Quintius*, his Commission was renewed for L. one year longer, in regard that not only *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, but also *Nabis* the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, were doubted and suspected not to stand found to the Romans; and for him were set out two legions: and if need were of any supply to make up the companies thereof, the Consuls were enjoined to enroll new soldiers, and to send them over into Macedonia. Also *Appius Claudius* had a warrant to take up 3000 foot, and two hundred horse, over and above that legion which *Q. Fabius* had. The like number of fresh horse and foot was appointed for *P. Manlius* to be sent into the higher Spain: and the same legion was granted unto him, which was commanded by *Mimnius* the Prætor. Moreover, *P. Porcius Leeca* was to have the leading of two hundred footmen and fifty horse, drawn out of the Gauls army, for to lie in *Hetruria* about Pise. All of all in *Sardinia* *P. Sempronius Longus* continued still in place of command. Thus the Provinces left being distributed, the Consuls before they departed out of the City, by advice and counsel of the Bishops performed the solemnity of the sacred Spring which was vowed before by the Prætor *C. Cornelius Mammius*, according to the mind of the Senat and the good liking of the people: in the year when *Cn. Servilius* and *Cn. Flaminius* were Consuls: and so it was celebrated one and twenty years after it was first vowed. Much about this time was *C. Claudius Pulcher*, the son of *Appius*, elected Angur, and invested in that Sacerdotal dignity, in the place of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who died the year before.

When as men began now to marvel that there was so little account made of the war begun already in Spain, there were letters brought from *Q. Minutius* with news. That he had fought a fortunate field before the town of *Turba*, with *Budares* and *Besafides*, two Spanish Generals and great commanders: that he had slain twelve thousand enemies, taken *Budares* the General himself prisoner and that the rest were discomfited and put to flight. Upon the reading of these letters, less fear there was of Spain, from whence they looked for great wars.

After the return of the ten Delegates or Commissioners abovesaid, all the care was, and no talk else but about *Antiochus* and his affairs. These men, after they had declared first how their proceeding went with King *Philip*, and upon what conditions they had granted peace, informed and gave them to understand, "That there was as great a war behind from *Antiochus*: that he had passed over the seas into Europe with a mighty Armado, and as puissant an army for land service; and had not been averted another way by a vain hope to invade and seize upon Egypt, which he conceived of a vainer bruit and rumor of *Ptolemy* his death: all Greece would have been at on a light fire, and up in arms. For the very *Ætolians* themselves, a nation naturally of an unquiet spirit, and incensed besides against the Romans, would not have sit still and been in rest. Moreover, there was another malady and mischief as dangerous, felt as it were within the ribs & in the very heart of Greece: to wit, *Nabis*, the tyrant at this present of the Lacedæmonians only, but shortly, if he may be let alone, of all Greece: who for avarice and cruelty is equal to all the famous and noted tyrants that ever were: and if he be suffered to

possess himself of *Argos*, and to hold it as a fortress to command all *Peloponnesus*, when the Roman armies shall be once transported home again into Italy, in faith, Greece may make small boast of being delivered from *Philip*: for this they shall be sure of at least, if of nothing else, to have a near-neighbour tyrant, instead of a King far off, for to be their Lord and imperious only to command them. The ancient Senators, hearing these intelligences from grave persons of good quality, and who made report of all things not by hearsay, but upon their own knowledge, were of advice and resolved to have a good eye and regard with all speed unto *Antiochus*, considering the King was passed already into Syria, whatsoever the occasion was. But as touching the Tyrant, after they had disputed and debated the matter long time, Whether they had sufficient cause already to determine upon some final conclusion, or should refer unto the wisdom and judgement of *T. Quintius* the managing of those affairs, therein to proceed and do according as he should deem it good and expedient for the Common-wealth: in fine, they permitted him to use his own discretion concerning the Lacedæmonian Tyrant: supposing that the matter was not of such weight and consequence as to concern the main state of the weal-publick so materially, whether it were hastened or protracted; but rather it behoved them to be advised and consider well, what *Antiochus* and the *Carthaginians* would do, if haply the war with *Antiochus* were begun and once afoot. They [at Carthage] that sided with the adverse faction of *Antiochus*, had sent divers and sundry letters unto the principal LL. at Rome, every one privately to his friends to this effect, That there passed messengers and letters from *Antiochus* to *Antiochus*, and that there were Embassadors again that secretly came from the King to him. And like as there be some beasts so wild and savage as never can be tamed: so the courage and spirit of that man was such, as might not possibly be dulced or appeased. For he daily complained that the City languished and grew feeble with idleness, and by sitting still and doing nothing, was overgrown as it were with moss, and impossible it was to raise and stir it up but with found of armour and weapons. These advertisements carried likelihood of truth and good credit with them, in regard of the late war, so fresh in memory, which he alone began first, and managed to the last. Over and besides, he had provoked by a late act of his, many great and mighty personages, who set their hearts against him. The order and degree of Judges at that time bore chief sway and sovereign authority in Carthage: in this respect principally, for that the same Judges were perpetual. The goods, the honour and reputation, year, and the life of every man lay in their hands. He that displeased one of that bench, was sure to have all the rest his enemies and to be upon him: and there never wanted one promoter or other to carry tales and give informations: these judges against a man, if they saw them ill affected once and bent against one, during the time of this imperious and tyrannical rule of theirs, (for as their power was exceeding absolute, so they bare themselves therein as outrageously beyond the limits of civility) it was *Antiochus* his hap to be Prætor: and by virtue of his place he sent for one of the treasurers to come before him: but he made no reckoning of his authority, and refused to obey: for the said treasurer was one of the contrary side: and because from the degrees of those treasurers they mounted presently into the highest order of the Judges, therefore he carried with him an haughty mind already, in regard of the high room that he was shortly to step into. *Antiochus* may be true took this as a great disgrace and indignity to his person, and therefore he sent a punicant or servant to attach the body of the Treasurer aforesaid: and presently calling the people to a general assembly, he commanded him there to be presented: where he accented and blamed the party himself, no more than the whole order and degree of the Judges: through whose insolent pride and excessive power, both laws and Magistrates were nothing regarded but trodden under foot. And perceiving that these words of his tickled the itching ears of the people, considering also that their proud demeanor prejudiced the liberty of the meanest persons: immediately he published a law, and got it enacted, That those Judges should be chosen every year, and that thenceforth one and the same man might not be a Judge two years together. But look how much thank he had at the Commons hands for this act, so much he offended many of the great men and principals of the City. Another thing besides he did, whereby he purchased to himself the ill will of some private persons, in tending the common good of the weal-publick. The finances and revenues of the State, partly, through negligence went to decay, and partly, were shared out in dividends between some certain of the head Citizens and Magistrates: and more than that, the money which by way of tribute was to be paid yearly unto the Romans, was too short and not to be found: and it appeared, that a fore-levy would be imposed upon private persons shortly to make those payments out of their own purses. *Antiochus*, after he had cast up the books, and made an estimate and just abstract how much the rents and revenues of the City amounted unto as well from customs by sea as land, and to what uses they were employed: and perceiving thereby what was defrayed in the ordinary charges of the State, and what went a wrong way, and was diverted by their theeves to their own selves, he pronounced aloud in open audience of the whole assembly, That the arrearsages should be gathered up and brought into the common Chest: and to private persons might be discharged and eased of their impositions of tribute, and the Common-wealth would be rich enough and able to perform and furnish out the monies due to the people of Rome. And as he thus said, so he was as good as his word, and executed accordingly. Then these caterpillars, who for certain years lived by robbery of the common treasure, and fed upon the fruits of the City, faced spitefully against *Antiochus*, as if he had done them

them great wrong in taking their own goods from them, and not proceeded in justice to wrest out of their hands their stolen substance: and in great malice and bitterness ceased not to provoke against *Annibal* the Romans, who were ready enough of themselves to pick some quarrel to him, to seek occasion of hatred, and to find ann hole in his coat. *Scipio Africanus* for a long time gave the deaf ear unto them, and disliked the course: for he thought it was not for the honour and majesty of the people of *Rome* to subscribe unto those imputations charged upon *Annibal*, to entertain the spite and hatred of men, and to intercal and insert public authority within the private factions of the Carthaginians: and not to be content to have vanquished *Annibal* in war, unless they also took upon them the persons of accusers, and preferred a slanderous libel & bill of indictment, and aware thereto *Rillaure*. But at length they wrought and brought about, that Embassadors should be sent to *Carthage*, who in the Senat there might charge *Annibal* categorically, with plotting and practising with *Antiochus* for to wage war against them. And the three were addressed to this Embassy, *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Calpurnius*, who being arrived there, caused it to be given out to as many as should demand the cause of their coming (and all by instruction from the advisers of *Annibal*) that their errand was to compose and end the debates between *Masaniissa* King of the Numidians, and the Carthaginians. This was commonly divulged and believed for truth. But *Annibal* found them straight and smelt their juggling, and was not ignorant that he was the only man that the Romans shor at, and howsoever peace was granted to the Carthaginians, yet they continued an endless and inextinguishable war with him alone still. Whereupon he resolved to frame himself to give place to the time and yield unto fortune. And being furnished aforesaid with all things requisite to take his flight, when he had for purpose all the day long shewed himself in the public place of assembly very formally, to tumble all suspicion of his intended resolution, to loon as it began to be dark night, in his Citizens gown as he went a day, and attended in the Hall, he gat him forth straight to the City gate, accompanied only with two persons, and those not privy at all to his purpose and designment. And having found his hories ready in the place appointed, he mounted and rode away that night until he was come to a certain quarter of the territory of *Voca*: and by the next morning, he passed between *Aeylla* and *Thapsus*, and recovered a tower or fort of his own: where he was embarked in a ship ready rigged and appointed with sail and oar to take sea and away. Thus departed *Annibal* out of *Africa*, lamenting more often the hard hap and calamity of his country, than of his own friends and kinsfolk. And the same day he fell with the Island *Cercina*: where the Carthaginians found in the rode certain barks charged with merchandise: and when at his coming ashore out of his ship, there came many running toward him for to salute and welcome him thither, he charged his own company, that if any asked concerning him, they should make answer, That he went upon an Embassy to *Tyrum*: but fearing lest any of their barks should discontinue that night, and make report at *Thapsus* or *Aeylla* that he was seen in *Cercina*: he caused a beatto be killed for a sacrifice, and invited the Masters of the ships and all the Merchants to supper: and therewith commanded all the sails and cross-sail-yards to be had out of the vessels, to make there of a large pavilion, that they might sit in the shade at their supper: for that, as it fell out, it was then midsummer. And as the time and such provision as they had, would give leave, he set out a feast and banquet: he spared for no wine, and continued the merriment far within night. Then *M. Annibal*, so soon as he could sleep his time for to deceive those that were in the harbor, weighed anchor. The rest were fast asleep: and when the next day they awoke and roused themselves, with their drunken and drouzy nols (and far fourth day it was, and late ere they arose) they were fain to spend some hours in fitting their oars again in their right places, and the tackling of the ships in good order.

In this while, at *Carthage* the ordinary multitude that used to frequent the house of *Annibal*, repaired as their manner was to his gate-house: and when it was void abroad, that he was not to be found, all the company gathered together in the market place, seeking and enquiring for the principall and chief personage of their City. Some gave out (as the truth was) that he was fled: other said plainly, that he was murdered and made away through the fallhood and villany of the N Romans: and this they stuck not to avouch. There might a man have seen sundry and divers countenances (as it isareth commonly in Cities where there is siding and parts-taking) as each one is affected to his own party and faction. At last, news came that he was seen at *Cercina*. The Roman Embassadors having upon audience given, declared in the Senat of *Carthage*, that the LL of their Senat had certain intelligence, that both aforesaid King *Philip* was by *Annibal* especially followed and set on to make war with the people of *Rome*: and also now there hath been letters and messengers with credence sent from him to King *Antiochus*: and that he would never rest until he had for all the world together in arms: and therefore all the Carthaginians were desirous to consent and satisfy the Romans, they should not suffer these parts of his to escape unpunished: then the Carthaginians made answer, and said, That nothing of all this passed by public council or consent or allowance of the State, howbeit they would be willing to do whatsoever the Romans thought to be reason.

Annibal this while had a boon voyage, and with a merry gale of wind arrived at *Tyrum*, where he was received of the Tyrians, the first founders of *Carthage*, as if he had been in another country of his own: received he was, I say, and entertained with all kind of honour, becoming a man so famous and renowned. After he had sojourned there some few daies, he sailed to *Antioch*:

A where understanding that the King himself was already departed from thence, he repaired to his ship, and conferred with him, as he was setting out an yearly comamity of games and places near *Byblus*, and being consequently also by him interceded, he made no stay, but to ship-board and sea again. And at *Byblus* overtook the King, whom he found floating and wavering still in his mind, and undetermined what to do as touching the Roman war. But this coming of *Annibal*, was no small point to turn the ballance, and to move him to enter into the enterprise thereof. The *Antiochians* likewise at the same time were estranged and alienated in affection from the Roman league and society, whose Embassadors demanding to have *Placatum* and *Arucas* again, with other Cities, according to the tenor and form of the first league, the Senat turned over and referred to *Quintius*.

The four and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the four and thirtieth Book.

THE Law *Oppia* proposed and enacted by C. Oppius a Tribune of the Common, in the time of the Punic war, for the abridging and restraint of the excess in womens apparail, was after much variance and debate repealed, notwithstanding that Porcius Cato laboured to the contrary that it might not be abolished. This Cato made a voyage into Spain, and by force of arms (beginning first to war at *Empuriz*) brought the better province of Spain on this side *Iberus* to quietness. T. Quintius Flaminius took war against the Lacedemonians and Nabis their tyrant, in which he sped fortunately, and so prevailed, that he made an end thereof, granted them peace to his own good liking and pleasure, delivered Argos, and set it free, which was before in subjection to the tyrant. The Senat then, and never before, beheld a publick games and p. games by themselves, apart from the rest of the people. Which to bring about Sen. Elms Petrus and L. Cornelius Cethegus the Consuls, set in foot and intermeddled themselves, in the great indignation and discontentment of the Common. More colonies were planted with Roman citizens, M. Porcius Cato triumphed over Spain. The wars also which fortunately were achieved against the Boii and the French Insulres are here recorded. T. Quintius Flaminius, who had vanquished Philip King of the Macedonians and Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, year, and freed all Greece from their oppression, for these many and noble exploits, rode in triumph three daies together. The Carthaginian Embassadors brought word, that *Annibal* who was fled unto *Antiochus*, banded with him and combined to wage war, *Annibal* had besides assisted by means of one *Arifto* a Tyrian (sent as a courier without credence only and no letters, to *Carthage*) for to move and sollicite the Carthaginians to rebellion.

The four and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

BETWEEN the troublefome cares of great wars, which either were not fully ended, or at hand ready to begin, there happened an occurrance, which in itself being but a small matter to speak of, and of little regard: considering the sides and part-taking about it, grew to a mighty head and contention in the end. M. Fundanius and L. Valerius Tribunes of the Common, presented a bill unto the people touching the abrogation of the Law *Oppia*. For C. Oppianus, when the Punic war was at the hottest, and whiles Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius were Consul's had promulgated a Statute, by virtue whereof, No woman of what degree or rank might either have in Ornaments and Jewels above half an ounce weight of gold, nor wear any habiliments wrought of undry colours, nor yet ride in Coach within the City of *Rome*, or any habilitment Town nor more: or than a mile from thence, unless it were upon occasion of some solemn kind or publick sacrifice. Now M. Junius Brutus, and P. Junius Brutus, both Tribunes likewise of the Common, stood in defence and maintenance of the said Law *Oppia*, and affirmed plainly they would not suffer it to be annulled. Many a nobleman was seen in this quarrel: some spoke for the Law, and others gaine aid it. The Capitol was full of people, either taking part and favouring the cause, or else opposing themselves, and urging the contrary. The very daies of the City themselves could neither by privacy and advice, nor by any reverent and womanly regard, nor yet by the express and absolute commandment of their husbands, be kept within doors: but do what they could, they bespread all the streets of the City, beset and kept all the waies into the common place, besetting and entreating their husbands as they passed by and went down thither to permit and give their consent. That seeing the good estate of the Common weal now flourished, and the private wealth of every man increased daily, their wives also and mistresses might be allowed to have their ancient ornaments and gay attire again. The number of these women grew every day more than other, for now they flocked aloof out of the Towns, Villages, and other places, of resort in the country and shewed themselves at *Rome*. In so much as they took heart at length, and went to pass as to encounter the Consuls, the Pretors, and other Magistrates, requesting and be-

The Oration
of M. Porcius
Cato, in main-
tenance of the
law Oppia.

LIVII.

beseeching their favour, to stand with them, and forward the cause. But as for one of the Con-
suls, *Marcus Porcius Cato* by name, they could not with all their praises entreat him to incline
unto their suit: who in the maintenance of the said law, and that it might not be revoked, spake in the
frequent assembly of the people to this effect. My Masters and Citizens of *Rome*, if every
one of us had fully resolved and purposed with himself to hold his own, and keep the rightful
authority and preeminence that he hath over his own wife, left alone and trouble we should
have had with them all together at this day. Now having given them the head at home so
much, that the cut-throats and shrewdness of women hath conquered our liberty and freedom
there; behold, here also in publick place it is trodden down and trampled underfoot: and be-
cause we were not able every man to rule his own in several, now we stand in fear and dread
them all in general. Certainly, I myself thought ever until now, that it was but a feined tale
and devised tale that went of a certain Island, wherein by a conspiracy of women, all the men
were murdered every one, and that it utterly made away and rooted out. But well I see now,
be they creatures never so weak, so filly and feeble, let them once have their meetings, their con-
venticles and secret conferences; they will work mischief in the highest degree, and be as dan-
gerous as any other. And surely for mine own part, I cannot resolve in mine own conscience
and determine whether of the twain be worse: the thing I mean in it self, or the precedent ex-
ample and consequence thereof, considering the manner how it is handled. Of which two, the
one toucheth us that are Consuls and the rest of the magistrates the other concerneth you rather
my masters and citizens of *Rome*. As for the matter in question, and proposed unto you, whe-
ther it be good and expedient for the weal-publick or no, that I reftish in you to determine and
judge, who are to give your voices and suffrages. But this seditious insurrection here, of wo-
men, be it of themselves, or procured by your motion and instigation, *M. Fundanius* & *L. Valerius*
do not doubt it as yet, and implie a great default in the Magistrates, and I wot not whether it
will be a fouler blot and dishonour to you that are Tribuns, than to us Consuls. Yours will the
blame be, if ye have brought women now to raise and stir up tribunician seditions; and our
the shame, if we needs must admit and accept of laws, whether we will or no for fear of con-
motion and separation of our women; as sometimes we were forced to do by the departure and
insurrection of our Commons. I assure you for mine own self, when I passed elsewhere into this
common-place through the press and throng of these women, I was abashed & could not chafe
but blush. And had I not been more respective of the reputation, the honour and reverence of
some in particular than of them all together, because it should not be thought & said, that they
had been checked and taken up by the Consuls! would have said unto them, What new fashion
is this good wives, to run gadding abroad into the open streets, to beset the passages, and to af-
front, yea, and hang upon other women's husbands as ye do? What? could ye not every one at
home have dealt with your own good-men in the cause, and craved their help? or can ye speak
fair and flatter better, can ye be more pleasant and affable abroad in the Town, than within your
houses? or make love to other men, rather then to your own husbands? And yet to speak un-
rightly, if wives were of that modesty and womanly carriage, as to keep themselves within the
compass and bounds of their own liberty, and pais no farther it were not befitting you I wot, so
much as at home to trouble your selves about our laws here, nor to busy your brains, to know
either what new Statutes passed, or what old were called. Our ancestors in old time would not
that women in any wise should dispose so much as of their own privat matters without the ad-
vice and direction of a Governor and Overseer: and therefore in great wisdom they ordained,
that they should be ordered and ruled by their parents, by their brethren, by their husbands. But
we (and God will) can abide them to intermeddle in State-matters, to govern the weal-publick,
to converse with us in the common place, in publick assemblies and courts of parliament. For
what else do they now in the streets, in the crosses & at all I avenues, but, some of them give
their voices that the bills of the Tribuns may pass and others advise and be of opinion; but the
law *Oppia* may be repealed: Let this outrageous & unreasonable nature of theirs have the head;
let these unruly creatures and untamed animals have their wil and bridle them not: let them know
of themselves they will keep a mean and measure in their intemperate pleasures, unless you curb them.
I hold them in, I wish, this is the least matter of all that displeaseth these women: there are a 1000
things besides that they think hardly of, and are discontented to be held unto by old customs
and positive laws. Liberty in all things; nay to speak more truly, a loose and dissolute licentious-
ness, is the very thing they long after and desire. For go they away clear with this notion, what is
that that they will not attempt and give the venture for? Do but run through and count the laws
that are provided in this behalf for women; whereby our fore-fathers and predecessors have kept down
and restrained their disorderly appetites, and with which they have fought to subdue them to
their husbands: yet hardly can ye with the help of them all, keep them in awe and tied fast, but
they break out they will and have their own ways. What then? how and if ye suffer them to catch
by this and that and other thing, as if I say ye let them wrest from you one thing after another,
as still at length they be check-mates with their husbands, think ye that ever you shall be able to
support and endure them? Begin they once to be equals they will soon be superiours: make them
as your fellows, and straight-ways they will be your masters. But alas, we lay too hardly to them
in charge: The thing that they stand upon is no more but this, That no new Act and Statute pass
be against them: for no equal and reasonable thing do they refuse: their desire and prayer is only that

that they might not be wronged. No, no, it is clean contrary: That law which ye have received
and admitted, that which by your suffrages you first granted, that which by the practise and ex-
perience of so many years you have allowed and approved, they would have you to revoke and
abolish: which is as much to say, as by annulling that one, to infringe, impair, and diminish the
authority and vertue of the rest. No law is there so well devised, that is good, commodious and
agreeable unto all. This only is intended principally to be considered, that it may be profitable
to the most part, and serve in general. For it as each person shall find an act prejudicial, hurtful,
and offensive to himself, he may be allowed by and by to undo and demolish the same: what
end should all the people assemble together to the making of those statutes, which they anon a-
gainst whom they were enacted may abolish & overthrow? But gladly would I know the great
occasion and cause, for which our dames in such trouble and uproar run out into the streets, and
have much ado to forbear the common place, and to mount up into the *Rostra* to make an ora-
tion to this audience? Is it for this, to redeem out of the hands of *Antibal*, their fathers, their
husbands, their children and brethren, whom he keepeth prisoners? Nay, that calamity is far e-
nough off at this day, and far may it over be I pray God from our City and Common-weal. And
yet when the time was of that hard fortune and calamity, you would not hearken to their pite-
ous and kind prayers in that behalf. But it may well be, that it is neither natural love and kin-
d affection, nor careful regard of their dear friends, but meer touch of conscience and sense of reli-
gion that hath brought them thus together in a congregation. And ready they are, it may be, to
receive and intertain dame *Cybele* or *Idaea*, coming from *Pessinus* out of *Phrygia*. What honest
colour and shew, so much as in word only can be pretended to bear out and cover this muti-
nous sedition of women? May this (say they) that we may glitter in our golden jewels, and
shine in purple robes to be seen a far off: that as well on work daies as holy dayes, we may be
set up and ride in our coaches and chariots through the City, as it were in triumph, for the con-
quest and victory of a law by us repealed and dismantled: or winning from you, and wringing out
of your hands, mangle your beards, the liberty of your voices and suffrages: to the end that we
might not be limited and gaged in our excessive expenses, in our dissolute prohibition, in costly va-
nities and superfluities. Many a time ye have heard me complain of the wastful and luscious
bravery of women: and as often have you known me to inveigh against the lavish spending of
men, not privat persons only, but magistrates also in higher place: and how this City of ours is sick
as it were at one time of two contrary diseases and maladies, to wit pinching avarice, and super-
fluous prodigality, two plagues I say, that have been the bane and overthrow of all great Mo-
narchies and flourishing empires. These pestilent mischiefs I read to much the more, as our
state and common-weal encreaseth to the better: growth wealthy every day more than other;
as and our dominion extendeth still farther and farther. And now that we are gotten over into
Greece and *Asia*, provinces full of all ensting pleasures and alluring delights of the world, now
that we are come to finger and handle the rich treasures of mighty Monarchs, I fear me that even
these things have rather captivated us, than we them. The goodly images, statues and pictures
that came from *Syracusa* are (truit me truly) dangerous to this City, and threaten no less than to
many engines of the field displayed against it. And I hear say already, that there are many, and
too too many, that praise and have in admiration the beautiful ornaments of *Corinb* & *Athen*,
and begin to make a corn and game of the images of the Roman Gods made of potters earth
only, laughing much at them, where they see them standing forth of the walls. Well, for my part
I had rather have these gods so propitious and favorable to us as they be than such as those: and so
I hope they will ever be, if we can suffer them to abide still in their usual shrines and places ac-
customed. No longer ago than in our fathers daies, King *Peribius* sent his Embassador *Cynaeus* of
purpose, and assisted by rich and goodly gifts, to tempt the minds not only of our men, but also of
our women. There was no law *Oppia* as then in force to bridle and keep down the costly pomp
and ostentatious of women: and yet not one of them all received ought at his hands. And what think
ye was the cause? even the same and no other, for which our ancestors in times past, never so
much as thought upon the providing of any such law. There was no pride then, nor riotous sin-
neries, nor restraint. And like as the skill and knowledge of diseases, must precede and go afore
their cures and remedies: even so evil desires and enormous lusts had need to be first bred & sprung
before the laws, which should repress and cut them down. What caused the law *Lucinia* to be
made, concerning 500 acres of ground, forbidding that no man should possesse above, but the
exceeding covetousness of men, encroaching still and laying land to land? What brought in the
law *Cornelia* as touching gifts and presents, but this, that the Commons began already to be vassals
as it were and tributaries to the Senat. No marvel therefore it is, nor strange may it seem, that
neither the law *Oppia*, nor any other providing for the cutting off the unmeasurable expenses of
women, was required and thought needful in those daies: when gold, when purple freely rendered
and offered unto them was restrained. If now at this day *Cynaeus* were come, and went with such
gifts round about in the City, he should find receivers enough of women, standing in every street
ready for him. And verily, with all the wit I have, I can not devise what the cause and reason
should be of many lustful desires and appetites that reign in this age. For say, that if one of you
were kept short and debarted of that which another might lawfully have: peradventure there
might rise in your hearts (through infirmity) some shame and abashment in nature, or else dis-
pleasure and discontentment in reason: so being all as ye are brought within one compass of fur-
ture

"niture and apparel, and no ods at all between you, what need any one of you to fear, lest they
 "should be looked into, marked or observed, more than another. I must needs say, the shame that
 "followeth & attendeth either upon niggardie or poverty, is wofull of all others; but the law quit-
 "teth and freeeth you of both, when you want but that only which by law ye may not have, and
 "no man will reproach you therefore. Yes mary, quoth some rich and wealthy dame, this same
 "quality and no distinction at all among us, of all things I cannot abide: Why may not I according
 "to my calling, be seen arrayed in purple, and adorned with gold? And why is not the poorest estate
 "of others known, but lieth hidden under this pretreat & cloak of law: so as they may be thought
 "yet (were it not for the law) that such and such things they would have: where as indeed they
 "are not able to maintain and bear it out? Would ye (in faith) my masters and citizens of Rome,
 "have your wives to flirve thus, that the richer sort might deserve to have that, which no other I
 "can reach unto: and the poor again, because by that means they would not be defiled, over-
 "strein themselves to go above their calling and ability? Certainly I dare avow, if they begin once
 "to shame at that which is not shame-worthy, they will not abash at any thing, be it never so
 "shamefull. Have it the will out of her own, so long as it lasteth: and when all is gone, to her hus-
 "bands purse the will go. Alas poor man and woe begun is that husband, as well he that is inter-
 "tredd by his wife, to stretch his purse strings, as he that is not, when he shall see another man to give
 "her that, which he would not allow himself. And even now ye see how openly in the street (un-
 "shame-faced as they be) they are in hand with other womens husbands, yea, & that which more
 "is, they keep an intresting for to raise the law, & for the favour of their voices only. For of some
 "they have got the good wills no doubt already, whiles themselves will not be intreated, but draw
 "miserie upon thee, upon thy flate, and upon thy children. Well, let the law once cease to set down
 "a gage and proportion of thy wives expenses, and never think to have remedy, and to flay the
 "fame of thy self with all thou canst do, be not deceived hirs, to think that the world will be ever
 "again at the same palls, as it was before this law took pace. And as it is a safer course and lesse
 "dangerous to let a naughty and obdurate person alone, that he be not called into question at all;
 "than after he is once accused to suffer him to be quite and go away unpunished: even so
 "refusive superfluity, would have been more to be tolreated, if it had not been meddled & tempered with
 "all than it will be now upon the very binding and turbing thereof: much like a wild and savage
 "beast left loose after it hath been tyeed up a time, and to made more fell and angry. To conclude
 "therefore, of this opinion am I, that I do not hand the law *Oppia* be repealed: and so I pray all the
 "Gods to vouchsafe for to bleis and turn to good whatsoever you do or go about. When he had
 "thus said, those Tribunes also of the Common, who openly promised and protested to oppose
 "themselves, and to cross the repealing of the law, made some brief speeches to the same effect.
 "Then *Laeternius* rose up to maintain the bill by him propoled for the revoking of that law, and
 "spake as followeth. If private men had stepped forth and advanced forward either to approve
 "and periwade, or to reject & disillade that which by us is propoled, I my self also without open-
 "ing my mouth would have attended your will & expected the delivery of your suffrages, as think-
 "ing it had been sufficiently debated and discussed already, whatsoever might be said for both
 "parties. But now sith that the Consul *M. Porcius Cato*, a man of great reputation & gravity, not
 "only by his countenance and authority (which alone without any word at all spoken had been
 "important enough & effectual,) but also in a long premeditate Oration framed with much study
 "and forethinking, hath impugned and inveighed against our propoled ordinance, I must of ne-
 "cessity answer him again as briefly as I can. Who nevertheless hath spent more words in repro-
 "ving and chastising the matrons & dames of the City, than he hath bestowed reason to the pur-
 "pose in disavowing our new law: & all verily for this intent, that he might leave it doubtful, whe-
 "ther the women had done that which he blamed them for, as induced by their own motives, or
 "seduced by us and our suggestions. As for me the protection directly of the cause I will take in
 "hand, and not busy and trouble my head in defence of our persons, against whom the Consul
 "hath rather glanced and girded at, by way of big words, than charged indeed by sound reasons.
 "It hath pleased him to call this An assembly and mutinous meeting; yea, and otherwhiles he ter-
 "meth it, An insurrection and secession of women: as if the wives in open place intreated you
 "to repeal that law, now in time of peace, in the flourishing, and blessed flate of the Common-
 "weal, which during those troublefome daies of war, had been engaged against them. I wot full
 "well that both these words and other besides are very significant, sought out, and picked for the
 "purpose, to enforce and aggravate the matter. And we all know, that *At Cato* is an Oration not
 "only grave and earnest, but otherwhiles also fell, sharp and bitter, how ever otherwise by natural
 "disposition he be of a mild spirit and courteous enough. But to the point, What new & strange
 "thing is this that our wives have done in coming abroad and assembling themselves in compa-
 "nies about a matter that so much concerneth and importeth themselves? What? were they ne-
 "ver before now abroad in open street? I will take the pain. *O Cato*, to turn over your own
 "book of Originals against your self. Listen and mark how often they have done the flemble,
 "and alwayes truly for the common good and benefit of the State. And first and foremost, in the
 "very beginning and infancy of this City, even in the reign of *K. Romulus*, when the Capitol was
 "taken and held by the Sabines: when in the midst of the Common place, they were ranged in bat-
 "tle array and ready to fight a bloody field, was not the quarrel ended and the conflict stayed by
 "the dames and wives that ran in & put themselves between the two armies? After the *KK* were
 "driven

The Oration
 of L. Laeternius
 against the
 law *Oppia*.

A "driven out and expelled, What happened tho? When as the legions of the Volscians under the con-
 "duct of *C. Marcius* incamped within y miles of Rome, were they not the matrons of the City that
 "turned back this army, which doubtles would have forced our City & put it to ranck? And
 "is not this likewise as true, that when the Gauls were possessed of Rome and masters thereof, the
 "dames of the City and none but they, even by the content of all men, came forth into the open
 "streets made a contribution, and laid down that gold which paid for the ransom and redempti-
 "on of the City? No longer since than in the last Punick war (because I will not stand so much
 "upon antiquities) was it not thus, that not only when the City was at a fault for money, the
 "widows stocks supplied the want of the common treasure? but also at what time as we were
 "driven to seek for new Gods, and to lend for them afar off to incur us in our extremities; all
 "the wives & matrons of the City went to the Sea side forth to receive the goddess Mother *Idea*?
 "The occasions (qd. he) are different, and the case is not alike. Neither is it my purpose or any
 "part of my meaning to compare causes, and to prove they are all one. This only I stand upon, and
 "take it sufficient to excole and clear the women, for bringing up no strange novelty, in that they
 "shewed themselves in open place. To proceed therefore: seeing that no man made any wonder
 "then, of that which women did in undertaking the affairs that concerned all alike as well men
 "as women: marvel we now that they do the flemble, in a cause that properly and peculiarly
 "pertaineth to themselves? And what great thing was it they did? Now in good faith we are too
 "coy and squeamish of our hearing, and our ears over nice and delicate, if when matters diddian
 "not to hear the praises of their servants and slaves, we scorn to give ear to the requests of ladies
 "and dames of honor. But now I come to the matter in question, in regard whereof the Consul
 "his Oration consisted in two points. For first, he took it very ill that any law at all once enacted
 "should be revoked: and secondly, he stood upon this that above all others the law devised and
 "made for repressing the superfluous ornaments and attire of women should remain in force for-
 "ever. So it should seem, that the first part (a common defence as it were, of all the laws) was a
 "speech befitting the place and person of a Consul: but the other against the exceeding pomp of
 "women, more properly became a man (as himself) of most severe life and precise carriage. And
 "therefore it is great doubt and to be feared, lest we should seduce you into some error, if we
 "lay not down and shew plainly the vanity and defect both in the one and in the other. For as I
 "confess, that of those laws which are devised and established not for a time and by occasion of
 "some particular occurrence, but for ever and to the perpetual good of a City, none ought to be
 "abolished: unless it be so that by use and experience the same be checked and found hurtfull, or
 "by some change of the State become needless and superfluous: so I see evidently that those sta-
 "tutes and ordinances which are brought in to fit and serve some seasons, are mortal (if I may so
 "say) and mutable with the times. And oftentimes we see, that war disclaimeth those laws which
 "peace proclaimeth; and peace pulleth down that which war set up: like as in the government
 "and rule of a ship, one thing is requisite in fair weather and calm Sea, another in foul and trouble-
 "some tempests. These things thus being in nature divers and distinct, let us consider I pray you,
 "of whether first is this law that now we are in hand to revoke. What? is it one of the ancient
 "and royal laws made by the Kings, and equal in time with the foundation of our City? or (that
 "B. which is the next in time and authority) was it set down and written in the twelve Tables by
 "the Decemvirs, created of purpose to devise and make laws? Is it of that nature without the
 "which as our ancestors were of opinion, that the honesty and honour of matrons could not
 "be preferred: so we are to fear likewise left by the repealing thereof, we overthrow the mode-
 "sty, chastity, and integrity of married women? Why? who knoweth not that this is a new law
 "of so long standing and continuance and no more, made whiles *Q. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius*
 "were Consuls? And seeing that without it, wives lived for many years before in good name and
 "fame, and in passing good order: tell me what danger can ensue, and why we need to fear lest if
 "it be annulled, they should break out to all looseness and disorder. Mary, if this law had been made
 "at first, to gage the wantonness of women, believe me then it were greatly to be doubted, that
 "E. the putting down thereof would stir them up again to their former outrage. But to what end
 "it was devised, the time is self is able to shew and testifie. *Anibal* being in Italy, had won a vi-
 "ctory at *Cannae*: he was now master of *Tarentum*, Lord of *Asip*, and possessed of *Capua*: every
 "hour men looked when he would march forward and advance his ensigns against Rome: our al-
 "lies were revolted and gone: soldiers we had no more of our own to supply and make up the
 "decayed bands: no mariners and Sea servants could we find for the maintenance of our Arma-
 "do: all our treasure in the City Chamber was spent and consumed. Driven we were to this
 "exigent, as to take up bondslaves for to serve in wars, and to buy them of their masters for day,
 "yea, and to make payment of their price after the war was ended. For want of money also the
 "G. Publians and Patrons of our domain and publick profits, undertook to serve the army with
 "corn, and to furnish us with all things needfull for war at a certain price, and gave us the like day
 "and time of payment. The Gally slaves that served at the oar we found and maintained with
 "our own proper and private charges; and a rate and proportion was set down according to
 "our revenues and worth in the subsidy book, what number every one should be charged with.
 "All the gold and silver that we had in private we brought forth in common, and the Senators
 "themselves led the way first, and gave good example. The widows and orphan Children
 "brought in their stocks of money to the City Chamber. Straight order was given, that
 "we

"we should not have in our houses either of gold or silver, wrought in plate or otherwise above
 "so much, nor of silver and brims in coin and current money beyond a certain proportion limited.
 "red, At such a time, our dames (belike) were set all upon their braveries, pruning, trimming, and
 "tricking themselves, in such sort, as the law *Oppia* must needs be devised, there was no other
 "remedy to keep down their excessive pride and superfluous expence in their attire and orna-
 "ments: even then, I say, when by occasion that the solemn feast and sacrifice of *Ceres* was dis-
 "continued, by reason of the general mourning and heavy cheer of all the wives of the City, the
 "Senat was fain to take order, that they should finish and end their sorrowful mourning within
 "thirty dayes. Who is so blind that leeth not, how in regard only of the poverty and extreme
 "calamity of the City, and because all the monies of private persons should be converted into a
 "common stock, and for a publick use, this law was first framed, drawn, and let down, so long
 "only to stand in strength and vertue, as the caule of penning and writing it should endure and
 "continue? For otherwise, if those acts and decrees of the Senat, if those orders and ordinances
 "of the Commons, respective unto that present time, should be in force, and observed for ever;
 "Why make we payment of the loan money unto private men? Why do we set and to let
 "our commodities, our customs and revenues of the City unto farmers for ready rent? Why put
 "we forth our publick works for preient money paid down upon the nail? Wherefore buy we
 "not slaves to serve in our wars? Lastly, why are we not put to find mariners and oarmen, at our
 "own proper charges, as then we did? All other elites and degrees, all men else, of what calling
 "soever, feel a great change in the state of the City, from wo to weal, from adversity to prosper-
 "ty; and shall our wives only miss the good thereof, and not once tast nor enjoy the fruits of
 "peace, and publick repose and tranquillity? Shall we that are men be in purple and scarlet? Shall
 "we wear our embroidered gowns and robes when we are Magistrates? Shall we put on our rich
 "amices and copes, when we exercise the function and ministry of the high Priests? Shall our
 "children go in their side garments, purified afore with purple? Shall we permit and privilege the
 "head Officers and Magistrates in our Colonies and Burrough Towns? nay, shall we suffer here at
 "Rome the Masters and Constatables of every parish, the meanest and basest officers of all other to
 "wear embroidered gowns, & studded with purple? and not only so, for to grace and credit them-
 "selves, with these goodly ornaments and badges of worship and honour during their life, but al-
 "so to after their death, the same to be burned and buried with them? And shall we debar and for-
 "bid our women only to use purple and scarlet in their apparel? And when you the husband may
 "have purple and scarlet, carpets, counter-points, and foot-cloths, what reason is there to deny
 "your wife, the mistress of the house, a gown or mantle of the same? And shall your horse be cap-
 "ped and barbed more richly, and better set out with his caparison, than your wife arrayed in her
 "apparel? But in truth, for purple and scarlet, which are the worse for the wearing, and wasteth
 "bare, me thinks I see some reason, in as it is (although it be very hard) of sparing and restraint
 "many for gold, wherein little or nothing is lost but the fashion and workmanship, what magi-
 "dize, what misery is this, to make spare of it, and to deny it them? Nay, I dare avow and abide by
 "it: there is great benefit and use thereof in time of extremity; and it may help at a pinch both in
 "publick affairs, and in private occasions, as ye have found by good experience. But *Cato* said
 "moreover, There would be no emulation and envy between this good wife and that, if neither
 "one nor other were allowed that liberty of apparel and ornaments. True it is, but instead thereof
 "of they all are mightily discontented and grieved at the heart in the mean while, disdaining to
 "see the wives of our allies of the Latine name and Nation, permitted to wear those ornaments
 "which they are forbidden to have, to see them, I say, all gorgeously set out with spangles and
 "jewels of gold, clad in their purple and scarlet cloths, riding in their coaches all over their cities,
 "whiles they at Rome take pains to go afoot on their ten toes, as if the State of the Empire were
 "seated in their Towns, and not in this their own City of Rome. This indignity were enough to
 "wound the hearts of men, and make them bleed; what hurt doth it then, think you, to sully wo-
 "men, whom small matters, God wot, are wont to trouble? Alas poor souls: no magistracy and
 "place of government in State, no sacerdotal dignities in the Church, no triumphs no ornaments
 "and titles of honour, are they capable of, no gifts, no spoils and prizes gotten in wars, can fall to
 "their shares. Neatness and fineness, gay garments, trim attire, and gorgeous habiliments, are the
 "honour and ornaments of women: in it they take delight, on it they let their hearts, of it they
 "make their joy. And therefore well have our ancestors called all furniture for the decking of
 "women [Mundus Muliebris], What lay they off in time of sorrow and mourning, but their gold
 "and purple? what put they on and resume again, when their mourning is past, but their gold and
 "purple? what hang they on them besides in time of publick joy and solemn processions but their
 "better apparel, their richest attire & most costly ornaments? But peradventure, after ye have once
 "repealed the law *Oppia*, it will not be in your power to over-rule them, if haply you should for-
 "bid them to wear any thing that now the law restraineth them of. And perhaps some shall have
 "more ado with their daughters, their wives, and sisters, and find them less tractable and pliable
 "unto their minds than now they are. Never fear that: women cannot shake off their obedience,
 "so long as their Governors (be they fathers, husbands, or brethren) are alive; nay, of all other
 "things they abhor and cannot brook to be at their own liberty, when it cometh by the death of
 "their husbands or parents: Widows Rare and Orphans like, they may not abide. Be sure there-
 "fore, they had rather have their ornaments and attire to be at the disposition of your selves, than

"of the law. And therefore, to speak a truth, you must in equity and reason protect and defend
 "them in kindness, and not oppress them with hardness and bondage: delight ye must to be called
 "their fathers and husbands, rather than their Lords and Masters. It pleased the Consul ere while
 "to give them hard words and odious terms, calling this their meeting, A mutiny of women, and
 "a very insurrection and departure of theirs: and danger there is no doubt, lest being up on they
 "will keize upon the mount *Sacer*, as sometimes the Commons did in the furious anger, or else
 "possess themselves of the Aventine, and there encamp and keep an hold. Well, this weak and
 "feeble sex, born to bear, must suffer and endure whatsoever ye shall ordain and let down against
 "them. But take this withal at the loole for a final conclusion, that the greater power and autho-
 "rity ye have over them, the more discretion and moderation ye ought to use in that sovereignty
 "of yours. After debate of words passed in this wise, in favor and disfavor of the law, the fol-
 "lowing women flocked in greater multitudes into the open streets, and banding themselves
 "together, as it were, in one troop, they belied the dores and houses of the *Bruni*, who by interposing
 "themselves, had hindered and crossed the bill preferred by their fellow Tribunes: and never gave they
 "over to keep this (for until those Tribunes flaked in their opposition, for to inhibit the same, which they
 "done, there was no doubt then, but all the tribes with one voice would abrogate and abolish
 "that law. Thus twenty year after the enacting thereof, it was repealed and annulled.

M. Porcius Cato after the abrogation of the law *Oppia*, presently departed with a fleet of five
 "and twenty Gallies, whereof five were let out by Allies, and arrived in the Port of * *Lunus*, to
 "which place he commanded his forces to assemble: and after by vertue of an edict sent out along
 "the Sea coast, he had gathered together vessels of all sorts as he looked from *Lunus*: and proclaimed
 "that they should all follow after him to the Port of *Pyreneus*, from whence he purposed to let
 "forth against the enemy, with an Armado of many fall, and well appointed. Who having passed
 "beyond the mountains of *Liguria* and the gulf of Gaul, arrived and met all together, at the day
 "and place appointed. From thence they came against * *Rhoda*, where they expelled the Spanish
 "garrison that held the fortrels. From *Rhoda*, with a good gale of wind, they sailed to *Emporia*,
 "Where, all the whole army, excepting the mariners, were set a land. At the same time *Emporia*
 "were two Towns, separate one from the other by a wall. The one of them was inhabited by
 "Greeks, who came from *Phocæa*, from whence the Massilians also are descended: the other was
 "possessed by Spaniards. But the Greeks Town lieth out into the Sea, so as the whole compass of
 "the wall is not but a mile about: but the Spanish Town leated farther into the Land, and divided
 "from the Sea, is defended with a wall three miles in circuit. A third fort of Roman inhabitants
 "were joynt unto them by * *Casus*, the Emperor of famous memory, after he had vanquished
 "Pompey's children. And at this day, they are confused and mingled one with another, and become
 "one entire body, by reason that first the Spaniards, and afterward the Greeks, were made free de-
 "izens of the City of Rome. A man might well marvel seeing how open they lie of the one side to
 "the main Sea, how exposed they are on the other side to the danger of the Spaniards, a Nation fo
 "sierce and warlike, what thing it was that garded and protected them? Discipline it was and good
 "government, and nothing else, which maintained and preserved them in that weakness of their
 "discipline I say, which is ever best intertrained of them, who live in fear of the mightier that are
 "round about them. One quarter of the wall looking to the fields, is passing strong and exceeding
 "well fortified, having but one gate in all that side; which ordinarily is always warded by one of
 "the Magistrates. In the night, one third part usually of the citizens kept watch upon the walls, And
 "this watch they maintained not for custome and fashion, nor by vertue of any law: but they per-
 "formed it with as great care, yea, and went the round and law to the sentinels with as much dili-
 "gence, as the enemies were hard at gates. A Spaniard came not within the City; neither went
 "they forth themselves, unless it were upon just occasion. But on the Sea side the issue was open for
 "any man at his pleasure. By that gate which turneth toward the Spanish Town they never used to
 "go forth but in great number, even a third part wellnigh of the Townsmen, and those who the night
 "before had watched upon the walls. And this caule induced them to go abroad, for that the Spa-
 "niards being no men at Sea gladly would traffick and trade with them: willingly buying of them
 "their strange merchandise from foreign parts brought in by ships: and venting unto them again
 "their Land commodities and fruits arising of the main. The desire of this mutual commerce and
 "their Land commodities was the caule, that the Spanish Town was open to the Greeks. And in great
 "necessary intercourse was the caule, that the Spanish Town was open to the Greeks. And in great
 "safety and security they were also, by reason that they were shadowed under the wing of the
 "Roman amity, which they intertained with as great loyalty as the Massilians, although they were
 "nothing so mighty and puissant. And even at this time they received the Consul and his army
 "with great countenance and liberality. *Cato* sojournd there some few dayes, whiles he was advertised
 "by his signialls where his enemies abode, and what their forces were: and because he would not be
 "idle whiles he layed there, he bestowed all that time in training and exercising his souldiers. It
 "happened to be that season of the year, when the Spaniards had their corn within their granges re-
 "ady for the thrashing floor, whereupon he forbade the cornpurchers to provide grain, and sent
 "them home to Rome. War, faith he, shall feed and maintain it self. Being departed from * *Emporia*,
 "he waded and burnt the territory of the enemies, forced them to run away in every place where he
 "came, and put them in exceeding fright.

At the same time, as *M. Helvius* departed out of the farther Province of Spain with 6000
 "the garrison souldiers delivered unto him by the Pretor, he was encountered by a great army of the
 "Celti-

The law *Oppia*
 "repealed.

* *Puto Veneris*.

* *Rofa*.

* *Tullius*.

* *Emporium*
Stephanus
Angaria
Clauis.

the enemies fought more lustily in defence of their rampier. The Consul cast his eye all about him, to see how to break in at some place or other where least resistance might be made: and seeing the guard thin about the left gate, thither he conducted the Principals and the Hastati of the second legion: but the *corpi de guard*, which guarded that gate, was not able to endure their violent charge. The rest on the other side, seeing the enemies within the rampier abandoned the camp, and flung away their ensigns and weapons. The souldiers of the second legion followed the chase and killed them as they ran away, while the other rankless and rifled their tents. *Vellutius Antius* writeth, that there were 60000 fell that day upon the edge of the sword. *Cato* himself (that never loved to make the least of his own praise-worthy acts) saith, there were many slain: but setteth not down what number. He is thought to have performed that day three peeces of service worthy of great praise and commendation: first, in that he set a compals with his army far from his ships, far from his camp, and gave battail in the midst of the enemies, where his men could repose no hope at all but in their own vertue and valour: secondly, for sending those cohorts behind the enemies to charge upon their backs: and thirdly, for that he caused the second legion to march a great pace under their colours displayed, ranged as they were and ordered in battail array, for to approach and assail the gates of the enemies camp, while all the rest were disbanded and spread all abroad to pursue the enemy in chase.

After this victory achieved, he sat not still in rest and repose, but having founded the *maer* and brought his own souldiers laden with pillage into the camp, he allowed them some few hours for their night sleep, and led them forth into the territory of the enemy to forage and spoil: which was as effectual to enforce the Spanish Emptorians, and all their neighbour borderers to yield subjection, as the unhappy battel fought the day before. Many also of other Cities, which were retired to *Emporia* for refuge, rendered themselves to his devotion: whom he entertained all with gracious words, and when he had made them good cheer, bestowing wine and cates plentifully upon them, he sent them home to their own houses. Then immediately he dislodged and removed his camp. And all the way as he marched with his army there reformed Embassadors from divers States that yielded themselves unto him. By that time that he was come as far as *Taracoon*, all *Spain* on this side *Iberus*, was wholly subdued: and the barbarous people brought in as presents unto the Consul, all the captives and prisoners, as well Romans as Allies, and namely, Latins, who by many and sundry chances had been taken in *Spain*. The bruit went commonly abroad, that the Consul would lead his power into *Turdetania*. There was a false alarm likewise given, and spoken it was, That he would visit the mountainers that lay out of the way. Upon this vain and headless rumour, there were seven forts belonging to the State of the Bergians that revolted from him: but the Consul led his army against them, and without any memorable battel reduced them under obedience. And the Consul his back was no sooner turned, and he gone to *Taracoon*, but they rebelled again, even before he was departed from thence in any other expedition. Subdued they were the second time, but they found not the like favour as before, to have pardon: for they were all sold like slaves in open market, under the garland because they should not thus every while trouble the peace.

In this meantime *P. Marius* the Pretor, after he had received the old army at the hands of *Q. Mutius* whom he succeeded, and joined thereto the other army of old souldiers belonging to *Appius Claudius*, and which were come out of the farther *Spain*, he made an expedition into *Turdetania*. Now these Turdetans of all other Spaniards are counted to be the worst folkish, however, in confidence of their great numbers and multitudes they came forward and encountered the Roman forces. But the men of arms had no sooner charged them, but presently, they were disarmed. As for the footmen, they fought in manner not at all. The old approved souldiers, who knew the enemies very well, and were experienced in feats of arms, made a quick dispatch of this skirmish, and soon put all past peradventure. However, the war was not so ended, nor determined in one battel. The Turdetans levied and waged 1000 Celibarians, and so maintained war as with forrain mercenary forces.

The Consul being thus already with the Rebellion of the Turdetans, and supposing that other Cities would do the like, upon any good occasion and opportunity, disarmed all the Spaniards on this side *Iberus* of their armor and munition. Which they took for such an indignity, that many of them for very melancholly killed themselves: a martial and warlike nation, that thought they were as good be out of the world, as turned out of their arms: and reckoned no life, without their weapons. The Consul having intelligence hereof, commanded the Senators of all those Cities to repair unto him: and when they were assembled together, he used this speech unto them: "It concerneth you (qd. he) no less than us to give over this rebelling and warring. For never yet "to this day have ye entered into the action, but with more loss and damage of Spaniards, than toil and travel of the Roman army. To prevent this mischief that it should not happen, I suppose: one good way is, to contrive and work so, that ye might not possibly be able to rebel. Effect this I would fain, by the effect means and course of all other. Assist me I pray you herein "with your good counsel: I assure you I will not be directed by any advice more willingly than by "that which you yourselves shall give me. When they held their tongues, and would not speak a word, he said unto them again, that he was content they should pause upon the matter, and consult thereof a few daies. When they were called again & kept silence in this second meeting and conference, as in the former he made no more ado, but in one day raised the walls of all their Cities: which

which done, he went forward against those that hitherto were not come in, not yielded obedience: and into what quarters soever he came, he received all the States one after another, there bordering and adjoining, into his protection: save only *Saguntia*, a wealthy City and of importance, which he forced with manteles and rolling pavilions, and such like fabrics. More difficulty in subduing these enemies he found, than others afore him who first came into *Spain* in this regard, for that in times past the Spaniards at the beginning revolted unto them, as being weary of the tedious yoke of subjection under the lordly government and tyranny of the Carthaginians. But *Cato* had more ado with them now, in that out of liberty and freedom, which they had enjoyed and been used to, he was to engage them (as it were) bond, and to bring them again to servitude. Besides, he found all out of frame and order, while some of them were up in arms, others were forced by siege to revolt, as not able to have held out long, unless they had been relieved and succoured in time. But of this nature and courageous mind was the Consul, that he would himself in person be present and manage all affairs, as well those of smallest moment, as also those of greatest weight and consequence: and not only devise and give direction what was best to be done, but would himself set to his hand, and execute most of the exploits and effect them fully. There was not one amongst them all that he commanded with more severity and rigour, than his own self. In living nearly, in spare feeding, in much watching, in painful travel he set himself to surpass and outgo the meanest common souldiers. And no privilege challenged he, no advantage sought he to himself in his whole army above others, but only honour and sovereign command.

The Pretor *P. Marius* had the more trouble in his war-service, by reason of the Celibarians, whom (as it hath been said before) the enemies had levied and hired with their money. And therefore the Consul being sent unto by the Pretor his letters, led his legions also thither. Being there arrived, (now the Celibarians and Turditans were severally encamped apart one from the other) the Romans tell presently to maintain light skirmishes with the Turditans, and ever and anon charged their *corpi de guard*: and how rashly and inconsiderately soever they began the game, yet they went away winners. As for the Celibarians, the Consul sent certain Tribunes or Knight Marshals unto them to compare giving them in charge to make them an offer and tender unto them the choice of three conditions. First, if they could be content to strange themselves to serve under the Romans, and to receive at their hands double wages to that they bargained for with the Turditans. Secondly, whether they would be willing to go their waies home under safe conduct and public security, besides that their siding with the Roman enemies should not be laid to their charge, nor bring them within the compals of any danger. Thirdly, if they had more mind to war, than, that they should set down some time and place, when and where they might come to assault, and fight out in a set battail. The Celibarians required to take a day for to consider better upon these points. So they assembled together in council, with great trouble and consultation, by reason that some Turditans were thrust in amongst them: upon which occasion, they might worse grow to any conclusion. Now albeit uncertain it was, whether there would be any war or peace with the Celibarians, yet the Romans gathered their provision out of the territory and boroughs of their enemies, like as in time of peace: yea, and more than that, they entered sometimes within their fortifications and defences, as if there had been some common traffick and commerce agreed between them, by way of private trade. The Consul seeing he could not draw the enemy to a battail, first led certain companies lightly appointed with banners displayed, to raise booties in one quarter of the country, which as yet was free, and not tired of the wars: but afterwards hearing that all the bag and baggage and other cariage of the Celibarians was left at *Saguntia*, he let forward thither to give an assault to the Town. But seeing that nothing would move and stir them, he paid not only his own souldiers their wages, but also the Pretor his army their due, and leaving the main host in the Pretor his camp, himself returned to the River *Ebro*, accompanied only with seven cohorts. With these forces, as small as they were, he won certain Towns, and there revolted unto him the Sederans, Ansetans, and Suesetans. The Lacetans (a Nation living out of the way alter a savage manner within the wilds and woods) kept in still in arms, not only upon a natural and inbred wildness, but also upon a guilty conscience, in that whiles the Consul and his army was employed in the Turdolan war, they had made sudden raids and incursions into the Lands of their Allies, and pitifully waited the same. And therefore the Consul advanced forward to assault their Town, and led against it not only his own cohorts and bands, but also the youth of his Allies, who had good cause to be angry, and to oppose themselves unto them. The Town which they inhabited, lay out in length, but was not wide and large in breadth: and within one half mile or less, he pitched down his ensigns, and planted himself. There he left behind a guard of choise companies, and straightly charged them not to stir out of that place, before he came unto them himself. The rest of his forces he led about unto the farther side beyond the Town. Of all the aid souldiers that he had about him, the greater number were the youth of the Suesetans, and those he commanded to approach the wall for to give assault. The Lacetans, when they took knowledge of their armor and colours, calling to mind how often they had overrun them at their pleasure, and waited their chance without check or empaachment, how many and sundry times they had in ranged battel discomfited & put them to flight, all at once let open the gate, and sallied out upon them. The Suesetans were loath to sustain the forcible charge of their onfer, that they hardly could abide their very shout & first cry. The Consul seeing now, that he came to pass indeed which he suspected would

Gignus in Andalusia, Moutali.

be for a gallip upon the spur to those said cohorts of his own that were left on the other side under the Town, and taking them with him in great haste, while all the Townsmen were spread abroad in following the chase after the Seditious, he led them into the Town at a place where there was no noise, no stirring, and not a man to be seen: and made himself master of all, before the Lacetans were returned back: but within a while he received them to mercy upon their supplication: who, poor men, had nothing to yield and lose but their bare armor and weapons. Immediately he followed the train of this victory, and led his forces against the bold strong Town of *Pergium*. This was a receptacle and place of lure resort for certain Rovers and Thieves, who from thence used to make many rodes into the peaceable parts of that Province. The principall and chief person of *Pergium* quit the place, and betook himself unto the Consul, and began to excite as well himself as the Townsmen: saying, that the government of the Town and the state thereof lay not in their hands. For why? these robbers after they were once received in among them, seized themselves wholly of that strength, and had all at their command. The Consul willed him to go home again, and to devise and forge some likely and probable cause why he had been absent and out of the way: with this charge and direction, that when he saw him approach under the walls, and the robbers aforesaid wholly amused and occupied in idleness thereof, then he should remember to join with the rest of his part and faction, and be possessed of the fortres and hold of the Town. This put he in practise and execution accordingly. So while the Romans of one side scaled the walls, and they on the other side had taken the fortres, these barbarians were suddenly at once surpris'd with a two-fold fear before and behind. The Consul when he had gotten the place into his own hands, gave orders, that all those who were gotten into the Cattle and held it, should remain free, themselves and all their kindred, and likewise enjoy their goods. The rest of the *Perperans* he commanded the Treasurer to sell and make money of them. As for the Rovers, they suffred according to their deserts. After he had set the Province in quiet, he laid great tributes and imposts upon the mines of iron and silver: which being once ordained and established, the whole province grew in wealth and riches, every day more than other. For these his exploits achieved in *Spain*, the L.L. of the Senat decreed, that there should be a solemn procession at *Rome*, to endure for three days.

The same winter, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the other Consul, fought in *France* a set field with the power of the Boians, near the forest of *Lutetia*, and won the victory. And by report, there were eight thousand Gauls there slain: the rest abandoned the war, and slip every one into their own Hamlets and Villages. The rest of the winter the Cons. kept his army at *Placentia* and *Cremora* about the *Po*, and repaired in these Cities whatsoever had been decayed and demolished during the wars.

The affairs in *Italy* and *Spain* standing in these terms: when *T. Quintius* had so passed the winter in *Greece*, the setting aside the *Aetolians* (who neither had been recompenced according to the hope that they conceived of the victory, nor yet could long time like of repose) all *Greece* throughout in general enjoying the blessing of peace and liberty, flourished and maintained their state exceeding well, admiring no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman General after victory, than his valour and prowess in war: there was an Act of the Senat of *Rome* brought and presented unto him, importing thus much, That war was determined against *Nabis* the tyrant of the *Lacedemonians*. Which when *Quintius* had read, he published and proclaimed a general Diet of Court at *Corinth* against a certain day, when and where all the States afflicious should assemble by their delegats and Embassadors. Now when there was met together from all parts a frequent number of Princes and great personages, in such sort, that the very *Aetolians* also were not absent, *Quintius* used unto them this of the like speech. "The Romans & Greeks have warred against King *Philip* as ye well know: and as with one mind and common counsel they have done, so either of them had several quarrels unto him, and privar causes and occasions by themselves to take arms. For *Philip* had broken the league and amity with us Romans, once while by sending aid and maintenance to the *Carthaginians* our enemies: otherwhiles by assisting our allies in these parts: and to you wards he hath so demeaned himself, that allbeit we could not longer and put up all the wrongs that he hath done unto us, the very injuries that ye have received at his hands, minister sufficient cause unto us to war against him for your sake. As for this dayes consultation, it reflecteth himself in your selves. For, this I propound unto you, Whether your will is to suffer *Argos* (which as ye know your selves *Nabis* the tyrant holdeth) to remain still under him in obedience: or whether you think it meet and reason, that almost noble and ancient City as it is, seated in the very heart of *Greece*, should be reduced unto liberty, to enjoy the same condition and state wherein other Cities of *Peloponnesus* and *Greece* do stand. This consultation I lay, as you well see, entirely toucheth you and your good, and concerneth us Romans no farther than this, that by the servitude of that one only City, we can not have the full and entire glory of setting *Greece* wholly in liberty. But if you regard not the state of that City, and are not moved with the example thereof and the danger, for fear the contagion of this mischief spread farther: we for our parts are content, and take all in good worth, and will not set you down and teach you what to do. Only I require your advice in this point, minding to resolve upon that which the Major part of you shall carry by voices. After the Roman General had ended his speech, all there began to deliver their opinions. And when the deputat delegate or agent for the *Athenians* had magnified and extolled as highly as possibly he could, the good

A good demerits of the Romans towards *Greece*, yielding them great thanks, that upon their request they had granted them aid against *Philip*, and without any petition at all, offered their help and succour against *Nabis* the tyrant: and seemed therewith, to be offended and displeased at some, who nevertheless in their talk and speeches found fault and carped at these great favours and benefits: yea, and spake badly of ignominious events, whereas it behoved them rather to acknowledge and commend how much they were bound and beholden already to the Romans for good turns past: it well appeared, that he pointed out directly the *Aetolians*, and girded at them. "Whereupon *Alexander*, a principall and chief man of their nation, inveighed first against the *Athenians*, who having been in times past the head Captains and maintainers of freedom, betrayed now the common cause, for love of their own privar flatteries. Moreover, he complained that the *Aetolians*, who first served *Philip* in his wars, and at the last (when they saw him down the wind and fortune to frown upon him) fell away like disloyal traitors & possessed themselves of *Corinth* to their own behoof, practising also to compass and gain unto them the City of *Argos*. As for the *Aetolians*, the first and principall enemies of *Philip*, and always allies and friends to the Romans, howsoever they had expressly and precisely covenanted in the league, to enjoy their towns and territories, after *Philip* was vanquished, were notwithstanding put besides *Echinum* and *Phigaleum*. He charged the Romans with fraud and deceit, who pretending an outward show, a vain title and colour of liberty, held the Cities of *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* with strong garrisons: and yet when *Philip* made some stay and balking to withdraw and void from thence his armed guards, they were ever wont to object and say, that *Greece* would never be in freedom, so long as *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Corinth* were in his hand: and finally he alleged against them, that under pretence of *Argos* and *Nabis*, they sought occasion to remain still in *Greece* and keep their armies there. Let them (quoth he) transport their legions once into *Italy*, the *Aetolians* would then undertake and promise, that *Nabis* should remove his garrison out of *Argos*, upon composition and with good will, or else they would compel him by force and arms, to be over-ruled by the puissance of all *Greece* united together in one general consent. By this vain babble of his, he moved *Asellum* first, the Prator of the *Achazans*, who spake in this wise. Never will *Jupiter* give us, quoth he, and Queen *Juno* the Patroness of *Argos*, suffer that City to be the recompence or price between the *Lacedemonian* Tyrant, and these pillaging and thieving *Aetolians*: to be brought to this hard point and their terms of extremity, as to sustain more milery and calamity when it is recovered by us, than when it was won and taken by him. O *Quintius*, it is not the feeling between us and them that can detest us from these robbers. What will then become of us, if we should make ourselves a fort and Cattle of strength in the midst of *Peloponnesus*? Might have they of the Greeks but their language, like as they carry nothing of men but their shape and visage. For look unto their manners, their fashions and behaviour, they are more rude and cruel than any barbarians nay, they are more savage than the most wild and ravenous beasts that be. We beseech you therefore O Romans, both to recover *Argos* out of the hands of *Nabis*, and also to establish the State of *Greece* in such sort, that ye leave these parts also safe and secure, though from the robberies and thieving hostility of these *Aetolians*. The Roman General *Quintius*, seeing them of all sides to blame and rebuke the *Aetolians*, said, that he would have answered them himself, but that he perceived them all so hatefully bent against them, that more needfull it was that they were to be appealed than farther provoked. And therefore holding himself justified and contented with that opinion which was conceived of the Romans and *Aetolians*, he said, that he would demand what their pleasure was to advise, concerning the war against *Nabis*, unless he desired *Argos* to the *Achazans*? And when they all were of one mind to make war, he exhorted them to lend aids proportionably to the power and strength of each State and City. To the *Aetolians* he sent an Embassador, more to discover and lay open their intention (as it fell out accordingly than upon any hope he had to obtain ought at their hands. Unto the Provost Marshalls of the camp he gave commandment to send for the army from *Elasias*.

About this time, when the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* came unto him to treat about alliance and a league, he answered, That he could say nothing to them nor determine of that point in the absence of those Delegats aforesaid: and therefore they were to repair unto the Senat of *Rome*. Then, himself in person prepared to make an expedition and voyage against *Argos*, with those forces which were brought from *Elasias*. And when he was about *Cleora*, *Arifanus* the Prator, with 10000 foot of *Achazans*, and 1000 horse met him in the way: and not far from thence they joyined both their forces and encamped together. The next day after they came down to the plain of *Argos*, and chose a place to fortifie and lie in leaguer about four miles from *Argos*. Now was *Pythagoras* the Captain of the *Lacedemonian* garrison, who had both married the tyrant's daughter, and was his wives brother besides. This *Pythagoras* against the coming of the Romans, had fortified with strong guards both the Cattles (for two there were within *Argos*) and other places, which either had caire accels or were situated. But as he was employed in these preparations and preparations, he could not dissemble and hide the fear which this arrivall and approach of the Romans strake into him: and beside this sort of terror from without, there happened also a storm of rain, which was one *Demetrios* an *Argive*, (a young Gentleman of nobility and courage than wisdom and discretion) who at the first by interposing a murall and impenetrable oath had conferred with certain persons of good sufficiency, about expelling the Romans: but as he studied to strengthen the conspiracy and his own side, he was not well

assured of their fidelity, and could not judge which of them were true and which not. As he talked upon a time with his complices, the Captain of the garrison sent for him by one of his guards; whereupon he perceived that his complot was revealed: he exhorted therefore the conspirators that were in the way to take arms with him, rather than to die by torture upon the rack: and so with some few about him he marched forward into the market-place, crying often aloud, That as many as loved the safety of the Common-weal should follow him as their head and maintainer of their liberty: but no man moved he with his speech to go after him and take his part: for no hope saw they of any succour at all near at hand: so far off were they from making good account of a fire-guard of defence. And as he spake those words, the Lacedæmonians were come round about him, and killed both him and his fellows. After this were others also apprehended: the most part of them were slain, and some few cast into prison. A great number the night following slid down the wall by ropes, and fled to the Romans. These assured the Romans, that if their army had been near the gates, the commotion and conspiracy aforesaid would have taken effect: and in case their camp approached nearer, the Argives would not be in quiet, but make some insurrection: whereupon *Quintius* sent out the footmen lightly appointed, together with the horse-men; who skirmished with the Lacedæmonians about *Cylarabis* (a publick school and place of exercise about a quarter of a mile out of the City) who were sallied out at the gate, and without any great difficulty chased them within the town: and in that very place where the conflict was, the Roman Generall encamped. One day he spent in escourting an embassy, whether any new trouble and uproars arose among them within the City. But when he perceived once that they were all amored for fear, he assembled a Council to take advice. Whether he were best to give the assault upon *Argos*, or no? All the heads of *Greece*, (except *Arifanus*) agreed with one accord, that since there was no other cause of war elsewhere, it should begin there especially. *Quintius* in no case would do that course, but willingly he gave ear with evident approbation unto *Arifanus*, as he discoursed and reasoned against the generall opinion and consent of them all: and over and besides added this of himself, That considering the war was enterprised and taken in hand in the behalf of the Argives against the tyrant, there was nothing less becoming and more without-ence, than to leave the enemy himself, and to assail and batter the poor City of *Argos*. For his part he would fight at the head, even against the Lacedæmonians and their tyrant, the principall cause of this war. Then having dissolved the Council, he sent certain cohorts lightly appointed to purvey store of grain. As much as could be found ripe in those parts was cut, mowed, and reaped down immediately and laid up: all that was green they trampled under foot and spoiled: but the enemies soon after might have no good thereof. So he dislodged and removed from thence, and having passed over the mountain *Parthenius*, at three daies end he encamped in the territory of *Carpe* near to *Tegen*. In which place he expected the aids of his allies before he would invade the territory of the enemies. From *Philip* there came a thousand and five hundred Macedonians, and of *Theffians* forty horse. The Roman Generall staid not now for succours of men (whereof he had sufficient and plenty) but for his provision of victuals, which he had commanded the towns bordering near hand to furnish him withall. Besides, there came great forces by sea, and met him there: for by this time was *Lucius Quintius* arrived with forty sail from *Leucas*: sixteen covered ships of *Rhodes*. And now also was *Eumenes* the King, about the Islands *Cyclades*, with ten clove hatched and decked ships, thirty gallions, with other smaller vessels armed of sundry sorts. Likewise of Lacedæmonians that were exiled and banished persons, there were very many; who, chased and driven out by the oppression and wrongfull dealing of their tyrants, repaired now into the Roman Camp, in hope to recover their native country again. Now a great many had been expelled in divers and sundry ages, since time that the tyrant first usurped misdeed and were possessed of *Lacedæmon*. The chief of these exiled persons was one *Agellipolis*, a man to whom by right of descent and lineage the inheritance of the kingdom of *Lacedæmon* appertained. He whilst he was but an Infant hapned to be expelled by *Lycurgus* after the death of *Clementis*, who was the first tyrant at *Lacedæmon*.

The tyrant before thus round about with wars threatening both from sea and land, and destitute in manner of all hope, (considering the proportion of his forces to the power of his enemies:) yet nevertheless neglected not to wage war, but levied out of *Creta* one thousand more (even the chosen flower of all their youth) to the other thousand that he had from thence already. He had besides of mercenary souldiers three thousand in arms: also ten thousand of his own subjects and Citizens of *Lacedæmon*, together with those that he had taken out of the burroughs and villages in the country. Moreover, he fortified the City with trench and more. And that there might arise no trouble and stir within the town, he held the spirits of men in awe with fear of sharp and rigorous punishments. And forasmuch as he could not hope nor imagine that they desired and wished his good and safety, for that he held some Citizens in suspicion and jealousy: after he had brought forth all his forces into the plain, which they call *Dromos*, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to assemble together without any armour and weapons to an audience: and when they were assembled he environed them with his armed guard. And after some few remonstrances by way of a short preamble, Why they ought to hold him excused at such a time, if he feared every thing, and made all sure as well as he could: considering withall, it was expedient even for them also (as many as the present state of the world might bring in suspicion) to be kept short for being able to execute any attempt, rather than be surprized in the midst of their practices and complots, and

is a running race.

And so to be punished accordingly: even for this cause (quoth he) I will have certain persons in safe custody and durance, untill such time as the tempest be overblown which now is coming. And when the enemies be once repelled, (from whom less danger there will be in case domesticall treasons may be prevented) then incontinently will I enlarge them and let them at liberty. This said, he commanded the names to be called of fourscore or thereabout of the principall of the youth; and as every one of them answered to his name, he clapt him up in fast in prison: and the next night following, murthered them every one. After this, certain lots (these were they who ever of old time were the Burghers and Villagers, a kind of peasants and country kerns) were accused to have intended to flie unto the enemy and to band with him: who likewise were whipped & scourged throughout all the streets, and then put to death. By the fearful example of this cruelty, the courages of the common sort were well cooled and abated, yea, and so abated, that they durst not once quench nor give attempt of any new designs tending to change and alteration. His forces he kept within his strength and places of defence, for neither thought he himselfe strong enough to enter the field and fight a set battell, nor durst abandon the City, seeing the minds of men to wavering, and their affections to unconstant.

Quintius having made his provision and set all things in good order, departed from his standing camp, and the second day came to *Sellacia* upon the river *Oenus*: in which very place *Antigonus* sometime King of the Macedonians struck a battell (men say) with *Cleomenes* the tyrant of the Lacedæmonians. And there, having intelligence, that from thence he was to mount upon an hard ascent and narrow passage, he set a short compass through the mountains, having first before *Cleomenes* him to level the ground and make the way even, and so got into a large and broad portage, untill he came to the river *Eurotas*, which runneth in manner hand under the walls of the City of *Sparta*: where, as the Romans were pitching their tents, even as *Quintius* himself with the horsemen and light van-couriers gone before, the Auxiliaries of the tyrant charged upon them who looking for nothing less, because no man had encountered them all the way as they marched, but passed on in their journey as in a peaceable country, were much troubled and affrighted herewith. This fear of theirs continued a good time, while the horsemen called upon the footmen, and they again unto the horsemen; and both the one sort and the other trusted in themselves but little or nothing at all. At length the standards of the legions with their ensignes came forward; and were within sight, and so loom as the companies of the vanguard advanced forth to fight, they who erewhile terrified others, were driven in fearfull haste themselves into the City. The Romans being retired so far from the wall, as that they were without dart-shot, stood a while ranged in battell array. But after that they saw none of the enemies come abroad against them, returned to their leaguer. The next day after *Quintius* took his way and marched with his army in order of battell along the town side, near unto the river, hard at the foot of the hill *Mandur*. The companies of the legionary footmen led the march in the vanguard, the light footmen and the horsemen followed in the reerward, and flanked the rest. *Nabis* kept within the walls his mercenary souldiers (in whom he reposed greatest confidence) arranged under their ensignes, and in readiness to fight, purposing to charge the back of his enemies. And the reerward of the Romans was not so soon passed by, but they sallied out of the town at sundry places at once, with as tumultuous a noise as they made the day before. *Appian Claudius* had the leading of the reerward, who having prepared beforehand the hearts of his souldiers, and advertized them to be prest and ready for what occurrence forever might happen, presently turned the ensignes, and set a compass with the whole army to make head against the enemies. Whereupon there ensued a hot fight which endured a good time, as if two armies had directly encountered one another. In the end, the souldiers of *Nabis* began to give ground and flie: in which flight of theirs they had made less hast, and better served themselves, but that the Achæans who were acquainted well with the ground, and knew the coasts of the country, hotly followed the chase: there made a foul slaughter and butchery among them; and the most part, such as were dispersed here and there in their flight they disarmed. Then *Quintius* encamped near unto *Amycla*, and having harried and wasted all the territory round about the City (which places were very well peopled and very pleasant:) when he saw no enemies issue out at the City gates, he removed his camp hard to the river *Eurotas*. From whence he made excursions, wasted all the vale lying under the hill *Teigetus*, and the lands butting and adjoining close to the sea.

Much about the same time *L. Quintius* made him self Master of the towns, situate on the sea side: some yielded willingly, others for fear or perforce. And being afterwards advertized, that the town *Cytherium* served for a place of safe retreat and refuge unto the Lacedæmonians in all their exploits and service at sea, and that the Romans lay encamped not far from the sea side, he resolved to assail it with all forcible means. This town at that time was very strong, well peopled with Citizens and other inhabitants, and sufficiently furnished with all warlike provision and munition. And in very good time it fell out, that as *Quintius* was entered into this difficult enterprise, King *Eumenes* and the Rhodian fleet arrived. A mighty number of mariners and sea-servitors, gathered out of those Amnades, within few daies made and furnished all engines and fabrics, which were to assault a City so well fortified both by sea and land. Now was the town-wall broken down with the sea-monition of the tortures, now was the wall broken by the push of the ram, and with all these means: so that by continuall battery was overthrown, and with the fall thereof all the wall that stood on each side came tumbling down and lay along. And the Romans endeavoured

red at one time to enter the town, both from the haven (where the passage was more plain and easy) to the end, that the enemies might abandon the defence of the more open place; and aloft the breach made in the wall: and they mist it but very little of entrance there where they intended, but the hope they conceived of yielding the City, which anon was crossed again, and turned to nothing, staid their violence and heat of assault. *Dexagoridas* and *Gorgopas* governed the town then in equal authority. *Dexagoridas* had dispatched a courier to the Roman lieutenant, to signify that he would betray the town: and when the time and place of execution of this designement was agreed upon between them, the traitor was killed by *Gorgopas*: by occasion whereof, the City was the better defended with more careful heed by him alone: yea, and the assault thereof had been more difficult, but that *Titus Quintus* came to succour and help with four thousand chosen soldiers. He was no sooner discovered with an army arranged in battell array from the brow and top of the hill that is not far distant from the town: whereas *L. Quintus* withall from another side followed the assault with his ordnance and artillery both by sea and land, but *Gorgopas* then began himself to despair in very deed, and was driven perforce to take that very course, which in another he had punished by death: and upon composition that he might depart and have away with him those soldiers which he had in garrison, he delivered up the City to *Quintus*.

Before that *Gythium* was rendered, *Pythagoras* left as Captain at *Argos*, leaving the guard and defence of the City unto the charge of *Timocrates of Pellena*, came with a thousand waged soldiers, and two thousand Argives unto *Nabis* at *Lacedaemon*, and *Nabis* like as at the first arrival of the Roman fleet, and the surrender withall of the towns standing by the sea side, was much affrighted, so he had recovered again some little hope and was well quietted in mind, so long as *Gythium* held out till, & his garrison within the town kept their own, but after he heard once, that it also was yielded unto the Romans, and lost; seeing no hope left by land side, which was wholly possessed by the enemies, and that he was altogether shut up from the sea, he thought it best to yield unto fortune, And first he sent an herald into the camp, to know whether the enemies would permit and suffer him to send his Embassadors unto them. Which being granted, *Pythagoras* repaired unto the General with no other charge and commission, but only to request that they might parley with the Roman General. Hereupon the Council was assembled: and generally opined it was, that there should be granted unto him a conference; inasmuch, as both time and place was agreed upon and appointed. Now when they were come to the hills standing in the midst of that quarter, with some small companies of soldiers attending on either side upon them: they left their cohorts behind them, standing in guard, within the open view and sight of both parts: and then *Nabis* came down with a certain chosen guard for his body; and *Quintus* accompanied with his brother, *Eumenes* the King, *Sabellus* the Rhodian, and *Arillhenus* the Praetor of the Achaeans, with some few Knight Marshalls and Colonels. And then the tyrant being put to his choice, whether he would speak first, or hear another, began his speech in this wise.

The Orator
of Nabis.

"If I could have bethought my self (O *Quintus*, and you all that are here present) & imagined what the cause should be, that you either proclaimed or made war first against me. I would have attended the issue of my fortune with silence. But now I could not have that Maistery and command of my self to forbear, but that before I perish, I would needs know the reason and cause of my ruin and overthrow. Surely if ye were such men as the Carthaginians are reported to be (with whom there is no regard of truth, no trust and security in covenants of fociety and alliance) I would not then marvel at all if you made small reckoning, & cared but little what measure ye offered unto me. But now, when I behold and advise you well, I see you are Romans, whose manner is to entertain most duly and precisely the observation of holy rites & divine Religion, and the faithful keeping of human league and alliance. When I consider and look into my self, I hope and think verily that I am one, with whom in general, as well as with the rest of the *Lacedaemonians* ye are linked by virtue of a most ancient league; and in particular regard of my self, a private amity and society hath been lately renewed by the war with *Philip*. But peradventure some man will say, That I have broken and overthrown the same first, in that I hold the City of the Argives. And how shall I be able to answer this, and excuse my self? Shall I plead to the Necessity of the matter, or to the circumstance of the time? The thing it self preferreth unto me a twofold plea for my defence. For being called by the inhabitants themselves of the City, who offered the town unto me. I received it at their hands, and in no wise seized upon by force: I received it, I say, when it fided and took part with *Philip*, before it was comprised within your league. As for the time it justifieth and cleareth me also and my doings. For even then when as I was possessed of *Argos*, I was allied and associated with you in good accord: and in our covenants, we articulated and capitulated to send aids unto you for your wars, and not to withdraw the garrison from *Argos*. And verily in this difference and question about *Argos*, I have the vantage: we'll in regard of the equity of the fact (in that I received a City not of yours but of your enemies) received it I say, not surprised by force, but offered and delivered willingly) as also by your own confession, for that in the conditions of the association agreed between us, ye left *Argos* free unto me. But it may be that the name of tyrant hurteth me: and some of mine accusations condemn me much, and namely, that I set slaves free, and divide lands to the poor commons. As for the name, thus much I am able to answer: that, such as I am, better or worse, still I am the very same man, and no other than I was when you, even you O *Quintus*, entered alliance with me: then, I remember well, I was called King among you; and now I see I am termed a Tyrant. And therefore

"therefore if I my self had changed the title and stile of my dignity and government, I must have yielded a reason and account of my levity and inconstancy: but seeing you have altered it, ye ought to answer for your vanity. Now as concerning the multitude, so augmented by the enfranchising of slaves: as touching the land also, parted and distributed among the poor and needy, I can maintain and justify my doings herein, & prove, that I am under the defence and privilege of the very time. For all these things, be they as they be may, I had done already, when ye made a league and covenant with me, and received aids at my hand in the war against *Philip*. But in case I had done so at this very present, I stand not now upon this, whether I either had offended you or broken your amity; but thus much I aver, that done I had according to the custom and fashion of our ancestors. And ye must not think to square and try the practice of *Lacedaemon* according to the rule and square of your laws and ordinances. For to let pass many other things (and needles it is to compare particulars) ye chuse your gentlemen or men of arms according to their revenue: according to revenue ye chuse likewise the footmen. Your will is that some few should excel in wealth and power, & the commons be subject and vassals unto them. Our Law-giver thought not good that the common-wealth should be ruled by a few, whom you call a Senator: that one or two States should excel & have preeminence in the City; but he thought that in the equality of wealth & worship, there would be many more to bear arms for their country, I have made a longer discourse I confess, than the ordinary and natural brevity of my speech in these parts will bear. And I might have knit all up in one word and said, that I had done nothing after I was entered into amity with you, wherewith you needed to have taken any offence & been displeased. Then the Roman General made answer to these points in this manner. No friendship nor association at all have we made with you but with *Philip*: the true & lawful King, of the *Lacedaemonians*; whereof, I must needs say that the tyrants also who afterwards held the leignory & sovereignty of *Lacedaemon*, have usurped the right, and enjoyed the benefit during the time that we were otherwise employed, and wholly busied, one while in the Punic wars, another while in the Gauls, and evermore in one or other: like as you also have done in this last *Macedonian* war. For what was less unfixing and more absurd, than for us who waged war against *Philip* for the liberty of *Greece*, to conclude amity with a tyrant; and such a tyrant, as of all others that ever have been is most cruel, most violent and outrageous with his own subjects? And considering that we were entered into the course and train of letting all *Greece* at liberty, albeit you had not possessed your self of *Argos* by covin, nor held the same by force, yet it behoved us to restore *Lacedaemon* also to her ancient liberty, and to settle her in her own laws, whereof ere while you would seem to make mention, as if you had followed the steps of *Lycurgus*. Shall we make care and take the pains to void the garrisons of *Philip* out of *Iassus* & *Bargille*; and when we have done, leave to be trodden under your feet *Argos* & *Lacedaemon*, two most noble Cities, the two lights as it were in times past of all *Greece*; which remaining still in servitude and slavery, might deface the rest of our glory & mar the title that we aim at, of Saviours and Deliverers of *Greece*? But you say, that the Argives friended *Philip* and took his part. We are content well enough, that you should not trouble your self and be angry for our sake. For we know for certain, that this was the fault of two or three persons at most, and not of the whole City: and we know as well, that it was not agreed in any publicke council, that you and your garrison were sent for and received into the Castle. As for the Thebaisians, the Phocians, & Locrians, they sided with *Philip*, we wot right well by a general consent of all; and yet when we enfranchised all *Greece* besides, we also set them at liberty. What think you then should we do in regard of the Argives, who are innocent for any publicke counsel intended against us? You said that you were blamed & charged for letting bondslaves free. No small objections these are: I assure you, not of little importance. But what are they in comparison of other bad parts and heinous facts, committed by you and your followers day by day, one in the head of another: Grant but liberty of an Assembly general either at *Argos* or *Lacedaemon* wherein the people may speak their minds freely, and what they know by you without impeachment: if you would learn the truth indeed, and hear the particular of a most proud and unupportable dominion and tyranny. And to let all old matters go by. What a bloody massacre committed this son in law of yours *Pythagoras*, even almost within my very sight in *Argos*? nay, what a slaughter and butchery made you your self, even when I was well near within the marches of *Lacedaemon*? But come on those persons whom in a general assembly you caused to be attached, and promised in the presence of all the Citizens to keep them safe and sure in ward: come on, I say, command them to be brought forth now bound as they be: that their poor fathers & mothers may understand that they are alive, whom they have mourned for so much, without cause, as if they had been dead. But you will say, let case all this be true, what is that to you Romans? Dare you indeed speak out and say so much to those that deliver *Greece* and set it free? to those I say, that for the freedom thereof have passed the sea have warred both by land and sea? And yet all this while (say you) I have not directly & truly wronged you, nor properly infringed & broken your friendship and amity. No have you not? How often would you have me to convince you of the contrary? But I will not use many words & much circumstance, but come to the very catch and point of the matter, What be the things I say you, wherewith friendship is commonly broken? I take it they are these two especially, namely, if you take my friends for your foes; and joy your self to my enemies. You have done both the one and the other: for you have taken by force and arms *Messena*, a City received

* Hereupon it is, that they who are few words, and pity, are fast to speak Latin: and that manner of speech is called *Lacertina*. The answer of *Quintus*.

into our society and alliance by the very same conditions and covenants that *Lacedæmon* was; H
 you I say our allies have forced a City allied unto us. Again, with *Philip* our enemy, you have not
 only concluded amity, but (God save all) contracted alliance and affinity by means of *Phœtus*
 a Colonnell and Commander of his: and making war against us, you have kept the seas all about
Malta with your men of war and rovers: and I think I may safely say, you have taken prisoners,
 and killed more Roman Citizens than *Philip* himself. And the whole sea-coast of *Macedony* hath
 left infected our ships that use to bring provision unto our armies, and been more safe for passage
 than the promontory & cape of *Malta*. Do you forbear therefore to make such vain brag of fidel-
 ity: spare you of another, to speak of the rights of alliance; and laying off the mask of popular
 language and civil speech, talk as a tyrant and enemy as you are. Upon this, *Antiochus* dealt with
Nabis, one while admonishing and advising him, another while requesting and entreating him, I
 now that the opportunity was offered, to provide for himself and his whole estate: he began to
 discourse unto him of the Tyrants of all the states confining thereabout one after another by
 name, who when they had reigned up and laid down their absolute sovereignty of command,
 and restored liberty to their subjects, passed their old age among their Citizens, not only in re-
 posit and security but also in great honour and reputation. These words uttered & heard between
 them and so the night drew on apace & parted the conference. The morrow after, *Nabis* pro-
 mised, seeing the Romans would have it so, to quit the City *Argos*, to withdraw his garrison from
 thence, and to deliver again all the captives and fugitive traitors that were under his hands: and
 if they demanded any more of him, he requested that they would set it down in writing, that he
 might consult thereof with his friends. So both the Tyrant had respite and time granted to take ad-
 vice, and also *Quintus* fate in Counsell with the principall heads of his allies what to do, for
 never would the liberty of *Greece* be otherwise firm and sure: and better far had it been, never to
 have entered into arms with him, than being once begun, to give it over. And he will, say they,
 be greater and more strong hereafter, as if his tyrannical government were approved, and no doubt
 he would vouch the people of *Rome* for author of his unjust rule and dominion, and will induce
 and incite by his example many in other free States and Cities, to lie in wait to work means to
 overthrow the liberty of Citizens, and to bring them into thralldom and bondage. The General,
 of himself was more affected and inclined to peace: for he saw, "that if the enemy were once en-
 cased within the walls, there was no way but to lie in siege against the City, and that would re-
 quire long tract of time: forasmuch as it was not *Gyrænum* (and yet that was betrayed and im-
 mured and not forced by assault) but *Lacedæmon*, a most strong town both for men and munition,
 "that they were to lay siege unto and assault. And whereas the only hope was, that when they
 approached with the army, there might some dissension and sedition have risen among them-
 selves within: now when as they saw the ensignes in manner advanced hard to the City gates,
 "there was not one that mutined or stirred at all. He added moreover and said, that *Phœtus* the
 "Embassador newly returned from *Antiochus*, reported, how all was not found there, nor the
 "peace like to continue: and that he had passed over into *Europe* with far greater forces both for
 "land and at sea than at any time heretofore: and if (quoth he) the army should be wholly em-
 "ployed in the siege of *Lacedæmon*, what other power have we to maintain war withal against
 "so puissant and mighty a Prince as is *Antiochus*? These were the remonstrances that openly he
 "gave out; but secretly he was troubled in mind for fear lest a new Consul should come in his place,
 "and have the government of the Province of *Greece*: and so he should leave unto his successor,
 "the honour of the victory of a war commenced by him, and in good forwardness. But when he
 "perceived that his allies were nothing inclined to his waies, notwithstanding all his contradic-
 "tion and bending to the contrary, by making semblant that he now drew with them and was of
 "their mind, he went them all to approve his designment and intention. "Well, God speed our
 "hand (quoth he) let us besiege *Lacedæmon* since ye will needs have it so: but considering that
 "the laying siege unto Cities, is a thing as ye well know, that goeth so slowly forward, and
 "sometimes maketh the assailants sooner weary than the defendants: you ought even now to cast
 "this account presently with your selves, that we must lie all winter long about the walls of
 "*Lacedæmon*. And were there nothing but travell and perill, that during so long time we were
 "to endure, I would exhort and encourage you to suffer and abide the same, with stout bodies
 "and resolute minds. But besides all that, we must be at great cost and expences about fabrics,
 "engines, and instruments of artillery, requisite to the assault of so great a City: we must I say be
 "provided of victuals good store against winter, as well to serve us as you. Bewell advised
 "therefore (to the end that you should not suddenly in haste huddle up these matters, or as ye
 "are once entered into the sasion, give over and abandon it with shame) that ye dispatch
 "your letters forth and every one to the State wherein he liveth, and found them to the depth,
 "how their hearts serve them and what strength and forces they have. Of aids & succours have O
 "enough and to spare: but the more in number we are, the more maintenance shall we need. At
 "this time the territory of our enemies hath nothing but bare soile and naked ground: and
 "withall, the winter is coming on apace, all which seasons, carriage (especially far off) is cum-
 "bersome and hard. This Oration at the first caused them every one to regard and look homeward
 "to domesticall difficulties and inconveniences, namely, the idleness, the envy and backbiting
 "of those which tarry at home, against them that are employed in warfare: the common liberty

A (which causeth men of one society and commonalty hardly to accord and foit together) the pub-
 like want of pleasure, and the nigardice of private persons: when they are to part with any thing
 out of their own purses: And therefore suddenly changing their minds, they put to the discretion
 of the Roman Generally, to do and determine what he thought expedient for the good of the
 people of *Rome* and their allies. Whereupon *Quintus* taking the advice only of his own Lieuten-
 ants and Provost-Marshals, engroffed these Articles and conditions following, according to
 which peace should be concluded with the Tyrant. *Imprimis*, That there be a truce made for the
 term of six months between *Nabis* and the Romans. *King Eumenes* and the *Rhodiens*, *Item*, That
 both *Quintus* and *Nabis* should immediately send Embassadors to *Rome*, that the peace might
 be ratified and confirmed by the authority of the Senat, *Item*, That from that day forward, where-
 in the conditions put down in writing should be presented unto *Nabis*, the true aforesaid
 should be kept. *Item*, That within ten daies next after ensuing, all the garrisons quit *Argos* and
 the rest of the towns within the territory of the Argives: and then thole peeces to be delivered void
 and free unto the Romans. *Item*, That no slave taken captive in wars, belonging either to the
 King, or to any publick state, or private person, be had away from thole towns: and if any before
 time had been carried forth, they should be restored again duly to their right Masters. *Item*,
 That *Nabis* should deliver again those ships that he had gotten from the maritime Cities, and
 that himself have no vessel at all but only two gallions, and those to have no more than six
 and twenty oars apiece to direct and rule them. *Item*, That he render all the runagate Traitors and
 captives unto all the Cities confederate with the people of *Rome*, as also make restitution to
 the Medesians of all their goods again, that either could be found, or the owners know certainly
 to be theirs. *Item*, That he restore to all the banished *Lacedæmonians* their wives and children:
 but of the wives, so many only as would be content to follow their husbands: and that none of
 them should be compelled against their wills to go with any exiled person. *Item*, That to as many
 mercenary souldiers of *Nabis*, as were either gone from him into their own Cities, or to the Ro-
 mans, all their own goods should be justly and truly delivered again. *Item*, That in the Island of
Cyru he should not be possessed of any one City: and look what Cities he then held, he yield
 them to the Romans. *Item*, That he enter into alliance with no Candiot, nor with any other
 whatsoever, nor yet make war with them: *Item*, That he remove all the garrisons out of all the
 Cities that himself had delivered up, and which had surrendered themselves and all they had, under
 D the protection and obedience of the people of *Rome*, and not molest them neither by himself
 nor any of his. *Item*, That he build no town nor Castle, either in his own land or in any other.
Item, That for the more assurance of performing these covenants, he give five hostages, such as it
 should please the Roman Generally to chooise: and namely, his own son for one of them. Last of
 all, That he make present payment of one hundred talents of silver, and fifty more yearly untill
 the term of eight years be run out. These Articles engroffed, were sent to *Lacedæmon*, after
 the Camp was removed nearer to the City. But nothing well pleased was the tyrant with any
 of them. Only he was well apaid, that beyond his hope and expectation, there was no mentio-
 on at all therein of reducing the exiled persons home into the City. But that which offended
 and displeased him most was this, that both shipping was taken from him, and also the maritime
 E ports towns: for great commodity he gat by the sea. In scouring the coast from the cape of *Malta*
 with his pyrats and men of war: and besides, the youth and able men of those Cities, served his
 turn very well to furnish and man his ships with the very best souldiers and men of service that
 were. And albeit he scanned and considered upon these articles in great secrecy with his friends,
 yet were they all of them divulged abroad and current in every mans mouth: so vain are these
 counsels commonly and hardly to be trusted, as in all things else so especially in keeping of secret
 counsell. These conditions were controlled and found fault with, not so much by all men in ge-
 neral, as by each one in particular, as they took exceptions against those points that touched and
 concerned themselves. They that had married the wives of the banished, or were possessed of
 any part of their substance, chafed, and stormed thereat, as if they were to lose and forgo their
 F own, and not to render and restore the goods of others. The slaves who had been freed by the
 tyrants, were now not only to lose the benefit of that freedom, but also to endure harder ser-
 vitude and bondage than aforetime: setting before their eyes how they should return again
 into the houses and hands of their old Masters, angry and incensed now against them. The hired
 souldiers were malecontent, for that they saw they should lose their pay after peace con-
 cluded: and saw full well, that there was no being for them in thole States and Cities, who hated
 the tyrants themselves no more than their followers and attendants. At first they muttered
 and murmured, whispering these things among themselves in their secret meetings and con-
 venticles: afterwards they mutined, and on a sudden ran and took arms. The Tyrant seeing
 the multitude disquieted enough of themselves with this tumult, assembled the people to
 G gather. Where, after he had declared the conditions imposed upon him by the Romans,
 and in every article had untirly put to somewhat of his own devising, to aggravate all mat-
 ters and make them seem more grievous and intolerable, at the rehearsing of every particular
 the whole assembly one while cried out, and another while the sundry parts thereof, set up a
 note of utter dislike. Then he asked their opinion what answer they would have him to return
 unto thole Articles, and what to do? They all in manner with one voice accorded and said, that
 there was no answering of the matter, but that he should plainly go to war, and make no more

ado. And that every man for his own part (as the usual manner is of a multitude, when they are all together) should take a good heart, and hope the best, saying that Fortune favoureth Fortitude. The tyrant insinuated with these their words, exceeded them himself, & assured them that *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* would take their parts and assist them: and if they did not, yet were they strong enough of themselves, and had sufficient means to endure the siege. No more talking now nor thinking of peace, but every man was ready to run in huff to his several quarter, and stand upon their own guard, without any rest or repose from thenceforth. The Romans so soon as they saw some few of them to fall out of the City, and to discharge their darts among them, were soon put out of all doubt, that no other remedy there was, but they must to war again. After this, these particular skirmishes four daies together, at first without any assured issue of good speed, either of the one part or the other: but the fifth day after one conflict fought in manner almost of a full battell, certain Roman souldiers following the chase upon their enemies, and killing them in their flight, entered the City at certain void places, where the wall was not united: for in that order were the walls built of that towne those daies. *Quintus* then verily, having well bridled and tamed by this terror his enemies for making any more excursions, and supposing that there remained no more, but huffily to go to an assault, sent out certain of purpose for to call the mariners & sea-servitors from *Gyreneum*, whiles himself in person, accompanied with the Provost *Mithras*, rode about the walls to view the situation of the City. This *Sparta* in times past stood without murage. And the tyrants of late daies had built walls against the open flats and plain fields. The higher ground and of harder access, they fortified with strong corps de guards of armed footmen, instead of bulwarks of defence. When *Quintus* had sufficiently considered every corner, he supposed there was no other way but to invest it round about, and thereupon with all his forces united (which being all together Roman Citizens and Latine allies, foot and horse, land-souldiers and sea-servitors one with another, amounted to 50000 fighting men) he compassed and environed the City. Some brought scaling ladders, some fire, every man one thing or other, not only to give an assault, but also to terrifie and amaze them: with direction and expresse commandment, with a loud cry and shout at one in all places to approach the walls, & give the venture upon them: to the end that the Lacedæmonians affrighted at one instant on every side, might not know which way to turn them, and be so feek, where first to make head against the enemies, and in what place to come with succours. Having therefore divided the whole power of his army into three parts, he gave the one of them in charge to assault that quarter which was called *Phærum*: a second likewise to set upon that which is named *Distryneum*, and the third to force the cunton *Hæpagonia*: places all lying open and without a wall. The City being thus seized on all sides with so great fear, the tyrant moved and troubled to hear those sudden outcries & fearful news brought unto him by halty messengers: according as any place stood most in danger, at the first, either presented himself in proper person, or else lent some to help: but afterwards, seeing the fear so general, and no one place void of danger, he was so affonied, that unable he was either himself to give good direction to others or to hear theirs. So void was he, and disurnished of advice and counsel, yea, and bereft of his right wits and senses. The Lacedæmonians at first hand sustained the furious violence of the Romans in the narrow freights and passages, & at one time in divers places, three armies fought on either side: but afterwards, as the heat of the fight increased, the service was nothing equal of both parties: for the Lacedæmonians discharged shot from which the Roman souldiers easily saved themselves, by means of their large targets, and withall much thereof either fell short and besides, or else so feebly flung from them, that little or no harm they could do. For by reason of the straightness of the place, and the multitude who thronged and thrust together, they had not only no place to take their run, when they should lance their darts (the best means of all other to enforce them) but not so much as sure footing, and at ease to drive and level them with all their strength. Inasmuch, as of all the darts and javelins which were directly shot against them, none as it pierced to their bodies, & very few so much as stuck in their bucklers. Many some happened to be wounded from the higher places, by those that stood near unto them, and about their sides. And anon as they advanced forward they chanced to be hurt, not only with arrows & darts from off the houses, but also with tiles and flates ere they were aware. But afterwards, they covered their heads with their targets, which they set so close united together one under the other, that betwixt, that not only there was no place of entrance for the darts thrown and cast at random afoot, no, nor so much as any room for a weapon to get between, levelled though it were, and aimed near at hand: so as under this target-fence they approached nearer and nearer in safety. At the first the narrow and straight passages filled with the throng both of themselves and also of the enemies so thrust and crowded together, staid them for a while; but afterwards, when they had by little and little gathered upon the enemies, and put them back, and were come into a larger and more spacious street of the City, then their force and violence could not possibly be endured any longer. Now when the Lacedæmonians turned their backs, and fled apace to gain the higher places for their vantage, *Nabis* verily for his part trembling and quaking, as if the City had been quite lost, looked about him on every side, which way himself might escape and save his life. But *Pythagoras* as in all things else he performed the devoir and part of a conrigious Captain, so he was the only cause that the town was not lost: for he commanded to set fire on the houses standing next to the wall, which in the minute of an hour burned out on a slight flame, as being set forward by the help of those, who otherwise were wont to quench the fire: carelest

A whereupon the houses came rattling and tumbling down upon the Romans heads, and not only the tiles and boards, but also the timber pieces half burnt fell upon the armed souldiers, the flame spread still far and near, and the smothering smoke put them in fear of more danger than was. And therefore, as well those Romans who were without the City, in the hottest of their assault, retreated from the walls, as also those that were entered already, for fear left by the fire behind them they should be separated from their fellows, retired themselves. *Quintus* also seeing how the case stood, caused to sound the retreat, and so being recalled, they returned out of the City which they had as good as won into the camp. And *Quintus* conceiving more hope by the fear of the enemies, than of the thing it self and the service done, never gave over for three daies to terrifie them partly by skirmishing, and partly by intrenching and stopping up certain quarters, that they might have no passage at all to fly and shift for themselves. The tyrant constrained at length with their dangers menaced, sent *Pythagoras* again as an Orator unto *Quintus*. But he at first rejected him, and commanded him to avout out of the camp: yet in the end, after he had made most humble supplication, and cast himself prostrate at his feet, he gave him audience. The beginning of his speech was this, that he yielded all to the discretion and former award of the Romans. But seeing that he gained nothing thereby, and that his words took no effect, they grew at length to this point, That upon the same capitulations which few daies before were exhibited up in writing, a truce should be made, and hereupon was both the money and also the hostages received.

Whiles the tyrant was besieged and assailed, there came post upon post to *Argos*, that *Lacedæmon* was at the point of being lost: whereupon the *Argives* took such heart and courage unto them (by reason that *Pythagoras* with the best part of the garrison souldiers was departed before out of their town) that condemning the small number which remained in their fortres, under the leading of one *Archippus*, they expelled the rest of the garrison. As for *Immocrates* of *Pellene* their Captain, because he had behaved himself in his charge and government gently and mildly, they sent him away alive with safe conduct. At the very instant of this joyfull occurrent, *T. Quintus* arrived, after he had granted peace to the tyrant, and sent away from *Lacedæmon*, *Eumenes* and the *Rhodiens*, together with *L. Quintus* his brother to the fleet. The City of *Argos* in great joy proclaimed the celebration of their most solemn feast, and those so famous and renowned games and pastimes called *Nemean*, against the coming of the Roman army and their General, which they had forelet upon the ordinary time and day-by occasion of the troubles of war. And for the D honour of *Quintus*, they ordained him to be the overleer of these solemnities. Many things there were to redouble and increase this their joy and solace to the full. The Citizens were reduced from *Lacedæmon* whom *Pythagoras* of late and *Nabis* aforesaid had carried away. They also were returned home again who had fled and escaped, after the conspiracy of *Pythagoras* was detected, and the massacre begun. Now they saw their liberty again, whereof they had lost the fight a long time: now they beheld the Romans the authors thereof, and who for their sakes were induced to take arms and enterprise the war with the tyrant. Also, upon the very day of the *Nemean* games, the liberty of the *Argives* was published and proclaimed by the voice of the public beadle and crier of the City. But look how much joy and hearts content the *Æchæans* conceived in their common and general Council of all *Æchæa*, for the restoring of *Argos* into E their ancient freedom, so much troubled they were again, in regard that *Lacedæmon* was left still in servitude, and the tyrant to near unto them ready ever to prick their sides, whereby their joy was not so found and entire. But the *Ætolians* in all their Diets inveighed mightily against this, saying, That the Romans never gave over the war with *Philip* before he had abandoned all the Cities of *Greece*: as for *Lacedæmon*, it was left still under a tyrant and in the mean while the lawful and natural King who had been in the Roman camp, and all the rest of the noblest Citizens should live in exile. For now the people of *Rome* was become a pensioner to guard the body of tyrannizing *Nabis*. Then *Quintus* brought back his army from *Argos* to *Elatis*, from whence he departed to the Spartan war. Some write, that the tyrant when he fought with the Romans, came not immediately out of the City: but that he was lodged without by himself full opposite to the F Roman camp: and that after he had made good a long time, expecting the aid of the *Ætolians*, he was driven in the end to a battell, by occasion that the Romans charged upon the foragers and purveyors of his camp: in which battell he was vanquished and beaten out of the field, and craved peace, after that fifteen thousand of his men were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners, and above,

At one and the same time in a manner were letters brought both from *T. Quintus* touching the affairs achieyed at *Lacedæmon*, and also from *M. Porcius* the Consul out of *Spain*. And by order from the State, there was granted in the name of either of them a solemn procession to continue three daies. *L. Valerius* the Consul, after he had governed his Province in quietness upon the defeat of the Boians about the forest of *Litana*, returned to *Rome* against the general Assembly for election of Magistrates, and created Consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the second time, and *T. Sempronius Longus*: whose fathers had been Consuls in the first year of the second Punic war. Then the Assembly was holden for the election of Prætors, wherein were chosen *P. Cornelius Scipio* and the two *Cneii Cornelii*, the one *Merenda*, and the other *Blasio*: *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Sextus Digintius*, and *T. Juventius Talla*. When these elections were finished, the Consul returned again into his Province. That year the Ferentines asked to obtain a new privilege: to wit, That as many Latines as were enrolled in any Roman Colony, should be

be Citizens of Rome. But they of *Patuli, Salernum* and *Buxentum*, who were Colonies established in their names entered there, and by that means affixing themselves as Roman Citizens, were adjudged by the Senat to be no Citizens of Rome.

In the beginning of this year, wherein *P. Scipio Africanus* was Consul the second time, with *T. Sempronius Longus*, two Embassadors of *Nabab* the *Egyptian*, arrived at Rome. For to give them audience, the Senat assembled together without the City in the Temple of *Apollo*. Their petition was, That the peace agreed upon with *Quintus* might be ratified: and their suit was granted. When it was moved, as touching the government of the Provinces: the Senat (assembled in great frequency) were all of this opinion. That forasmuch as in *Spain* and *Macedony* the war was ended, both Consuls should have the government of *Italy*. *Scipio* was of advice, That one Consul was sufficient for *Italy*, and that the other should be employed in *Macedony*. And why? there was need, I was menaced from King *Antiochus*: himself already was passed over into *Egypte*: And what think ye, quoth he, will he then do, when the *Ætolians* (who doubtless are enemies) of one side shall solicit and call upon him for to war, and *Antiochus* a warrior and commander to remove for the defeats and overthrowes of the Romans, shall prick him forward of the other? Whiles they debated thus about the Provinces of the Consuls, the Prætors call lots for their severall governments. The City jurisdiction fell to *Cn. Domitius* the forraim to *T. Juventius*. To *P. Cornelius* the latter *Spain* was allotted and the hither to *Sex. Digintius*. *Cn. Cornelius* Blasts had *Sicily* assigned unto him, and *Merenda* was charged with *Sardinia*. It was not thought good that a new army should be transported over into *Macedony*. But concluded it was, that the army there should be brought back by *Quintus* into *Italy*. So discharged, *Item*, That that the army likewise should be raised, which had served under *M. Porcius Cato* in *Spain*. *Item*, That both Consuls should govern *Italy*, and levy two legions of Citizens to go thither, that when those forces were diminished and reduced to go home, which it pleased the Senat to set at liberty, there should be eight Roman legions in all, and no more in pay.

In the former year, when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Consuls, there had been held a solemnity of a sacred Spring. But when *P. Licinius* the high Pontiffes made report first to the College of the Priests, and by the advice and authority of that College, unto the *LL. of the Council*, That there was some error committed, and that it was not performed accordingly: the Prætors ordained, that it should be done again anew according to the discretion and direction of the Pontiffes aforesaid. Also that the great Roman Praies, which together with that Spring were vowed, should be exhibited with the accustomed cost and expenses: And that all young cattle that fell between the Calends of *March*, and the last day of *April*, in that year wherein *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius Longus* were Consuls, should be accounted as consecrated for that sacred Spring above-named. After this, there was an assembly held for the choosing of Censors, wherein were created *Sex. Atilius* *Petrus*, and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*: who elected *P. Scipio* the Consul, President of the Senat, like as the Censors before them had done. In the survey and review of the whole Senat, they left out and discarded three only, and none of them who had borne office of State, and sat in the Ivory chair. Great love these Censors won amongst them of that calling and equality, in giving commandment to the *Ædiles* curule, that at the Roman games and praies they should set out places apart from the rest of the people for the Senators to behold the said disorders. For sometime they beheld the sports and pallimes all together, without regard and distinction. Few also of the Gentlemen or Knights of Rome had their horses of service taken from them: and rigorously dealt they with no estate and degree. The porch of Liberty, and the banister called *Villa publica*, were by them repaired and enlarged. The sacred Spring was celebrate: and the games vowed by *Sev. Sulpicius* the Consul, were by them exhibited. And whiles all men were amused and their minds occupied thereupon, *Q. Pleminius* who had been cast in prison for divers and sundry outrages committed at *Lucris*, to the great offence of God and man, had procured certain persons, who in the night season at one instant should set on fire many places of the City, to the end that whiles all the people were affrighted in this night-tumult, he might break prison and escape. This plot was discovered and reported to the Senat by some of them that were privy and accessory thereunto. And *Pleminius* was let down into a lower dungeon and there killed.

That year were certain Colonies of Roman Citizens conducted to *Patenti, Valerorum*, and *Viternum*, and three hundred men planted in each of them. Likewise Colonies of Roman Citizens were brought to *Salernum* and *Buxentum*. The Triumvirs who had the placing of them were *T. Sempronius Longus*, Consul for the time being; *M. Servilius* and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The territory of the Campan was divided among them. Three other also departed for the purpose. *D. Junius Brutus*, *M. Babius Tambulius*, and *M. Helvius* placed a Colony of Roman Citizens in *Sipontum* to enjoy the lands of the Arpians. Likewise other Colonies of Roman Citizens were planted in *Templa* and *Crotone*. The lands belonging to *Templa* were won from the *Brutii* who had expelled the Greeks: and the Greeks remained in *Crotone*. The Triumvirs for *Crotone* were *Cn. Ostavius*, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, and *C. Pleterius*: and for *Templa* *L. Carat*, *M. Arula*, and *C. Salsinius*. Also that year were seen at Rome divers wonders and prodigious sights: and some were reported from other parts. In the common place place, in the publick Hall, Comitium and Capitol, were seen certain drops of blood. And oftentimes it rained earth. The head of *Pulcrus* was seen fire. News came that at *Interamna* there ran a stream of milk. Also that at *Ariminum* there were

A were two Infants both of free condition, born without eyes and nose, and another in the Picene country handless and footless. These strange tokens were by order given from the chief Pontiffes, looked unto and expiated, and a Novendiall sacrifice continued for nine daies, because the *Adrians* brought word that in their territory it rained flowers.

In Gaul near to *Medolanum*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the Pro-Consul, fought a set field with the French Insubrians and Boians, Which Boians under the conduct of *Dorniacus* passed over the river *Padus*, for to solicit and raise the Insubrians. In which conflict were slain ten thousand enemies. About the same time his Colleague in government *M. Porcius Cato* triumphed over *Spain*. In this triumph he carried in pomp and flew 2500 pound weight of silver in bullion, and in coin 123000 Bigar pieces: of Ocan silver 540 pound weight, and of gold 400000 pound weight. Of the booty won from the enemies he dealt among his soldiers that were footmen 270 asses a-piece, and treble so much to every man of arms.

T. Sempronius the Consul having put himself in his journey toward his Province, led first his legions into the Boians country. *Boioric* at that time their Prince with his two brethren, having raised the whole nation to rebellion, encamped in certain commodious places: so as it appeared that the enemy entered their confines, they were ready to give him battell. The Consul perceiving how strong and confident the enemies were, dispatched a courier to his Colleague, to make hast if he thought it good and come unto him: for until his coming he would fall off, seem to retire and not fight. But the same cause that moved the Consul to stay, gave occasion to the Gauls to make more halts: for besides that the delaying & lingering of the Consul, encouraged the Enemies, they were desirous to have the trial of a battell before the forces of both Consuls were joyned together. Howbeit, for two daies space they did nothing but stand ready ranged for fight, if any should come forth to brave and dare them. On the third day they approached the trench and rampier of the Consuls Camp, and on every side at once gave the assault. The Consul immediately commanded the soldiers to arm. And when they were armed, he kept them in awhile, with intent to encrease the foolish confidence in the enemies, and to dispose of his own forces, and give direction, what companies should fall out at every gate. The two legions he commanded to issue forth under their colours: at the two side gates called *Principales*: but in the very passage without the Gauls stood thick and made head again, so that the way was stopped up. A long time they fought in those very straights. And they bestirred themselves no more with their hands and swords, than they pressed one upon another with their bodies and targets: whilest the Romans strived to advance their engines out of the gates, and the Gauls endeavoured no less, either to enter themselves within the camp, or else to impeach the Romans for going forth. But in this conflict there was nothing between them either won or lost, no ground gained the one of the other, before that *Q. Victorius* a principal Centurion of the *Planis* in the second legion, and *C. Atinius*, a Tribune or Marshall of the fourth, caught the banners from the engine-bearers (a thing often practised in time of extremity) and flung them among the enemies. For whiles these laboured and strained themselves to recover each one a banner, they of the second legion first brake through and got forth of the gate: so as now, they maintained skirmish without the trench, and the fourth legion stuck still in the gap. By which time there arose another tumult and noise in the contrary side of the camp: for the Gauls were broken in at the Quætors gate (or the gate against the *Quæstorium*) and slain those that valiantly made head and held them play: to wit, *Lucius Posthumus* a treasurer surnamed *Tympanus*, *Marcus Atinius* and *Publius Sempronius* two Colonels of the allies, and well near two hundred soldiers besides. Thus the camp on that part was won, until such time as one extraordinary cohort was sent from the Consul to defend the Quætors gate aforesaid: which either flew those that were within the rampier, or else drave them forth, and so withstood those that would have rushed in. And much about that very time the fourth legion also with two extraordinary squadrons brake forth at the gate. Thus at once there were three several battels in sundry places about the camp: and the dissonant cries and noises (according to the divers occasions of each party ministered by their fellows) turned and withdrew the minds and spirits of those that were in fight, from the present skirmish before them. In this manner maintained they the fight till noon: equally matched in strength and number, and little or no odds between them for hope of victory: but tedious travail and extremity of heat compelled the Gauls (whose bodies are soft and open, and soon running to sweat, and who of all other things can least away with thirst) to abandon the battell: and those few that remained behind, the Romans ran upon, rushed their colours, and chased them into their own hold. Then the Consul sounded the retreat: at which signal given the most part retired themselves: but a sort of them, upon a hot desire of fight, and good hope to be Masters of their camp, persisted still, close to their trench. The Gauls disdaining their small number issued all forth out of their Camp: and then the Romans being discomfited, were glad now of themselves for fear and flight to crudge unto the strength of their own hold, which they would not retire unto at the commandment of the Consul. Thus on both sides there was one while victory, and another while fearful flight: howbeit, when all cards were told and the reckoning made, the Gauls had the worst of the game: for of them were slain eleven thousand, whereas of Romans there died but five thousand. Then the Gauls retired themselves into the most inward parts of their country, and the Consul marched with his legions to *Placentia*. Some write, that *Scipio* and his Colleague with their

* The quarrel and lodging of the Treasurers.

this joyned forces, invaded and spoiled the countreys of the Boians and Ligurians, so farforth as they could pass for woods and bogs: others again record, that he, having done no memorable exploit at all, returned to *Rome* about the assembly for election of Consuls.

The same year *T. Quintius* spent the whole winter season at *Elasia* (whither he had retired his forces for winter harbour) in hearing mens causes and ministering justice to every one; also in reforming and redressing all such disorders as had passed in the States and Cities, through the licentious government and jurisdiction either of *Philip* himself or his Captains, whilst he advanced those favours of his own faction; and put down the right and liberty of others. In the beginning of the spring he came to *Corinth*, where he had given summons, that there should be holden a general Diet of the States. There in the assembly of all the Embassadors and agents from the Cities, gathered about him as it were to hear an Oration, he made a speech unto them: beginning first with the amity contracted between the Romans and *Greece*: and proceeding to the acts achieved in *Spain* by the Generals afore him, and those also of his own. All that he spake was heard and received with great applause, until he touched the point concerning *Nabis*: for it was generally thought unfitting, that he undertaking to set all *Greece* at liberty, had left a tyrant (not only a grievous oppressor of his own subjects, but also dangerous to all the Cities about him) to remain still as a fearful malady settled in the very bowels and heart of a most noble and renowned State. *Quintius*, notwithstanding their affections and dispositions, confessed, that he should not indeed have any ear at all to the motion or mention of peace with the tyrant, in case that *Lacedaemon* could have stood in safety without so doing: but now since that *Nabis* might not possibly be confounded and overthrown, without the present ruin and fearful downfall of the City, he thought it a better course in policy to leave the tyrant enfeebled and disarmed of all means "to offend and hurt any man, than to suffer so goodly a City to die in the cure, and under the hand as it were of the Physician, amidst those quick and sharp remedies which it were necessary to endure: and so in seeking to recover liberty, to perish and die for ever. And after he had discoursed of things past, he intreated, that his purpose and intent was, to go into *Italy*, and to have away with him his whole army: also that within ten daies they should hear news how all the garrisons had quit *Demetrius* and *Chalcis*: and that he would deliver out of hand unto the Achazans in their very fight, the fortrets of *Corinth*: that all the world may know, whether it be the Romans guide, or the fashion of the Achazians, to over-reach and lie: who in their common talk have not let to discourse, to sow furies, and to buzze into mens heads, that it was dangerous for *Greece* to put their liberty into the Romans hands: & that they had but made a change of their lordly rulers, admitting the Romans in lieu of the Macedonians. But as for them (quoth he) their tongue is no slander, being such persons as never took heed and made regard what either they did or said. But the other Cities he advertised to weigh their friends by deeds, and not by words: to be wise and well advised whom they are to trust, and whom they were to beware of: to use their liberty in measure and moderation: which if it be well tempered and qualified, is good and wholesome to particular persons and general States: but excessive if be, it would not only be grievous and unupportable to others, but also unruly, dangerous, and pernicious to themselves that have it. He gave them counsel, that the Princes and States in each City should maintain concord not only among themselves, but also with all other in one community: for so long as they accord and agree together, no King nor tyrant should be strong enough for them: whereas discord and sedition maketh overture and openeth ease way to enemies that lie in wait for the vantage: considering that the side which in civil contention is the weaker and goeth to the walls, will band rather with a forrainger, than give place and stoop to a Citizen. In conclusion, he advised them, to keep and preserve by their careful regard, this their liberty purchased for them by forrainger forces, and delivered unto them with faithful security of strangers and aliens: that the people of *Rome* might see, that they have given freedom to well deserving people: and thus their great benefit hath been well bestowed upon worthy persons. Whilst they hearkened to these sage admonitions, as uttered out of the mouth of a very father, the tears gushed plentifully out of their eyes for kind heart and joy: inasmuch as they troubled him in the delivery of the rest of his speech. For a while there was a plausible noise heard among them as they approved his words, and advised one another to ponder these sage sayings, and to imprint them deeply in their hearts, proceeding as it were from divine oracle. After silence made, he requested them to seek up all those Roman Citizens (if haply there were any) who lived in servitude and slavery among them, and within two months to lend them unto him into *Italy*: for it were a great ignominy and shame even for them, that in their countreys there should remain in bondage any of those, by whose means they themselves were set free and delivered out of bondage. With that, they all cried aloud with one voice, That for this above all the rest they rendered thanks unto him, in that they were admonished and warned by him, to perform their devoir and duty, both to religious and to necessary. Now a mighty number there was of captives in the Punick war: such as *Antioch* (when their friends redeemed them not by ransom) had sold in open market. And how great the multitude of them was, this may prove and testify which *Polybius* writeth so wit, that this cost the Achazans for their part * one hundred talents: and yet they ordained and set down, that there should but 500 *Denarii* be repaid unto their Masters for the redemption of every poll: for by this account *Achaz* had 1200 of them. Add now unto them as many as all *Greece* was like to have by that proportion [and see what number may arise.] The

* By this account of Livy, a talent in this place amounts to 187 lb. 10 lb. Bar.

A The assembly was not broken up and dismissed, before they might see the garrison descending from the fortrets of *Corinth*, who marched directly to the gate and went their waies. The General presently followed after, and being accompanied with them all, who called him with a loud voice, their Saviour and Redeemer he took his leave and bade them farewell: and so returned the same way he came to *Elasia*. From thence he sent his Lieutenant *Ap. Claudius* with all the forces, commanding him to conduct the army to *Oricum* by the way of *Thessalie* and *Epirus*, and there to expect and wait his coming: for he purposed they to take Sea and let over his army into *Italy*. He wrote also to *L. Quintius* his brother and Lieutenant, and Admiral likewise of the fleet, to gather all the ships of burden from along the Sea coast of *Greece* into that place. Himself went to *Chalcis*, and having withdrawn the garrisons not only from thence but also from *Oricum* and *Eretria*, he held a general Councell there of all the cities of *Euboea*: and after he had made remembrance unto them in what case he found them, and in what estate he left them, he dismissed the assembly. From thence he departed to *Demetrius*, where also he removed the garrison, and being attended with a train of all the citizens, like as at *Corinth* and *Chalcis* before, he took his journey into *Thessalie*: where the cities were not only to be set free, but also to be reformed, and from a general disorder and confusion wherein they stood, to be reduced and framed into some tolerable order and form of government. For they were not only tainted and infected with the corruption of the times, and the violent current of licentious outrage, which had taken head under the government of the King; but also of an inbred troublesome spirit and humor of their own, whereby since their first beginning and uprising, even unto our daies they never held Parliaments, Elections, Diets, Councells or any other assemblies whatsoever, without much trouble and sedition. He chose the Senate and Judges there in regard especially of their wealth, and in all Cities he made that part more mighty, unto which it was more expedient and beneficial to have all quiet and in peace. Thus having visited *Thessalie*, and taken a general review thereof, he came by the way of *Epirus* to *Oricum*, from whence he minded to cross the seas. From *Oricum* all his forces were transported to *Brundisium*, and so they passed forward throughout *Italy* to the City of *Rome*, in manner of triumph, sending before them as great a train of prizes by them taken, as they made themselves in their march. After they were come to *Rome*, the Senat assembled without the City for *Quintius*, where he had audience to declare and discourse of his worthy exploits: and willing they were to grant him triumph, according to his desires. Three daies together he rode in triumph. The first day he made a shew of all the armour as well defensive as offensive, also of brazen and marble images, of which he had taken more from King *Philip*, than he found in the faggots of the cities. The second day there was carried in pomp, the gold and silver both unwrought and wrought into plate, yea, and cast into coin. Of silver unwrought there was 8000 pound weight: of wrought, 270 pound weight. Many vessels of plate of all sorts, and most engraven, some of right curious and exquisite workmanship. Likewise brazen vessels, cunningly and artificially made: and besides, ten shields of silver, and in coin eighty four thousand Attick peeces of silver, which they call *Tetradrachma*, weighing almost four Roman deniers apiece: of gold there was three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pound weight, and one shield full and whole of beaten gold: and of *Philip* golden peeces in coin fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen. The third day were born in view for a pageant, a hundred and fourteen coronets of gold, which were the presents of Cities given unto him. Moreover, there were led that day the beasts for sacrifice: and before his chariot went many noble prisoners and hostages, and among them, *Demetrius*, King *Philip* his son, and *Armenes* the son of *Nabis* the tyrant, a Lacedaemonian born. Then rode *Quintius* himself in a chariot into the City, and a great number of souldiers followed after, by reason that his whole army was retired with him out of his province. To every footman he gave two hundred and fifty *Astres*, double as much to a centurion, and triple to an horseman. Those who were redeemed out of captivity, followed his chariot with their heads haven, and much beautified the glory of the triumph.

In the end of this year, *Q. Aelius Tubero* a Tribune of the Commons, presented a request or bill unto the people, and they granted and enacted it, to wit, that two Colonies of Latins should be conducted, the one into the Brutians countrey, and the other into the territory of *Thurium*. For the conduct and planting whereof, there were ordained three Deputies called Triumvirs, whose commission was in force for three years, namely, *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *M. Furius Cressipus* for the Brutians: and for *Thurium*, *A. Manlius*, *P. Aelius*, and *L. Appulcius*. For the conducting of these officers, *Cn. Domitius* the Pretor in the City, called two several assemblies in the Capitol, in that year were certain Temples dedicated, one of *Iuno Sospita* in the herb-market, which had been vowed and set out to building four years before, by *C. Cornelius* the Consul, during the war with the French: and he in his Censorship dedicated it. Another Temple of *Faustina*: the *Ediles C. Scribonius* and *Cn. Domitius*, had likewise bargained for the building thereof two years before, and laid by the money therefore: and this *Cn. Domitius* being now Pretor of the City dedicated it. Also *Q. Minucius Ralla*, dedicated a Temple to *Fortuna Primigenia* upon the hill *Quirinalis*, having been created Duumvir himself for that purpose. *Sympronius Sophus* had vowed the same ten years before, in the time of the Punick war, and agreed for a certain price to have it built. Also *C. Scribonius* the other Duumvir consecrated the Temple of *Jupiter* within the island. Vowed it was six years before in the Gauls war by *L. Furius Purpurio* Pretor, and by him afterwards (when he was Consul) order was given for the edifying thereof. And these were the affairs which passed that year.

P. Scipio returned out of his Province and government of Gaul for the election of new Comitia, and to that purpose was the general assembly summoned; wherein were chosen L. Cornelius Merula, and Q. Minutius Thermus. The next morrow after were created Pretors, L. Cornelius Scipio, M. Fulvius Nobilior, C. Scribonius, M. Valerius Messalla, P. Porcius Licinius, and C. Flaminius. C. Annius Serranus, and L. Scribonius Libo, Ediles of the chair, were the first that exhibited the Stage-plays called *Megalæa*. And the Roman plays or games represented and set out by these Ediles, the Senat shew first and never before beheld apart from the rest of the people. And this (as all novelties and new fashions) ministered much talk: whiles some gave their opinion and said, That now at length that was given to this most noble and honorable State, which long ago was due; others again conferred thus, and gave out, "That whatsoever was added to the Majesty of the Senators and Nobles, was derogatory from the dignity of the people: and that all such kind of distinctions, whereby estates and degrees are severed one from another, are prejudicial as well to common peace as public liberty. For these five hundred and eighty years they, these plays and games have been beheld and looked upon in common, without any such precise difference. What new accident is suddenly befallen, why the Nobles should not be willing to let the Commons be intermingled with them in the Theatre? and why a rich man should disdain his poor neighbour to sit by him? This is a new appetite and strange longing of theirs indeed, full of pride and arrogance, a thing never desired nor taken up and practised by the Senat of any nation whatsoever. So as in the end even *Africanus* bewhored himself (men say) and repented thereof, for that he in his Consulship moved and periwaded the bringing up of this new fashion. So hard a matter it is to alter an old custome, and make a new order to be well liked. And men are ever more willing to keep them to ancient customes, unless they be such, as practise and experience do evidently check and condemn.

In the beginning of the year, wherein L. Cornelius and Q. Minutius were Consuls, news came thick of many earth- quakes, that men were not only weary of the thing it self, but also of the holy- dayes and solemnities that were published and proclaimed in that regard. For the Consuls could not intend either to assemble the Senate and sit in Council, or manage the affairs of the Common- weal, for being wholly employed about sacrificing and appeasing the wrath of the gods. In conclusion, the Decemvirs were commanded to peruse the books of *Sibylla*, and according to their answer and direction, a procession and supplication was for three daies solemnized. And before the Altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses, they made their prayers with garlands and coronets on their heads: yea, and commandment was given, that every household and family by it self should fall to their prayers and devotions. Also the Consuls by order from the Senat made proclamation, That upon what day a feast or solemnity was ordained by occasion of some earthquake, no man the same day should bring news of another. Then the Consuls call for the government of their provinces, and after them the Pretors did the like. Unto *Cornelius* befall *Gaul*, and to *Minutius* the *Ligurians*: C. *Sempronius* had the charge of the civil jurisdiction, and M. *Valerius* of the forrain: L. *Cornelius* governed *Sicily*, L. *Porcius* *Sardinia*, C. *Flaminius* *his Spain*, and L. *Fulvius* the lower. The Consuls looked for no war that year: but even then at that instant were letters brought from M. *Cicilius* Lord President of *Pisa*, which gave notice, that twenty thousand *Ligurians* were up in arms, having conspired together in all market Towns and places of resort throughout the whole nation, and that they had already wasted the territory of *Luna*, and having invaded and passed through the *Pisan* Land, had over-run also the Sea coasts. Wherefore *Minutius* the Consul, unto whom the government of *Liguria* was allotted, by the advice of the LL. of the Senat mounted up into the pulpit *Restra*, and published an edict, That those two legions of Roman citizens, which the former year had been enrolled, should within ten daies present themselves at *Ariminum*, in lieu whereof he would levy two other legions out of the City. Also he commanded the allies and Magistrates of the Latin nation, and their Embassadors leaguers, who owed knight- service, and were bound to find souldiers to come before him into the Capitol. And from among them he enrolled fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, according to the number of young and serviceable men that were to be found in each State: which done, he commanded them forthwith, to go directly from the Capitol to the gate of the City, and presently to take musters that all might be done with greater expedition. Unto *Fabius* and *Flaminius* were appointed three thousand Roman footmen and two hundred horsemen apiece, for to supply and strengthen their forces: also five thousand foot to either of them of allies of the Latin nation, with two hundred horse. Moreover the Pretors were charged to dismiss and call the old souldiers, so soon as they were arrived into their provinces. Now, when as the souldiers who were enrolled in the City- legions, repaired thick unto the Tribuns of the Commons, that they should take knowledge of as many of them as were exempted from warfare, for that they either had served out their full time by law appointed, or were sickly and diseased: behold the letters of *Sempronius* dashed all this, and cleared every difficulty and scrupulosity: wherein it was written, that fifteen thousand *Ligurians* were entered the territory of *Placentia*, and had made great waite and lamage therein putting all to fire and sword as they went, even as far as to the very walls of the Colony it self, and the banks of *Padus*. Also that the nation of the Boii made countenance and gave suspicion of rebellion. In which regards seeing there was a tumultuous and insolent war toward, the Senat passed a decree, wherein they signified that it was not their pleasure that the Tribuns should accept any excuses pretended by the souldiers, but that they should all meet

A meet and assemble together, according to the Edict. Over and besides they gave order, that the allies of the Latin nation, who had served in the armies of P. *Cornelius* and T. *Sempronius* and were discharged from souldiery by them being Consuls, should now be ready to shew themselves, against that day which L. *Cornelius* the Consul should appoint, and at what place fower of *Herrania* he should command by way of proclamation: Also that the said L. *Cornelius* the Consul in his march and journey toward the Province, might take up, enoel, and arme, what souldiers he thought good, out of all the burroughs and villages in his way, and have them with him whither soever he would, yea, and have commision to dismiss whom of them he thought good, and when soever he liked at his good pleasure.

After that the Consuls had taken musters, and were gone into their Provinces, then T. *Quintus* demanded to have a day of audience in the Senat concerning those affairs that he had concluded with the assistance of the ten Delegates above said: and that it would please them to confirm and establish the same by virtue of their assent and authority. Which they might do with more ease, in case they would hear the Embassadors themselves speak, who were come out of all *Greece*, a great part of *Asia*, and from the Kings. These embassies were admitted into the Senat by C. *Scribonius* the Pretor for the City, and all dispatched with a gracious answer. But because the dispute about *Antiochus* required long time of debate, therefore it was referred and put over to the ten Delegates, of whom some had been in *Asia*, or at *Ephesus* with the King, And *Quintus* was commanded, that together with those said Delegates he should hear what the King his Embassadors could say, and to return unto them such an answer, as might stand with the honor and welfare of the people of *Rome*. The chief of this embassage from the King were *Menippus* and *Hegesias*. Then *Menippus* began and said, "That he knew no such perplexed difficulty in their embassage, considering they were come simply to treat for peace, and to contract a league and alliance. For, saith he, there are three sorts of confederacies and associations, whereby States and Kingdoms ordinarily conclude league and amity one with another. The first, when they that are vanquished in war, have conditions and articles imposed upon them: for when all is yielded into the hands of him that is the mightier and more puissant, then it is in his power and at his discretion and will, to give unto the conquered party what he list, or to take from him as he pleaseth. The second is, when they that are equal in warlike forces give over on even hand, and be content to make peace and amity, upon indifferent and equal conditions, one with the other: in which case, demand and claim is made, restitution and amends performed according to the accord and agreement: and if in time of the wars, any have been molested and troubled in their possession, they fall to composition either by the form and tenor of ancient law, or respective to the good and profit of both parties. The third is, when they that never were enemies, meet and confer together about concluding some friendship, by way of solemn alliance and society, who neither give nor take any conditions: for that belongeth properly to Conquerors, and those that are conquered. Seeing then that *Antiochus* is comprised in this last kind, I marvel (of he) that the Romans should think or say, It is reasonable to tender articles unto him, or to prescribe and let down, what Cities of *Asia* they would have to be free and exempt, and which they would have to be tributary: and into what Cities they would expressly forbid the King his garrisons, or the King himself to enter and let foot. For in this wise ought they to make peace with *Philip* their enemy in times past, and not to draw a contract of amity and association with *Antiochus*, a friend at this present. To this Oration *Quintus* shaped his answer in this sort, "For as much as it pleaseth you to make your speech thus distinctly by way of division, and severally to rehearse all kinds of confederacies and accords. I also will let down as methodically in order two conditions, without which, you may let the King your matter to understand, that he must not look to entertain any friendship with the people of *Rome*. The one is this, that if he would debar us to intermeddle with the Cities of *Asia*, he likewise himself have nothing to do with all *Europe*. The other, that if he cannot contain himself within the compass of *Asia*, but will needs encroach upon it the Romans likewise may have liberty and power both to maintain those amities which they have already, and also to entertain new with the States of *Asia*. Hereat *Hegesias* inferred and said, "That this was an indignity intolerable and which he could not abide to hear, namely that *Antiochus* should be disfavored of those Cities of *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*, which *Selucus* his great grand- father had conquered with singular honor from King *Leptimachus*, whom he vanquished in war and slew in field, and settled the same in him as his rightful inheritance. As for the same cities possessed by the Thracians, *Antiochus* himself with as great praise and glory hath partly by force of arms regained out of their hands, and partly re- peopled with the old inhabitants called home again, whereas they lay abandoned and desolat, and namely *Lyfymachia* it self as all the world seeth: and more than that, hath re-edified to his exceeding charge and expence, those that lay along in their ruins, and were consumed with fire. What liketh then is there between these two demands, namely, that *Antiochus* should quit the possession of that which either he acquired or recovered in that sort: and that the Romans should abstain and forbear *Asia*, which never appertained unto them? To conclude, *Antiochus* (with he) is desirous of the Roman friendship, but in such terms as may stand with his honor, &c. nor purchase himself shame and reproach. Then *Quintus* rejoined again in this manner: "For as much as of he, we balance and weigh things according to honesty (as in truth it is befitting the chief and principal State of the world, and to great and mighty a King to prize that only at

"leastwise principally above all other regards) I would gladly know of you, Whether ye think it more honest of the twain, either to will and wish that all the Cities of Greece whatsoever; or wherefore should enjoy liberty: or to make them homagers and tributary? If *Antiochus* thinketh it be an honorable thing for him to reduce into servitude and bondage as his own, those Cities which his great grandfather held by right of arms, and whereof neither his father nor grandfather afore him were in possession; the people of *Rome* likewise esteemeth it a material point that toucheth their faithfulness and constancy, not to forsake the Greeks, whose protection and defence they have enterprised and taken in hand, And like as they have freed Greece out of the hands of *Philip*, so they intend to deliver those Cities of *Asia* which are of the Greekish race and descent, from the subjection of *Antiochus*. For the Greek Colonies were not sent into *Babylonia* and *Ionia*, to live in servitude under the King, but to increase and multiply, that a multitude of ancient nation might spread over the face of the whole earth. Now when as *Heghianus* knew not how to flit and turn himself, and could not deny but that the cause of liberty which the Romans pretended in the title of their quarrel, was of more honesty and credit, than that other of slavery: Let's lay away all these circumstances of words (quoth *P. Sulpicius*, the ancientest person of all the ten Delegates) and choose ye one of the two conditions which even now were expressly offered unto you by *Quintius*, or else make no more talk about amity with the Romans. Then quoth *Menippus*, As for us, we may in no case, neither will we capitulate and covenant any thing prejudicial to the Kingdom and royal state of King *Antiochus*. The morrow after *Quintius* when he had brought all the Embassadors of Greece and *Asia* into the Senat, that they might know what affection the people of *Rome* carried, and what mind *Antiochus* bare to the Cities of Greece, he declared before them all as well his own demands, as those of the Kings partwilling them to make report unto their own Cities, and assure them, that the people of *Rome* would maintain them against *Antiochus* (unless he departed out of Europe) with the same vertue, valour, and fidelity wherewith he had defended their liberty against *Philip*. Then *Menippus* was earnest with *Quintius* and the LL. of the Senat, beseeching them instantly not to proceed in halt to a decree whereby they should set all the world in trouble and upore: but both take leisure themselves and give respite unto the King to deliberate farther of the matter: for no doubt, upon the relating of the conditions, he would consider upon them, and either obtain somewhat at their hands, or for peace sake yield his consent to all. Thus was the matter wholly and entirely deferred: and agreed it was, that the same Embassadors should be addressed unto the King, who had been with him at *Lysimachia*, to wit, *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Elinus*.

Scarcely were they gone from the City and crossed upon their journey, but Embassadors arrived from *Carthage*, who reported, that without all doubt *Antiochus* made preparation for war, and therein used the hand and ministry of *Annibal*: in so much, as it was feared also that third Punick war would break out withal. *Annibal*, as we said before, having fled his native country, repaired unto *Antiochus*, and was in great account and estimation with the King, for no other cause and policy in the world, but that the King who projected and plotted long time in his spirit to levy war upon the Romans, could find no man more fit than *Annibal* to break his mind unto, and with whom to discourse upon a matter of such consequence. *Annibal* his long and resolution was ever one and the same still, namely, To make war within Italy: and that Italy was able to furnish a forain enemy, with men munition, and victuals. For this he cast with himself and considered, that if all were quiet there and no troubles set a foot, but that the people of *Rome* might with the forces and riches of Italy, furnish themselves to make war without Italy, there was no Monarch nor nation under the sun able to make head against the Romans. He demanded therefore to have the command of 100 close ships with hatch and deck, 16000 foot; and 1000 horse: and with the said fleet he would first sail into *Affrica*, where he assured himself that he should be able to solicit and induce the Carthaginians to rebellion: but if they held off and made it goodly and strange, yet would he settle in some part of Italy and levy war against the Romans. His advice and counsel furthermore was, that the King should with all his other forces pass into Europe, and in some one part of Greece keep his power together, and not to take the Sea, but to be ready ever to cross over; which would be sufficient to make a shew and raise a bruit all abroad of war. When he had perswaded the King to this designment and resolution, supposing that he was likewise to found and prepare the hearts afore-hand of his own countrymen to this purpose: he durst not dispatch any letters unto them, for fear they might chance to be intercepted by the way, and to discover the whole plot. He happened at *Ephesus* upon a Tyrian one *Arifson*, a man whole industry and dexterity he had tried in some small promises wherein he had employed him. Him he plyed with gifts in hand, but fed him more with large promises of great rewards, which King *Antiochus* also himself seemed to make good and give his word for: and so sent him to *Carthage* with credence and instructions. He acquainted him with the names of all those persons with whom he was to talk and confer: he furnished him with secret tokens, whereby they might assuredly know, that he was no counterfeiter, but came with a message from him. Now whilst this *Arifson* conversed in *Carthage*, the friends of *Annibal* knew no sooner about what errand he came, than his very enemies. At the first, much talk and discourse there was in every corner of the City where they met, and at their feasts and merriments, of this matter. Afterwards at their council-table some stuck not to say, that the exile of *Annibal* was to little or no purpose, if whilst he was absent he could contrive and compass new plots, and by soliciting and tempering mens minds,

A disquiet and trouble the state of the City. There is a stranger, say they, one *Arifson* a Tyrian, hither come with instructions from *Annibal* and King *Antiochus*: certain men there are, that daily have privy conference with him, and devise in secret of that, which anon will break out to the utter ruin and overthrow of all. "Whereupon they all cried with one voyce to convent *Arifson* presently before them, and to examine him about what business he was thither arrived: and unless he would bewray and declare the matter, to send him with Embassadors of purpose to *Rome*: "For why? we have (say they) felt the smart enough, and paid sufficiently for the folly and rash head of one harebrained man already. Let privat persons bear their own load hereafter, and at their own peril commit a trespass: provided always, that the Common-weal be preserved clear "not only from all fault, but also from all appearance and bruit of any such intent. *Arifson* being called before them stood stiffly upon his integrity and excused himself, and evermore used this for his best and surest defence. That he had brought no letters at all to any person: howbeit he could not render a ready & sound reason of his coming thither: but especially he was shrewdly troubled and put to his trumps when they charged him, That he had talk and communication with those only of the Barchine faction. Hereupon arose some debate and altercation in the house: whilst some were of opinion that he should be apprehended for a spie, and clapt up fast in ward: others again were of mind that there was no cause to make such a stir and tumult: for it was an evil precedent to be given, that strangers coming to their City, should be troubled and hardly intreated: and the like measure no doubt would be offered to the Carthaginians in *Tyria* & in other Towns of matchlike, whereunto they use to have resort for exchange and traffique, so for that day the matter was put off. *Arifson* framing himself to play the crafty Carthaginian among the Carthaginians, wrote a certain bill, and in the shuffling in of the evening, hung it up in the most conspicuous and publick place of all the City, even over the seat where the head Magistrate useth daily to sit: and himself about the third watch gat to hisporch and escaped. The morrow after, when the Sultanes were set on the bench to minister law, the bill afore said was seen, taken down, and read: whereinto this effect was written. That *Arifson* was not come with a message to any person in particular, but to all the Seniors or Elders in general (for so they call the Senat.) After that the thing was by this means made a publick matter, and the whole state of the Senators reputed culpable, they were not loath to search into privat persons. Howbeit thought good it was, that Embassadors should be sent to *Rome* to give information hereof to the Consuls and the Senat, and withal, to make complaint of certain wrongs done by *Masaniffa*.

Masaniffa understanding that the Carthaginians were suspected and in some ill name among the Romans, and also at jar and variance within themselves; and namely, that the great and principall men were had in jealousy by the Senat for their conferences with *Arifson*; and their Senate likewise suspected by the people, by reason of that writing above named of the said *Arifson* taking this for a good advantage and opportunity to do them some injury, not only invaded their maritime parts and made spoil, but also forced certain tributary Cities to the Carthaginians for to pay himself tribute. That quarter of the country they call *Euphrya*. It is the Sea coast of the lesser *Syria*, and the country is exceeding fertile: there is in it one only City named *Lepus*, which paid to the Carthaginians for tribute, a talent every day. All this region *Masaniffa* then had plighted for, *Eyes*, and for one part thereof he made some claim, as being litigious whether it pertained to his Kingdom, or the Seignory of the Carthaginians: and because he knew for truth, that the Carthaginian Embassadors were about to go to *Rome*, as well to purge themselves of some crimes wherewith they were charged, as to complain of him; therefore himself also addressed his Embassadors to *Rome*, who should lay open more matter against them of deeper suspicion, and debate withal as touching the right of those tributes. The Carthaginians were no sooner heard speak concerning that Tyrian stranger but the LL. of the Senat grew into some doublet they should wage war with *Antiochus* and the Carthaginians both together. And this presumption of all the rest made the suspicion most pregnant, because when they had the party among them and were purposed to send him to *Rome*, they neither made the man himself sure, nor the bark wherein he arrived. After this, they fell to debate and argue with the Kings Embassadors, about the territory and land in controversy. "The Carthaginians pleaded for themselves, and stood much upon their bounds and liberally. "For that the land in suit lay within that precinct, by which *P. Scipio* the Conqueror limited out that territory which pertained to the seignory of the Carthaginians. Also they alledged the "cession of the King himself, who at what time as he pursued *Apheret*, that fled out of his own realm and with a company of Numidians ranged abroad about *Cyrene*, made request unto them to give him leave to pass through this very ground, as if (without all question) it belonged to the Carthaginians. The Numidians answered again to these points & said plainly to their faces, "that they lied in their throats, as touching that supposed limitation and bounding by *Scipio*: "and moreover, if we would go (say they) and search the very original indeed of the law, what land at all ought the Carthaginians have of their own proper inheritance? For being but meer "strangers, they had aiter much praier and entreaty as much ground allowed them and no more, "to build them a City in as they could compass with thongs cut out of one bull hide. And look whatsoever they had encroached upon; without that nest and fear of theirs in *Brysa* they gat and held it by force and violence. And as for the land now in strife, they are not able to prove, that they always held the same in possession, no, nor that they kept it any long time together. But as occasion and opportunities served of advantage, one while they, and another while the Numidian

"Kings made reentry and enjoyed it, and evermore he went away with the possession thereof. That was the stronger, and had the keener sword. In these considerations they requested the Romans to leave the thing in that state and condition, wherein it stood before that the Carthaginians were enemies, or King Masinissa friend and ally to the Romans; and not to intermeddle between, nor take a part, but let the winner wear it, and him have it that can hold it. In conclusion it was thought good, that to the Embassadors of both parties this answer should be returned, namely: That they would send certain Commissioners into Africa, to decide this controversy about the land in question, between the people of Carthage and the King. So there were sent of purpose, P. Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Minutius Rufus. Who having heard what could be said, and seen the thing, left all hanging still in suspense and undecided, without adjudging it by their definitive sentence to the one or the other. But whether they so did, on their own head and self accord, or by direction from the Senat, is not so certain as it seemeth agreeable unto that present time in policy, to leave them as they found them, and the controversy still depending. For unless it were so, Scipio himself alone, in regard of the knowledge that he had of the thing, and of his authority with the persons (so much bound they were unto him on both sides) might with a word of his mouth, or a nod of his head, have ended all this matter.

The five and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the five and thirtieth Book.

Publius Scipio Africanus being sent Ambassador unto Antiochus, asked at Ephesus with Annibal (who had sided with Antiochus) to this end, that he might rid him of that fear which he had conceived of the people of Rome, as touching the taking away of his life. Among other matters passed between them, when he demanded of Annibal, whom he judged to have been the noblest and greatest warrior that ever was, he answered that it was Alexander King of the Macedonians: for that he with his power had discomfited and defeated an infinite number of armies, and withal, passed through his life in distant and remote parts of the world unto which a man would not believe that it were possible for any person to go and see them. When he asked again of him whom he deemed for the second: Who he? Pyrrhus (qd. he) because he taught the manner how to pitch a camp, & besides, no man had the craft to gain him, and hold for advantage, nor could let his corps de guard or plain garrisons better than he. And might proceed still to know whom he took to be the third. Annibal named his own good self. At which answer Scipio fell a laughing: And what would you have said then (qd. he) if your hap had been to have overthrown me? Marry then (saith he) I would have let my self before Alexander, before Pyrrhus, and before all other. Among other prodigious fights, whereof there were reported very many, it is said, that in the year wherein Cn. Domitius was Consul, an Ox spake, and said these words: Rome, look to thyself! The Romans prepare to war with Antiochus. N. This the tyrant of the Lacedemonians, provoked by the Aetolians, who solicited both Philip and Antiochus to wage war against the people of Rome, revolted from the Romans, and after he had lived war against Philip, and the people of Rome, revolted from the Romans. The Aetolians likewise abandoned the friendship of the people of Rome, with whom Antiochus King of Syria bandied: who warred upon Greece, and surprised many Cities, and namely, Chalcis and Euboea among the rest. Besides, this book containeth the partial affairs in Liguria, and the preparation of Antiochus for the war.

The five and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

In the beginning of that year wherein these affairs thus passed, Sext. Digitius Pretor in high Spain, fought battels (rather ordinary, and for number many, than otherwise memorable and worth the speaking) against those States, whereof after the departure of Cato a great sort had rebelled. And those battels for the most part were so unfortunate, that hardly he could deliver up to his successor the one half of those foldiers which he had received. And doubtless all Spain would have taken heart again. If the other Pretor P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Cn. Scipio, had not sped better in many of his conflicts beyond Iberia. Upon which terror, no fewer than fifty good Towns revolted unto him. And these exploits performed Scipio as Pretor. Who also in quality of Propretor, encountered the Lusitanians upon the way, as they returned homeward charged with a mighty great booty raised out of the hale Spain, which they had utterly pillaged and spoiled: where he fought from the third hour of the day unto the eighth, with doubtful event. For number of foldiers he was inferior to his enemies, but for all things else he had the vantage, and went beyond them. For his battalions were well appointed and close compacted of armed men, and to be charged upon the enemies marching in a long train, and the same encumbered with a deal of cartel: besides, his foldiers were fresh and in heart, whereas the other were wearied with long travel,

• After Sun-
ting.

vel. For the enemies set forth at the third watch, and besides their night journey, they had marched three hours also of the day, and without any repose or rest at all, they came to a conflict presently upon their travel on the way. And therefore at the beginning of the battel, so long as they were in any heart, and their strength served, they troubled and disordered the Romans with the first charge they gave; but afterwards for a while they came to be equal in fight, in which hazard of doubtfull issue the Propretor vowed to set forth certain solemn games to the honour of Jupiter, in case he might discomfit the enemies, and kill them in chase. At the length the Romans advanced forward more hotly, and the Lusitanians retreated, yea, and anon turned their backs quite. And when as in this train of victory the Romans pursued them hard in the rout, there were of the enemies slain upon 12000, 500 and forty taken prisoners, all in manner horsemen: and of military engines they carried away one hundred thirty and four. Of the Roman army seventy and three only were lost. This battel was fought not far from the City Ilipa. And thither brought P. Cornelius his victorious army, enriched with prey and pillage. Which was laid all abroad before the Town, and every man had leave given to challenge and claim his own. All the rest was given to the Treasurer for to be sold, and the money raised thereof, was parted among the foldiers.

Now had not C. Flaminius the Pretor as yet taken his leave of Rome, when these things fell out in Spain, and therefore both he and his friends talked and discoursed much upon these occurrences both good and bad: and so far much as a great war in his Province was broken out to a light fire, and himself was to receive from Sext. Digitius but a small remnant of an army, and the same timorous still and full of fright, as not well recovered of their former flight, he had assented to bring about, that the Senat would assign unto him one of the City-legions: to the end that when he had joined thereto those foldiers which himself had enrolled according to an order set down by the Senat, he might out of all that number chuse forth six thousand and five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. With which legion (for in the army of Sext. Digitius he reposed small confidence) he minded to make war. The ancient Senators denied and said, That acts of the Senat were not to be made upon every flying tale and report set abroad and blazed by some particular persons in favor of Magistrats. Neither would they hold any thing for certain, but which either the Pretors themselves wrote out of the Provinces, or Embassadors sent of purpose, related. And there were any such commotion and trouble in Spain, they were of advice that the Pretor should levy in half without Italy, such cumulatory foldiers, as in that case were usually taken up. The intent and mind of the Senat was, that foldiers should in that sort be preft out in Spain, Valerius Antias writeth that C. Flaminius both sailed into Sicily to levy and muster men, and also as he made sail from Sicily toward Spain, was by wind and tempest put with the shore of Africa: where he found certain foldiers dispersed over the countrey, remaining of the army of P. Africanus: of whom he took a military oath to serve him in his wars: and that to these levies raised into two Provinces, he joynd also a third in Spain.

The war of the Ligurians likewise grew as fast: for they had already besieged and invested Pifa with forty thousand men: and thither resorted and flocked daily unto them great multitudes as well for hope of pillage, as upon the bruit and rumor that went of the war, Minutius the Consul came at the day appointed to Arretium, which was the *Revelation*: where he had commanded all his foldiers to meet him: from whence he marched with a four-square Battalion toward Pifa. And when the enemies had removed their camp a mile from the City on the other side of the River, the Consul entered the Town, which no doubt by his coming he preferred. The next day himself also encamped on the other side of the River, almost half a mile from the enemies, from which place he made light skirmishes with them and saved the territory of his allies from the excursions and robberies of the enemies. He durst not as yet try a battail in pitched field, as having but raw and new foldiers, and those gathered out of many kinds of men and not so well known among themselves, that one might surely trust another. The Ligurians bearing themselves bold of their numbers, not only came forth into the field ready to bid battail, and hazard all upon a throw: but having multitudes at commandment and to spare, sent out into all parts sundry companies to spoil and raise booties as far as to the marches and frontiers of the countrey. And when they had gathered together much cartail and great force of pillage, they had a strong place of defence ready at hand, well manned and guarded, by means whereof all was conveyed into their burroughs and Towns.

Thus while the Ligurians war was settled about Pifa, the other Consul L. Cornelius Merula entered with his army by the utmost confines of the Ligurians into the territory of the Boians: where the war was managed far otherwise than with the Ligurians. For the Consul entered the field in battail array, but the enemies fell off, and would not fight. In so much as the Romans seeing none to come forth and present themselves, ran abroad into all parts to speed their hands with pillage. And the Boians chose rather to suffer their goods to be ransacked, making no resistance, than to save the same with the hazard of a battail. The Consul when he had wrought his pleasure and consumed all with fire and sword departed out of the territory of the enemies, and marched toward * *Mutina* securely without any regard of himself, as through a peaceable country of his friends. The Boi perceiving one that they were gone out of their limits, followed after with a full and silent march, seeking some convenient place for to lay an ambush. And having in the night season passed beyond the Roman camp, they seized themselves of a streight passage within a saltmarsh, through which of necessity the Romans must pass, and there they forlayed them.

This

the City, riding in triumph: then *Marcus* and *C. Trinius*, both Tribuns of the Commons, protested, that they would interpose their negative, and cancel the order of the Senat in that behalf.

The Censors for that time, were *Sex. Julius Papius* and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, created the year before. *Cornelius* took a review of the City and numbered the people: and there were accounted by his survey 143,704 polls of Citizens. Great floods arose that year, and *Tiber* overflowed all the flats and plain places of the City: and about the gate *Flumentana* certain houses and buildings were overthrowen withal, and laid along. The gate *Calmontina* besides, was stricken with lightning, and the wall about it was likewise blasted from heaven. At *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and in mount *Arventum*, it rained stones. And reported it was from *Capua*, that a great swarm of Wasps came flying into the market place, and leaped upon the Temple of *Mars*: which being with great care taken up and gathered together, were afterward consumed with fire. In regard of these prodigious tokens, order was given, that the Decemvirs should search and peruse the books of *Sibylla*: whereupon a novendial sacrifice (to continue nine dayes) was appointed, a publick procession solemnized, and the City was cleaned and hallowed. About the same time *M. Porcius Cato*, dedicated the Chappel of *Virgin Victory*, near to the Temple of the Goddess *Victory*, two years after that he had vowed it. In that year also the Triumvirs, *C. Manlius Vellio*, *L. Apollinus Fullo*, and *P. Aelius Tubero*, (who had preferred a bill of request about the planting of a Colony) had commission granted, to conduct a Colony of Latins into the countrey of *Tiburinus*: and thither went three thousand footmen and three hundred horsemen: a small number in comparison of the largeness and quantity of the territory. There might well have been set out thirty acres for every footman, and three score for an horseman: but by the motion and advice of *Apollinus*, one third part of the Lands was excepted and reserved, to the end, that afterwards in time, they might enrol new Colonies if it pleased them. And therefore the footmen had twenty acres, and the horsemen forty apeece.

Now approached the end of the year, and more ambition there was, and hotter suit for place of dignity in the election of Consuls, than ever had been known any time before. Many mighty men, as well of the *Patrin* and nobles, as the Commoners, stood and laboured hard for the Consulship, to wit, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Cneus*, who lately was departed out of Spain after he had achieved many worthy deeds. *L. Quintus Flaminius* who had been Admiral of the navy in Greece, and *Cn. Manlius Vellio*, all of the Nobility. But of the Commons were *C. Laelius*, *Cn. Domitius*, *C. Lucius Sulpicius*, and *M. Atilius*. But all mens eyes were fixed upon *Quintus* and *Cornelius*. For they desired one place, being both of them nobly descended, and their self glory for feats of war: recommended both the one and the other. But above all other things, the brethren of these competitors, two most renowned warriors of their time, set the debate on a light fire. The glory of *Scipio*, as it was the greater of the twin, so it was more subject to envy. The honour of *Quintus* was more fresh, as who that year had newly triumphed. Over and besides, the one of them had been now almost ten years continually conversant in the eyes of men (a thing that methinks great men not to highly regarded, by reason that they are grown stale, and the world is full already of them) also he had been twice Consul, and Censor since he vanquished *Annibal*. But in *Quintus* all was fresh and new, to win the good grace and favor of men, And more than that, he neither after his triumph had obtained ought of the people, nor, to say a truth, requested any thing. He alledged, that he made suit for his own natural and whole brother by both sides, and not for a Cousin German: in the behalf of a very companion and partaker with him in the managing of the war (for as himself served by Land, so his brother performed many exploits by sea.) So he obtained, that *Quintus* should be preferred before his competitor, whom *Africanus* and his brother *Africanus* brought in and graced, whom the whole race of *Cornelius* seemed to condescend, even then when *Cornelius*, Consul, was president of the election and held the assembly: whom the Senat had given to grave attestation of, in adjudging him to be the best man simply in all the City, and thought most worthy to receive the goddess, same *Idaea*, coming from *Pessinus* to the City of *Rome*. Thus were *L. Quintus*, and *Cn. Domitius Aemilius* created Consuls, in which sort, that *Africanus* was of no credit, and bare no stroke at all (ye may be sure.) In the election of a Consul out of the third estate of Commons, albeit he employed himself, and did his best for *C. Laelius*. The next day after were the Pretors elected namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Fulvius Centumalus*, *A. Atilius Serranus*, *M. Atilius Tappinus*, *L. Valerius Tappinus*, and *Q. Salentinus Serranus*. This year *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *L. Aemilius Paulus*, the Censors, bare themselves for in their offices they made their year to be notable and much spoken of. They condemned and fined many of the City grasiers or farmers of the common pastures: and of that money which arose of their amendments, were certain gilded shields made, which were set up on the finial or lantern of *Jupiter* Temple. They made one terrace or gallery without the gate *Trigemina*, with a marchants Hall or Burse adjoined thereto, near *Tiber*: and another from the gate *Fontinalis* they built in length as far as to the Altar of *Mars*, leading to *Mars* field.

For a long time nothing was done in *Liguria* worth the remembrance. But about the end of the year, twice were the Romans in great jeopardy: for both the camp of the Consul was assailed and hardly defended: and also not long after, as the Roman host marched through a streight pass, the army of the Ligurians kept the very gullet of the passage, and the Consul (seeing he could not make way through, turned his coings, and began to retire the same way he came: but by that time, some of the enemies had gained also the back part of the pass, inasmuch as the

A lamentable remembrance of the Caudine overthrow, not only presented it felt to their spirit and mind, but also was in manner an object to their eye. Now had he amongst his auxiliary or aid-forces, to the number almost of eight hundred horse. Whose Captain promised the Consul, that he and his would break through whither way he would, let him only buttell him which of the two quarters were better peopled and inhabited: for the first thing that he did, he would fire their villages and houses: to the end, that the fear and fright thereof might force the Ligurians to depart out of the chafe which they held and besege, and run to succour their own neighbours. The Consul commended him highly, and fed him with hope of large rewards. Whereupon the Numidians mounted on horseback, and began to ride about the corps de guard of the enemies, without offering to charge upon any man. At the first, a man that had seen them, would have thought nothing more contemptible, being both men and horse, little, spare and gaunt. The horseman unarmed and without weapon, save that he carried about him some light darts: the horses without bridles: and as they ran flitting out from their hostes, and bearing their heads forward without any reining at all, they made a very ill favoured sight. And the riders, for to make themselves more despised, would on purpose seem to take fals from their hostes, and made their enemies good sport. Whereupon they (who if at first they had been assailed, would have been heedful & ready to have received the charge) now lat fill (many of them unarmed) to behold this pleasant pastime. The Numidians would gallop toward them and presently ride back again, but so, as by little and little they gained ground, and advanced neerer to the pass, yet making semblance, as if they had had no rule of their hostes, but were carried thither against their will. At the last, they set upon their hostes indeed, and brake through the mids of the enemies guards: and so soon as they had recovered the open ground, they let on fire all the houses near the high way side, and so forward they burnt the next village they came unto, and destroyed all afore them with fire and sword. First the smoke that was decried, afterwards the outcry heard of them that were affrighted in the villages, and last of all, the children and old folk that fled to save themselves, made a trouble and hurlyburly in the camp: inasmuch, as every man of himself without advice, without warrant or direction, made what halt he could to run and save his own. Thus in the turning of an hand, the camp was abandoned, and the Consul delivered from siege, arrived thither where he intended.

But neither Boians nor Spaniards (with whom that year the Romans made war) were so spitefully and maliciously bent against them, as the whole nation of the *Ætolians*. They at the very first were in very good hope, that presently upon the remove of the forces out of Greece, *Antiochus* would have entred *Europe*, and seized upon the vacant possession thereof: and that neither *Philip* nor *Nabis* would be in reit and do nothing. But seeing them not to stir in any place, they thought it high time to make some trouble and confusion themselves, for fear lest by delays and lingering, all their designments would turn to nothing: and therefore they published a Diet or Council to be holden at *Napactum*. In which assembly *Thas* their Pretor, after he had made grievous complaint of the wrongs received by the Romans, moving and soliciting the state of *Æolia* (for that they of all other nations and Cities of Greece, were least honoured and let by after that victory, whereof they had been the cause) gave his advice, that there should be Embassadors sent to all the neighbouring Kings, not only to sound their minds and affections, but also to incite and prick them every one forward to enter into arms against the Romans. So *Damocritus* was addrest to *Nabis*, *Nicander* to *Philip*, and *Dicaarchus* the brother of the Pretor unto *Antiochus*. *Damocritus* had in commission to signify unto the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, "That by the loss of his maritime Cities, the very strings and sinews of his tyranny and Kingdom were cut in sunder: For from thence was he furnished with soldiers, from thence had he his ships and servants at sea: whereas now, he might see the Achæans LL, and rulers of *Peloponnesus*, whilst himself was pined up and encircled within his wals and never should he have opportunity to recover himself, if he let pass this that presently was offered unto him. No Roman army was now in Greece: and never would the Romans think it sufficient cause, to pass over the Seas with their legions into Greece, for any occasion of *Gythium* or other *Laconians* inhabiting the Sea-coasts. These pretors were laid forth to incense the courage of the tyrant, to the end, that when *Antiochus* was once passed over into Greece, he being troubled in conscience, that he had broken the Roman league by committing outrage upon their allies, might of necessity join and band with *Antiochus*, and "Seemable reasons and reasons used *Nicander* for to provoke and persuade *Philip*: and "such more matter he had to enforce that point, as the King was depoted from much higher degree of estate than the tyrant had been, and also had sustained far greater losses. To this, he alledged the ancient name and renown of the KK, of *Macedon*; and how that nation had overrun the whole world and filled all places with their noble conquests & victories. Moreover he said, that he advised him to take a course, which was safe both to be enterprised, and also easy to be executed. For he gave not *Philip* counsel to fight, before that *Antiochus* were passed over with "an army into Greece: and considering that he without the aid of *Antiochus* had maintained war "so long against the Romans and *Ætolians*, what possible means had the Romans to withstand him assisted with *Antiochus* & the *Ætolians* his allies, who even then were fiercer enemies than the Romans? Over and besides, he inferred this reason also, what a brave and doughty Captain "an *Antiochus* was, a man even born to be an enemy to the Romans, and who had slain already more "leaders and souldiers of theirs, than were left behind. These were the allegations of *Nicander* to *Philip*. As for *Dicaarchus*, he had other motives to persuade with *Antiochus*. First, and principally

"that (because these Cities sometime were in bondage through the inquiry of those times where-
 "in they were oppressed) there shall be a right pretended, and the same be effectual to reduce
 "them again after so many ages into servitude? What wanteth it but ye may as well say that we
 "have done just nothing, in delivering *Greece* out of the hands of *Philippi* and the his successors
 "and posterity, may claim again and lay title to *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the whole *Thessi-*
 "lian nation? But what mean I to maintain the cause of the Cities of *Greece*, whom it were more
 "meet and reasonable, that both we and the King himself would give audience unto, and let them
 "plead what they can for their own selves? With that he commanded the embassages of the Ci-
 "ties to be called in, which were prepared and instructed aforehand by *Eumenes*, who made this
 "reckoning, that whatsoever strength went from *Antiochus*, should accrue and come unto him and
 "his Kingdom. Many were admitted to speak: and whilst every one set forward his own cause, I
 "some by way of complaint, others in manner of demand, each one putting in for himself without
 "regard of right or wrong, so he served his own turn, they fell at length from reasoning to wrangling
 "and wrangling: in so much, as the Ambassadors returned to *Rome* as uncertain and doubtful in all
 "matters as they were when they came, without releasing or obtaining any one thing at all.

When they were dismissed and gone, the King held a Council as touching the Roman war, in
 "which assembly, some delivered their opinion more freely and stoutly than others: but generally
 "the more bitter speech that any one used against the Romans, the greater hope he had to enter in-
 "to especial grace and favour with the King. One above the rest, inveighed much and spake against
 "those proud and insolent demands of the Romans, who imposed hard laws and conditions upon
 "*Antiochus*, the mightiest King of all *Asia* as if he had been no better than *Nabis*, whom they had
 "conquered and subdued. And yet (saith he) they left unto *Nabis* some leignory and dominion in
 "his own country and City of *Lacedaemon*: whereas if *Lampsacum* and *Smyna* should be at the
 "command of *Antiochus*, they deemed that an unworthy thing and a very indignity. Others opened
 "and said, "that those two Cities were but small causes, and not worth the naming, for to punish
 "a Prince to stand upon and to war for. But always (say they) men begin with just and reason-
 "able demands, to make an overture and way to compals and obtain that which is unjust. Unles
 "one would believe, that when the Persians requested of the Lacedaemonians, water and earth,
 "they stood in need of a clot of turf or ground, or a draught of water, in like sort for all the world
 "the Romans do but found and try the King, in their demands touching these two Cities, for o-
 "ther Cities likewise, so soon as they shall perceive that those two have shaken off the yoke of
 "obedience, will soon revolt and turn to that people which is their deliverer, and at other hands
 "they hope for liberty. And say, that freedom were not to them more dear and precious than
 "bondage, yet it is the nature of every man to feed and please himself with a bare hope of a change
 "and new world much more than with the assured hold of any present state whatsoever. There
 "was in place at this council, *Alexander of Acarnania*, one who sometime had befriended *Philippi* but
 "of late dayes was slain from him and followed the court of *Antiochus*, a more wealthy and magni-
 "ficent Prince: and being taken for a politician who had a special insight into the state of *Greece*,
 "was not ignorant of the affairs of *Rome*, had wound himself into high favour and inward friend-
 "ship with the King, that he was taken in to be one of his privy council, and acquainted with all
 "his secrets. This man, as if the question in hand had been, not, Whether war should be levied or
 "no; but, Where, and by What means, and How it should be managed, spake aloud and said, "That
 "he made full reckoning and account in his very spirit and heart of the victory, in case the King
 "would pass the Seas over into *Europe*, to plant & settle himself in some part of *Greece*, and there
 "wage war: for at his very first coming he should see in arms already the *Aetolians*, that inhabit
 "the very heart and centre of *Greece*, who would be the only Captains and port-configns to march
 "before them, ready to venture and enter upon the most difficult and dangerous enterprises of
 "war. Again, in the two canons and angles as it were thereof, he should find *Nabis* of the one
 "side from *Peloponnesus*, at hand to rise and raze those quarters, with intent to regain the City of
 "the *Argives*, to win again the maritime Cities, which the Romans have diseized & disposed
 "him of, and have mured and shut him within the walls of *Lacedaemon*. On the other side from
 "the *Macedons*, *Philippi* would no doubt take arms, so soon as he shall hear the first alarm and found of
 "trumpet. Full well (quod he) know I his courage, and of what spirit and stomach he is right well I
 "wot that he hath fostered in that breast of his for a long time, anger and despite, like to the wild
 "and savage beasts, which either are kept within iron gates, or fast tied and bound: and as well I
 "remember, how many a time he was wont (during the wars) to pray heartily to all the Gods,
 "to vouchsafe for to give him *Antiochus* for his helper and assistant: and if now he might enjoy
 "his wish, and have the thing so long desired and prayed for he would without any delay, enter in-
 "to arms and war incontinently. Only (quod *Alexander*) we must not linger and stay nor dilly dally
 "for as much as herein consisteth the very point of victory, even betimes to seize upon some con-
 "spicuous places of advantage, before the enemies be possessed of them. Also with all speed, *Antioch*
 "is to be sent into *Affrick*, whereby the Romans may be distracted, and compelled to turn them
 "selves sundry ways. *Antioch* only was not called to this council: for by reason of the fore-
 "said conferences with *Philippi*, the King had him in some jealousy, and therefore he was out of favour,
 "and of no credit and account with him. At the first, he put up this disgrace and made no words,
 "but afterwards he thought it a better course, both to demand the cause of so sudden strange
 "and alienation of his, and also to take some good time to excuse and purge himself. And therefore
 "upon

upon a day having simply asked of the King, and heard the cause of his anger toward him. "My
 "father *Antioch* (quod he) O *Antiochus*, when upon a time he sacrificed unto the Gods, caused me
 "a very little one, to be brought and presented before the Altar, where he forced me to touch the
 "same with my hand, and to take an oath, Never to be friend unto the people of *Rome*. To accom-
 "plish and fulfill this oath, I maintained the wars for the space of six and thirty years, verue of
 "this oath, in time of peace I was driven out of my native country: and being fled from thence,
 "this oath brought me into your court: and by the guidance and direction of this oath, if you
 "should disappoint me of my hope, yet whatsoever I know there are forces, wheretoever I hear
 "there is any stirring and rustling of arms, I shall feel all the world over, until I find some Roman
 "enemies. And therefore, if there be any of your Courtiers that have a mind and desire to advance
 "themselves in your good grace and would grow by carrying tales and accusing me unto you, let
 "them find some other subject and matter to do this by me: for I hate the Romans and am like-
 "wise hated of them. That this is truth which I say, my father *Antioch* and the Gods in heaven,
 "can testify. Wherefore, whensoever you shall think to make war with the Romans, see you enter-
 "tain *Antioch* for one of your greatest and most assured friends: but if any occurrent shall force
 "you to peace, seek some other counsellor and not me, to consult withal about that point. This
 "speech was so effectual, that not only it prevailed with the King, but also reconciled *Antioch* unto
 "his grace. And to they departed out of the council with a full resolution to make war.

At *Rome* it was commonly talked and discoursed, that *Antiochus* was an enemy, but no provi-
 "sion and preparation there was for war, but only whetting the edge of their stomachs. For both
 "C. Consuls had no other Province but *Italy* assigned unto them to govern. And they were either to
 "agree between themselves, or else to call lots, whether of the twain should hold the general assembly,
 "and be president of the election for that year. And he whose hap was not to be charged with
 "that business, was to be in readiness to lead forth the legions into any place out of *Italy*, as need
 "should require. And to this Consul it was permitted to enrol two new legions of Citizens, and
 "besides of allies and Latins 30000 foot, and 800 horse. To the other Consul were appointed
 "those two legions, which *L. Cornelius* the Consul of the former year had under his governance, al-
 "so of allies and Latins 15000 footmen out of the same army and 500 horse. As for *Q. Minucius*,
 "his commission was continued till for the conduct of that army which he had in *Egryna*. And for
 "to supply and make up the broken companies, he was allowed to enrol 4000 Roman footmen,
 "and 150 horse, and likewise to levy of the allies 5000 foot, and 150 horse for that service. To
 "C. *Domitius* it fell by lot, that he should go with a power out of *Italy*, whither soever the Senate
 "gave order: and unto *Quintius* to govern *Gaul*. Then the Pretors election followed, who like-
 "wise call lots for their Provinces. *M. Fulvius Centumalus* had the civil jurisdiction, and *L. Scrib-*
 "*onius Libo* the forrain, *L. Valerius Tappus* governed *Sicily*, *Q. Salustius Sarra*, *Sardinia*: *M. Ba-*
"*binius Lampron* high Spain, and *A. Attilius Severanus* the bale. But these two changed their Pro-
 "vinces, first by an order from the Senate, and afterwards by an act also of the Commons. For to
 "*Attilius Macedon* was assigned and the navy, and to *Babinius* the country of the Brutii. *Flam-*
"*inius* and *Fulvius* continued in the government and command of Spain, and to *Babinius Lampron*
 "for the role of the Brutii, were those two legions appointed which the year before lay in the City,
 "with commission to take up and levy of allies fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse to go
 "thither. *Attilius* had in charge to cause thirty gallees to be made with five banks of oars
 "on a side, and to take out of the harbors and docks as many old vessels as were fit for service, and
 "to enrol mariners and rowers. The Consuls also were enjoined to deliver unto him two thou-
 "sand of the Latins nation, and a thousand Roman footmen. It was commonly voyced, that
 "these two Pretors with two armies both by Land and at Sea, were prepared against *Nabis*, who
 "openly now assailed the confederates of the people of *Rome*. But still the Ambassadors were loo-
 "ped for, who had been sent unto King *Antiochus*, and the Senat commended the Consul *Domitius*
 "not to depart from the City before their return. The Pretors, *Fulvius* and *Scribonius*, whose
 "charge it was to minister law and execute justice in *Rome*, had commission to provide a hundred
 "gallees, besides that fleet which *Attilius* was to command. But before that either Consuls or
 "Pretors went forth into their Provinces, there was a procession holden, in regard of the prodigies
 "and fearful sights that were reported. For word was brought out of *Picenum*, that a flee-
 "goat had yeared six kids at once, and that it rained earth at *Amisernum*: and at *Fornice*, that a gate
 "and wall of the City were smitten with lightning: and (that which most of all troubled and
 "frighted the Consul *Domitius*) that an Ox spake these words, *Rome, take heed to thy self*. In regard
 "of the other prodigious tokens, there was a supplication holden: but as for the Ox, the South-
 "sayers and bowel-priests gave commandment, that he should with great care be kept and nouth-
 "fied. The *Tiber* also with more violence overflowed into the City than in the former year, and over-
 "threw two bridges and many buildings, especially about the gate of *Flumentum*. Moreover, a mighty
 "Gorge stone shaken out of the Capitol cliff, fell from thence into the street called *Ingratum*, either
 "by the force and violence of rain, or some earthquake (which if there were any, was so little, that it
 "could not be perceived) and that stone killed many a man. In the country also, by reason of this
 "deluge, much cattle was carried away with the flood, and many farm houses and granges were
 "born down and laid along.

Before that *L. Quintius* the Consul was arrived into his Province, *Q. Minucius* fought a bat-
 "tled with the *Egerians* in the territory of *Pise*, and slew nine thousand enemies: the rest he dis-
 "comfited,

committed, put to flight and chased into their camp; which being assailed, was defended manfully with much fighting until dark night: and then the Ligurians slipped away in the night season secretly. And by the dawning of the next day the Romans entered and seized thereof when it was empty of the enemies. Lest pillage was there found, for that ever and anon what booties soever they gat in the country they sent home to their houses. *Mimius* notwithstanding gave the enemies no repose from that time forward. For being departed out of the territory of *Pise* he came into *Liguria*, where he destroyed their boroughs and Castles, and put all to fire and sword. There the Roman souldiers filled their hands with the Tuscan prizes, sent thither by the foragers and robbers.

Much about this time the Embassadors returned to *Rome*, from the *KK.* who brought word and made relation of nothing that was sufficient to enforce them to proceed in any halt to war, I but only against the Lacedæmonian tyrant, by whom (as the Achaean Embassadors all gave intelligence) the Sea coasts of *Laconia* were wronged and assailed, against the covenants of the league. Whereupon *Attulus* the Pretor was sent with a fleet to defend the assailed, and forasmuch as there was no imminent peril from *Antiochus*, it was thought good, that both the Consuls should go into their Provinces. *Domitius* took his journey, and went the neerest way by *Ariminum*, and *Quintus* came into the Boians country by the way of *Liguria*. And these two Consuls armies in divers quarters, waited all abroad the enemies country. At the first few of their Gentlemen and Horsemen, together with their Captains: afterwards, all those of Senators calling: and last of all, as many as were of any repute, worth and worship, to the number of fifteen hundred fled to the Consul.

Likewise in both *Spain* that year the affairs went prosperously: for not only *C. Flaminius* won by force of markelets and engines of battery the rich and strong Town *Litabrum*, and took prisoner live their Lord *Corribus* a noble Prince; but also *M. Fulvius* the Pro-consul fought with two armies of the enemies twice, and put them to the worie: and won by assault two Towns of the Spaniards *Vesellia* and *Holone*, with many other fortresses: the rest of themselves revolted unto him. After this he made a journey into the Oretans country, and there having gotten two towns, * *Nolit* and *Casby*, he set forward and marched to the river *Tagus*. In that quarter there stood * *Talenum* a small City but strongly fortified: whiles he assaulted it, there came a mighty army of the Vedions to aid the Toletans, with whom he fought a tier field, and won the day, and having defeated the Vedions, he forced the Toletans with engines of battery, and won the Town.

But all the wars which at that time were in hand, nothing troubled the LL. of the Senate much as the expectation of the war, which *Antiochus* had not yet begun and entered. For albeit they had ever and anon can advertisements and intelligences of all things by their Embassadors, yet many flying tales and headie bruits there went without any certain Authors, reporting lies as well as truths. And among the rest there ran a rumor, that *Antiochus*, so soon as he was come into *Ætolia*, would presently put over a fleet into *Sicily*. Whereupon the Senate, notwithstanding they had sent *Antiochus* the Pretor with a fleet into *Greece*, yet forasmuch as there was need not of force only but also of authority to entertain the hearts and affections of their allies, they sent over *T. Quintus*, *Q. Ostorius*, *Gn. Servilius*, and *P. Silius* as Embassadors into *Greece*, and gave order that *M. Cælius* should advance his legions out of the country of the Brutians, toward *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*: that from thence if need required, he might sail over into *Macedonia*. Moreover, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should put out a fleet of thirty sail, for the defence of the coast of *Sicily* and that the Admiral thereof should have full commission there to command (now *L. Oppius Salsinator*, who the former year had been one of the *Ædiles* of the Commons, had the conduct of those ships.) Also, that the same Pretor should address his letters unto *L. Paterius* his Colleague, and advertised him that it was to be feared, that the armada of King *Antiochus* would cross over out of *Ætolia* into *Sicily*: and therefore it was the will and pleasure of the Senate, that he should take up and enrol into that army which he had already of tumultuary souldiers 1000 footmen, and 400 horie, by whose means he might defend that coast of the Province which looketh toward *Greece*. For the levy of these forces, the Pretor took musters not only in *Sicily*, but also in the Isles adjacent and lying thereabout, and fortified with good garrisons all the Towns upon the Sea side which lie toward *Greece*. Those rumours aforesaid were fed still and maintained by the coming of *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, who reported that King *Antiochus* was passed over *Hell-spont* with an army: and that the *Ætoliens* were in that forwardness, that they would be prest and ready in arms against his arrival. Great thanks were given as well to *Eumenes* in his absence, as to *Attalus* there present in place. Also order was taken, that he should have a lodging allowed him at his pleasure, and his charges born for his diet and house-keeping. Moreover, there were given him 25 presents, two great horses of service, two pair of horsemen armors, as much silver plate as amounted to an hundred pound weight: and of gold plate, as much as weighed 20 pound.

And forasmuch as messengers one after another advertised and gave warning, that war was at hand it was thought requisite and expedient, that the new Consuls should be chosen in convenient speed: whereupon a decree passed from the Senat, that *M. Fulvius* the Pretor should forthwith dispatch his letters unto the Consul, to certify him of the Senats pleasure, namely, that he should commit the government of his Province and the army unto his Lieutenant, and return himself unto *Rome*, and in his way send out his writs aforesaid for the publishing of an assembly

A general for the election of Consuls. The Consul obeyed the letters, directed forth his summons in manner aforesaid, and came to *Rome*. In this year a great ambition there was, and much suit for the dignity of government. For that three noblemen stood for one place, namely, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cneus*, who the former year had the republic; *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Gn. Manlius Falst*. The Consulship was conferred upon *P. Scipio*, so as it might appear to the whole world, that this honour was deferred only and not fully denied to so worthy a personage. His adjunct companion in government was *M. Aclius Glabrus*, a man by calling a commoner. The morrow after were the Pretors chosen: to wit, *L. Æmilius Paulus*, *L. Æmilius Lepidus*, *M. Junius Brutus*, *A. Cædus*, *Mammilius C. Levis*, *Sc. L. Appius*, both surnamed *Salinator*. This *Appius* was he that had the conduct into *Sicily* of a fleet of thirty sail. Mean while that these new Magistrates call lots for the government of their Provinces, *M. Cælius* was commanded to pass over with all his power from *Brundisium* into *Epirus*, and to keep his forces about *Apollonia*. And *M. Fulvius* the Pretor of the City had in charge to build fifty new Galeaces called *Quinquereges* of five banks of oars on either side. And thus verily the people of *Rome* was provided against all enterprises and attempts of King *Antiochus* whatsoever.

Neither was *Nabis* behind for his part in levying war: but assailed with great force the Town of *Ophymus*: and of a mischievous and malicious mind against the Achæans, for sending a garrison to aid the besieged Townsmen he forsook and waited their country. The Achæans durst not go in hand with war, before their Embassadors were returned from *Rome*, and until they might know the pleasure and will of the Senat: but after the return of those Embassadors, they both published a Diet and general Council at *Sicyone*, and also sent their Embassadors to *Quintus* for his advice and counsel. In this Diet, all their opinions inclined and tended to make war out of hand: only the letters of *T. Quintus* made some stay of the enterprise, wherein he advised them to expect the Pretor and navy of the Romans. Now when the State there assembled in council were directed some perishing still in their former opinion, and others of mind to take with them the advice of him unto whom they had sent for counsel: the multitude at length looked what *Philopemenes* would say in that behalf. The Pretor he was for the time and in those days surpassed all other in wisdom and authority. Then he rose up and used this preface and said, "That it was a good custom among the *Ætoliens*, and well ordained and provided, that the Pretor himself in all consultations of war should not deliver his own opinion: and therefore willed them of their selves to resolve and determine with all speed possible what they pleased. As for the Pretor, faith he, he will be ready to execute with fidelity and careful diligence their decrees accordingly: yea, and indevor so far forth as mans policy may reach unto, that they shall not repent of their resolution: be it war or peace. This brief speech of his was more forcible and effectual to incite them to take arms, than any persuasive Oration, wherein he openly could have shewed his desire to follow the wars. And therefore with exceeding accord of all in general they agreed upon war. As for the time and means of managing the same, it was wholly referred to the discretion of the Pretor, to use his own liberty and pleasure. *Philopemenes*, besides that *Quintus* so advised, was also himself minded to wait for the Roman fleet which on the Sea side might defend *Gythium*: but fearing again that their present necessity could abide no delays, and lest not only *Gythium* should be beset, but the garrison also military, which was sent to the defence of the war he let sloop and put to the Sea the Achæans shipping. The Tyrant likewise had rigged and dressed a small fleet to empeach any aid and succours that haply might be sent to the besieged by Sea, to wit, three covered ships with hatch and deck three Brigantines or Pinnaces, and as many Gallions. For the old ships were by composition and covenant delivered up to the Romans. And to make proof and trial of these new vessels how swift and nimble they were, and what to see how all things else were well fitted for a battail, if need were; he made every day certain shows and representations of fight at Sea, and exercised both mariners and souldiers by such kind of false alarms: supposing, that herein principally consisted the hope of his siege, in case he could cut off all their aid from the Sea side. Now the Pretor of the Achæans as he was equal to any of the best and most renowned commanders and Captains of that time in Land service, either for experience and practise or wit and policy: so at Sea he was but a novice and a learner as being an Arcadian born, an Inlander far within the main, and ignorant besides of all former forces, but that he had born arms and served a little in *Cady*, whiles he had the leading there, of some auxiliaries. One old Gally there was a *Quadrifente*, taken at Sea 80 years before, at what time as the called *Nicola* the wife of *Craterus* from *Naxos* came to *Corinth*. And having heard much talk of this ship (for indeed he had been sometime of great name in the Kings royal fleet) he commanded her, all rotten as she was now, and ready to fall in pieces, to be shot into the Sea from out of the Bay of *Argium*. This ship as admiral, made way before the rest, wherein *Tiso of Parra*, a Captain General of a fleet was aboard; and he commanded the ships of the Laconians, making sail from *Gythium*. And at the first he chanced to drift and run against a new strong ship and being old of her self leaking and taking water at every joint, the war went asunder and fell aspires. All within her were taken prisoners. The rest of the fleet, having lost their captain, fled as fast as possibly their oars could make speed and away. *Philopemenes* himself was in a light swift frigat or pink, and fled again, and never stayed until he was arrived at *Parra*. This mishap nothing discouraged and abated the heart of this martial warrior, who had run through many and sundry adventures: but contrary-wise wrought this effect, that he abhorred himself and said, That if he were overtaken and put to the worie in service at Sea, wherein

Philoponemes having given commandment to his light armed aid-fouldiers so prelie forward till H, and to follow the chafe as fast as they could (knowing well that the *Borémen* would have much ado and trouble in their flight) conducted himselfe the main army and heavily charged, by a more open way to the River *Enneus*: where he encamped himselfe a little before the going downe of the sun, and there he waited for his light appointed fouldiers, whom he had lett to follow after the enemies. Who being come about the time of the first watch brought word, that the *Tyrans* with some few were entred into the City, but the unarmed multitude were dispersed, and wandered all about the forest and the woods. Then he wilked them to repose and refresh their bodies: which being done, himselfe chose out of all the fouldiers besides, who because they were consumed into the camp, had well hearted themselves with taking their refection and some small sleep certain elect and special men, and took them forth immediately with him, having about them nothing but their swords, and set them in good order to keep two port-waies, by which men got to *Phara* and *Bardolphes*, where he presumed that the enemies would take their way and retire themselves upon their flight: and nothing was he deceived. For the *Lacedaemonians* so long as the day light lasted, had withdrawn themselves to the middle of the forest, through by-lanes and blind paths; but when the night was come, and that they defied lights within their enemies camp, they kept themselves aloof over-against them within cloie and secret lanes: and when they were once passed beyond, and thought all to be in safety and security, they came down into the more open high waies, where they were received and caught up by their enemies that forsaied them in ambush: so they were every where by numbers either killed or taken prisoners: in such sort as scarce one fourth part of their whole army escaped. *Philoponemes* having shut up the tyrant cloie in the City, spent almost thirty daies consequently ensuing in waiting and spoiling the territory of the *Laconioms*: and when he had thus weakened and in manner broken the back of his enemy, he returned home, and the *Achaens* held him a paragon, and equal to the Roman Generall for glorious deeds of arms, nay, in the service of the *Laconian* war they preferred him before the other.

During the war between the Achæans and the tyrant, the Roman Embassadors, who carefully and diligently visited the Cities of the Allies, for fear lest the Ætolians had alienated any of their Affections from them to King *Antiochus* travelled but little in going about to the Achæans, whom by reason of the hatred they bare to *Nabis*, they hoped verily to be fast and faithful enough unto them in all other things. And first they came to *Athens*, from thence to *Chalcidæum* and so to *Theffaly*: and after they had conferred with the Theffalians in a frequent council of the city, they turned their way to *Demetrias*, where there was published a solemn Diet to be holden by the Magnesians. Where they were to frame their speech more curiously than in other places, because certain of their great men and Potentates were estranged from the Romans, and altogether made for *Antiochus* and the Ætolians. The reason was this; because when news came that *Philip* his son, who was left hostage with the Romans should be rendered again unto him, and likewise therein but remitted which had been imposed upon him, among other false tales and untruths it was reported, That the Romans would receive *Demetrias* also into his hands. And rather than that should come to pass, *Eurylochus* a principal and chief man among the Magnesians, and some others of that faction, desired to have a new world and an alteration. By the coming of the Ætolians and *Antiochus*. To these Magnesians, they were to come and purchase their words in, in driving them of that foolish vain fear which they had conceived, that thereby they did not put *Philip* clean beside his hope, and so give him occasion to be ill affected unto the Romans; considering that he alone was to them of far greater importance in all respects, than were the Magnesians, put all together. Thus much only they said by way of advertisement. That as all Greece generally was much beholden and bound unto the Romans for the benefit of Liberty, which they by their means enjoyed, so that City and State especially above all others was obliged unto them. For there, not only a garrison of Macedonians had been maintained to keep them in awe, but also the King had built him a royal palace to seat himself there, to the end, that they might evermore have in their eye, they Lord to command them. But in vain, and to no purpose was all this, in case the Ætolians brought *Antiochus* in his head to make his residence in the house and palace of *Philip*; and would needs entertain a new and unknown King in lieu of the old, so long a time, and so well known. The sovereign Magistral of that City, they call *Magnetarches*; and for that time *Eurylochus* was the man: who bearing himself big and stout of his high place, said plainly, That he knew no cause, why either he or the Magnesians should suppress and smother the remembrance of so noble touching the delivery of *Demetrias* into *Philip* his hands. For rather than to suffer that, the Magnesians were to oppose themselves, yea, to do and dare any action whatsoever. And in the vehement heat of speech he went so far, that he considered he had cut one word and said. That *Demetrias* seemed free in outward shew and appearance, but in very truth was at the command and devotion, yea, and at every beck of the Romans. At this speech there arose a dissonant bruit and murmuring of the assembly, which jarred and varied one from another, whiles some looked him up, others were offended, and took it in great delight, that he should presume to utter and speak so much. And *Quintus* was in such an heat of choler therewith, that stretching forth his hands to Heaven, he called the Gods to witness this ingratitude and disloyalty of the Magnesians. At whose words they were all greatly terrified. Then *Zeno* one of the chief, a man at that time of great authority and reputation, as well in regard of the honorable part that he ever carried in the whole course of his life, as also for that he always stood firm and true

but in vain and to no effect. After him *Thou* and the rest of that faction, were heard with the general applause of all: and they effected to much, that without any farther proroguing of the Diet, and referring the matter to another day, yea, and without staying so long until the Romans were out of the place and absent, they concluded to make a decree, by virtue whereof *Antiochus* should be sent for to affrontable *Greece*, and to decide the quarrel between the Romans and the Ætolians. This decree was not so proud and insolent, but *Demetrius* his Pretor accompanied it with as arrogant and reproachful a trumpet of his own. For when *Quintus* required of him to see the said decree, he without any respect of the honorable personage of the man, made answer, That for the present time he had somewhat else to do of greater importance; but he would give him the decree and an answer withal shortly, and that within *Italy*, encamped upon the bank of *Tiberis*. So great a spirit of senseless folly in those days had possessed the nation of the Ætolians, and their chief Magistrats! Then *Quintus* and the delegates returned to *Corinth*.

After the Romans were dismissed, the Ætolians held no more general council of the whole Nation, because they would make semblance and seem to do nothing of themselves as touching the cause and question of *Antiochus*, but sit still and expect the coming of the King. Many, they treated and debated the matter by their *Aspelei* (for so they call their special and privy Council which consisteth of certain elect chosen persons) by what means there might be an alteration and change in the affairs of *Greece*. This was held of all men for certain, that in every City and State, the chief and the best men generally were for the association of the Romans, and contented themselves with the present condition wherein they stood: but the multitude and those who had not all things to fall out to their own good liking, were desirous of a change. And one day above the rest, the Ætolians entered into a designment and plot, which was not only out of all measure audacious, but also most shameless, namely, to surprise and possess themselves of *Demetrius*, *Chalcis* and *Lacedæmon*. And to each of these Cities there was sent one of their principal personages, namely, *Thou* to *Chalcis*, *Alexandrus* to *Lacedæmon*, and *Diocles* to *Demetrius*. This *Diocles* had the help and assistance of *Emphylochus* a banished man (of whose flying away, and the occasion thereof we have spoken before) who otherwise had no hope at all to return again into his native country. The kinsfolk and friends of *Emphylochus* and thereof that faction, upon instructions given them by his letters, willed his wife and children to present themselves in the frequent assembly of the citizens in habit of mourners, in poor array, and vailed after the manner of humble suppliants, there to beseech them all and some, not to suffer him a guiltless person, neither convicted nor condemned, to wax old and pine away in exile. All that were plain and simple men seemed to be touched with pity and commiseration. The wicked and seditious persons conceived some hope to make a confusion in the State by these Ætolian troubles: in so much as every one was of opinion and gave his voice, that he should be restored and sent for home. This ground being laid and matters thus prepared, *Diocles* with his horsemen (for then was he the Captain of the Cavalry) took his journey, under a colour and pretence to reduce and bring home this banished person his host and good friend; and in one day and night travelled a mighty great journey, and came within six miles of the City. And betimes in the morning by day light, accompanied with three elect troops he marched forward, commanding the rest of the horsemen to follow after. When he approached the gate, he caused them all to alight on foot and to lead their horses in their hands by the reins of their bridles, and to go without order, resembling travellers and waifaring men, so as they seemed more like to the ordinary train of Captain *Diocles*, than to the men of arms and warriors under his charge: and leaving one of his troops at the gate, for fear lest the horsemen behind might be shut out, he led *Emphylochus* by the hand, and brought him through the mids of the City and the market place home to his house: and all the way he was met with many of his lovers and friends that welcomed him, and joyed for his return. Among the whole City was full of horsemen, and all places of opportunity and advantage were seized and possessed by them. Which done, divers were sent to massacre the chief of the adverse part in their houses. Thus the Ætolians became masters of *Demetrius*.

As for *Lacedæmon*, they devised in no hand to force the City, but by some wile to entrap and surprise the tyrant. For seeing the Romans had despoiled him of all his Sea coast Towns: and the Achæans driven him within the walls of *Lacedæmon*, there was no doubt, but who so ever could first take his life from him, should carry away all the thanks, and carry especial favor with the Lacedæmonians. Good occasion and pretence they had to send unto him a power of armed men, for that he had importuned them by his prayers for some aids, considering that by their advice and persuasion he had rebelled. So there were given unto *Alexandrus* a thousand footmen, and thirty elect horsemen, drawn out of all the flour of the City. *Demetrius* the Pretor delivered unto them from the privy council of that nation (of which we have before spoken) "That they should not believe that they were to be employed in war against the Achæans, or in any other service, according as each one might imagine and conceive in his own head: but he charged them to be ready to perform and execute obediently whatsoever fuddain designment *Alexandrus* upon the present occasion should happen to attempt, were it never so unlooked for, strange, inconsiderate, and audacious: and to rest upon this, That they were sent with him to accomplish that, and for no other purpose. Thus *Alexandrus* with the conduct of these men thus prepared to his hand came unto the Tyrant: and no sooner was he arrived, but he possessed him presently with a world of hopes: giving to understand, "That *Antiochus* was already passed over

into *Europe*: that shortly he would be in *Greece*, and over-spread all seas and lands with his armies and armados; that the Romans should full well know and find, that they have not now to deal with such an one as *Philip*: that the numbers of his foot and horses by land can not be counted, nor his ships at Sea numbered: that the battail of his Elephants at the very fight will decide the matter and finish the war. Moreover, that the Ætolians with all their forces, were ready and prett to come to *Lacedæmon*: (as need required) at any time: but indeed, desirous they were to shew and muster before the King at his arrival, a goodly number of armed soldiers. *Nabis* therefore himself should do very well, not to suffer those forces which he had, to decay with long repose and idleness, but bring them forth and train them abroad, make them to move in their armour thereby both to whet and sharpen their courages, and also to exercise and inure their bodies: for by use and custom, the labour will be lighter; and by the civility and graciousness of their General, not without delight and pleasure. Hereupon, they began to issue out of the City, and oftentimes went into the plain lying hand by the River *Eurotas*. They of the tyrants guard kept commonly in the battail or middle ward: and himself with three horsemen at the utmost (with whom *Alexandrus* for the most part was joined ordinarily to ride before the captains, taking survey and viewing the utmost points and wings of the army. The Ætolians were placed in the right wing, as well those that came before to aid the tyrant as those thousand that were newly arrived with *Alexandrus*. Now had *Alexandrus* taken a custom, one while to come as it were amongst the ranks before in the company of the tyrant, and to intrude him in some matters sounding to his commodity: otherwhiles, to ride to his own men into the right wing, and soon again to return to the Tyrant, as if he had given them charge of somewhat necessary to be done. But upon that day which was appointed for to do the feat and murder the tyrant, after he had ridden forth with the tyrant to the usual place, and kept him company a while, he took occasion (as his manner was) to make a step aside to his own soldiers; and then he went in hand with those horsemen which were sent with him from out of *Ætolia*, and said thus unto them: "Now first, you must adventure and execute that lustily and without delay which you were commanded to perform by my direction and leading. Be ready with heart and hand, and be not slack and idle to exploit that, which ye shall seem to argue and interpose his own wit and advice to cross: be that either standeth still, or will seem to undertake and enterprise. And look whosoever misse, let him make account, he shall never go home again to his own country. With that he put them all a quaking, for well they remembered what their charge was when they came forth from home. Now was the Tyrant a coming on horseback from the left wing: Then *Alexandrus* commanded his horsemen to couch their lances down, and to have their eye upon him. He also settled himself to take a good heart unto him, which was not a little daunted at first with the cogitation of so great a designment that he had projected. When he was now approached and come near the Tyrant, he ran with full carrier at him, gored his horse, and overthrew himself to the ground. He was not so soon unhorsed and laid along, but the horsemen stabbed him with many a thrust: whereof the most part did no harm, considering they were driven against his collar: but in the end they found where his body was naked and unarmed, so he gave his last gasp before he could be rescued by his guard in the main battail aforesaid. Then *Alexandrus* taking with him all the Ætolians, made all the half he could to possess himself of the royal place. The Pensioners and Squires of the body, seeing this murder done before their eyes, were at first mightily affrighted: but afterwards perceiving the army of the Ætolians to go their wayes and depart, they ran to the breathless carcase left among them, and of men that should have guarded his body and retorted his death, they became a sort of idle gazers and lookers on. And surely there would not have been one stirred, in case the multitude had immediately been called to an assembly; and if after amidst down, they had been entertained by him with some Oration or Remonstrances framed according to thetime. The Ætolians were kept many together, in arms still, without any outrage or wrong done or offered to any one person. But all things that they did, heightened the speedy ruin and destruction of those that had committed this fact: as it could not otherwise be in Fall reason, but they should so be served, who had plaid so lewd and treacherous a part. The Captain and Ring-leader of all this mischief kept him self close shut within the royal palace, spending both night and day in rifling and searching the Tyrants coffers and his treasury. And the Ætolians for their part also felt so ransacking as if they had won that City by assault, which they made commensurate and semblance to see free. The indignity of these their pranks, the contempt withal and small regard made of them, encouraged and animated the Lacedæmonians to gather together and consult of the matter. Some were of opinion and said, That the Ætolians were to be thrust out by the head and shoulders, and to be sent away with a mischief, and taken from them: to be recovered, which under a colour of being restored, was intercepted and taken from them: others advised and said, that for fashion at leastwise, some one of royal blood should be let up for to be the head in this action. Now there was of that race and stem one *Luconicus* a young Child, brought up with the children of the late Tyrant: him they mounted upon horseback, and then they took arms with all speed, and as many Ætolians as they could light upon, wandering here and there in the streets, they ran upon and bowed in peeces. Then they assaulted the palace, where they also murdered *Alexandrus*, albeit with some few about him he made resistance and defended himself. The rest of the Ætolians gathered together about *Chalciceus* (which is a Chappel of *Diana* made of brass) and there likewise they were massacred: A few of them

* *Trastevere*, or *Leodario*.* *Cabo de Pagan*, or *Calapoli*.

flung away their weapons and fled, some escaped to *Tegra*, and others to *Megalopolis*; where being apprehended by the Magistrates, they were sold in port-fale, so that they would offer most. *Philopemestor* hearing of the Tyrants death, went to *Academus*, where he found all things out of order and in confusion by reason of the same. And having called forth the principal in chief citizens, he used unto them such a speech, as indeed *Alexander* should have made, and thereby knit the Lacedæmonians in league and alliance with the Achæans; which he effected the sooner, because it chanced even then, that *Antillas* was come before *Gythium* with four and twenty Gallies of five banks of oars on a side.

About the same time, *Thous* had not so good speed before *Chalcis*; by means of *Enthymidas*, a great and chief man of the City (one who by the might and stronger hand of those that sided with the Romans, had been expelled the City after the coming of *T. Quintus* and the Embassadors, or delegates) and also of *Herodotus* of *Cannus*, a Merchant and a man that in regard of his wealth and riches bare a great side in *Chalcis*: *Thous*, I say, sped not so well by their means, notwithstanding that the supposit and part-takers of *Enthymidas* were well disposed to betray the Town; as *Enthymidas* did in the surprising and seizing of *Demetrius*. This *Enthymidas* from *Athens* (for there he had made choicero dwell) first came to *Thiber*, and so from thence went forward to *Salsonea*. *Herodotus* abode at *Thronium*, and not far from thence within the gulf of *Malta*, he had 2000 footmen, and *Thous* two hundred horsemen, and about thirty light Caravels. Which *Herodotus* was commanded to set over into the Island *Arantia* with six hundred footmen, that from thence, when he perceived once the Land-forces to approach *Anle* and *Enripus*, he might cut over to *Chalcis*. As for themselves, they conducted the rest of the forces in all the halt they could, and who by night journey marched unto *Chalcis*. *Miltis* and *Xenocides* (that had the managing of the affairs in *Chalcis*, and might do all in all there, now that *Enthymidas* was banished) remained in *Chalcis*, and whether they mistrusted somewhat themselves, or had some inkling and intelligence of the matter. I wot not, but afraid they were at first, and had no other hope at all but flight to save themselves: howbeit afterwards when their fear was well allayed and settled, seeing evidently, that not only their own country was betrayed, but also the Roman society abandoned; they plotted in this wise, and entered into a counsil as followeth.

It befell on the very same time, that a solemn anniversary sacrifice was celebrated at *Eretria* to the honour of *Diana Amatoryn*; to which solemnity there resorted not only the inhabitants of those places near at hand, but also a number of Carytians. Thither they sent certain Orators, to request and entreat the Eretrians and Carytians, both to take some pity of their estate, considering they were born in the same Island, and also to have some regard to the alliance of the Romans; and not suffer *Chalcis* to fall into the hands of the *Ætolians*: who no doubt, if they might get *Chalcis*, would not be long ere they had *Eretria* too. Sirly Lords (say they) were the Macedonians, and rigorous, but the *Ætolians* would be much more unsupportable. These Cities were principally respective to the Romans, whose virtue and prowess in war, whose justice and bounty in victory they had lately experienced; and therefore both States armed the flower and manhood of all their youth and sent them. The Townsmen of *Chalcis* having committed the guard of their walls to these, went forth themselves with all their forces passed over *Enripus*, and encamped near *Salsonea*. From whence place they sent first an herald, and after him Embassadors to the *Ætolians*, to demand of them. Wherein they had to offended either in word or deed, that their allies and friends should come to molest and assail them so by way of hostility? To whom *Thous* the General of the *Ætolians* made this answer: That they were not come to smother and trouble, but to deliver and free them from their servitude under the Romans. For bound they were and tied now with a brighter and more glittering chain indeed, but far heavier, than at what time as they had the garrison of the Macedonians within their Castle. The Chalcidians replied against and inferred, that they neither were in bondage, nor needed at all the garrison of any. And thus the Embassadors departed from the party, and returned to their own people. *Thous* and the *Ætolians*, whose whole and only hope was to come upon them on a sudden and surprise them at unawares, returned home again as they came, being not able to maintain open war, nor to assail a City so well fortified both by sea and land. *Enthymidas* being advertised that his country-men lay in camp at *Salsonea*, and that the *Ætolians* were dislodged and gone, retired himself also from *Thiber* to *Arantia*. And *Herodotus* likewise, after he had wittily and with great longings expected from *Antiochus* certain daies together, to see some signal (but in vain) sent out a pinnace or brigantine, to know what the cause might be of such stay; and understanding that the enterprise was given over by his competitors and fellows in the plot, he returned to *Thronium* from whence he came.

Quintus likewise having intelligence of these occurrences, as he sailed with his fleet from *Cornith*, encountered *Emmesus* in *Enripus* near *Chalcis*. And thought good it was between them that *Emmesus* the King should leave at *Chalcis* five hundred footmen in garrison, and himself go directly to *Athens*; and *Quintus* kept on his way to *Demetrius* whether he intended, supposing, that the deliverance of *Chalcis* would make somewhat to induce the Macedonians to embrace again the society of the Romans. And to the end that those persons in *Demetrius* who sided with him might have some forces for their defence, he wrote unto *Emmesus* the Pretor of the Thebans, to put the youth in arms; and the six *Villius* before unto *Demetrius* to send their Ambassadors, not minding otherwise to give the attempt, unless some part of them inclined to respect the *Ætolian* society. *Villius* entered the mouth of the haven with a five banked Gallies. Thither ran the

* *Taladi*.* *Dis in ad.*

the whole multitude flocking unto him. And *Villius* demanded of them, whether they had rather that he came to them as to friends or enemies? Unto whom *Enthymidas* the *Magistrarch*, answered, that he was come unto his friends: but he would to him forbear the haven, and suffer the Magistrates to be at peace and liberty, and to beware that under a pretence of parle, he did not follicit and disquiet the multitude. After this there was no farther talk and speech between them but plain debate and altercation whiles *Villius* the Roman blamed and challenged the Magistrates, as unthankful persons, and forewarned them of the miseries and calamities that hung over their heads; and again the multitude cried out aloud, and accused as well the Senat as *Quintus*. Thus *Villius* without doing any good, returned to *Quintus*. But *Quintus* having dispatched a messenger to the Pretor, that he should reduce home his forces, retired himself again by sea to *Cornith*.

The affairs of *Greece* thus interlaced and blended with the Roman, have carried me away as it were out of my lists: not for that they were necessary and important to be written, but only because they were material to the cause of the war against *Antiochus*. After the Consuls were elected (for there I began my digression) *L. Quintus* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Consuls went into their several provinces, *Quintus* in *Liguria* and *Domitius* against the Boii. As for the Boii, they held themselves quiet, yet, and the whole body of their Senat with their children, their exstains also with their Cavalry, to the number in all of fifteen hundred, yielded themselves to the Consul. But the territory of the Ligurians was overrun and waited, and some fortresses won: whereby not only there were prizes got of all sorts, and prisoners taken, but also diverse captives, as well citizens as allies were recovered out of the enemies hand. This very year a Colony was planted at *Vidobona* by an act of Senat and Commons: and there went thither three thousand and seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. The Triumvirs, who had the placing of them, were *Q. Naevius*, *M. Minucius*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. Every footman was endued with fifteen acres of land, and the horsemen with twice as much. It was a territory held last in the tenure of the Brutians, and they had conquered it first from the *Greeks*.

About the same time, there hapned at *Rome* two most fearful accidents; the one of them continued long, but was not altogether so vehement and terrible: for there was an earthquake endured eight and thirty daies. All which time, the lawfeed or vacation from all courts of law and civil causes, continued in great fear and pensiveness: in regard whereof, a supplication was holden for three daies. As for the other, it was not a vain fear, but a very loss indeed that touched many men: for there began a scarce in the beast Market, and continued a day and a night, burning many bodies standing on the *Tyber* side; and all the shops and ware-houses, with merchandise of great price, were consumed. Now was the year well drawing to an end, and daily more and more the bruit and rumor of the war with *Antiochus* increased; and likewise the care that the LL. of the Senat had thereof. And therefore they began to treat as concerning the Provinces of the Magistrates elect, to the end, that all of them might be more circumspect and intentive to their charges. So a decree passed, that the Consuls should have the government of *Italy*, by name, and also to go whithersoever the Senat should please to dispose of them: and all men knew well enough, that the war against *Antiochus* was upon the point. Also ordained it was, that he whole lot it was to manage that war, should have the conduct of four thousand footmen of Roman Citizens, and three hundred horsemen; besides six thousand allies of the Latine nation, and four hundred horsemen. *L. Quintus* the Consul was appointed to take musters for those souldiers, that there should be no stay, but that the new Consul might immediately put himself in his journey, to what expedition soever the Senat thought good. Item, It was decreed as concerning the Provinces of the Pretors, in this manner: namely, That the first lot should assign the double jurisdiction, civil and foreigne, as well among Citizens as strangers: the second should concern the Brutians: the third, the navy, and the same to sail whithersoever the Senat would appoint: the fourth for *Sicily*; the fifth for *Sardinia*: the sixth for the nether *Spain*. Over and besides *L. Quintus* the Consul was commanded to enroll two new legions of Roman Citizens, besides twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horsemen of allies of the Latine nation; and this army they set out for the Pretor, who was to govern the Brutii. Two chappels that year were dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*: the one to *othem* *L. Furius*, *Purpureo* vowed in the Gauls war, as Pretor; the other when he was Consul and *Q. Martius Ralla* the Daumvir, dedicated them. This year there passed many sharp and grievous sentences and judgements upon usurers: against whom (being private men) *M. Tuccius* and *P. Junius Bruttus* the two *Ædiles* of the chair, commenced action. Of that silver wherein they were fined, was made a chariot with four wheels, gilded, and set up it was in the Capitoll in the cabinet of *Jupiter* above the top of his shrine: likewise twelve buckles gilded. The same *Ædiles* also, caused the porch or gallery to be made without the gate *Tergemina*, among the carpenters.

As the Romans were wholly amused upon preparation for this new war, so *Antiochus* for his part sat not still: three Cities there were which kept him back and checked his progress, to wit, *Samprna*, *Alexandria* in *Troas*, and *Lampfacus*; the which they never could to that day force by assault, or draw into amity with any condition whatsoever; and to leave them behind in thole terms, when the should in proper person pass over into *Europe*, he was not willing. Somewhat also he was impeached by a consultation as touching *Amibal*. For as first he was laid and hindered by occasion of the open ships which he intended to send with him into *Africk*. And afterward buzzed it was into his head by *Thous* the *Ætolian* especially, and question moved, whe-

ther it was good simply to fend him thither at all, or no? This *Theas*, when *Greece* was all in an hurry and full of troubles, bare them in hand, that *Demetrius* would be in their power and at their devotion. And like as with his leavings touching the King, in multiplying and magnifying his forces, he had brought many of the *Greeks* into a fools paradise, even so also after the same manner he ceased not to feed the King with lies, and fill him with hopes, making him believe as all men wished for him with all their hearts, and would run by heaps to the sea strand, to meet him to soon as they could ken his fleet under sail. This false same man was so bold also as to alter the Kings mind as touching *Amibal*, which seemed before relolved and settled. For he perswaded him that the Kings navy was not to be dismembred, and part therefore to be sent away; and if he were to make out any of the ships from the rest, yet *Amibal* of all other was not to have the conduct thereof, a banished person and a Cathaginian; who was like enough to be of many minds, & to change a thousand times in a day, such was his present condition and fortune, & such was his nature and disposition. And as for that glorious name for martiall prowesse (which is the cause that *Amibal* is so much let by, and which recommended him as a speciall and singular gift to the world) it is too much, and far unfitting for any one captain under a King: and moremeet it were that the King himself should be regarded and seen above all other, that the King, I say, and none but the King should be the leader, conductor and commander of all. Again, if *Amibal* chanced to military with a fleet, or to have his forces defeated, the losse would be accounted no more then if any other meaner captain had done it: but if the affairs should prosper and speed well, *Amibal* should go away with the honour, and not *Antiochus*. Moreover, say that fortune were so kind as to give *Antiochus* the upper hand of the Romans, and the entire victory over them for ever, what hope or likelihood is there that *Amibal* would be content to live under the King and subject to him alone, who hardly could brook and endure the command and sovereignty of the whole state wherein he was born? He hath not carried himself so, ever since his youth, bearing amind to compass the dominion of the whole world, as that now in his old age he can not abide to have a lord and a superior over him. To conclude: the King (quoth he) hath no such need of *Amibal* in this war, as to make him a commander: wel maye he use him for a counsellor, and so forth have him in his train and company: for some mean fruit and use of such a nature, cannot be cumbersome, hurtfull, and dangerous: but if high and great matters be reached at, soon they may bear down and overcharge both the giver, and also the receiver. And so spirits are so ready to envy and malice others, as they whole birth and parentage, whole degree, and estate is not answerable to their haury minds: and such commonly, as they hate the virtue, so they deprell the good of another. Hereupon their course of sending *Amibal* into *Asiatic*, was forthwith laid aside and clean cast behind, which was so well devised in the beginning of the war.

Antiochus bearing himself aloft now, principally for that *Demetrius* was revolted from the Romans unto the *Ætoliens*, determined no longer to delay the matter, but presently to take a voiage into *Greece*. But before that he embarked and took the sea, he went up to *Stum* from the castle for to sacrifice to *Minerva*; and when he was returned to his fleet, he made sail with twelve covered and hatched ships, and so uncovered and undecked, and after those followed two vessels of burden, charged and fraught with victuals, munition, and warlike furniture of all sorts. And first he fell with the land *Ambrus*: and from thence he cut over to *Sejambos*, where after he had rallied his ships which had been scattered one from another in the wide and deep sea, he arrived at *Piselmus*, the silt town of the main and continent. Where *Eurylochus* the *Magnestarches*, Lybia foresign of *Magnesia* and the principal citizens of the State, who were come from *Demetrius*, met him and joynd with him; who rejoicing exceedingly to see so goodly a company of them in his train, the next day put into the haven of the City of *Demetrius*: and not far from thence landed all his forces, which amounted in the whole to ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six Elephants: a small power (God wot) and unfficient to leize upon *Greece*, all naked and alone, far shorter then to hold and maintain war with the Romans. After it was reported that *Antiochus* was come to *Demetrius*, the *Ætoliens* proclaimed a councill, wherein they made a decree to lend for *Antiochus*. For now the King knowing that they would passe into an Act, was departed from *Demetrius*, and had withdrawn himself to *Phalera* within the gulph of *Maleus* And after he had received once the patent of that decree, he went from thence to *Lamia*, where he was received with exceeding favour of the common people, with clapping of hands, shouts, exclamations, and others sign, whereby the multitude used to shew & testify their great joy. When they were assembled together and set in Council, *Phonax* the Pretor and other chief citizens brought him homely in: where *Oxyrrhodus*, thus the King began his speech, first exclaiming himself, in that he was come with a far smaller power then all men hoped or looked for. "And even this (quoth he) may serve in stead of the greatest argument that may be of my exceeding love and affection toward you, in that being to unprovided and unfortified of all things, and at a time so unseasonable for to sail, as too early to take the sea, I have not thought much but am willingly come at the call of their Embass. ders: being thus assuredly perswaded, that the *Ætoliens* seeing me once, will suppose that in me alone consisted all their hope and defence whatsoever. And yet I would accomplish I assure you, and satisfie to the full even your contentment also, whose expectation for the present may seem to have been disappointed: for soon as the

A "time of the year will serve, and the spring is once come, that the seas are navigable, I will overperspall all *Greece* with men, horse, and munition; I will take up all the sea coasts with fleets, I will spare for no cost, no pain, no perill, until I have taken from their necks the heavy yoke of the Roman empire, let *Greece* free indeped, and the made the *Ætoliens* the chief commanders therein. Nay, with mine armies besides shall come all kind of provision and furniture out of *Asia*. But for the present (saith he) the *Ætoliens* must see & take order, that my people may be loved with corn and other victuals at a reasonable rate. To this effect when the King had spoken with the great assist of all men, he departed. After the Kings departure, there rose some contention between two great men of the *Ætoliens*, to wit, *Phonax* and *Theas*. *Phonax* was of opinion, that it was better policy to use *Antiochus* for a mediator and reconciler of peace, or to be an umpire or arbitrator to decide the controversies betwix them & the Romans, rather then to be the General of the war. For his very coming and majesty would be more effectual then all his forces, to strike some reverence in the Romans, and cause them to be respective unto him. For men oftentimes yield and remit many things of themselves willingly, to avoid war, which they cannot be forced unto by war and by arms. When they are once entred into action, *Theas* inferred again and said, that *Phonax* spake not this for any desire & love to peace, but his meaning was to scatter and disperse this furniture and preparation of war for this intent. That by this tedious lingering, the Kings courage might abate, and the Romans gain time to make themselves ready. For, that there was no reason possibly to be gotten at the Romans hand, they had tried sufficiently by good experience, in sending to many embassages to *Rome*, and in debating the matter to often with *Quintus*; neither would they ever have brought unto *Antiochus* and craved his aid, if all their hope otherwise had not been cut off and clean failed. And now since his helping hand is presented unto them sooner then all men thought or looked for, they were not now to begin to faint and give over, but rather to request and intreat the King, that since he was come himself in person (which was the greatest matter of all) to set free and maintain *Greece*, he would fend for forces both at sea and land. For the King in arms, might peradventure obtain something: but disarmed if he were, little or no reckning would the Romans make of him in the quarrell and question of the *Ætoliens*, no, nor in his own affairs whensoever he should reason and deb t thereof. And here went the bare away. They all opened straightwaies to stile the King with the name of *Imperator* [Emperour] and they chose thirty of the chief personages to assist him in council for all things requirit. Thus the Diet was dissolved, and every man flit away and retired to his own City.

D The next day the King sat in a consultation with their Apocletes, in what place they should begin the war. And it was thought best, first to assail the City of *Chalcis*, which lately the *Ætoliens* had assailed in vain. And for to effect this service, there was more expedition and speed required then any other great forces and preparations. Hereupon the King set forward with 1000 footmen which followed him from *Demetrius*, and made by the way of *Phocis*: The Captains of the also of the *Ætoliens*, having levied some few companies of their youth took another way and met with him at *Charonae*, and followed with ten covered ships. The King encamped near *Salganea*, and himself in person with the chief of the *Ætoliens* crossed the *Eurippus*: and when he was landed and not far gone from the haven, the Magistrats and chief men of *Chalcis* came forth without their gates, and some few of both sides met together for to parle. The *Ætoliens* were earnest to perswade with them, "That so far forth as they might without impeaching the Roman amity they would assume the King to be their ally and friend for as much as he was passed into *Europe* not to make war, but to deliver *Greece*, and let it free in deed, and not in word only and false semblance, as the Romans had done. And nothing was there more for the good and benefit of the Cities in *Greece*, then to entertain the society and fellowship of them both. For under the defence and safeguard of the one, they might be sure to guard themselves from the violence and outrage of the other. But if they accepted not of the King, they were belit to take heed and see what danger they presently incurred: considering the succours of the Romans to relieve them were so far off, and the forces of *Antiochus* their enemy to annoy them, no need even at their gates, whom of themselves with their own power they were not able to withstand. To this, *Milias* one of their chief men made this answer: I marvel much (quoth he) who they be, that *Antiochus* for to deliver and set free, hath taken the pains to leave his own Kingdom, and to pass over into *Europe*. For mine own part, I know no King in *Greece*, that either hath Roman garrison, or payeth any tribute unto them, or is bound to unjust and unreasonable covenant, or endureth any hard laws and conditions against their wils: and therefore the Chalcidians have need of no person to restore them to freedom, since they be free already: nor yet of a garrison for their defence, considering that by the grace and favour of the same people of *Rome*, they enjoy peace and liberty already. As for the King, we refuse not his amity, nor yet reject we the friendship of the *Ætoliens*. And we will take it for a speciall point of friendship that they shall do us, if they gently will depart out of our land and be gone: For as for us, we are resolved in this, not to receive them within our walls, no, nor to contract with them any society, without the advice, and consent of the Romans. When these matters were related to the King, who stayed behind with the ships, he determined presently to return to *Demetrius*, for that he was not come with such a power as to attempt any thing by force where, seeing his first enterprise came to nothing, he conferred with the *Ætoliens*, what was to be done next: & concluded it was, to found the Achians, & *Aminander* the King of the Athamans. They supposed that the nation of the

Boeotians was clean estranged and badly affected to the Romans ever since the death of *Barisila* and those troubles that ensued thereupon. They were persuaded also that *Philip* was a great potentate, and principal leader of the Achæans; was both malicious and odious unto *Quintus* for emulation and jealousy of Honour in the Lacedæmon war, *Aminander* had espoused and taken to wife *Aymene* the daughter of one *Alexander* a Megapolitan, who vanted himself to be defended from *Alexander* the Great, named his two sons *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his daughter *Aymene*; whom being thus advanced by marriage with a King, her elder brother *Philip* accompanied into *Athamania*. This *Philip* a vain-headed young man, the *Etolians* and *Amecians* had induced into a foolish hope (considering that for certain he was of the royal blood and the Kingdom of *Macedony*, if haply he could bring about to join *Aminander* and the *Athamians* to *Aminander*. And these vain conceits of great benefit wrought mightily not with *Philip* only, but also with *Aminander*.

Now in *Achaia* there was a council holden at *Egium*, and audience given there to the Embassadors of *Antiochus* and the *Etolians*, before *T. Quintus*. Where the King his Embassador spake first, and feeling, (as all those commonly are, that have intermixture and maintenance of Kings) full of foolish bubble, & making sea and land resound again with his vain prating and senseless words; set tale an end, and told them, what an infinite number on horsemen were passing over by *Hellepoint* into *Europe*: whereof some of them were in complete harness, armed all pieces, whom they call *Cataphracts*; others were archers, and shot of horseback, against whom there was nothing close, nothing sure enough, who when their backs are turned, and their bodies run away, shoot so much the more surely, and even point-blank. And albeit these forces of horse by his report, were sufficient of themselves to defeat all the armies of *Europe* if they were put together, yet he added besides a mighty number, I wot not how many of footmen: and terrified them with namely a sort of strange nations, that scarcely had been heard of before, to wit, the Dakes, the Medians, the Elymeans and Cadusians. But for his forces at sea, there was no bay, harbours, nor havens in all *Greece* able to receive them, The Sydonians and Tyrrians (say they) "hold the right side, the Aradians, and the Sidons out of *Pamphylia* keep the left; nations for skill and valour at sea incomparable. As for money and other provision and furniture for the war, "it were needlesse to discourse of, since they themselves knew well enough, that the realm of *Asia* have alwayes shewed with gold, as their proper wealth. So as the Romans now were to deal with *Philip* not with *Aminander*, the one a chief person among many others of a City, and the other limited within the confines only of the Kingdom of *Macedony*; but with the great Monarch of all *Asia*, yes, and of some part of *Europe*. And yet he, as mighty a potentate as he is (notwithstanding he is come to the utmost coasts and bounds of the Levant sea; to deliver and enfranchise *Greece*) demandeth nothing of the Achæans prejudicial to their fealty and allegiance to the Romans their first allies and associates: for he required not them to take arms with him against them, but only not to intermeddle and take part: his seeking is, that (as becometh good friends and mediators between both parties) they would all well and peace amongst them, and not interpose themselves in a quarrel of war. *Archidamus* likewise the Embassador for the *Etolians*, requested in manner the same, that they would hold themselves quiet and in repose (a thing most easy and safe for them) and being but lookers on the war, wait and attend the issue of others men's fortunes, without the hazard of their own; yet he staid not in, but proceeded to M as far and overthrew himself so much in words, that he brake forth at length in ill language, one while railing against the Romans in general, another while against *Quintus* in particular: calling them ungrateful and unthankful persons, reproaching, upbraiding, and hitting them in the teeth, how not only they had got the victory of *Philip*, but also saved themselves by the virtue and valour of the *Etolians*: and as for *Quintus*, he was to thank them and their means, as much as his own life came to & the preservation of his army. For wherein at any time (qd he) performed he the duty and devoir of General in the field? Seen him indeed I have in the time of battell and in the camp, take the sight of birds, kill sacrifices, and make vows very devoutly, like some holy parish-priest or divining Prophet, whilst I my self was fain in his defence to expose and present my body to lances and darts of the enemies. To these challenges *Quintus* made answer N in this wise, saying that *Archidamus* had more regard in whose presence he spake, than to whom he directed all his speech: for the Achæans know very well, that all the valour of the *Etolians*, standeth in bragging words and not in martiall deeds, as men that love to be heard in Diet and assemblies rather then seen in the field and battell; and therefore no marvel if he made so small reckning to speak unto the Achæans, considering that he knew, how well acquainted they were with the manners and fashions of the *Etolians*. But he hath besides wanted and made great brag before the King Embassadors, and in their person, before the King himself in absence. And if a man had not known before, what it was and had to look and waited *Antiochus* and the *Etolians* together, he might perceive it evidently by the speeches of the Embassadors: for by exchanging lies reciprocally, and by bragging of their forces which they have not, they have inflated and puffed up one another with vain hopes, whilst they kill and would make them believe, that *Philip* by them was vanquished; That the Romans by their valour were protected; and other gay matters, which ere while ye heard; bidding castles in the air, to the end, that you & other states and nations would side with them and take their parts: the King again (by his Embassadors) overpreadeth all with clouds of horsemen and footmen, and covereth whole seas with fleets

A "and armados. Now in faith this is mine host of *Chalcis* up and down, a friendly man I assure you, and a good fellow in his house, and one that knoweth how to entertain his guests and bid them welcome. And verily I can liken this manner of dealing to nothing better then to a supper of his: We went upon a time to make merry with him, and I remember well it was not midsummer (when the daies are longell and the sun at the hottest) where he made us passing good cheer, And as we wondered how at such a season of the year he met with that plenty of venison and such variety withall; the man (nothing to vainglorious as these fellows here) smiled pleasantly upon us and said, we were welcome to a feast of a tame (wine and no better: but well as a good cook my masters (qd he) who by his cunning hand, what with seasoning it, and what with serving it up with divers sauces, hath in de all this fair show of wild flesh, and the fame of sundry foists. This may fitly be applied to the King his armies and forces: of which even B now so great host was made. For these divers kinds of arms, these many names of nations never heard of before, to wit, the Dakes or Dahæans (I wot not what to call them) the Medes, the Cadusians, the Elymeans, they are but Syrians when all is done; who for their bale minds by nature, are much better to make a sort of slaves then a company of good soldiers. And would to God (you my masters of *Achaia*) I could represent unto your eyes the port and train of this great King, when he ran from *Demetrias*, one while to *Lamia* to the council of the *Etolians*; & another while to *Chalcis*: you should see in the Kings camp hardly two pretty legions; & those but lame ones neither and not well accomplished: you should see the King some time as poodas begging grain of the *Etolians*, to measure out among his hungry soldiers: otherwhiles making shift to take up monies at interest to make out their pay: now standing at the gates of *Chalcis*, C and anon shot out from thence and excluded clean: and when he had done nothing else but seen *Antiochus* and *Eurippus*, returning fair into *Asolia*. *Antiochus* (you see) hath yielded but small belief to the *Etolians*, and the *Etolians* have as little trusted & relied upon the vanity of the King, And therefore the lesse should you be deceived by them, but rather repel your selves assuredly in the fidelity of the Romans so often tried, so often known and approved. For whereas they say D "It is your best course not to be embarked and interred in this war, I assure you, there is nothing more vain then this, nay, nothing so hurtfull unto your estate. For you shal be a prize and prey to the victor, without thank of either part, without any worth and reputation. *Quintus* was thought by the Achæans to have spoken not imperintently, but to have answered them both fully; and an easie matter it was to approve his speech unto those, that were well enough inclined to have given him gentle hearing: for that it was no question nor doubt at all, but that every man would judge them to be friends or enemies to the Achæan nation, whom the Romans held for theirs: yes, and would conclude in the end of an act, to denounce war both against *Antiochus* & the *Etolians*. Moreover, according as *Quintus* thought good, they lent presently an aid of 500 soldiers to *Chalcis*, and of as many to *Pyrræum*. For at *Athen* there had likt to have been a sedition and mutiny, whilst some drew the multitude (which commonly is bought and sold for money) to take part with *Antiochus* upon hope of large rewards and great bounties, untill such time as *Quintus* was sent for by them that took part with the Romans: in so much as *Apollodorus* (who gave counsell and periwaded to revolt) was accused by one *Leon*, and being condemned, was banished. Thus verily the embassage returned from the Achæans to the King with present answer. E The Boeotians delivered no certainty: this only was their answer, That when *Antiochus* himself was come in *Boetia*, then they would consider and consult what they were best to do. *Antiochus* being advertised, that both the Achæans and King *Eumenes* also he had sent men for the defence of *Chalcis*, thought good to make hast, that his forces might not only prevent them, but also it were possible receive them and cut them short as they came. And for this intent, he sent *Mempippus* with three thousand soldiers or thereabout, and *Polyxenides* with his whole fleet. Himself a few daies after marched with six thousand of his own soldiers; and of that levy, which on a suddain might be gathered at *Lamia*, no great number of *Etolians*. Those five hundred Achæans store laid, and the small aid that King *Eumenes* lent under the conduct of *Xenochides* the F Chalcidian, having safely passed *Eurippus* before that the waies and passages were beset, arrived at *Chalcis*. The Romans also who were upon five hundred, at what time as *Mempippus* came on before *Salganea*, came to *Hermium*, where the passage out of *Boetia* into the Island of *Eubœa*. In their company was *Milition* sent as Embassador from *Chalcis* to *Quintus*, for to crave some succour: who perceiving that the waies were laid and the freights kept by the enemies, leaving his intended journey by the way of *Antiochus*, turned to *Delium*, minding from thence to cut over into *Eubœa*. This *Delium* is a temple of *Apollo* situate upon the sea strand, and five miles distant from *Tanagra*, from whence there is a short cut (little more then a league) over an arm of the sea unto the next parts of *Eubœa*. In this temple and sacred grove about it, so religious, so privileged and secured (as are those franchised houses and sanctuaries which the Greeks call *Asyla*) and G at that time, when neither war was proclaimed, or at leastwise not so far proceeded, as that in the hearing and knowledge of any man there had been frowd drawn, or blood shed in any place. In this place, and at this time, I say, whilst the soldiers wandered at their leisure and pleasure, some gone to see the temple above said and the grove, others walking upon the strand warmed, and a great sort also of them scattered over the fields (such as were gone for forrage, and few well) all on a suddain *Mempippus* finding them loose and disbanded, charged upon them and slew them, and to the number of fifty he took alive: very few escaped, among whom

was *Mitlio*, who got into a small vessel of merchandise. This occurred, as it troubled and disquieted *Quintus* and the Romans, for the loss of their soldiers, so it seemed much to increase the right of their just quarrel to make war upon *Antiochus*, *Antiochus* having advanced his army, and approached *Asius*, after he had once again addressed Orators, partly of his own subjects, and partly *Ætolians* to *Chalcis*, for to follow those equies which of late he had commenced, but in more amatory terms, now prevailed easily, notwithstanding *Antiochus* and *Xenocides* laboured to the contrary, that the gates should be let open unto him. All those that were for the Romans, abandoned the City shortly before the Kings coming. The soldiers of *Achaia* and King *Eumenes*, kept *Salpene* The Rom. soldiers also (who were but few) fortified and made a fence upon the water of *Enripus*, to be a defence for the passage. *Maupius* began to assail *Salpene*, and the King himself to let upon the fort of *Enripus* afore said. The Achæans and soldiers of *Eumenes* first grew to composition, and having capitulated to depart without any harm, quit their place of garrison. The Romans held out longer, and stoutly defended the hold of *Enripus*: but even they also being so strongly invested both by land & water, and seeing now the ordinance and engines of battery, brought and ready to be planted against them, would no longer endure the siege. When as now the King had possessed himself of the City of *Eubœa*, all the other Cities of that Island, refused not to submit and come under his subjection. And he thought he had made a good beginning and entrance in this war, in that to great an Island, and so many Cities commodiously feared, and of such importance, were reduced under his obedience.

The six and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the six and thirtieth Book.

Marcus Acilius Glabrio the Consul, with the aid of King Philip, vanquished King Antiochus, Master to Thermopylae, and drove him out of Greece. He also subdued the *Ætolians*. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the Consul (reputed and judged by the Senate the best man in the City) dedicated the temple of the mother of the gods, whom himself had brought into the Palatium. He also when he had overcome the Boians, took them upon surrender to his protection, and triumphed over them. Over and besides, here are set down the preparations & vessels fought at sea, against the admirals and captains of King Antiochus.

The six and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

Soon as P. Cornelius Scipio the son of *Emmæ*, and M. Acilius Glabrio, the two Consuls were entered into their magistracy the L.L. of the Senat enjoined them (before any speech or question moved as touching the provinces) to sacrifice greater beasts in all those temples, wherein the custom was for the more part of the year to celebrate the solemnity of Festivals, and to make their prayers. In this manner, That whereas the Senat intended a new war, the gods would vouchsafe to bless and happily conduct the same to the good and publick weal of the Senat and people of Rome. All those sacrifices proved good and as they ought to be: even the very first beasts that were slain, prognosticated fortuit success, and shewed apparent signs that the gods were pacified and well pleased. And thus the footholders and bowel-priests, out of their learning, answered, it was evident, that by this war the bounds and limits of the Roman empire should be extended, and that both victory and triumph was fore signified. These answers being reported, and mens minds settled, and their consciences resolved of all scruples as concerning the gods, then the L.L. of the Senat granted out an order, that a bill (should be preferred solemnly unto the people in this form) *Please it you, and is it your will, that war should be entered upon against Antiochus, and all that take his part? And if this bill passe and be granted, are ye pleased, that the Consuls, if they think so good, refer the whole matter unto the Senat to take order for the managing thereof accordingly?* P. Cornelius propounded this bill, and the people accepted thereof. Whereupon the Senatier down a decree that the Consuls should call lots for the government of Italy and Greece: and that the whole hap it was to govern Greece, should (over and above that number of soldiers, which L. *Quintus* by authority and commission from the Senat had for that province either enrolled or levied) receive that army also which M. *Emmæ* the Pretor caused to passe over the year before into Macedonia, by virtue of an order from the Senat, in that behalf enacted. And licent he had, if need to required, to take up aid-soldiers from among the allies without Italy, so as he exceeded not the number of five thousand. Also agreed it was, that L. *Quintus* the Consul of the year before, should be deputed lord General for that war. As for the other Consul, unto whom had been allotted the charge of Italy, he was commanded to levy war against the Boians

A Boians and to their choice, whether army he had rather have of those two which the former Consuls conducted: and when he had received ones, to lend the other to Rome, that those legions of Citizens should be in readiness for to be sent whither it pleased the Senat. This order being taken in the Senat, astouching the appointment and assignation of those provinces, then it was thought good that the new Consuls should cast lots for their governments. To *Asinius* befel Greece, and Italy to *Cornelius*. After this by a speciall roll there passed an Act of the Senat, That whereas the people of Rome had ordered to wage war at that time against King *Antiochus*, and those that were under his dominion, the Consuls should cause a procession to be solemnized. Alloth that the Consul M. *Acilius* should conceive and make a vow to *Jupiter*, for to celebrate the great Games in his honour, and to bring offerings to every altar. This vow was by him pronounced in this form of words, according as P. *Licinius* the Arch-Priest ended and prompted unto him, *If that war which the people hath determined to be entered against King Antiochus, shall be performed according to the mind and contentment of the Senat and people of Rome, then shall the people of Rome celebrate unto thy honour, O Jupiter, the great Games for the space of ten daies together, and oblations shall be brought to every Altar, of this price, and amounting to that sum which the Senat hath ordain and set down. And what Magistrates sever shall exhibit those Games, or in what place, year, and at what time forever they shall represent, the same Games shall be held for good, and reputed as well done, yea, and the offerings accepted as rightly presented.* After this, there was published and proclaimed by both Consuls, a supplication for the space of 3 daies. When the Consuls had cast lots for the parting of their governments, the Pretors likewise went presently about the same for their provinces. To M. *Junius Bruttus* fell both the jurisdictions, as well of Citizens as aliens. A Cornel. *Mammula* had the charge of the Bruti, M. *Æmilius Lepidus* of Sicily, and L. *Oppius* Salmator of Sardinia, C. *Livius* Salmator was L. Admiral of the navy, and L. *Æmilius Paulus* governor of the nether Spain. And in this manner following, were the armies and forces distributed and appointed. Unto A. *Cornelius* were assigned the new soldiers which the former year L. *Quintus* the Consul, by vertue of an Act of the Senat, had enrolled. And his commission was to defend and keep in order all that tract and coast about *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*. As for L. *Æmilius Paulus*, who was to take a voiage into the farther Spain, he was allowed (besides the army which he was to receive of M. *Valerius* the Pro-Pretor) to have the conduct of three thousand new soldiers footmen, and three hundred horse: so that of them, two third parts should consist of allies of the Latin nation, and one third of Roman Citizens. The supply was lent unto C. *Flamininus* into the higher Spain, whose commission was renewed for to have the command thereof. M. *Æmilius Lepidus* had commandment to receive the government of the province, and withall, the conduct of the army, at the hands of L. *Valerius*, whom he was to succeed, and if he thought it good, to keep with him in the Province L. *Valerius*, in quality and place of a Vice-Pretor: and so to divide the province, that the one part should reach from *Argentinus* to *Pachinus*; the other half from *Pachinus* to *Tydarinus* also; that L. *Valerius* should defend the sea-coasts and the river with a fleet of twenty Gallies. The same Pretor afore said was to levy and gather a double tenth of corn, and to take order for the convey thereof to the sea, and so to be embarked and transported into Greece. The like commission had L. *Oppius*, to exact and take another tenth in Sardinia: but that grain was to be brought to Rome, and not to be carried over into Greece. C. *Livius* the Pretor and Admiral of the navy, was appointed with 300 sail ready rigged and trimmed, to sail into Greece with all speed, and to receive the ships that *Asinius* had: likewise to repair, rigge and furnish the old vessels that lay in the harbors, or lay at one side up in docks. M. *Junius* the Pretor his charge was, to levy mariners and rowers from among the libertines, for to serve that Armado. And there were sent Embassadors into *Affrick* to *Carthage*, and into *Namidia*, three into either part, for to seek and purvey corn to be sent into Greece, for which the people of Rome would make present payment. And so wholly employed was the City to prepare and take order for this war, that P. *Cornelius* the Consul published an Edict, that no Senators, or any that had authority to give their opinion in the Senat, neither any inferior Magistrates, should take any journey out of the City, farther then they might have return again the same day: Item, that there should not be five Senators absent at once from Rome.

C. *Livius* the Pretor, whilst he used all diligence and care to prepare and provide his fleet, was empached and hindered a time, by occasion of a debate and contention that arose between him and the Coloners of the sea-side. For when they should be gathered and sent to sea, they appealed to the Tribunes of the Com. from whom they were put over and referred to the Senat: and the Senat with one voice and accord pronounced and determined, that these Coloners were not exempted from sea-service. The Colonies that contended with the Pretor about their immunity were these, *Hestia*, *Fregene*, *Castellum novum*, *Pyrgi*, *Antium*, *Tarracina*, *Minturna* and *Stuaga*.

C. This done, the Consul *Acilius* by order from the Senat, consulted with the college of the Fe-ciales or Herald's at arms, and demanded their advice, Whether the war should be proclaimed and defiance given to *Antiochus* himself in person: or it were sufficient, to intinate and denounce the same to some one of his garrisons? Also whether they would advise to proclaim war against the *Ætolians* apart by themselves: or whether it were not meet and convenient first to disclaim and renounce their society and friendship, and then to proclaim and denounce hostility? The Fe-cials answered, that heretofore they had determined and cleared this point, at what time as

their opinion was touching *Philip*, to wit, That it was all one, and made no matter, whether the defence were given him to his face, or only intimated to some garriſons of his. And as for the *Aetolians*, this was their mind, that they had quit already their amity, and abandoned all ſociety, in that when our Embaſſadors ſo oftentimes had redemanded ſmends for wrongs done, they never thought good to make reſtitution or ſatisfaction. Moreover, the *Aetolians* had themſelves ſent defence firſt and proclaimed war againſt the Romans, when as by force they ſeized *Demetria* a City of our allies, and advanced before *Chalcis*, to ſail it both by land and ſea; and laſtly, in that they had ſollicited King *Antiochus* and brought him into *Europe*, for to levy war againſt the Romans. All things now being ſufficiently provided, *M. Acilius* the Conſul publiſhed an edict and proclaimed, That all thoſe ſouldiers whom *L. Quintus* had enrolled, likewise all thoſe whom he had levied of the allies of the Litiene nation, who were to go with him into his province, likewise all the Colonels and Marſhals of the ſecond and third legion, ſhould render themſelves, and be ready altogether at *Brundisium* upon the * 1^{ſt} day of *May* following. Himſelf upon the * 5th day before the Nones of the ſame month departed forth of the City clad in his rich coat of arms. And at the ſame time the Pretors alſo took their journeys into their ſeveral provinces.

* 15 MAY.
* 3 MAY.

* 36000 pound
ſterling, after
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* I ſuppoſe that here wanteth the multi-
plicant num-
ber, viz 100
For it is not
unſufferable to
the proportion
of the reſt that
followeth, nor
to the magni-
ficence of ſo
great ſtate, to
ſend ſome thirty
quarters of
wheat, who
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lowed 3 hun-
dred times as
much, and yet,
in the ſame pro-
portion of bar-
ley which now
at this preſent
is ſet down,

Much about that time there arrived at *Rome* Embaſſadors from two Kings, to wit, *Philip of Macedonia*, and *Ptolemæ King of Egypt*; promiſing their aid of men, money, and comfort for war. And beſides from *Ptolemæ* there was brought * 1000 pound weight in gold, and the weight of * 2000 pound of ſilver: howbeit nothing was received, but much thanks rendered to both the Kings. And whereas both of them offered to come with all their power into *Italia*, and to be there in perſon, *Ptolemæ* was diſcharged of that offer of his, but the Embaſſadors of *Philip* received this answer, That he ſhould highly pleaſe and content the people of *Rome*, in caſe he would not fail the Conſul *M. Acilius*. In like manner there came Embaſſadors from the Carthaginians and *Mafaniſſa*, the Carthaginians made promiſe of * a thouſand Modii of Wheat, and of Barley five hundred thouſand for the army, and likewise to bring half ſo much to *Rome*; praying the Romans to accept the ſame at their hands as a free gift and gratuity: adding moreover, that they would n an out a fleet at their own charges, and were ready alſo to make one entrapment of their tribute behind, which they were of duty to pay by ſundry terms of many years. The Embaſſadors of *Mafaniſſa*, promiſed in the behalf of their King, to ſend five hundred thouſand Modii of wheat, 30,000 of barley into *Greece* to the army, beſides 500 men of arms and twenty Elephants, unto *M. Acilius* the Conſ. As touching the corn, this answer was returned, unto them, that they were content to accept thereof, ſo that they would take money therefore to the worth. As to the fleet ſoreſaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them to the worth. As to the fleet ſoreſaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them to the worth. As to the fleet ſoreſaid, which the Carthaginians made offer of, they acquit them to the worth.

While the affairs paſſed thus at *Rome*, *Antiochus* being at *Chalcis*, becauſe he would not fit ſtill and do nothing, all a winter time, partly himſelf ſollicited (by ſending Embaſſadors) the minds of the States, and partly alſo there came unto him Embaſſadors from thence of their own accord: and namely, among others, the Epirots preſented themſelves by the common conſent of the whole nation, and the Eleans alſo came out of *Palapanſus*. They of *Elys* craved aid againſt the Achæans, who (they verily thought) would take arms againſt their City, becauſe war was denounced againſt *Antiochus*: nothing to their will and good liking. Unto them were ſent 1000 footmen under the leading of *Emphanes* the Cretenſian. The embaſſage of the Epirots, plaid with both hands, meaning to deal roundly and ſimply with no ſide, but to go between the bark and the tree. Gladly they would make court to the King and curry favour with him, but ſo, as they ſtood reſt. Gladly they would make court to the King and curry favour with him, but ſo, as they ſtood reſt. Gladly they would make court to the King and curry favour with him, but ſo, as they ſtood reſt.

many years and ages already, and the popular government of many, grown to decay and into, which cannot poſſibly continue long without ſome change and alteration of ſtate. Well, to *Antiochus* he came, where all the principal and chief ſtates of *Greece* came flocking from all parts to meet him: Wherein the General Diet and Council of the Nation, (thoſe things he had founded the battell, and began the fray already, by giving the firſt blow, in that he had forced the Roman garriſon near *Delium* and *Chalcis*, which were to ſtop the not doubtful ſpectacles of war; yet began with the ſame kind of ſpeech, he firſt uſed, in the public and conference at *Chalcis*, and which his Embaſſadors had followed in the general ſynode of the Achæans, namely, demanding that they would enter into amity with him, without proſecuting theſelves enemies to the Romans, or pretending hoſtility againſt them. But there was no man there but loon found him and ſaw him welſought to what he had ſaid an act and decree in favour of the King againſt the B Romans, under a vain and light pretext and colourable ſhow of words. Having gained this nation, he returned to *Chalcis* from thence he ſent out his letters before unto the States of the *Aetolians*, that they ſhould meet him in *Demetria*, where he would confer and conſult with them about all their affairs to be managed; and thither came he by leaſt at the day appointed. *Antiochus* alſo was ſent for out of *Aſchamania* to this conſultation, yet, and *Antiochus* the Carthaginian (whole council was not required along time) was preſent at this frequent Diet and Aſſembly. Much pains and great opening there was as touching the nation of the Theſſalians; and all ſtates in place were of opinion, that they ſhould be ſounded how they ſtood affected: but about the manner and ſome circumſtance thereof, they were of divers mind, while ſome advised it to be done and executed out of hand: others thought good to put it off from winter ſeaſon (conſidering now they were in the mids thereof) unto the prime and beginning of ſpring: others again ſaid, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent: and ſome hot ſpirits there were, that gave council to go againſt them with all their forces, yet, and to fright and terrifie themſelves, they made ſlow halt. Now when alſo the heat and difficulty of this deliberation conſiſted in one point, *Antiochus* was requeſted by name to deliver his mind and ſpeak to the cauſe in queſtion: who turned the King and all that were preſent from other wandering cogitations, and induced them to the entire conſideration of the total war, and to this effect framed his ſpeech in this wiſe, "If ſince the time that we paſſed over into *Greece*, my hap had been to be called to any council, when as ſome queſtion was touching the *Embas*, the Achæans and the Bozotians, I had delivered that advice there, which now I purpoſe to utter this day in the queſtion concerning the Theſſalians. Above all things my compoſible, that *Philip* and the Macedonians may by all means poſſible be wrought to this our affection in the war. For as touching *Embas*, the Bozotians and the Theſſalians, who doubteth, but that they (as nations that ſtand upon their own bottoms and are of no force by themſelves), will always flatter them that are preſent in place, and be ready to crave pardon upon the ſame fear that they ever ſlew when they are to take counſel and relieve? who doubteth (I ſay) but to ſoon as they that ſee the Roman army in *Greece*, they will turn to their accuſtomed obedience, and that it will be imputed to them no fault at all, that when the Romans were ſo far off, they were not willing to try the force of you (a miſerious Prince in perſon among them) or of your armies? How much rather ought we then, ſay, how much better and more important would it be to join *Philip* unto us then theſe? For if he once enter into the cauſe and be ſeen in action, he can not poſſibly ſtart from us nor draw his head out of the collar: and moreover, he bringeth that power with him, which is not to be held for a ſimple ſuccour & adjuſtment to mend our forces, but ſuch aſtately of it ſelf without the help of others, was able to make head againſt the Roman poſſeſſion. Let me have this prince on my ſide, and be it ſpoken without offence of any man here: what need I doubt of the ſequel & iſſue? eſpecially when thoſe by whole means & aſſiſtance the Romans prevailed againſt *Philip*. I ſee now ready to enter the field againſt them? The *Aetolians* (I ſay) who as all the world knoweth vanquiſhed *Philip*, ſhall now together with *Philip*, enter into arms and fight againſt them. Over and beſides, *Antiochus* and the whole nation of the Achæans (whole ſervice in the war, next to the *Aetolians*, ſtood the Romans in beſt ſtead) ſhall be upon ſide, *Philip* at that time (O King *Antiochus*) ſuffered the fight and burden of the whole war, when you ſat ſiſt and ſtayed not: now both of you together, two moſt mighty monarchs, with the poſſeſſance of all *Aſia* and *Europe*, ſhall wage war againſt one City and people, which to ſpeak nothing of mine own fortune good or bad) certainly in our ſubjects, daies was not able to make their part good with one only King of the Epirots: how hardy ſoever they will be when they ſhall be marched with you both together. But what moved me to think, yes, and aſſured me, that *Philip* may be won unto us to join in this action? One thing is this, a common good and benefit even the greateſt bond that is of ſociety, ſaid yet there is another beſides it, namely, an independent proceeding, from you that be here of *Asia*: for *Thom* your Embaſſador (who ſpeſſeth in place) among other matters that he was wont to alledge for to animat & move *Antiochus* to come into *Greece*, evermore aſſured him of this principally, and vowed that *Philip* would be, but the lip ſtretched, that under the colour and ſhow of peace, there were impoſed upon him hard conditions of ſervitude and ſlavery. And he verily, I mean *Thom*, let out the ſell an act of being, and with all his words compared it to the wood rage of a wild beaſt bound with chains, or being enſlaved in ſome cage, would willingly break the gates and bars thereof. Now, if he be diſmiſſed thus, and of that courage, let us ſhut his bonds aſunder, let us (I ſay) force open his iron cage, that his rage pent up to long may now break out upon the common enemies. And

The ſpeech of
Antiochus.

"suppose that our embassy effect nothing at his hands, yet may we provide and take order, that
 "if we c.annot work and win him to side with our selves, yet that he shall not combine and band
 "with our enemies. Your son *Antiochus* is now at *Lysimachia*, who shall not so soon with those forces
 "which he hath about him, begin to invade and walk by the way of *Thracia* (the confines of *Ma-*
 "*cedonia*, but he shall withdraw and turn *Philip* clean away (from giving succour to the Romans) to
 "the defence especially of his own. I have here your mine advice as touching *Philip*: now for
 "the whole course and managing of the war, what mine opinion was, you have not been ignorant
 "of from the first beginning. If then, I might have had mine own waies, and my counsel had been
 "taken, the Romans should not have received intelligences of the taking of *Chalcis* in *Encha-*
 "nos of the forcing and winning of *Asiatick* pile upon *Asiatick*; but they had heard by this, that all
 "the coast of the *Hellespont* and of the *Chalchian* Gulls was up in arms and on a light fire of war. I
 "and (which would have feared and frightened them most) that *Antiochus* was in *Italy*. And (now
 "things standing as they do) my advice is, that you send for all your forces both by land and sea.
 "Let your carriks and bulks with victuals and provision follow after your armado & ships of war.
 "For in this place, like as we are too few to perform any martial exploits, so we are too many,
 "considering our small store of victuals. And when you rallied and united all your force together,
 "divide your navy in two parts: the one you shall keep in the rode of *Corepra*, to impeach the Ro-
 "mans, that they shall not passe in safety and security, the other you shall cause to sail unto the
 "coast of *Italy* which looketh toward *Sardinia* and *Africk*. Your self in proper person, with all
 "your land army shall march onward into the territory of the *Byllionians* (thence shall ye have good
 "means for the defence of *Greece*, as making the Romans believe, that you are upon the point
 "to pass the sea, yea, and being ready indeed to cross over if need should require. This gen-
 "rally is my counsel, mine, I say, who as I will not take upon me a singular skill in all kinds of war,
 "so me thinks I should know how to war with the Romans, as having learned my skill thereby,
 "as well to my cost as advantage, and as much with my good as harm, & look whatsoever de-
 "signs I have projected unto you, I promise and protest, that I will be faithfull and forward in
 "the execution thereof: and the gods approve and bless that course, which your self shall think
 "the best. To this effect, in a manner, was the oration of *Antiochus* directed; which all that were
 "in place and heard it, rather praised for the present, then put in practise and effected afterwards.
 "For no one thing was done of all that he had said, save only *Antiochus* sent *Polyxenidus* for a navy
 "and army out of *Asia*; yea, there were Embassadors also dispatched to the General Diet of the
 "Thebians. And a day was appointed for the *Helians* and *Aminander* to meet the army at *Phe-*
 "*ra*, whither King *Antiochus* came straight after with his power. And while he staid there, ex-
 "pecting *Aminander* and the *Helians*, he sent out one *Philip* a Megapolitan, with two thousand men
 "to gather out the bones and reliques of the Macedonians about *Cynosephala*, where the war with
 "*Philip* was determined, and the quarrel decided by a famous battell: were it that therein he fol-
 "lowed his own head and took a conceit, thereby to wind himself into grace and favour with the
 "Macedonian Nation, and to bring the King into obloquie and disgrace, because he left his soldiers
 "unburied: for that, as it is the vein (or vanity rather) engraffed in Kings by kind, he set his mind
 "and busied his spirits in matters, for appearance gay and goodly, but in effect fond & foolish. There
 "he made a mount (as it were) of a number of bones gathered together into one place, that lay fest-
 "tering and strewed here and there: a thing no doubt; that the Macedonians conned him no thank
 "for, and which *Philip* (you may be fore) took in foul scorn and malicious disdain. And therefore
 "*Philip*, who at that time minded to take counsell of Fortune, and to be directed by her, as the or-
 "dained now, sent to *Marcus Bibulus* the Vice-Pretor, and advertised him, how *Antiochus* invaded
 "*Thessaly*, and if it pleased him to stir out of his winter labour, he would meet him, that they might
 "confer both together what were best to be done.

While *Antiochus* lay now encamped before *Phera*, where *Aminander* and the *Helians* had
 "joyined with him, there came Embassadors from *Larissa*, expoliating, Wherein the Thebians
 "had to offend either by deed or word, that he would molest and trouble them with war; and
 "withall beseeching him to retire & withdraw his forces, and debate the matter (if he had ought a-
 "gainst them) by his Embassadors. At the same time they sent five hundred men in arms, well ap-
 "pointed, under the governance of *Hippolochus*, to lie there in garison, who because they could not
 "passe either, by reason that all the avenues were seized and kept by the Kings forces, returned to
 "*Scorissa*. As for the Embassadors of the *Larissians*, the King made them a gracious answer, and said,
 "That he was entred into *Thessaly*, not by way of hostility to distress them, but in friendly man-
 "ner to maintain and establish the freedom of the Thebians. Likewise he sent an Embassador to
 "*Phera*, to signify so much to them and in the same terms. But the *Pherians* giving him no an-
 "swer again, dispatched unto the King an Embassador of their own, one *Panfanus*, a principal man
 "of their City. Who after he had pleaded the semblable remonstrances to those, that had been
 "in the like case alleged and laid forth in the behalf and name of the Chalcidians, in that Coun-
 "cill holden near the streights of *Emripis*, and besides, uttered something else with more bold-
 "ness and courage, the King dismissed him, after he had willed them to consider more of the
 "matter, and be well advised, that they took not that counsell which anon they would repent,
 "whilst they fought to be too wary, provident, and forestalling the future time. When this em-
 "bassy was related at *Phera*, the Citizens took no long time to deliberate, but soon resolved in
 "the maintenance of their faith and loyalty to the Romans: for to undergo whatsoever hazard the

A the fortune of war should present unto them. Whereupon both they addressed themselves to
 "defend the City with all their might, and also the King began to assault and batter the walls on all
 "parts at once. And knowing well enough (as in truth there was no doubt) that in the issue of the
 "siege of that City which he first enterprised, lay the whole importance and consequence of all, ei-
 "ther to make him despised ever after, or feared and dread of the Thebians, therefore he certified
 "the besieged inhabitants, on every side, and by all means possible that he could devise. The
 "first assault they sustained stoutly and manfully; but afterwards seeing many of the defendants were
 "either overturned or slain, or grievously hurt and wounded, their hearts began to quail: yet re-
 "claimed by the rebukes and chastisements of their captains and leaders, and animated by their re-
 "freshall exhortations, to persist still in their purpose and resolution, they quit the utmost compas-
 "sion of their wall (seeing a what default they were for want of men) and reined themselves more in-
 "ward into the City, into one part thereof, which was strongly fortified with a mure and less cir-
 "cuit and compass than the other. At the length, overcome with travell and calamities, and fear-
 "ing that if they were forced and taken by assault, they should find no mercy nor pardon with
 "the conqueror, they yielded themselves. The King following the train of victory, delayed no
 "time, but whilst the night was fresh, sent four thousand armed men presently to *Scorissa*, where
 "the townsmen made no stay, but rendered the town and themselves incontinently, having before
 "their eyes the fresh bleeding example of the *Pherians*, who tamed by mere force and without mi-
 "series, were compelled to do that: which they obliquely refused at the first. Together with
 "the City it self was surrendered also *Hippolochus* and the *Larissan* garison under his hand. All of
 "them the King sent away without any hurt or violence offered unto their persons: for he thought
 "they to win the hearts and love of the *Larissians*. Having accomplished these exploits within
 "ten daies after his first coming to *Phera*, he marched towards *Crano* with all his army, and at his
 "first coming won it. Then he reigned and seized *Cyrra* and *Metropolis*, and the boroughs &
 "forts about them: so as now all those quarters were subdued and put under his subjection, except
 "*Amar* and *Gyrra*. Then he determined to assail *Larissa*, supposing, that either upon the fearful
 "terror of other Cities forced, or in regard of his merit in dismissing the garison to court cour-
 "tesy, or by the present example of so many Cities yielded unto him, they would not long persist
 "in their obstinacy. And for to terrifie them the more, he commanded the elephants to march in
 "the forefront of the vanguard, and approached himself in a square battell, with four sides, in such
 "fort as the hearts of many of the *Larissians* waved in doubtfull suspense, between forced fear of
 "present enemies, and kind regard of absent friends.

In this time *Aminander*, with the whole youth and manhood of the *Athamans*, became mas-
 "ter of *Pelinaeus*. *Menippus* also with three thousand *Helian* footmen and two hundred horse
 "went to *Perrhebia*, won *Mallae* and *Cyrris* by assault, and wasted the territory of *Trapolis*. Hav-
 "ing performed these exploits with great expedition, and celerity, they returned to *Larissa* un-
 "to the King, and arrived even then when as the King was in consultation what to do with *Larissa*:
 "for the counsell was divided into diverse opinions. Some thought it good to proceed forcibly,
 "and not to defer and assail the Cities with warlike engines of battery on all sides at once:
 "alleging that the town being situated in a plain towards the champaign field side, might be ap-
 "proached unto with ease and invested every way. Others again inserted one while, that there was
 "no comparison between the strength of this City and of *Phera*: otherwhile that it was now winter
 "and a season of the year far unfit for warlike executions, and most of all other for the siege and
 "assault of Cities. As the King thus hung in the equal balance of hope and despair, the Em-
 "bassadors of *Pheras* arrived, who, as good hap was, being come to surrender up their town, revived
 "his spirits and mightily comforted his heart.

M. Bibulus in this mean while having parlied and conferred with *Philip* in the *Dafsaretians*
 "country, sent *Appius Claudius* by the common advice of them both, to the succour and defence
 "of *Larissa*, who pished through *Macedonia*, and by long journeyes came to the top of those hills
 "that command *Gonni*. Now this *Gonni* is a town twenty miles distant from *Larissa*, fenced just
 "in the very streights of that Forrest and passe called *Tempe*; who having taken up a larger circuit
 "of ground to encamp in, then was proportionable to his number, and made more fires in them then
 "need was for that company, gave semblance unto the enemies (which was the thing he aimed at)
 "that all the Roman forces were there, together with King *Philip*. King *Antiochus* therefore
 "preceding unto his army, that the unreasonable winter that approached, after he had layed one
 "only day before *Larissa*, dislodged, and thence departed, and to returned to *Demeirias*. The *He-*
 "*lions* likewise and *Athamans* repaired to their own countries.

Appius, albeit he saw that the siege was levied (which was the only cause of his coming) yet
 "dona he went to *Larissa* to encourage and confirm the hearts of the allies against the time to
 "come. And a two-fold joy there was, both because the enemies were gone and had quit their coun-
 "try, and also for that they saw the Roman garison within their walls. King *Antiochus* departed
 "from *Demeirias* to *Chalcis*, where he fell in love and love with a damsell of that City, daughter
 "of *Cleopatra* a Chalcidian. Now after he made means to the maidens father silt by inter-
 "cession of messengers and mediators, and after by importuning him in his own person with earnest
 "respects by word of mouth (who was very loth and unwilling to entangle & tie himself, in match-
 "ing her to high above his own calling) at length he overcame the man, that he obtained his desire:
 "and as if it had been a time of sealed and confirmed peace, he proceeded to consummate and cele-
 "brate

brat the marriage. And forgetting clean, how at one time he had undertaken the charge of two affairs so important, to wit, the war with the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he passed away the rest of the winter in feasts and banquets, and in those delights and pleasures, which ordinarily (you wot well) follow upon the liberal drinking of wine; yea, and when he had then by rather wearied his body than fulfilled his appetite, he gave himself to sleep without compulse. The like riot and loose life took hold of the rest of the Kings captains, by example in all places, but in *Bœtia* especially, such as commanded the garrisons. Nay, the very soldiers were let loose and given over to take voluptuous wives, and not one of them would put on armor, keep the watch, attend the guard, or do any thing pertaining to the duty and charge of a soldier. And therefore; at the beginning of the spring, when he was come by *Phœcis* and *Chersonæ*, to the *Randonæ*, where he had appointed from all parts his forces to meet, he soon perceived that the soldiers had spent the winter as licentiously as their leaders, and kept no better order and stricter discipline. Then he commanded *Alexander* the Acarnanian, and *Menippus* the Macedonian, to lead the army to *Stratus*, a town in *Ætolia*. Himself having done sacrifice at *Delphi* to the honour of *Apollon*, went forward to *Naupeum*. And after the Diet holden of all the States of *Ætolia*, in the way which leadeth to *Stratus*, along by *Chalcis* and *Lysimachia*, he encountered his own forges as he said, that came by the gulf of *Malea*. Where *Mnesibolus*, a Principal Acarnanian, had wrought and bought with many gifts and presents, not only himself won that nation to take part, & to side with the King, but also had drawn to his own mind and affection *Clitus* their Pretor, who at the time had the sovereign rule there, and might do all in all. He seeing that the Leucadians (who are the chief of all the Acarnanians) could not be easily induced nor brought to revolt, for the sake wherein they stood of the Roman side, which either was with *Attilius*, or about *Cephædonia*, went cunningly to work with them. For having delivered his opinion in their general Council, that the inland parts of *Acarnania* were to be well guarded and defended; and that as many as were able to bear arms should go forth to *Medio* and *Tyrrhæum*, for fear those places should be seized by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: there were again some who made answer and said, how there was no such need: that all should be raised and levied to tumultuously in battalions, for a garrison of five hundred men was sufficient. And when he had obtained that number of young able men, he placed three hundred of them in garrison at *Medio*, and two hundred at *Tyrrhæum*: his reach and drift was to have them put into the Kings hands for hostages. And even at the time arrived the Kings Embassadors at *Medio*, whose embassy being heard, they laid their heads together and consulted in the publick assembly what answer to return unto the King. Some were of opinion to continue still in the Roman society: others were of advice again, that the Kings offer of amity was not to be rejected. The counsellor of *Clitus* was mean and indifferent between both, and therefore accepted to wit, that they should address the Embassadors to the King, to intreat him that he would permit them to take a day of deliberation upon a matter of such consequence in a full Diet of the Acarnanians. In this Embassy *Mnesibolus*, and those of his faction were employed of set purpose: who having dispatched messengers covertly to King, to divert him to approach the town with his forces, trifled out the time themselves, and made no halt to set forward in their embassy. Whereupon these Embassadors were scarcely gone forth of the City, when *Antiochus* was entered the borders, and anon showed himself hard at the gates. And whilst they that wist nothing of this treason were affrighted, and in great trouble and tumult, called the youth hastily to arm, he was by *Clitus* and *Mnesibolus* let into the City. Some willingly of themselves came running about the King: those also that were of the adverse part, for very fear joined with him. Whom he seeing to be afraid and terrified, he entertained with gracious words, and to gently handled them, that in hope of his clemency to much divulged and spoken of abroad, certain States of *Acarnania* revolted and turned unto him. Then from *Medio* he went to *Tyrrhæum*, unto which place he had sent *Mnesibolus* and his Embassadors aforehand. But the treachery and deceit at *Medio* being discovered, made the Tyrrhæans more wary and careful then otherwise fearful, who made him this plain direct answer without any double ambiguity, that they would admit of no new alliance, without the advice and authority of the Roman Generals: to they shut their gates, and disposed armed men upon their walls. Now will I out very fully and happily for confirming and encouraging the hearts of the Acarnanians, that *Cr. Obavius* sent by *Quintus*, having received a garrison and some few ships of *A. Polhemius*, who by *Attilius* the Lieutenant had been appointed Governor of *Cephædonia*, was come to *Læta*, and much comforted the Allies, and put them in good hope, who also gave them to understand, that *M. Acilius* the Consul had already passed the seas with his legions, and the Romans were encamped in *Thessaly*. And for as much as this bruit carried a great likelihood of truth, by reason that the season of the year served now for navigation, the King after he had planted a garrison at *Medio* and in other towns of *Acarnania*, departed from *Tyrrhæum*, and passing through the Cities of *Ætolia* and *Phœcis*, returned to *Chalcis*.

Much about the time *M. Bevirus* and King *Philip*, who had commended and devised together before (during the winter) in the Dardaniens country, having sent *Appius Claudius* into *Thessaly*, for to raise the siege before *Larissa*: and because the season then was unmeet and too soon for execution of any exploit, were retired to their wintering harbours, now in the beginning of the Spring joyed all their forces together and came down into *Thessaly*. (Now at that time was *Antiochus* in *Acarnania*.) And at their first coming, *Philip* began to lay siege unto *Malles*

Malles and *Babius* to *Phocis*: which when he had forced in manner at the first assault, he won *Phœcia* also with like expedition. From whence having retired himself to *Atyrahe*, he took *Chrysa* and so consequently surprised *Eritrum*, and after he had planted garrisons in those towns that he had thus recovered, he joyned with *Philip* again lying in siege before *Malles*. Upon the very coming of the Roman army, when the townsmen had yielded themselves either for fear of forces, or for hope of pardon, they marched jointly together with one army to recover those towns whereof the Athamans were seized: to wit, *Agium*, *Eritrum*, *Gomphi*, *Silaia*, *Tricca*, *Atthæa*, and *Phœria*: After this they invellied *Pelidæum*, where *Philip* the Megapolitan lay in garrison with five hundred foot, and forty horie: but before they gave the assault, they sent a trumpet to *Philip* to give him warning, that he should not adventure to try the utmost hazard. But he returned this answer again right stoutly unto them, that he would be content to commit himself to the Romans or the Thessalians, he passed not whether, but put his life and estate into the hands of King *Philip* he never would. Now when it appeared that they were to proceed by force, and that it seemed that *Limnaea* also at the same time might be assailed, it was thought expedient that the King should go to *Limnaea*, and *Babius* staid still to batter and force the town of *Pelidæum*.

It fortune at the same time that *M. Acilius* the Col, having passed the seas with a power of 10000 foot, and 2000 horie and fifteen Elephants, commanded certain chosen Colonels of footmen to conduct all the Infantry to *Larissa*, whilst himself with the Cavalry came to King *Philip* before *Limnaea*. At the coming of the Consul the town was yielded incontinently: the Kings garrison was delivered, and the Athamans withall. Then the Consul went from *Limnaea* to *Pellæum*, where the Athamans yielded first and afterwards *Philip* also the Megapolitan rendered himself. And as he came down from the fort, *Philip* the King chanced to meet with him: and in scorn and derision commanded his men to salute him with the stile of King, and himself also by way of mockage came close unto him, and greeting him by the name of brother *Philip*, scoffing and jesting in broad terms, far unfitting, I wot, his royall Majesty. Then was he brought before the Col, and put in ward, and not long after sent bound to *Rome*. All the multitude besides of the Athamans, as also of King *Antiochus* his soldiers, which were within the garrisons of those towns that were surrendered about that time were delivered unto *Philip*, who amounted to the number of 3000. The Consul departed to *Larissa* to consult and take advice for the general course of the whole war. And in his way there met him Embassadors from *Pieria* and *Metropolis*, for to render their Cities: *Philip* having courteously and lovingly intreated above all other the prisoners of the Athamans, that by their means he might win the grace and favour of that nation, and conceived some hope to conquer *Athamania*, led his army thither, and sent his captives aforesaid into their several Cities. Now they were of great account and reputation among their countreymen, and withall made report of the King his clemency toward them, and how liberally and bountifully he used them: And *Aminander* verily, whose presence and majesty had kept some of them in allegiance, fearing lest he should be delivered into the hands of *Philip* (who long time had been his mortal enemy) and unto the Romans, whom he knew to have just cause at that time to be offended with him for his revolt, departed out of his own Realm with his wife and children and retired himself to *Ambracia*. Thus all *Athamania* became subject to King *Philip*, and at his pleasure.

The Consul journeyed certain daies at *Larissa*, especially for to refresh his beasts, which first had been fat-sick, and afterwards were tired with long travel: and thus when he had renewed, as it were, and repaired his army with a little rest and repose, he marched to *Cræta*. At his coming thither, these towns, to wit, *Pharsalus*, *Scopissa*, and *Phœra*, together with King *Antiochus* his garrisons that lay there, were yielded up unto him. And having put unto their choice, either to be gone or tarry still with him: as many of them as he saw willing (and those were about a thousand) he delivered unto King *Philip*: the rest he sent back diarmed to *Demetrius*. Then he began *Protræa* and the fortresses and piles thereof about it. Then began he to conduct forward his army toward the gulph of *Malea*: and when he approached the Straights, upon which the town *Thaumacia* situate, all the flower of the youth in their armour quit the City, and put themselves in ambush about the woods and passages, and from the higher ground charged upon the Romans in their march. The Consul at the first sent certain unto them, to parley at hand with them, and to see if they could take them from such desperate outrage: but perceiving that they perfitted still as they began, he commanded a Colonel with two ensigns of soldiers to fetch a compass about, in such sort, that he got between those armed men and the town, and kept them from entrance: whereby he possessed himself of the City, being void of defenders. They they that lay in the forefront in ambush, hearing an outcry behind their backs of the town taken, fled backward out of all parts of the wood, and fell upon the sword. The Consul then departed from *Thaumacia*, and the second day came as far as the river *Sperchius*, and so forward unto the territory of the *Hyperboreans*, which he spoiled.

During the time of these occurrences, *Antiochus* lay at *Chalcis*, who by this time seeing that he had gotten in Greece, but the pleasure of one wintering, spent so deliciously in *Chalcis*, and a dishonorable marriage: began to blame the *Ætolians* for their vain promises, and especially *Thous*: but *Amibal* he had in great admiration, regarding him not only for a sage and prudent man, but also for a true Prophet, who foretold him of all things that then were come to pass: howbeit for

feared that his cold slackness might not overthrow that quite, which his rash folly had begun and enterprised, he sent out his couriers into *Ætolia*, to give them warning to levy all their youth and assemble them together; and himself for his own part had brought thither almost 10000 footmen, who were made up full and furnished by them that after came out of *Asia*, and 500 horsemen besides. To this place, perceiving that there repaired smaller numbers by many degrees than ever at any time before, and that they were but the Nobles only and some few of their vassals, who protested that they had done their endeavor to levy out of their Cities as many as possibly they could: but neither by authority, nor for love and favour, nor yet with absolute command, were they able to prevail or do any good with them that refused warfare: and seeing himself thus forsaken on all sides, as well of his own subjects who dragged behind in *Asia*, as of his allies who performed not those matters, in the hope whereof they had called him to assist them, he withdrew himself within the Straights of *Thermopile*.

This mountain divideth *Greece* in the very middle, like as *Italy* is parted in twain by the ridge of the *Apennine*. On the fore-part of this straight and forest of *Thermopile* toward the North lyeth *Epirus* and *Perrhebia*, *Magnesia* and *Thessaly*, also the Phthiotz of *Achaia*, and the gulph *Malæ*: but more southward is discovered the greatest part of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, *Phocia*, *Cræta* and *Bœotia*, together with the Island *Eubœa* joining close thereto: behind it is situate the country of *Attica*, running into the sea like a promontory, and besides it *Poloponnesus*. This mountain taking his beginning at *Leucas* and the Pont or Western sea, reacheth through *Ætolia* the Levant or Eastern Ocean, and is so full of rocks and rough crags between, that no whole armies, no, nor so much as single travellers lightly appointed, can find but hardly and with much ado the waies and paths to pass through the utter off-brows and the hills of this mountain bending toward the east, they call *Otræa*: and the highest pitch and knop thereof, is called *Calidromos*: at the foot whereof lyeth the valley leading toward the gulph of *Malæa*, wherein the plain is not above three or four paces broad. And this is the only high and port-way by which an army may march, but it is not otherwise impeached, And hereupon it is, that the passage is called *Pyle*: and of some (because there are found therein certain natural hot waters or bairs) *Thermopile*: even that very place which is so famous and renowned for the memorable death of the *Lacedæmonians* (noted there for any worthy battell against the Persians. Here lay encamped *Antiochus* at this present, trying nothing that mind nor resolution as those *Lacedæmonians* did) within the gates as it were of the Straights, where he enclosed and stopped the passage besides, with strong defences: And when he had cast a double rampire and trench, yea, and raised a mure and wall where need was (which to do the place afforded him great plenty of stone lying every where) and had made all sure: presuming confidently that the Roman army would never venture nor be able to break through those barricadoes that way: he sent of those 4000 *Ætolians* (for so many were met together) some to keep a garrison in *Heraclea*, situate even before the very gulph and straight; and others to *Hypata*: for that he made no doubt but the Consul would assail *Heraclea*, and many polls brought word that all about *Hypata* was already wasted.

Now the Consul having spoiled the territory of *Hypata* first, and then of *Heraclea*, (where the *Ætolians* aids did no good and served to no purpose in the one place or the other) pitched his camp over-against the King, even in the very mouth of the gulph, near the fountains of the hot waters aforesaid: both those regiments above named of the *Ætolians* were got within the town *Heraclea*, and there kept themselves sure. *Antiochus*, who before he saw his enemies, thought all was fast enough and sufficiently fenced, began then to fear lest the Roman footsouldiers would find out some privy paths and waies, whereby they might pass and get over those high hills that commanded his camp: for a rumour ran, that the *Lacedæmonians* in times past were so enclosed by the Persians, and of late daies also King *Philip* was likewise compassed and environed by these very same Romans. Whereupon he dispatched a messenger to the *Ætolians* in *Heraclea*, willing them to do him thus much service yet in these wars, as to seize the tops of those hills and to keep them that the Romans might have no passage that way. Upon this message received there arose some dissension among the *Ætolians*. Some were of mind to obey the King his will and commandment, and to go accordingly; but others thought better to tarry still at *Heraclea*, to attend upon fortune and see what would happen: to the end, that if the King should chance to be vanquished by the Consul, they might have in readiness their forces fresh and in heart, to succour and aid their own Cities near at hand; or if his luck were to defeat the Consul, then they might follow the Romans in chase, when they were disbanded and scattered asunder. Both parts thus divided as they were, not only persisted still in their several designments, but also put the same in execution by themselves. For two thousand of them remained at *Heraclea*: the other two thousand parted themselves three waies, namely, to *Calidromos*, to *Rhoduntia*, and *Tichius*. (these are the names of three principall high hills): and each company took and held one. The Consul when he saw that the *Ætolians* were possessed of these higher places, sent *M. Porcius Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, two of his Lieutenants (who both had been Consuls) with two thousand chosen men against these holds of the *Ætolians*, to wit, *Flaccus* against *Rhoduntia* and *Tichius* and *Cato* against *Calidromos*: himself before that he advanced his battell against his enemies, made a brief speech unto his souldiers in this manner: "My footsouldiers, I see that the most part of you even of every quality and degree, are they that in this very Province sometime lived under the conduct, charge, and government of *T. Quintius* in the Macedonian war. The Straights of

* i.e. Galia.

A "of that passage then, near the river *Aous*, were more difficult to gain and get over than this: for here are very gates, yea, and one natural way (as it were) to pass through, as if allec were stopped up between two seas. There were more stronger defences, and scones against them at that time, and those placed in places more convenient and commodious. The army of the enemies then, was both for number greater & for men & footsouldiers much better: for therein were the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Illyrians: all most fierce and warlike nations: in this are the Syrians and Asiatic Greeks, or half Asians, the vainest kind of people of all others, and born to serve. The King there, namely *Philip* a most noble warrior exulted and inured ever from his youth in the neighbour wars of the Thracians and Illyrians. & all the nations bordering upon him: but this *Antiochus* (to say nothing of all his lie besides) is he who being come out of *Asia* into *Europe*, for to make war upon the people of *Rome*, hath done all the long winter time nothing more memorable than this, That for to please his wanton lust he hath taken to wife the daughter of a privat person, a man (I say) of low degree and base quality among other Citizens: & this new married man, fed fat and franked (as I may to say) with dainty suppers & delicate bedchambers, is come forth (forthwith) to fight a battell, his whole strength and all his hope hath been in the *Ætolians*, a people of all others most vain, unconitant, and unthankfull, as ye have tried heretofore, and *Antiochus* findeth true at this present. For neither assembled they in great number, nor possible was it to keep them together in the camp: nay, which more is, they mutine among themselves, and having demanded and required the guard of *Hypata* and *Heraclea*, they have defended neither the one nor the other. Some of them are fled to the tops of the mountains; others have shut themselves within *Heraclea*. The King himself hath confessed plainly, that he was never so hardy as to meet in plain field and affront the enemy, no, nor so much as to pitch his camp in open ground; in that abandoning all that country before him, which he vaunted and bragged that he had taken from us and *Philip*, he hath hidden himself among the rocks, & hath not encamped before the entrance of the gulph and Straights (as the same goeth of the *Lacedæmonians* in times past) but pitched his tents far within. And to bewray his cowardly fear, what difference is there between so doing, and hiding himself within the walls of some City for to be besieged? But neither shall those narrow Straights have him no more than those steep hills defend the *Ætolians*, which they have feigned. This one thing hath been forecalt and provided for on all sides, that ye shall have nothing to make head against, but your enemies.

D Now must ye resolve upon this point, That ye fight not only for the liberty of *Greece* (and yet even this also were a brave and honourable title, to be said for to deliver the same now out of the hands of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, which before you freed from King *Philip*) nor that ye shall have no other reward and recompence for your pains, but that which we shall find now in the Kings camp, but also that the great provision and furniture which daily is expected from *Ephesus*, shall be your prize and booty, and that ye shall hereafter make a way for the Roman Empire into *Asia*, *Syria*, and all those most wealthy and rich Realms, even as far as to the Levant Sea. And what shall let us then, but that from *Gadiz* to the red sea we bound and limit our State and Dominion, even with the very Ocean that environeth and compasseth the round globe of the earth? What shall hinder us, I say, but that all the nations of the world shall honour and worship the Roman name next unto the immortal gods? Prepare your hearts therefore and courage answerable to so high rewards, that with the leave and help of the gods we may to morrow fight a field. After this speech the assembly brake up, and the souldiers being dismissed, made ready their armor and weapons, before they took repast or repose. And in the morning by dawning of the day, the Consul put out the signal of battell, and let his army in array, with a narrow and pointed front, according to the nature and straightness of the place. The King seeing the ensigns of his enemies, led forth his forces likewise. Part of his light armours he placed before the rampire and trench in the forefront, then he placed the flower and strength of the Macedonians, whom they call *Savissophari*, i.e. Pikemen, for the surety and safeguard of his defences and fortifications. And to flank these on the left side, he put the archers, the flingers of darts, and flingers of stones, hard upon the foot of the hill, that from the higher ground they might assail and pelt the naked sides of the enemies. On the right flank of these Macedonians at the very edge and point of the mures and defences, which as they were enclosed and mounded with those places which reach to the sea, and are unpassable by reason of the bogs, muddy marshes, quagmires, and quicksands, he set the Elephants with their ordinary and usual guard. After them his horsemen and men of arms. Then leaving an indifferent space between, he ranged the rest of his forces in the second ward or middle battailon. The Macedonians who were belted before the camp and the trench, at the first sustained the Romans easily enough (who assailed on every side to make an entry) for much help they had of them, who from the upper ground weighed bullets out of their slings, as thick as an hail storm, who launched darts also, and shot arrows besides. But when as afterwards greater numbers of enemies pressed upon them, and charged them with such violence as possibly might not be endured, they gave ground, and retired within their fortifications, keeping yet their array and their ranks whole. And then from the rampier they made (as it were) another palliade with their long pikes that they held out afore them. Now the height of their camp-mure was so reasonable, that as it afforded some rise and vantage of ground for their own men to fight upon it, so by reason of the length of their spears, they might reach the enemy underneath them, in so much as many of the Romans approaching rashly, and venturing to clamber up,

were run clean through: and either they had given over and done nothing, or else more of them had died for it, but that *M. Porcius Cato* having beaten from the top of *Callidromus* the *Ætolians*, and slain a great part of them (for he surprised them suddenly at unawares, and took of them fast asleep) appeared upon the hill that commanded the camp. *Flaccus* sped not so well at *Tichus* and *Rhodunius*, who laboured to get up those cliffs and holds, but to no purpose. The Macedonians and the rest that were in the Kings host and camp, at first, when they descried afar off nothing but a multitude and number marching, imagined verily, that they were the *Ætolians*, who having discovered the battell and fight a good way off were coming to aid them. But so soon as they beheld and discerned near at hand the ensignes and armour of the Romans, they took themselves in their own error, and were upon a sudden stricken with such fear, that they all flung their weapons away, and fled. But both their fortifications and defences in the way, & also the narrowness of the vale through which they were to be pursued, hindered the Romans in following the chafe. And the Elephants above all which were in the rearward took up the ground so, as that the footmen could hardly pass by them, and the horsemen by no means possible; so affrighted were the horses, and caused more trouble and disorder among themselves, than they did during the battell. Besides the Romans flaid sometime behind, whilst they rifled and ranlacked the camp. However, they had the enemy in chafe that day as far as *Lylæum*, killing and taking in the very way, not only many horses and men, but also slaying the Elephants which they could not take alive; which done they returned to their own camp, which that day had been assailed by the *Ætolians*, who were of the garrison of *Heraclea*: but that enterprise, as it was exceeding bold and audacious, so it took no effect at all. The Consul having at the reliefe of the third watch the night ensuing, sent before his Cavalry to pursue the enemy, advanced likewise the ensigns of his legions forward by break of day. The King by this time had won some ground, and got a good way before: for he never gave over galloping with bridle in horse neck, until he had recovered *Elasia*. Where first he gathered together the broken ends of his army thus disperied in flight, and having rallied a small and poor troop of souldiers, and the same armed by the halts, he retired to *Chalcis*. The Roman Cavalry was not able to overtake the King himself at *Elasia*, but overthrew and cut off a great part of his army, which either for weariness rested themselves dragging behind or else were scattered one from the other, as missing their way in those unknown quarters, going as they did without their guides: and letting aside five hundred which kept about the King, there was not one that escaped of the whole army, which was but a small number in proportion of 10000 (if they were no more) for so many (according to *Polybius*) we have written that the King conducted over with him for his part into *Greece*. What were they then to that great power, which (if we believe *Valerius Antias*) came with the King for he writeth that he had in his host threecore thousand, and that forty thousand were slain of them, and above five thousand taken prisoners, with the loss of military ensignes two hundred and thirty. Of Romans there died in all a hundred and fifty.

As the Consul marched with his army through *Phocis* and *Boeotia*, the States and Cities which were privy to the revolt and partly culpable, stood without their gates with their insules and veils in token of peace, and craved mercy, fearing they should have been pilld and ranlacked as enemies. But his host journeyed every day in a peaceable and friend-country, doing no hurt or wrong to any earthly creature, until they were come into the territory of *Corona*: where the Statue or Image of *Antiochus* erected in the Temple of *Minerva Ionia* kindled their choler, and the souldiers were permitted to spoil the country lying about that Temple. But bethinking themselves that (considering the said Statue was set up with the publique consent of all *Boeotia*) it was an indignity to deal so hardly with that territory only of *Corona*, the souldiers were immediately called in and reclaimed, and so they ceased the waiting and spoiling thereof. The *Boeotians* only had a check and rebuke by words for carrying so unthankfull hearts to the Romans, of whom they had so lately received such high favours and benefits.

At the very time of the battell aforesaid, they rode at anchor ten ships of the Kings, in the gulph of *Malea* near to *Thronium* under the charge and conduct of *Isidorus*. To which place *Alexander* and the *Acarnanians*, being fled from the conflikt, fresh bleeding and full of grievous wounds, brought news of the unfortunate fight. Whereupon the ships in great fear for this late terrible made halte and away to *Ceneum* in *Eubœa*, where *Alexander* died, and was interred. But three other ships which were come out of *Asia* and lay in the same road, upon the news of the defeat of the army, returned to *Ephesus*. And *Isidorus* crossed the seas from *Ceneum* to *Demetria*, if peradventure the King were fled thither. About that very time, *A. Attilius* the Admiral of the Roman navy intercepted and surprised great store of the Kings provisions, which had passed already the straits near the Island *Andros*. Some ships he sunk, others he boarded and took: as for those that came hindmost in the rearward, they turned fail, and shaped their course into *Asia*, *Attilius* being returned to *Pyraeum* (from whence he came) with a fleet of ships taken from the enemies, divided great store of corn both among the Athenians, and other allies also of that country.

Antiochus somewhat before the Consul his coming, loosed from *Chalcis*, and first fell to the Island *Tenæ*, and afterwards sailed to *Ephesus*. Against the Consul his arrivall at *Chalcis* the gates were set open for him, and *Aristobolus* the Captain there for the King, quit the place upon the approachment of the Consul. In like manner other Cities in *Eubœa* yielded without resistance. And so within few daies (when all troubles were appeased and set in quiet order without the hurt and damage

A damage of any one City) the army was brought back to *Thermopylae*, and won much more honour and commendation for the modestly used after victory, than for the victory it self.

From thence the Consul dispatched *M. Cato* to *Rome*, by whose certain and sure relation the Senate and people might have full knowledge of all the affairs that had passed. Who taking sea at *Crota* (a port town of Merchandize standing within the innolt gulph of *Corinth*) arrived at *Paria*, a City in *Libania*. From *Paria*, he coasted along the rivers of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*, as far as *Corinthus*, and so cut over to *Hydruntum* in *Italy*, from whence he travelled by land, and in exceeding great halte within five daies came to *Rome*. Early in the morning before day light he entered the City, and from the gate rode directly to *M. Junius* the Prætor, who assembled the Senat betimes by the break of day: and thither, *L. Cornelius Scipio* (who some daies before had been dismissed) and sent away from the camp by the Consul (hearing at his first coming that *Cato* was got before him, and in the Senat repaired, even as he was relating the news, Then these two Lientenants by the commandment of the Senat were presented in the generall assembly of the people, where they declared the same, which they had done before in the Senat house, as touching the deeds achieved in *Ætolia*. And ordained it was that a solemn procession for three daies should be holden, and that the Prætor should sacrifice forty head of greater beasts, in the honour of what gods he would himself.

And at the same time *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who two years before went as Prætor into the farther Spain, entered the City in pomp of an Ovation, or petty triumph. He canied to be born before him of silver biggats 130000. And besides that, silver in coin and ready money, 12000 pound weight. Also in gold the weight of 127 pound. *Acilius* the Consul sent certain messengers from *Thermopylae* to the *Ætolians* at *Heraclea*, to advertise them that before he came they would now all be wiser, and bethink themselves (after such experience of the King his vanity and insufficiency for to deliver up *Heraclea*, and crave pardon of the Senat, either for their willfull folly, or their blind error. Who used these and such like motives and inducements unto them, namely, That other Cities likewise of *Greece* (during this war) abandoned the Romans and revolted from them, at whose hands they had received so many benefits: yet because that after the King was fled (upon whose assurance they had disloyally broken their allegiance) they stood not out still, nor persisted obstinately in their fault and folly, were received to mercy and protection. The *Ætolians* likewise, albeit they followed not the King, but sent for him, and were rather conductors and

leaders, than companions and associates in this war, yet if they could take up in time and repent, they might be pardoned and saved. But no answer returned they tending to peace: nay, it appeared that the master would come to a trial by arms, and for all the King was vanquished, yet the *Ætolian* was behind as wholly and entire as before time. Whereupon the Consul dislodged from *Thermopylae*, and marched directly against *Heraclea*: yea, and the very same day he rode on horseback all about the walls to view the situation of the City. This *Heraclea* is seated at the foot of the mountain *Oeta*: & though the town it self standeth in a plain, yet a fortels it hath built upon a high ground, which as it overlooketh the City, so it is steep on every side, that it is altogether inaccessible. After he had diligently beheld all things that were to be marked and known, he determined to assault the town in four places at once. Unto *L. Valerius* he gave in charge to plant his platforms and to batter that side where the river *Asopus* runneth, and where the publique place of exercise is built. *T. Sempronius Longus* had commission to assault the Castle, without the walls indeed, but yet better inhabited and more peopled (as a man would say) then the town it self. On that side which standeth toward the gulph of *Malea*, which part yielded the hardest access, he appointed *M. Babianus*. And from another pretty river which they call *Medas*, he set *Appius Claudius* opposite against the Temple of *Diana*. Through the great industry and earnest labour of these four gallants, striving who could perform the best service, the work went so well forward, that within few daies the frames and platforms; the Rams and all other engines of battery meet for the assault of Cities were finished. For besides that the territory about *Heraclea*, being a moory ground and full of tall trees, afforded them plenty enough of timber to frame and perform all sorts of fabricks: the houses also in the entry of the City without in the Suburbs standing void; by reason that the *Ætolians* had put themselves within the walls, yielded unto them not only poles, beams, joists, planks, and boards, but brick, and tile, plaster, mortar, and stone of all fizes for divers and sundry uses. So, the Romans assaulted the town rather with fabricks, ordnance, and artillery, than by force of arms: but the *Ætolians* contrariwise defended themselves by main strength and their weapons. For when as the walls should be shaken with the Rams, they caught not hold of them as the manner is with cords, and by plucking them aside, avoided their force: but armed in great number, they carried fire with they to fling upon the terraces and the fabricks. They had besides divers vaults and arches in the walls at which they could readily and fitly fall out: and ever as themselves closed up the breaches of their walls, or made new for the ruinant, they would remember to make more of those vaults still, that in many places at once they might break forth upon their enemies. Thus for the first daies, whilst they were fresh in heart, they issued forth oftentimes and many together, and quit themselves right lustily: but afterwards in fewer numbers, and more slackly every day than other. For being evermore employed about many things at once, nothing so much tamed and wearied them, as watching. For whereas the Romans had a great number of souldiers, and one guarded after another incessively by turns, the *Ætolians* being so few, were constrained without any change, to continue in unceasing

* Three of the clock in the morning.

fant labour night and day. Thus for the space of twenty four daies they had no rest nor respit, but day and night was all one unto them, maintaining fight still, and labouring without intermission against the enemies that assailed the City in all four quarters at once. When the Consul knew once that the Ætolians were wearied and overtoiled, partly by counting the time, and partly by that which he had learned of certain fugitives, he used this policy and stratagem. About midnight he founded the retreat, and having drawn all his soldiers at once from the assault, held them quiet in the camp until the third hour of the day. After that, he began to give a fresh charge, and continued it unto midnight following, and to gave over again until the same hour before noon. The Ætolians supposing verily that the cause why they furcated the assault, was for very weariness (like as themselves were tired out) so soon as the Romans had the retreat founded upon them, departed every man from his ward and quarter, as if they also by the same signal were called away, and shewed not themselves in armor upon the walls before the third hour of the next day. The Consul having at one time given over the battery aforesaid at midnight, began at the fourth watch a fresh assault again with all forcible means in three parts: and at one side, he gave commandment to T. Sempronius to keep his men together, and intensively to observe and wait for the signal: assuring himself that in the alarm by night, the enemies would run to those parts from whence they heard the noise. The Ætolians, many of them being found asleep, had much to do to rouse themselves, and were loath to rise up from their sweet sleep; their bodies being so weary with toiling, moiling, and watching before. Some of them who were yet awake ran in the dark to the place where the assailants made a noise. Their enemies laboured to get into the town some by mounting over the ruins and breaches of the broken wall, others by scaling and climbing with ladders. And against them the Ætolians ran from all parts, ready to succour and help. One quarter, whereas there stood houses without the City, was neither defended nor assailed, because there were some ready and waited for the signal to give the assault; so there was not one offered other part to resist and defend. Now began the day to peep, when as the Consul put forth the signal, and the soldiers began to mount over into the City, and found none to withstand them; they entered in the walls half broken down, others scaled them with ladders where they stood whole and sound. And the cry was not so soon heard that the City was taken, but the Ætolians left their stations on all sides, and fled into the Cattle. The soldiers that had won the town were permitted by the Consul to ransack it: which was not done so much upon a rage and despite, as for revenge, that the soldiers who had been kept short and fasting thus long (notwithstanding so many towns recovered out of the enemies hands) might once at length in some one place take the fruit of victory. The Consul, having called from thence about noon, the soldiers unto him, divided them into two parts, whereof he commanded the one to cast about the foot of the hills, and the other, which being in height equal to the Cattle aforesaid, was now (having divided from it by a valley between, seeming as if it had been sometime a part thereof) and to front it. Now the two points of the hills flur up to near together in the head, that from the top of the one, a single lance a dart into the Cattle or fortres. The Consul, with the other half of the soldiers, had been expecting a sign and token from them that were to get up the cliff behind, ready thereupon to mount up from the town side into the fort. The Ætolians that were within the Cattle could not ther abide at the first the shout of those that had seized the cliff, nor afterwards the assault of the Romans from the City, both for that their hearts failed them and were daunted, ready, and also because they were unprovided of all necessaries for to endure any long siege and assault: considering that women and children and all the other impotent multitude subject to bear arms, were got thither in so great numbers, that the place was hardly able to receive and contain much less to keep and maintain them: and therefore at the first assault, they cast down their weapons and yielded. Among other principal personages of the Ætolians, Damocritus also was delivered: he, who in the beginning of the war when T. Quintus desired to see a copy of the Decree of the Ætolians for the sending for Antiochus, answered, That he would shew it him in Italy, when the Ætolians lay there encamped. For this proud speech of his, the Romans now conquerors, were the gladder that they had got him into their hands.

During the time that the Romans assailed Heraclea, Philip also besieged and battered Lania, according as it was before agreed between them: for near unto Thermopylae, at what time as the Consul returned out of Boeotia, he met with him, of purpose to signify his joy in the behalf of him and the people of Rome, for their achieved victory: and also to excuse himself by occasion of sickness, that he was not present with him in person in the managing of the wars. From thence they parted asunder, and took divers waies, for to assault these two Cities (as I said) both at once: and distant they were one from the other near seven miles. And so much as Lania was teared upon an hill, therefore the town discovered and overlooked all the country about, but especially on that side toward Heraclea, where, by reason that it seemeth a less compass, it representeth a full prospect to the eye. When as the Romans and Macedonians laboured, and striving who could do better, were day and night employed either about their fabricke and pioneers work, or else in skirmish and fight: the Macedonians found more difficulty than they, in this respect, that the Romans were busied in platforms, mantlers, and works all above ground: but the Macedonians were put to undermine: and oftentimes (as it falleth out in such stony and craggy ground) they met with hard flints and rage not minable, and such as no iron or steel tool was able to touch and pierce. The King seeing little good donchy this means, and his enterprise going but slowly forward,

A ward, began to found the yowhimen, and to tempt them to tender the City, using the mediation whereof their chief Citizens whom he parted withall, for this reckoning he made, that if Heraclea were forced before him, they within the City would sooner yield unto the Romans than to him, and so the Consul should win all the thank to himself for levying the siege. And nothing was more of his humour, for immediately upon the winning of Heraclea, a messenger came unto him from the Consul, willing him to surseale the assault and the siege: alledging, it was more reason, that the Roman soldiers who had fought in ranged battell with the Ætolians, should have the reward and recompence of the victory. By this means Lania was abandoned, and by the ruin of Heraclea her neigbouring City avoided and escaped the like calamity of her own.

Some few daies before that Heraclea was won, the Ætolians having assembled a Diet at Hypada, addressed Embassadors unto Antiochus and Thes among the rest, even he, who aforesaid had been sent unto him. His commission and charge was, first, to request the King that once again he would rally his forces as well by land as at sea, and in person pass over into Greece: secondly, if any other important affairs hindered him, yet that he would lend unto them both men and money. For as it touched his Highness in honour, reputation, and credit, not to see his allies abandoned: so it made for the safeguard and security of his own Realm and royalties, not to suffer the Romans (after they had once defeated the Ætolians) to sail over into Asia at their ease and pleasure, with all their forces. There were no fained devices, but true remonstrances indeed: and therefore prevailed the more with the King. Whereupon he delivered money presently to the Embassadors, sufficient to defray the charges of the war, and promised casually to lend men to serve both by land and sea. These alone of all the Embassadors he kept still with him, who was not himself unwilling to stay behind, because he might be ever at hand to call upon the King for to perform his word and benefit. But the winning of Heraclea killed the heats clean of the Ætolians in the end. And within few daies after that they had dispatched their Embassadors into Asia, about the relieving of the war and tending for the King, they laid apart all designs of arms, and addressed their Orators unto the Romans to crave peace. Who, as they began to make their speech, the Consul cut them off, and said, he had other matters of greater importance to think upon and to dispatch, and commanded them to content themselves with a truce for ten daies, and to return to Hypada: and with them he sent Antiochus Flaccus, unto whom they should declare those things that they were about to deliver unto him, and whatsoever else they desired. When they were arrived at Hypada, the chief and principal Ætolians assembled themselves in the lodging of Phileas, consulting with him what course they were to take in their treaty with the Consul. And when they went in hand to alledge the ancient rights of the leagues, and to lay abroad their good denitions, and what they had done for the Romans: "Flaccus bad them to draw these, and speak no more of the privilege of those covenants and accords, which they themselves had broken: shewing unto them, that they should speed better and gain more by a simple confession of their trespass, and in recourse only to prayer and humble supplication: forasmuch as all the hope they might have of safety, rested not in their own defence and goodness of their cause, but in the meer clemency and mercy of the people of Rome: promising for his part to assist them and second their petitions as well to the Consul as the Senate of Rome, since that either altho they must of necessity lend an Embassy. This way seemed to them all, the best simply for their safety, namely, to put themselves to the disposition and devotion of the Romans: for they suppooled by this means to drive the Romans for very shame to have regard of them, & not to offer hurt or violence contrary to them, coming in the habit of poor suppliants: and yet withall, if any opportunity of better fortune should in the mean time offer itself unto them, to be their own Masters nevertheless and at their choice. When they were come before the Consul, Phileas the chief of the Embassy, made a long Oration, couching and framing his words finely and sweetly artificially, to mitigate and assuage the wrath of the conqueror, which he knit up and concluded with this speech, saying, That the Ætolians committed themselves and all that they had to the mercy and protection of the people of Rome. When the Consul heard those words: Set you do so ther. Indeed (quod he) O ye Ætolians, and take heed I advise you that you do herein bond fide. Then Phileas brought forth and shewed a iake instrument of a Decree, wherein the same was engrossed in plain terms, since that (quod he again) you mean good earnest, and are at our disposition. I demand that ye deliver unto me out of hand Decree such a ratification of yours, and Menelaus of Epirus, (who being engaged into Naupactus with a garriſon, had compelled the City to revolt) also Aminander and all the Nobles of the Athamans, by whose counsel and suggestions ye fell from us and rebelled. Phaceus interrupted the Consul before he had well made an end of his speech, We yield not our selves (quod he) to be your vassals and slaves, but as we are to be protected by you: and I am verily perswaded you know not what you do, to impose these things upon us in this manner and custome of the Greeks. The Consul replied again: I have said little, I assure you (quod he) greatly what the Ætolians deem well or ill done according to the custom of the Greeks: all the whiles that I, after the custome of the Romans, have that power and command over them, who ere while by virtue of their own decree yielded unto us. And therefore by force of our arms have been vanquished and subdued by us. And therefore, mine that be executed which I command, yea, and with speed my will is, that presently here you be bound hand and foot: and with that he commanded chains and gyves to be brought forth, and the Lictors to come about them for to lay hold upon them. Then the stout courage both of

Phœnus and the rest of the *Ætolians*, was well cooled & abated: and so at length they saw in what poor plight they were. And *Phœnus* made answer, That both himself and the *Ætolians* there present in place, knew well, that those things were to be performed which were imposed upon them, but (quoth he) there needs a Council of the *Ætolians* for to enact a decree thereof, and therefore he requested the Consuls to allow a lullcase of arms only for ten daies. Then *Phœnus* began to speak for the *Ætolians*, and at his request the said abstinence was granted, and so they returned to *Hypna*. When *Phœnus* had related in the privy Council of those elect peers of that nation called *Apeltes*, as well the demands that were commanded, as what had like to have fall upon them selves in perion, the peers sighed deeply and groaned again, to see their miserable condition; howbeit they were all of opinion, that the victor must of necessity be obeyed, and a general Parliament assembled of the *Ætolian* Burgeses out of all their towns and Cities. When all that multitude was gathered together, and heard the same related again, their hearts loosed within them at the cruelty and indignity of those Lordly commands, that if they had been well settled in peace, yet such a fit of anger had been enough to have put them into arms, And to stir the fume and choler the more, the difficulty of effecting the things demanded, helped well: for how possibly could they compass to deliver *Aminander*, being as he was an absolute King? But even then there was presented unto them by chance a new hope. For *Nicanor* at that very time, coming from King *Antiochus*, filled the peoples heads with this vain expectation, namely, that the King made wondrous provision for war, as well by sea as land. This *Nicanor* having accomplished his Embassy, and made return again into *Ætolia*, within the compass of twelve daies, after he was embarked, arrived at *Phalera* in the gulph of *Mælas*: from whence having brought the monies which he had, down to *Lamia*, whiles himself with certain nimble men and light appointed, travelled toward *Hypna* in the evening, between the Roman and *Ætolian* camp, through paths that he well knew: he chanced to stumble, ere he was aware, upon the corps de guard of the Macedonians: and was brought to the King before supper was done, the table taken up, and the King risen, when *Philip* was advertised thereof, he flew no other countenance, than if a friend or guest, and not an enemy was come; he bad him sit down at the board, and eat his meat. Afterwards he kept him there with him fill in the room, and joyed all the rest, willing him in no case to be afraid. The blundered greatly the bad courtes and demeanments of the *Ætolians* (which evermore lighted up on their own price) who first had brought the Romans, and then *Antiochus* into Greece. But for my part (quoth he) since things done and done, past, may sooner be blamed than amended, I am content to forget and put all under my foot, and will never be the man that will seem to impute over them in their distress and adversity. And so should the *Ætolians* likewise take up in time, and lay aside all their rancor and malice to me: and *Nicanor* especially ought to remember this day, on which by me his life was preserved. With that he sent him away with a good convoy, until he was past all danger: and *Nicanor*, as is before said, came to *Hypna*, even as the *Ætolians* were in deep consultation about peace with the Romans.

M. Attius having either fold outright, or given away to the soldiers the booty of the country about *Heraclea*, and hearing that the Council at *Hypna* nothing tended to peace, and that the *Ætolians* were run together to *Naupactum*, for to abide in that place the whole violence of the war: *M. Attius* went along with 4000 soldiers to seize the tops of the mountains, whence as the passages were difficult: and himself ascended up to the hill *Orion*, and sacrificed to *Heracles* in that very place which they call *Pyra*, by occasion that the mortal body of that god was there consumed with fire: from whence he departed with his whole army, & performed the rest of his journey well and marched with ease. Being come to *Corax* (an exceeding high mountain between *Calipolis* and *Naupactum*) he lost there many of his labouring beasts and supper horses, which together with their loads and fardels, as they went, tumbled down headlong from the mountain, and his men also were much troubled and encumbered. Whereby it was soon seen, with how lazy and idle an enemy he had to deal, who had not beset and kept with a guard that difficult passage, to empeach and shut up the thorough-fare from the enemies. Howbeit, as much roiled and troubled N as his army was, he defended to *Naupactum*. And having erected one Fort against the Castle, he invited all the other parts of the City, and divided his forces according to the situation of the walls. This siege he found as toilsome and painful, as that at *Heraclea*.

At the same time began the Achæans to lay siege to *Messene* also in *Peloponnesus*, for that it refused to be of their Council and association. For these two Cities, *Messene* and *Elis* were exempt from the Achæan Diet and accorded with the *Ætolians*. Howbeit, the *Eljans*, after that *Antiochus* was chased out of Greece, gave the Embassadors of *Achaia* a more mild answer, to wit, That when they had discharged and sent away the Kings garrison, they would consider of the matter what to do. But the *Messenians* having without any answer at all, sent the Embassadors away, had levied war: and fearing much their own estate, seeing their territory overspread with an army, and every where burned; yea, and their enemies encamped near unto their City, addressed unto *Chalcis* their embassadors to *T. Quintius* (the very man who before had set them at liberty) to signify unto him, That the *Messenians* were ready both to open their gates, & also to surrender their City unto the Romans, & not to the Achæans. *Quintius* so soon as he had heard their embassy, sent a messenger incontinently to *Megalopolis*, unto *Diophanes*, the Prætor there of the Achæans, to command him presently to retire his host from *Messene*, and to repair unto him. *Diophanes* obeyed

A obeyed his commandment, and having raised his siege, marched himself lightly appointed for speed before the rest of his army, and about *Andania*, a small town between *Megalopolis* and *Messene*, encountered *Quintius*. Unto whom after he had shewed the causes of the siege, he received at his hands a gentle rebuke only, for that he had enterprised a matter of too great consequence without his authority: with an express commandment also to raise and discharge his army, and not to disturb and trouble the peace, made for the good and benefit of all. The *Messenians* likewise he charged to call home their banished persons into their City, and to joy with the Achæans in their general Diet and Assembly. And if they either had any matters to refuse, or would willingly provide for themselves against the future time, he willed them to make their repair unto him at *Cornith*, and enjoined *Diophanes* immediately to summon the Diet of the Achæans for him, where personally himself would be. Where, after he had complained as touching the Island *Zacynthus*, that by fraud and treachery they had come by and kept, he required that it should be restored to the Romans. Now this Isle had sometime appertained to *Philip* the King of the Macedonians, and he gave it unto *Aminander*, in consideration, that he might conduct his army into the higher parts of *Ætolia*, through *Arhamonia*: in which expeditions and exploits of his, the *Ætolians* hearts were so abated and quailed, that they were constrained to seek peace. *Aminander* made first *Philip* the Megapolitan governour of this Island; but afterwards, in time of that war wherein he banded with *Antiochus* against the Romans, he called him away from thence to employ him in martial affairs, and sent *Hierocles* the Agrigentian to succeed him in his place. This *Hierocles*, after the defeat and flight of *Antiochus* from *Thermopyle*, and the expulsion of *Aminander* out of *Arhamonia* by King *Philip* dispatched of his own motion certain messengers unto *Diophanes*, the Prætor of the Achæans, and for a sum of money agreed upon between them, betrayed the Island to the Achæans. The Romans thought it great reason, that this Island should be theirs, in recompence for the wars which they had maintained; forasmuch as *M. Attius*, the Consul, and the Roman legions fought not at *Thermopyle* for *Diophanes*, nor yet for the Achæans, *Diophanes* to these challenges and demands sometime excused himself and the whole nation, otherwise flied to it, and avowed the action, and maintained the cause by a plea of right. Somewhere were of the Achæans there, that both protested, how from the beginning they utterly disliked the course, and also at this present much blamed the Prætor for his wilful obduracy. And by their advice and authority an act was set down, that the whole matter should be referred and put to *Quintius*, to determine what he pleased. Now had *Quintius* this nature, if a man crossed and thwarted him, he was fierce and fell: if one yielded and gave place, he was gentle again, and pliable. And therefore, without shewing any sign of debate, either in language or countenance, thus he spake, "If I thought (qd. he) and were persuaded in my heart, that it were good and commodious for the Achæans to hold and possess this Island in question, I would advise the Senat & people of Rome to let you enjoy it. But like as a Tortoise, so long as it keepeth her self close within her shell (I see) is sure and safe enough, against all blows and offence whatsoever; but when the once putteth forth any parts, look whatsoever is discovered and naked, the same is weak and subject to injury: even so you Achæans, being enclosed round about with the sea, are able easily to adjoin unto your selves whatsoever lyeth within the precinct of *Peloponnesus*, and keep the same aloof. When you have laid it to you: but so soon as for a greedy desire of having more and encroaching further, you go beyond those bonds, you lie open without, and are exposed to all hurt and damage. Thus *Zacynthus* was delivered to the Romans with the assent of all the Council there assembled, and *Diophanes* durst not say a word more to the contrary.

At the same time King *Philip* asked the Consul as he marched to *Naupactum*, Whether it was his pleasure, that he in the mean while should recover and regain those Cities which were revolted from the association of the Romans? And having a grant and warrant from him, he led his forces against *Demetrius*, knowing well enough in what terms of troubles that City then stood. For being forlorn and in utter despair, seeing *Antiochus* had forsaken them and no hope at all remaining in the *Ætolians*: they looked every day and night either for the coming of *Philip* their heavy friend; or else even the Romans themselves a worse enemy, like as they had a more just cause of anger and indignation against them. A confused and disordered fort there were of King *Antiochus* his soldiers, who being but a few at first left there to lie in garrison, grew after to be more, and most of them unarmed; such as after the field was lost [at *Thermopyle*] thither chanced to flie, and neither had strength nor heart enough to abide a siege. And therefore when *Philip* sent certain messengers before unto them, to signify, that there was some hope that they might be pardoned: they made them this answer, That the gates were open for the King, and that he might enter at his pleasure. At his first entrance, certain chief men of mark quit the City and departed, and *Eurilochus* killed himself. The garrison soldiers of *Antiochus* (for so they had captured) were conducted to *Lysimachia* through *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, accompanied with a company of Macedonians, for fear that any man should do them harm. There were some few ships also in the rode of *Demetrius*, under the command of *Isidorus*, which together with their leader and Captain were dismissed. After this, he regained *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and certain Cities of *Perthæbia*.

During the time that *Philip* was employed in these affairs, *T. Quintius* having recovered the Island *Zacynthus*, departed from the Diet of the Achæans, and crossed the seas to *Naupactum*, which had been beleaguered already two months, & was at the point to be forced and lost: which

if it might have been won by assault, it was thought that the whole nation and name of the Ætolians there would have perished for ever. And albeit he had good cause to be highly offended and displeased with the Ætolians, in remembrance that they only checked and impeached his glory, at what time as he let Greece free: and that they were nothing stirred and moved with his authority, when he (forewarning them that those things would happen which afterwards fell out just to indeed) would have discomfelled and scared them from foolish and furious designs: yet, supposing that it was a speciall part of his charge and work, that no nation of Greece (now freed by him) should utterly be subverted and destroyed, he began to walk up and down along under the walls, to the end that he might be seen, and soon known of the Ætolians. And anon the very formost guards took notice of him, & noised it was presently throughout all the ranks and companies that *Quintus* was there. And thereupon they ran from all parts up to the walls, every man stretched forth his hands, and with one accord and consonant voice called by name unto *Quintus*, beseeching him to help and save them. And albeit he was moved at these their piteous cries with commiseration, yet for that time he signified by the turning away of his head, that he refused and denied them: asking withall, What lay in him to do them any good? But afterwards, being come unto the Consul, "Know you not (quoth he) O *M. Acilius* whereabout we are, and what we have in hand? or if you be a man provident enough, esteem you not that it mainly concerneth the common-weal? He let the Consul by these words a longing, and caused him to give more attentive care what he would say and withall, Why do you not speak forth (quoth the Consul) and utter your mind what the matter is? Then quoth *Quintus*: "See you not that after you have vanquished *Antiochus*, you spend and lose much time here in the siege and assault of two Cities, when as now the year of your government is wellnigh come about? And *Philippus* the mean time without seeing a battell or the enignes of his enemies displayed, hath gained and joyned to himselfe not Cities only, but to many nations already, namely, *Achæmans, Peribæus, Asperantia* and *Dolopia*? But it is nothing to good and expedient for us, nor standeth it us so much upon, to take down the Ætolians and pare their nails, as to look unto *Philippus* that the war is too great: and (seeing you and your souldiers have not got yet two Cities in reward and recompence of victory) not to suffer him to go clear away with so many nations of Greece. The Consul accorded hereunto: but he thought it a shame and dishonour for him to give over the siege and effect nothing: but afterwards, all the matter was put unto the disposition of *Quintus*. Who went again to that side of the wall, whereas a little before the Ætolians called and cried aloud unto him. And when as they intreated him more earnestly and with greater affection to take pity of the Ætolian people, he willed some of them to come forth unto him. And immediately, *Phanias* himself with other principall persons of the Ætolians, went out unto him: unto whom lying prostrate and groveling at his feet: "Your present fortune (quoth he) and hard estate wherein you are, caused me both to temper my choler and also to flay my tongue. Those things you now see are faine out, which I foretold would come to pass. And not so much as this is left unto you, That the calamities fall upon your heads can be truly said to have light upon them that have not deserved as much. Howbeit, since it hath been allotted unto me as it were by destiny to be a foster-father (as I may so say) to suttie up Greece, I will not cease even to you good, as thankles and ungratefull persons as you are. Send your Orators to the Consul, to intreat him to grant you a truce for so long, untill you may address your Embassadors to Rome, by whom you shall wholly refer and submit your selves to the Senat: and I will not fail to be an intercessor and advocate to the Consul for you and likewise unto the Senat. And, as *Quintus* counselled them, so did they. Neither rejected the Consul their Embassie, but granted them abstinence of war for such a term as within which they might have an answer of their Embassie to Rome: so he dislodged the siege was raised, and the army sent into *Phocis*. The Consul together with *Quintus* passed over the sea to *Egium*, unto the generall Council of *Achaia*. There was much treaty and partly about the Eleans, and the restoring of the Lacedæmonians: yet, but nothing was effected in the one or the other. As for the Lacedæmonians, the Achæans were desirous to reserve that for themselves, and to win thereby a thank, as proceeding from their speciall grace. And the Eleans, chose rather to come and be united to the Achæans: Parliament of themselves, than by the mediation of the Romans. The Embassadors of the Epirots came unto the Consul, who (it was well known) carried not themselves found and upright in the entreating of the Roman army: howbeit, they had not levied a souldier for *Antiochus*. Charged they were to have relieved him with money: and deny themselves they could not: but they had sent their Embassadors unto the King. And when they put up a petition, that they might be accepted again into the ancient band of amity: this answer the Consul returned unto them, That he knew not yet whether to range them in the number of enemies, or peaceable friends, and thereof the Senat should be judge: and therefore he referred their whole entire cause to Rome. And to that purpose a truce he granted them of fourscore and ten daies. The Epirots thus sent to Rome, presented themselves before the Senat, and when they stood rather upon those terms in recounting those things wherein they had not shewed any open hostility, than in declaring themselves of those matters that were laid against them: they received such an answer, as whereby they might be thought rather to have obtained pardon, than to have made good and justified their cause. The Embassadors also of King *Philippus* about that time had audience given them in the Senat: who came to congratulate with the Romans, testifying their own joy, and wishing

A theirs for their victory: and upon their request, that they might sacrifice in the Capitoll, and offer an oblation and present of gold in the Temple of *Jup. Op. Mias*, the Senat gave the good leave. So they presented and offered a crown of gold weighing one hundred pound. Their Embassadors had not only a friendly answer and gracious dispatch: but also *Demetrius* the son of King *Philip*, who had lien as an hostage at Rome, was delivered unto them, for to bring home again unto his father. This was the war achieved and brought to an end, which *M. Acilius* the Consul waged against King *Antiochus* in Greece.

The other Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio*, who's lot was to govern the Province of *Gaul*, before that he took his journey to that war which he was to make against the Boians, demanded of the Senat, that money should be assigned unto him: for to perform those plaies and games which he had promised by vow, as *V. e. Prætor* in *Spa*, when he was driven to a great extremity in a battell. This seemed to be a strange and unreasonable demand. Whereupon the L. of the Senat ordained, That what plaies the Consul had vowed on his own head without asking the advice and counsell of the Senat, the same he should exhibit and let forth either with the issue of the spoils gotten from the enemies, (it haply he had received any money raised thereout to that purpose) or else let the charges out of his own purse. These plaies and games *P. Cornelius* represented for the space of ten daies. And near about the same time, the Temple of the great goddesses dame *Jeph* (or *Ida*) was dedicated. This goddess being brought out of *Asia* in the time that *P. Cornelius Scipio* (surnamed afterwards *Africanus*) and *P. Licinius* were Consuls, was conveyed from the sea-side into the mount *Palatine*. The Temple was set out to be built at a price (according to the rate of the Senat) by *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* the Censors, when *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. Thirteen years after the bargain was made for the edifying thereof, *M. Junius Brutus* dedicated it: and for the honour of this dedication were the first stage-plays exhibited. (as *Valerius Antias* mine author saith) called thereupon *Mægæscæ*. In like manner *C. Licinius Lucullus* one of the two Dittators dedicated the Temple of the goddesses *Juvencus*, in the great Reace called *Circus Maximus*. The same had *M. Livius* the Consul vowed sixteen years before, eventhree day in which he defeated *Asdrubal* and his army. The same *Livius* in his Consulship, went through and bargained for the building thereof, whilom *M. Cæcilius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls. And in the honour of dedicating this Temple, the plaies were let forth: and all was done with more devotion, because there was a new war intended against King *Antiochus*. In the beginning of this year in which these things passed, whilom *P. Cornelius* the Consul staid still behind at Rome. (for *M. Acilius* was gone forth already to war:) it is found in records, that two tame oxen climbed up a ladder in the street *Crima*, to the tile-roof of a certain house there. And the footlayers gave expresse order that they should be burnt quick, and the ashes to be thrown into *Tiber*. Also it was reported, that at *Tarracina* and *Amitemum*, it rained stones sundry times. Item, that in *Minerva* the Temple of *Jupiter* and the shops about the marketplace, were blasted and smitten with lightning: and in the very mouth of the river *Vulturnus*, two ships caught fire from heaven, and were consumed. In regard of these fearful prodigies, the Decemvirs by order from the Senat went to the books of *Sibylla*, and perused them: and out of their learning pronounced, that a solemn fast should be now instituted in the honour of *Ceres*, and the same to be observed and holden every five year: also that a novendiall sacrifice for nine daies together could continue: and a supplication for one day: and that they who went in this procession and supplication, should wear garlands and wreaths of flowers upon their heads: lastly, that the Consul *P. Cornelius* should sacrifice to what gods, and with what beasts, the Decemvirs would appoint and pronounce. When the gods were pacified as well by the accomplishment of the vows accordingly, as by taking order for the expiation of those wondrous signs the Consul took his journey into his province: from whence he commanded *Cneus Domitius* the Pro-Prætor (after he had cased his army) to depart to Rome: and himselfe went with his legions into the territory of the Boians.

Within a little of that time, the Ligurians (by vertue of a sacred law that they had) levied and assembled an army, and by night assailed the Camp unawares to *Quintus Minucius* the Pro-Consul. *Minucius* kept his souldiers in order of battell untill day within his hold, having an eye and circumspect regard, that the enemy should not mount over the trench and defences in any place. And at the day-break he sallied forth at two gates at once: neither were the Ligurians repulsed (as he hoped they should) at the first charge: for they sustained and held out the skirmish above two hours, with doubtfull event on both sides. At the last, when band after band issued out, and still fresh souldiers succeeded in the room of the wearied, for to maintain fight, the Ligurians in the end (besides other distresses, lost for want of sleep also) turned their backs. Of the enemies were slain above four thousand: of Romans and allies under three hundred. Two months after or somewhat less, *P. Cornelius* the Consul gave battell to the Boians and won the day: slew 28000 enemies. (as *Valerius Antias* writeth) took 24000 prisoners, gained 124 military ensignes, 1230 horses, chariots 247: and of the winners (as he saith) there died not above 1484. Where (by the way) how little credit soever (as touching the number) yet apparant it is, that a right great victory it was: both for that the camp was won. and the Boians after that battell presently yielded themselves: as for that in regard of this victory a joyfull procession was by order from the Senat holden, and greater beasts slain for sacrifice.

Not much under or over this present time, *M. Fulvius Nobilior* returned out of the farther province of *Spain* in pomp of an Ovation, and carried in shew 10000 pound weight of silver in bellio: of Bigars in silver coin 130000, and in gold 126 li. weight. *P. Cornelius* the Consul, having first taken hostages of the Boian nation, and disfigured them of the one half of their country to the inhabiting whereof the people of *Rome* might if they would lend their Colonies: at his departure from thence toward *Rome* to an undoubted and assured triumph, licensed his army, with commandment to meet him there and give their attendance upon his triumph-day. The morrow after that he was come, the Senat had summons to assemble in the Temple of *Bellona*; where after he had discoursed of his acts and deeds achieved, he required that he might be permitted to enter the City riding in triumph. *P. Sempronius Blesus* a Tribune of the Commons for the time being, stepped forth and said, "That his advice was that *Scipio* should not flatterly be denied the honour of a triumph, but to put it off to a farther day. And why? The wars (qd. he) of the Ligurians have always been joyed and linked with those of *Gaul*: which nations being so near together, are ever mutually one to succour another. If *P. Scipio* (after the Boians defeated in battle) had followed the train of victory, and either himself in proper person with his brave conquering army passed into the territory of the Ligurians, or but sent part of his forces to *Q. Minucius*, who now for three years (or fast upon) both were detained within those quarters in a way of doubtful issue, we might have seen and ere this of the Ligurian war also. But now (forsooth) his soldiers are dismissed, and brought home to accompany him & to solemnize his triumph: who might well have been employed still and done good service to the Common-wealth: yea, & may do yet (if the Senat be so disposed) by deferring the time of triumph, for to make amends and regain that, which by over-hastiness of triumph hath been over-slipped. And therefore, in my opinion (qd. he) they should do well to command the Consul to go his waies back again, and take his army with him into his Province, & to do his best and utmost endeavour to subdue the Ligurians also. For unless they be brought under and made subject unto the people of *Rome*, the Boians be sure will not long be quiet: either we must have peace or war at once in both places. And so *P. Cornelius* in quality of Pro-Consul (as many others before him, who in their full Magistracy triumphed not) may after some few months have his triumph. To this the Col. answered again and said, That neither the Province of the Ligurians was any part of his charge by law, neither warred he at all with the Ligurians, nor yet demanded to triumph over them. As for *Q. Minucius* (qd. he) I hope that shortly after he hath subdued them, he both will require his due triumph, and shall likewise obtain the same. For mine own part, I seek no more but to triumph over the Boians in *Gaul*, whom I have vanquished in plain battell, beaten out of the field and camp: whose whole nation within two daies after the fight and their general discomfiture, yielded and rendered themselves into my hands: and from whom I have carried away hostages, & assured pledge of future peace: nay, that which is much more than all this, I have had the killing of so many Gauls in open battell, and fought with so many thousands of Boians as no General ever did before me: the better half of 50000 men are slain upon the edge of the sword, and may a thousand taken prisoners: so as the Boians have none left but old folk and young children. Can any man make a wonder then, why a victorious army, leaving no enemy behind in the Province, is come to *Rome* to honour the triumph of their Consul? Whose employment, if they cannot be disposed to use in any other service or Province, Whether of these two waies think they will make them more willing and ready to put themselves into new dangers, and enter into other fresh labour and travell; either to pay them with our delay & content them with the due & deserved hire of their former peril and pain, or to send them away with bare hope only, instead of the substance, for to expect still without effect: since they have been once already put by and disappointed of their first hope and expectation? Now for mine own part, I obtained honour enough that day on which the Senat sent me (deemed & declared the best man in all the City) to receive that great goddess & dame of *Ida*, this title alone, without any other addition of triumph, shall be sufficient to recommend to all posterity for honesty & honour both, the image of *P. Scipio Nasica*. This said, not only the whole Senat themselves condescended generally to grant him triumph, but also with their countenance & authority compelled the Tribunes of the Commons to give over their hold, and forsake their interposition of a negative voice. So *P. Cornelius* the Col. triumphed over the Boians. In which triumph he caused to be carried for shew in French chariots, armor, ensigns, and spoils of all sorts: also French vessels of brass and copper. He commanded likewise to be led in pomp a number of horses taken, together with Noblemen and Gentle-men captives. Of chains of gold he made a shew of 1470. Besides, there was born in pomp, of gold 245 pound weight: of silver unwrought and wrought into plate, not unworkeably after their manner (and namely in sundry French vessels) 2240 pound weight: lawfully of bigars in coin 234. To his soldiers that followed his triumphal chariot he gave 25 Aspes apiece, double as much to a Centurion, and trebble to an horseman. The next day after he called the people to a general assembly, whereafter he had discoursed again of his exploits, and complained of the wrongs that the Tribune had offered unto him in that he would have tied him to the war of another, with intent to deprive himself of the fruit of his own victory, he called his soldiers and discharged them quite.

While these affairs thus went in *Italy*, *Antiochus* remaining at *Ephesus*, rested very secure and careless of the Roman war, as if the Romans had no purpose nor intention to pass over into *Asia*. This security of his was occasioned by many of his friends, who partly upon ignorance,

and partly upon flattery persuaded him so. Only *Antiochus*, who at that time was of greatest credit, and might do moit with the King, said unto him, "That he rather marvelled much why the Romans were not already in *Asia*, than doubted of their coming. For a neerer cut, (quoth he) it is by Sea out of *Greece* into *Asia*, than out of *Italy* into *Greece*: and a greater motive to war is *Antiochus* than the Etolians. And as for their valour and power, as hardly they are and mighty at Sea, as on Land: and their fleet hath hovered a good while already about *Malta*. Moreover, I heard lay of late, that new ships be arrived, and a new General come out of *Italy*, to follow and perform this war. And therefore, let *Antiochus* need no longer upon a vain hope, and promise himself a permanent peace: for shortly he must make account to fight with the Romans in *Asia*, yea, and for *Asia*, both by Sea and Land: and no mean there is, but that either himself must lose his Kingdom, or take from them their foreign feignery, who affect and pretend to be LL. of the whole world. He was the only man thought to forecast, and truly to foresee what would ensue. Whereupon the King himself in person, with those ships which he had ready rigged and unrimshed, sailed to *Chersonesus*, with intent to strengthen those places with good garrisons if happy the Romans should come by Land. The rest of the navy he commanded *Polyxenus* to prepare and put to Sea, And al about the Island he sent about his pinnaces and brigantines as espials to discover the coasts, *C. Livius* the Admiral of the Roman navy was arrived at *Naples* from *Rome* with fifty covered ships, At which place he gave commandment, That the open vessels, which by covenant were due to be sent from the allies of all that tract, should meet. From whence he sailed to *Sicily*, and passed the Straights by *Messina*. And when he had received six Carthaginian ships sent to aid him, and called upon the Rhegians and Locrians, and other afficiats comprised in the same league and holding by the same treaty, for that shipping which of duty they were to find, when he had also taken a survey of all his armado at *Lecornum*, he weighed anchor, and put to the main Sea. Being arrived at *Corycora*, which was the first City of all *Greece*, that he came unto, he enquired in what terms the war-affairs stood: (for as yet all was not thoroughly quiet in *Greece*) and where the Roman fleet was? After he heard that the Roman Consul and King Philip, were about the pals of *Thermopylae*, and there lay in guard: that the fleet rid at anchor in the port and harbor of *Pyraeus*: he thought it good to use expedition, and to make speed for all occasions whatsoever, and inconviniently determined to sail forward to *Peloponnesus*. And having at one instant waited *Samos* and *Zephyrus* as he went, because they chose rather to band with the *Etolians*, he set sail for *Malta* and having a good wind, within few daies he arrived at *Pyraeus*, where the old fleet anchored. At *Scyllium* King *Eumenes* met him with three ships: who had been a long time at *Adria*, unresolved in himself, whether he should return to defend his own Kingdom (for he heard that *Antiochus* made preparation at *Ephesus* for war, as well by Sea as Land), or not to depart a foot from the Romans, upon whose fortune depended his whole State. *Antiochus*, to soon as he had delivered to his successor five and twenty close ships of war, took from *Pyraeus* and came to *Rome*. So *Livius* with a fleet of eighty one ships, armed at their beakheads with brasen pikes, besides many other smaller vessels, (which open as they were, had brazen heads, as is aforesaid: or if they were without such pikes, served for espials) sailed to *Delos*. Much about that time the Consul *Acilius* assailed *Naxos*, At *Delos*, *Livius* for certain daies was staid by contrary winds (for that quarter among the Cyclades is exceeding windy, by reason that these Islands are divided slender, some with broader gulfs, some with narrower.) *Polyxenus* being certified by the post-ships (sent in diversie places to discover) that the Roman armado did anchor near *Delos*, dispatched messengers to the King, who leaving all matters which he encompassed in *Hellaspontus*, returned to *Ephesus* as fast as ever he could make sail with his ships of war, and presently called a council, where it was debated, whether he were best to hazard a battell at Sea or no? *Polyxenus* was of opinion, "That he should not slack the time, but in anywise give battell and trie a fight, before that the fleet of *Eumenes* and the Rhodian ships were joined with the Romans: for so in number they should not be much overmatched, and for all other things have the better, as well for nimbleness and agility of ships, as for variety of aid-soldiers. For the Roman ships, as being unworkeably built, they are heavy of keelage and now slowly, laden they are and fringed besides with provision of victuals, as they are commonly that come into the enemies country. But as for your ships (seeing they leave all about them peaceable and quiet) they shall be charged with nothing but with men and munition. Besides the skill of these seas and lands, and of the winds in these quarters, will be a great help unto you: whereas the enemies must needs be much troubled, for want of knowledge in them all. The decision of this council had credit given unto him on all parts, and the rather, for that he was the man himself to put in execution the same counsel. Two daies they made stay to let all things in order and readines, the third day they set forward with a fleet of a hundred sail, whereof 70 were covered the rest open and all of the smaller making and for *Phoca* they shaped their course, G The King hearing that the Roman Armado approached, departed from thence (for that he was not to be present in person at the conflict upon the sea) and went to *Magnesia* near *Sipylus*, for to levy land-forces. But his navy made sail to *Cyssa*, a port of the Erythreans, to attend the coming of the enemy there, as in a place more commodious. The Romans, when the Northern winds were once laid (for they were aloft for certain daies, and locked them in) sailed from *Delos* to *Phoca*, a haven Town of the Chians, bearing toward the *Egean* sea. From thence they cast about with their ships to the City, and there having victualled themselves, they crossed over to *Phoca*. *Eumenes*

Brutii, and *L. Atinius Sicyus*. Moreover that Consul, who was to be employed in Greece, had at his commission granted, besides that army which he should receive of *M. Acilius* (and those were two legions) to furnish himself with a supply of 3000 footmen, and 100 horsemen of Roman citizens; also of 5000 foot, and 200 horse of allies that were Latins: and besides granted it was in the same commission, that when he was arrived into his Province, he should pass over with his army into *Asia*, if he thought it so expedient for the Common-weal.

Unto the other Consul was allowed an entire whole army of new souldiers, consisting of two Roman legions, and fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse of the Latin allies. *Q. Minucius* had direction (by reason that he wrote how he had performed in his Province all that there was to be done, and that the whole Nation of the Ligurians had yielded subjection) to translate his forces out of *Liguria* into the Boians country, and to deliver the same to *P. Cornelius* the Pre-consul. Out of that territory which he had taken away from them after they were vanquished, those City legions were withdrawn, which had been levied and enrolled the year before; and committed they were to the charge of *M. Tuccius* the Pretor, besides 15000 foot, and 6000 horse of Latine allies: and all these forces were to be employed for to defend and keep in obedience, *Apulia* and the Brutians country. As for *A. Cornelius* the Pretor of the former years, who with an army had the government of the Brutii: he was commanded to deliver unto *M. Acilius* (if the Consul thought it good) the legions transported over into *Etolia*, if he would remain there still: but if *Acilius* would rather return to *Rome*, then *A. Cornelius* with that army, was to remain in *Etolia*. Thought good it was, that *C. Atinius Labeo* should receive of *M. Acilius*, the government of *Sicily* and his army: and if it pleased him, to take up and enrol out of that very Province 2000 foot and 100 horse, for to supply and fill the broken companies. *P. Junius Brutus* had commandment to levy a new army for the government of *Tuscany* to wit, one Roman legion, and 10000 foot of Latine allies, and 400 horse. Also *L. Emilius* the Admiral, was to receive of *M. Junius* the Pretor of the former year, twenty Gallies, and the mariners and oars thereto belonging: and besides, to levy himself 1000 mariners more, and 2000 footmen: and with those ships and souldiers to sail into *Asia*, and to receive the fleet of *C. Livius*. As for them that were already in the government of both the Provinces of *Spain* and of *Sardinia*, they were to continue there still for one year longer, and to have the same armies at command: This year were two twents of corn levied of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: and order was given for all the Sicilian comto be sent into *Etolia* to the army: but out of *Sardinia*, that one part should be brought to *Rome*, and the other transported over into *Etolia*, even to the same place that the other of *Sicily* should sail.

Before the Consuls set forward into their Provinces, it was thought meet, that the Pontifics should give order for the expiation of certain prodigies: for at *Rome* the Temple of *Iano Lacina* was smitten with lightning; so as both the lantern, yea, and the leaved dore thereof, were foully disfigured. Likewise at *Puteoli*, the Town walls in many places, and one gate, was blasted with lightning, and two men besides were stricken dead therewith. At *Narvis* it was for certain known, that the day being fair and clear, there arose a stormy tempest, wherein also two free men lost their lives. The Tullians reported, that with them it rained earth. And the men of *Rates* brought word, that within their territory a female mule foled. These prodigies (I say) were expiated: and the Latine festival holy-daies were celebrated anew, for that the dole of flesh was not given unto the Laurentins, which of duty should have been delivered. Moreover, a solemn supplication was ordained, in regard of all errors and faults escaped in divine service and religious observances. Also out of the books of *S. Elyia*, the Decemvirs declared and shewed, to what Gods, sacrifice should be made: and ten young springalls free born, and ten Virgins likewise, whole Fathers and Mothers yet lived, were employed about the misery of those sacrifices. The Decemvirs also by night sacrificed young sucklings. And *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, before he took his journey, erected an arch in the Capitol (over-against the high street that leadeth thither) with 7 gilded statues and 2 horses: and before that arch, he set up two cesterms or fountains of marble. About this time, 43 principal persons of *Etolia*, (among whom were *Demetrius* and his brother) were conveyed to *Rome*, by two Squadrons or cohorts sent for purpose from *M. Acilius*; and there were laid up fast in the prison called 'Thestone quarries': which done, the cohorts aforesaid were commanded by *L. Cornelius* the Consul, to make return to the army. From *Ptolemus* and *Cleopatra* (King and Queen of *Egypt*) there came Embassadors, testifying their joy which they conceived in the behalf of the Romans, in these terms, That *M. Acilius* the Consul had charged King *Antiochus* out of Greece, exhorting also the Romans to transport an army into *Asia* for that not in *Asia* only, but likewise in *Syria*, all men were smitten with fear and amazed. As for the KK. of *Egypt*, they would be ready to do for their parts, whatsoever the Senat should set down. Thanks were returned to the K. and Q. aforesaid, and order was taken, that to the Embassadors for a reward should be given 40000 braken Assees.

L. Cornelius the Consul, having accomplished all things to be done at *Rome*, published an Edict in a general assembly, That all such souldiers whom himself had enrolled for supply, as they who were with *A. Cornelius* in the Brutians country, should all meet at *Brundisium* upon the Ides of *Quintilis*. Moreover he nominated three Lieutenants, *Sex. Digintus*, *L. Apollonius*, and *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, for to gather ships together out of all the Sea-coasts into *Brundisium*. And when he had prepared and set all things in good order, he departed from the City, clad in his

* Lantunio, or
Latomie.

* Ides July.

A rich coat of arms. There preferred unto the Consul as he went forth, to the number of 9000 Roman
lunatics, Romans and allies together, who had served their military years in the wars under the conduct of *P. Africanus*, and now were exempt from souldiery, who all offered to go with him and to be enrolled as preit souldiers. Much at the time that the Consul took his journey (during the festival Apollinarian games in the honour of *Apollis*, upon the first day before the Ides of *July*) it chanced, that in the day time when the air was clear and fair, there arose a sudden darkness during the Eclipse of the sun, by reason that the body of the moon was directly under the Circle and rundle of the sun. *L. Emilius Regillus* also Admiral of the war, at the same time went to *Sea*, *L. Antiochus* was charged by order from the Senat, to build 30 Gallies with five banks of oars, and 30 Gallies with three banks, because a bruit was blown and blazed abroad, that *Antiochus* upon these late battail at *Sea*, was about to prepare a much greater armada.

The *Etolians*, after their Embassadors were returned from *Rome* and had made relation, that there was no hope of peace, albeit all their Sea-coasts (especially toward *Peloponnesus*) were besieged and waited by the *Achians*, yet minding more their peril to enlure, than remembering their loss received, seized the mountain *Corax*, intending to impeach and stop the passage of the *Romans*. For they made no question nor doubt, but that the next spring they would return to besiege and assault *Naupactum*. *Acilius*, who with well what they expected, thought it better to get in hand with an enterprise unlooked for, and namely, to assail *Lamia*: for thus he thought. Thus seeing they had been already brought to a great strait and extremity by King *Philip*: now they might be taken suddenly and surprised at unwarres, because they stood in fear of nothing less. Whereupon, removing from *Elatus*, he encamped first in the country of his enemies near to the River *Spercheus*: from whence by night he dislodged, and advanced forth with his engines, and by the day broke forth: he inveted their walls round about. Great fear and hurly there was, as in an accident unlooked for: yet all that day they defended the City more resolutely than a man would have believed and thought they could have done in so sudden a danger: whilst men stood at defence upon the walls, women set up ladders in many places, and brought the men weapons and garb of all sort: yea, and Hones up to the walls unto them. *Acilius*, after he had sounded the retreat, brought back his men into the camp about noon: and after they had there refreshed their bodies with meat and rest, he gave them warning (before he dismissed the *Prætorium*) that ere day-light the next morning they should be ready in arms: for that he would not come back again with them into the camp, before they were masters of the Town. At the same time as the day before, he gave assault in many places: and for as much as the Townsmen strength decayed, their darts and weapons failed, and above all, their hearts fainted, within few hours he won the City. After he had made a riddance of the pillage, sold some part, and given away the rest, he fell to take counsel what to do afterwards. There was not one man of opinion to go against *Naupactum*, considering that the *Etolians* held and kept the pals of *Corax*. Howbeit *Acilius*, to the end that he would not keep the field in summer without doing some exploits, and that the *Etolians* might not enjoy that peace by the slackness of the Roman souldiers, which obtain they could not at the *Senat* hand, he purposed to besiege *Amphissa*: and to the army was conducted thither from *Heraclea*, by the mountain *Oeta*. When he had encamped himself under the Town walls, he began to invest it round with men as he did *Lamia*, but with ordnance and engines to batter it. In many places at once he ran with the ram against the walls: and albeit they were shaken, the Townsmen went not about either to make ready, or to devise and invent any means of defence against that instrument or engine. All their hope was in trutty armour and hard valour. And so often they sallied forth, that they disordered and troubled not only the guards of the enemies, but also those that attended about the fabricks and artillery. Howbeit, in many places the wall was battered and breaches made: and even at that very instant news came unto him, that his successor had landed his army at *Apollonia*, and was coming by the way of *Epirus* and *Thessaly*. Now came the Consul with a power of 12000 foot, and five hundred horse. And by this time was he passed as far as to the vale and level of *Males*: and having sent certain afore to summon the City *Hydruntum*, and received answer again, that they would do nothing but by a publick decree of the *Etolians*: because the siege of *Hydruntum* should not lay him, and *Amphissa* not yet won, he led his forces against it, and sent his brother *Africanus* before. Ere they came, the Oppidan had quit the Town, for by this time the wall in many places lay open and naked, and were all armed and unarmed into a Castle which they had, impregnable. The Consul pitched his camps six miles from the Town.

Thither arrived the Athenian Embassadors, and first they repaired to *P. Scipio*, who as we have said, was gone before the main army, and afterwards to the Consul, intreating for the *Etolians*. Of the twain they received a gentler answer at the hands of *Africanus*, who (seeking some honest occasion to leave the *Etolian* war, set his heart and eye wholly upon *Asia* and King *Antiochus*: and to this purpose he willed the Athenians to persuade not only with the Romans but also with the *Etolians*, to prefer peace before war. And speedily, through the motion and perswasion of the Athenians there was a solemn embassage of the *Etolians* dispatched from *Hydruntum*. Induced "they were the rather to hope for peace by the speech of *Africanus* (for to him they came first)" "who discoursed unto them, how that many Nations and Cities in *Spain* first, afterwards in "Africa", had put themselves under his protection, and in them all he had left generous testimonies "of his clemency and bounty, than of his warlike valour and martial prowels. Thus they had brought

Polyxenidas still by false semblance encouraged the error and vain imaginations of *Pausanistratus*: for his ships indeed he drew land and laid up dry; and as if he meant to hale up more; he repaired and amended the docks. Oremen and mariners he sent not forth out of their winter harbours to go to *Ephebus*; but secretly assembled them to *Magnesia*. Now it fortuned that a certain soldier serving under King *Antiochus*, who was come to *Samos* about some private affairs of his own, was apprehended there for a spy, and brought to *Pausanistratus* before the Admiral *Pausanistratus*. Who being demanded what he did at *Ephebus*: I know not whether for fear; or upon small loyalty that he bare to his Prince and country, discovered all: namely, that the fleet rid in the haven rigged, decked and trimmed in readiness: *Items*, that all the rowers and mariners were sent to *Siphia* in *Magnesia*: *Items*, that some vessels, and those very few were drawn up to land, and the docks and harbours were shut up close: and lastly, that never at any time before, the navy was so carefully looked unto, nor Sea-affairs so well managed. But the mind of *Pausanistratus* was so carefully I before, with foolish conceits and vain hopes, that he would not believe their informations and intelligences for true. *Polyxenidas* having let all things forward and in good readiness, by night sent for the rowers and mariners from *Magnesia*: and having in great haste shot to Sea, and let afloat those vessels which lay at one side upon the land, after he had spent the whole day, not to much in making provision, as in telling out the time on set purpose, because he would not have the fleet to be seen when it set forth, weighed anchor and loosed after the sun was gone down: and with 70 sail of covered ships, because he had a contrary wind, entered the Bay of *Pyrga* before day, where resting all the livelong day for the same purpose as before, the next night he sailed to the secret coasts of *Samos*. From whence he gave commandment to one *Nicanor* an Archiprator to set sail for *Palmyra*, with five close covered ships, there to land; and from thence to march with his armed souldiers over the fields the nearest way to *Panormus*, and to come upon the back of the enemies: himself in the mean while divided his fleet into two parts, and made way to *Panormus*, there to keep the entry and mouth of the haven on both sides. *Pausanistratus* at first was troubled for a while at this unexpected occurrent: but afterwards, as one that was an old bearded souldier, he quickly took heart again, and calling his wits together, supposed that he might more easily repulse the enemies by Land than by Sea: and led his souldiers in two Squadrons unto the prison-tories which bearing out into the Sea like two horns, to force the haven: from which two capes or heads he supposed, that he might easily let back and put by the enemies with shooting darts from both sides. But *Nicanor* who was sent by Land, impeached this design of his, so that he was forced suddenly to change his mind and alter that counsell, and therefore commanded all his men to go a shipboard and away. Hereupon exceeding fear there was both among the souldiers and also the mariners, as if they were to take their flight by Sea and not to fight, seeing themselves environed at once both by Land and Sea. *Pausanistratus* supposing the only way to escape and save themselves, was to make way through the mouth of the haven, and so to recover the room: after he had seen all his men embarked, commanded the rest to follow, and himself first flying and labouring hard with oars, scudded again with his ship to the entrance of the haven. Now when she was once past the freight and come into the open Sea, *Polyxenidas* was there to welcome him with three Galeaces of five banks of oars, and so to belest him. The poor ship was wounded with the iron pikes bearing out in the beak heads of the Galeaces, and so bouged and sunk withal. The defendants upon the hatches were overwhelmed with shot of darts, and among the rest, *Pausanistratus* himself manfully fighting lost his life. The rest of the ships were boarded and taken, some before the haven, others within: and some there were that by *Nicanor* were seized as they laboured to loose from the land, and to lanch forth. Five ships only of *Rhodes*, and two of *Cous*, escaped dead and fled, which made themselves way even among the thickest of their enemies, by the means of a fearful burning flame of fire that they had with them. For they let me two long perches or poles bearing forward at the prow, like two spire-sails, in every ship, carrying iron pots and pans aloft them full of light fire. The Gallies of *Erythrae*, meeting the Rhodian ships not far from *Samos* as they fled, the which were coming to help them, turned their course backward into *Hellepontus*, unto the Romans. About the same time *Selenus* gained the City of *Phocaea* by treason, entering in at a gate which the wardens let open of purpose for him. And for fear, *Cyme* and other Towns of that coast revolted unto him.

Whiles these things thus passed in *Aeolia*, and that *Abydus* had endured the siege for certain dayes by the defence of the Kings garrison that manned the walls: now that all were overtold and wearied, the Magistrats of the City (by the permission of *Philotas* Captain of the garrison) aridged with *Livius* upon conditions to render the Town. The only point whereupon they stood, and which stayed the conclusion, was this, for that they could not agree whether the Kings souldiers should be sent away armed or disarmed. And whiles they debated hereabout, news came of the Rhodians defeat, and so the opportunity of gaining the Town slipped out of their hands. For *Livius* fearing, lest *Polyxenidas* pushed up with the success of so great an exploit, would surprise the fleet that rid at *Cane*, leaving presently the siege before *Abydus*, and the gading of *Hellepontus*, put to Sea afresh those ships that lay dry at *Cane*, and *Eumenes* came to *Elea*: But *Livius* went to *Phocaea* with all his fleet, to which he had adjoynd two tireme gallies of *Mitylene*. But when he heard he had pilld the sea-coast, and charged hastily his ships with a good booty, & those were prizes of men especially, he stayed no longer there than until *Eumenes* might overtake him with his fleet,

but directed his course straight to *Samos*. The Rhodians upon the first news of this their overthrow, feared much, and withal mightily followed: for besides the loss of their Sea-souldiers and ships, they lost also the very flour and strength of their youth: for almost as many young Gentlemen of their nobility, accompanied *Pausanistratus*, among other motives, in regard of his authority, which was right great and for good desert among his country-men. But afterwards considering how treacherously they were over-wrought, and namely, by one of their own citizens, born among them, their melancholy turned into choler, and their sorrow into anger. Whereupon they sent forth ten ships immediately, and few dayes after other ten, under the conduct of *Eudemus* the Admiral over them all: who albeit he were not for other fears of arms and martial skill equal to *Pausanistratus*, yet they supposed verily he would be a leader to much the more wary and circum-spect, as he was the less hardy and courageous. The Romans and King *Eumenes* first fell with the land *Erythrae*, where they stayed one night, and the morrow after gained the point of *Corycus*, a promontory of the Teians. From whence when they purposed to cross over to the nearest parts of *Samos*, not waiting for the sun-rising, by which the Pilots might observe the disposition of the weather, they hoiled up sails against a very doubtful and dangerous tempest: for the wind turned from North-east to full North, as they were in the mids of their course, whereby they began to be mightily tossed among the surging billows of the rough and angry Sea. *Polyxenidas* supposing that the enemies would take their course directly to *Samos*, there to join with the Rhodian fleet, departed from *Ephebus*, and first anchored at *Mynesus*: from thence he sailed to an Island called *Maecius*, to the end that as the enemies fleet failed by, he might take advantage to let upon either some ships singled and severed from the body of the fleet, or play upon the tail and rear-gard thereof. After that he perceived the whole fleet to be dispersed by force of the tempest, he thought first to take that occasion to fall upon them: but the wind rising till more and more, and raising greater waves, because he saw he could not possibly come near to board them, he cut over to the land *Ephialtes* minding the next day to assail the ships in the main Sea as they passed to *Samos*. Some small number of the Roman ships in the beginning of the night put into the haven of *Samia*, which they found void and empty: the rest of the fleet after they had been tossed and tossed all the night long in the deep, at length light upon the same harbor. Where being advertised by the peasants of the country, that the enemies ships lay in the rode of *Athalie*, they fell so consult, whether presently to bid battail and put it to the hazard, or expect the arrival of the Rhodian fleet. Deliering therefore that enterprise (for so upon advertisement they were agreed) they travelled to *Corycus*, from whence they came. *Polyxenidas* likewise, having laid at anchor in vain returned to *Ephebus*: and then the Roman ships, while the Seas were thus clear of enemies, sailed over to *Samos*. Thither also arrived the Rhodian fleet few dayes after: and that it might appear how long looked for it was, they all presently let sail for *Ephebus*, with purpose either to try an issue by a battel at Sea, or else if the enemy refused the trial, to exprels and wring from him a plain confession of cowardice: which was a material point and of great importance to move the minds of the other neighbour-cities. Being arrived to the very haven mouth, they embattailed their ships and stood directly affront opposed unto it. And when they saw none make sail nor set out against them, the one part thereof rode afloat at anchor still in the very haven mouth: the other discharged the souldiers and let them a land. Upon whom (as they were driving a mighty booby which they had raised by foraging all the country over) *Andronicus* a Macedonian, who lay in garrison at *Ephebus*, sallied forth, even as they approached the walls of the City: and having called them of a great part of their prey aforesaid, he chased them to the Sea unto their ships. The morrow after, the Romans having bestowed an ambush about the mid-way between, marched in order of battail against the City, to see if peradventure they could train forth the Macedonian again without the walls: but perceiving that no man durst come abroad for suspicion and fear of an await, they returned to their ships again: and when they saw their enemies would not abide them neither at Sea nor on Land, in the end the fleet sailed again to *Samos* from whence it came. Thence the Pretor made out two Gallies of Italian confederates, and as many Rhodians under the conduct of *Epicrates* the Rhodian Admiral, to defend and keep the streights of *Cephalenia*, which *Hirpinus* the Lacedaemonian together with the youth of the Cephalens, infested with his roving and robbing in so much as there could no ships pass by Sea to and fro with victuals between Italy and that coast. At *Pyraeus* *Epicrates* met with *L. Aemilius Regillus* coming to succeed in the Admiralty: who hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, and having himself but two Quinqueme Gallies, brought *Epicrates* back with him into Asia with four ships. There accompanied them the Galeaces, brought *Epicrates* back with him into Asia with four ships. Thither also arrived the open ships of the Athenians, and he passed over by the Sea *Agæum*. Thither also arrived *Timalcater* the Rhodian in the dead of the night with two Quadrime gallies from *Samos*, Who being brought unto *Eumilius*, declared how he was sent to quiet and defend that Sea-coast, which the Kings roving ships and men of war by their often excursions from *Hellepontus* and *Agæum*, had made too hot for the Hulks and other ships of burden which used to pass that way. As *Eumilius* failed from *Chios* to *Samos*, two Rhodian Quadrime Gallies were sent by *Livius* to meet him and King *Eumenes* also with two Quinqueme galleaces presented himself unto him. Being all arrived at *Samos*, *Eumilius* after he had received the navy of *Livius*, and sacrificed orderly as the manner was, called a council. At which *C. Livius* (for his opinion was asked first) spake and said, "That no man giveth more sound and faithful counsel than he, who perdweth another man to that which himself would do in the same case. As for me, my intent and purpose was, to

* Archipelago.

to go

"withdraw your fleet and army? or rather wait and expect to know the Consul his mind; and advise, the Senate pleasure and ordinance, and the general assent of the people in that behalf; it remaineth then after that is done, that you stay still in Asia, and that your forces being brought back again into their wintering harbours, (after they have done with warfare) fall to consume and eat out our allies, by charging them with provision of victuals: and afterwards, if it shall please the higher powers, and those that are in authority so to ordain, we must begin to war anew, which now we are able (if we lack not the time, nor stop the forward course wherein we are) before winter come, with the favor and power of the Gods, to finish and bring to a full end. This advice took place; and answer was returned unto Antiochus, that there could be no treaty of peace before the Consul his coming. Antiochus having thus in vain sought his peace, when he had first foraged and wasted the territory of Elaea, and afterwards of Pergamus, left his son Seleucus there, and went himself in person to Adramyttium, pillaging and spoiling all the way as he journeyed, in all kind of hostility. Now this territory is a rich country, called The champion plains of Thebe: much renowned by the Poet Homer in his poems; and in no one place besides of all Asia got the Kings soldiers a greater booty and more pillage. Thither arrived also Adramyttium both Eryllus and Eumenes (having for a compals by sea) for the defence of the said City. During this time, they sent for a thousand foot, and a hundred horse out of Achaia to come unto Elaea: all which forces were commanded by Captain Diophanes. So soon as they were disembarked and landed, there were ready to receive them certain men sent from Attalus of purpose to meet them, who by night conducted them to Pergamus. They were all old soldiers, and well experienced in fears of war; and their leader Diophanes had been brought up and trained under Philip the great, the greatest warrior in those days of all the Greeks, who took but two days to rest his horse and men, and to take view of the enemies guards, namely, in what places and at what time they used customably either to come forward, or to retire. The Kings soldiers were approached almost to the very foot of the hill, where the City is situate. By means whereof they might forage behind at their will, and there was not one issued out of the City so much as to take a dart also against the corps de guard of the enemies. After they were once so near discoverers, that they were fain to keep themselves close within the walls, the Kings soldiers without began first to contemn, and afterwards to neglect them. Many of them had not their horses so much as saddled and bridled, and some few were left in arms and in ordinance of battle: the rest were gone aside and spread over all parts of the champaign: some went to play and took themselves to youthful sports and wanton riot: others fell to feeding, pampering their bellies, and making good cheer under covert shade, and many were laid along asleep. Diophanes beheld all this manner hereof aloft from an high turret of the City Pergamus, and presently gave commandment to his soldiers to take arms and to be ready at the gate. Himself went to Attalus, and told him, that he purposed to assail the enemies corps de guard. Attalus (although he were very loth) gave him leave: for he saw full well, that he was to fight with one hundred horse against three hundred: and one thousand foot against four thousand. Being out of the gate, he sat him down not far from the enemies corps de guard, waiting when some good opportunity and occasion would offer itself. Both they within Pergamus of one side, deemed this to be folly rather than hardiness; and also the enemies on the other side making towards them for a while, and perceiving them not to stir, altered nothing of their usual negligence, and that which more was, made a mockery and scorn of their small number. Diophanes kept his men still a good time, as if he had brought them forth only for a shew, to see and to be seen: but after he perceived once the enemies to be disbanded out of their ranks and ranges, he commanded the footmen to make all the hast they could after, whilst himself leading the way first among his horsemen, ran with his whole troop upon the spur as hard as ever he could, and letting up a shout and cry aloud on all hands, as well with foot as horse, charged suddenly upon the enemies guards, ere they were aware of them. Man and horse both were greatly scared: and the horses especially having broken their collars and halters wherewith they stood tied, made foul work and much trouble among their own party. Some few of the horses kept their standing still unafrighted, and even those that had much ado to saddle, to bridle, and to mount upon; with so great a terror came the Achaeans, and with much more than so small a number could be thought to make. And as for the footmen in order arrayed and well provided, they fell upon those that were negligently dispersed abroad, ere they looked for them, and in manner half asleep. Great execution and butchery was committed upon them all the fields over, and they fell a main. Diophanes, having followed the chase as they ran away in scattering wise, so far as he might well with safety of himself, returned to the guard and defence of the City, having won great honor to the nation of the Achaeans by this exploit: for not only the men, but women also beheld this service, and looked on him from the walls of Pergamus. The next day after, the Kings Corps de guard were better ordered and kept closer together yet, and retired half a mile farther from the City, where they encamped themselves. The Achaeans likewise much about the same time advanced to the very same place. Many hours together they looked one upon another who would begin first, expecting every minute when the charge should be given. But after the sun was near going down, and that it was time to return into the camp, they of the Kings part began to ruffle their ensignes and guidons together, and set forward with their bands, ordered in manner of a march for the way, more like than marshalled troops to fight a battail, Diophanes sat still so long as they were within sight: but then he charged upon their rearward,

* Laudimili.

A mind, with as great violence and fury, as the day before, and put them again into so great affright and trouble, that they gave them leave to wound them on their backs, and not one would stay to make head and resist, but trembling for fear, and hardly keeping the order of a march, they were beaten into their camp. This boldness of the Achaeans forced Seleucus to dislodge and remove out of the territory of Pergamus.

Antiochus after he heard say that the Romans and Eumenes were come to the defence of Adramyttium, medled no more with the town itself, but after he had laid the fields waste, departed from thence, and forced Persea, a Colony of the Mityleneans. As for Coton and Coryllus, Aphrodisias and Pryne, they were won at the first assault, and so he returned to Sardis by Thyatira. Seleucus remaining still upon the sea-coasts, as he affrighted some, so he defended others. The Roman fleet together with Eumenes and the Rhodians sailed hither to Mitylene, and back again from thence, returned to Elaea from whence she came. So they held on their course to Phocaea, and fell with an Island called Bacchus, situate above the City of the Phocaeans: and after they had pillaged and spoiled by way of hostility the Temples, which heretofore they had forborn, and taken away the Images (for the Island was magnificently adorned and beautified therewith) they crossed over to the City itself, which they assailed in divers quarters, according as they had divided their forces into three parts: but seeing that it might not be won with bare scaling and strength of arms, without planting engines of battery and other fabrics: and besides, that three thousand armed men sent from Antiochus for defence, were entered into the City, presently they gave over the siege, and the fleet retired to the Islands, having done no other exploit, but only pillaged the territory about the City.

This done, it was thought good that Eumenes should have licence to depart into his own kingdom, that he might provide for the Consul and the army all necessities toward the passage over Hellespontus: also that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should return to Samos, and there remain inguard, and have an eye unto Polyxenidas, lest he removed from Ephesus and made some attempt that way. So, the King returned to Elaea, the Romans and Rhodians to Samos, where M. Annius the Praetor his brother departed this life. The Rhodians, after his funeral obsequies performed, failed to Rhodes with thirteen ships of their own, one quinquerem galeace of Cons, and the other of Guidos, there to lie in rode, ready to make head against the fleet, which as the storm blazed, was aloft and coming out of Syria. Two daies before that Endamius loosed from Samos with the Armado, thirteen ships sent from Rhodes under the conduct of Admirall Pamphilus to encounter the said Syriack fleet, taking with them four other ships, which were for the guard of Caria, delivered from siege Dadaia, and other petty forts which the Kings soldiers assailed. Then it was advised that Endamius should incontinently set forward on his voyage. And to that fleet which he had under his charge, he adjoynded also four open ships. Being departed, he made sail in all haste that he possibly could, and arrived at the port called Mesippe: where he overtook those that were gone before: from whence they came in one band and train joyntly together unto Phaselis, and then they judged it the best way, in that place to attend the coming of the enemy. This Phaselis Randeth upon the confines between Lycia and Pamphylia. It lieth far within the sea. It is the first land that sheweth itself to them that sail from Cilicia to Rhodes: and from thence a man may ken and discover ships under sail afar off: for which cause especially, this was chosen for a fit and convenient place, wherein they might encounter the enemies fleet. But by reason the air was unwholsome, and the season of the year unhealthful (for it was midsummer) and the smells and stinking favaours such as they had not been acquainted with; many contagious diseases and maladies which they foresaw not, began to spread commonly abroad, and especially among the mariners: for fear of which plague and mortality, they departed from thence, and passed beyond the gulph of Pamphylia: and being arrived in the river Erymudon, they received advertisement from the Alpendians, that the enemies were already before Sida. Those of the Kings side had failed but slowly in regard of the adverse season of the winds named * Etesiae, which kept their set and certain time, like as those do which they call * Favonii. Now of the Rhodians there were 32 quadrigeme Gallies, and 4 other triremes besides. The Kings fleet consisted of 37 and those of greater burden and bulk: among which were three mighty Gallieaces of 7 banks of oars on a side, and four of 6, besides 10 ordinary trirreme gallies. There were others also that knew by a sentinell or watch-tower standing on a certain high place, how the enemies were at hand. The next morning by break of day both these fleets set forth of the haven, as if they would have fought that very day. And after that the Rhodians had passed the cape, which from Sida hangs over into the sea, then presently were they discovered of the enemies, and the enemies likewise descried by them. The left wing of the Kings fleet, flanked with the main sea, was commanded by Annibal: and Apollonius one of his gallants and courtiers led the right: so as now they had ranged their ships broad in a front-rank. The Rhodians advanced forward ordered in length and calling their battell into files. In the vanguard the Admirall ship of Endamius was foremost; Carystus governed the rereguard; and Pamphilus had the conduct of the middle ward. Endamius seeing the enemies battell arrayed and ready for conflict, put forth into the open sea, commanding those that followed after in order to keep their array, and to directly affront the enemy: which at the first required some trouble, for he was not so far advanced into the deep, that all the ships could be set in array along the land side: and besides, himself making too much haste, with five ships only encountered Annibal, for the rest followed not after him, because they were bidden

* Easterly winds yearly blowing about Midsummer for the space of forty daies.
* Western winds in the spring or March winds.
* Etesiae.
* Hætereæ.

to range about. Now the reward had no room left them toward the land: and thus without they hastily were jumbled together, the fight by that time was begun in the right wing against *Antibal*. But at one instant the Rhodians cast off all fear, as well in regard of the goodness of their ships, as of their own experience and usual practice in service at sea. For their ships with great quickness and agility making fall into the main sea, made room for every one that came after along the land side: and withal, if any one hapned to run upon a ship of the enemies with her piked beak head, either it rent the prow, or wiped away the oars, or passing clear through, between the ranks and files turned again and charged upon the poop. But the thing which terrified the enemy most was this, That a great galleace of the Kings which had seven banks of oars on a side, was boughed and took a leak with one only knock, that it received by a Rhodian ship far less: whereupon the right wing of the enemy doublets inclined to flee away. But *Antibal* pressed *Eudamius* very much in the open sea, most of all with multitude of ships: for otherwise in all respects *Eudamius* had the odds and better hand of him by far: and certainly he had compassed and enclosed *Eudamius* round, but that a flag was put out of the Admirall, (by which signall the dispersed ships are wont to rally themselves together:) whereupon all those that had got the better of the enemy in the right wing, made haste to joyn in one for to succour their fellows. Then *Antibal* also and the ships about him, took their flight: but the Rhodians were not able to make way after them and to maintain the chase, by reason that the rowers many of them were sick, and therefore the sooner weary. Whereupon they cast anchor in the main sea, and laid to rest and take some refection for to strengthen their bodies. And in this while *Eudamius* surprised and beheld the enemies how they haled and towed by ropes at the tail of the open ships (that were only with oars) certain other which were lame, maimed, sore bruised, and cracked: and might see so others not much sounnder than they, to leave the rest and depart: whereupon calling an *Opti* and silence to be made from an high turret in the fore-castle of the Admirall, arise they heare (alth he) and see a pleasant sight yonder and a goodly spectacle. So they all arose at once and beheld how the enemies were afraid and what poor shift they made in haste to flee, and with one voice they all in a manner cried out to follow after and pursue them. Now *Eudamius* his own ship was shaken in many places and sore bruised: whereupon he commanded *Pamphilides* and *Charidides* to make way after them, to far forth as they thought they might without danger. And for a good time they held them in chase: but seeing *Antibal* approaching near the shore and fearing lest the wind would lock them within the enemies coast, they returned toward *Eudamius*, and drew along with them the great galleace which they took and which at the first encounter was pierced, and with much ado trained it to *Phaselis*. From thence they retired themselves to *Rhodes*, not joyous for this victory, as blaming one another that they had not either sunk or taken the whole fleet of the enemies, having so good means as they had to do it. *Antibal* daunted with this one unfortunate battell, durst not even then pass along the river of *Lycia*, but desired to joyn unto the old fleet of the Kings as soon as possibly he could, to impeach him for effecting that the Rhodians let out *Charidides* and twenty war ships with piked stems, toward *Patara* and the Port of *Myrsis*: and commanded *Eudamius* to return unto the Romans to *Samos* with seven of the tallest ships in all the fleet whereof he had the command: to the end, that he might induce the Romans with his counsell and advice, yea, and with all the countenance and authority that he had, for them to lay siege unto *Patara* and to assault it. The Romans took great joy and contentment, first at the news and report of this victory, and afterwards at the return of the Rhodians. And it seemed if that one City stood not in their way to flay them, and that they were once rid of that care, they would without any let and impeachment, make all the sea coasts sure enough for any danger and damage from those quarters. But because *Antiochus* was departed from *Sardis*, the Romans held them back, and would not suffer them to abandon the guard and defence of *Eolis* and *Ionis*, for lest the Cities upon the sea-side might be surpris'd. And so they lent *Pamphilides* with four covered ships to the fleet that lay about *Patara*.

Antiochus gathered together not only the garrisons and aids of all the Cities that were about him, but also addressed his Embassadors with letters to *Prusias* the King of *Bithynia*, wherein he gave out hard words of the Romans for their passage into *Asia*: namely, "That their coming only was for this, to demolish, put down, and overthrow all kingdoms, and to set up the only Roman Empire that none else might stand in the whole world. That *Philip* and *Nabis* already were subdued and deposed and now himself was to make the third, against whom they were come. And that they would they make an end there but go on still, like a continual fire that burneth forward, and take all afore them, and ever as they vanquished one, proceed to another that is next. And no doubt, they would make a bridge of him to pass onward into *Bithynia*, now that *Emenius* hath gently taken upon his neck the yoke of voluntary servitude. *Prusias* was somewhat touched with these letters, but when there came others written from *Scipio* the Consul, and his brother *Africanus*, especially, he was wholly averted from entertaining any such suspicion. For *Africanus* besides the continual custom that the people of *Rome* had, to advance and amplify the Majesty of *KK*, their allies and confederates with all kind of honour, alledged for his part, the domestic examples of their own house and family: inducing *Prusias* thereby to enter into a desire to win his love and friendship. For he discours'd and said, "That those Princes and petty *KK* in *Spain*, whom he had received into his protection, he left behind him when he went away, mighty monarchs, that he not only had placed & established *Masaniassa* in his fathers realm & throne, but

but sealed him in the kingdom also of *Syphax*, who before had chased & expelled him: so as now he was not only the richest potentate and most wealthy *K*, of all *Africa*, but also for majesty & puissant forces a paragon equal to any other *K*, in the whole world. As for *Philip* and *Nabis*, & enemies they were and vanquished by *L. Quinctius*, howbeit they remained *KK*, afterwards within their own Realms. And *Philip* verily the year that is past, had his tribute forgiven him and his son an hostage delivered unto him: yea, and some Cities without the dominion of *Macedony*, have received them as their *K*, and the Roman Generals have winked therat and been contented. And surely *Nabis* had been likewise graced and honoured, but for his own peevish folly and the treacherous fallhood afterwards of the *Stolians*, which was his utter undoing and overthrow. But the chief thing of all that most confirmed the mind of *K. Prusias*, was the coming of *Livius* unto him in embassage from *Rome*, he, who before time in quality of Prator, had been Admiral of the navy. Who shewed and declared unto him, how the hope of victory was much more assured to the Romans than to *K. Antiochus*: and withall how the Romans would be the faster and surer friend of the twain, yea, and make more conscience of keeping amity.

Antiochus being put besides all hope of the association with *Prusias*, departed to *Ephesus* from *Sardis*, to that and see the fleet, which for certain months had been rigged and in readiness: and this he did the rather, because he saw that he could not hold out with the Roman army and the two *Scipios* the commanders thereof, than for that his sea-service in itself at any time before sped well, or could assure him now of great and certain success. Yet some little dram he had of good hope for the present, in that his intelligence was, that a great part of the Rhodian fleet was about *Cyprus*, and King *Emenius* also with all his own ships departed into *Hellepontus*, to meet with the Consul. Besides this, in some measure his spirit was puffed up with the remembrance, how the Rhodian Armado had been defeated at *Samos*, by a cautious plot and practice contrived beforehand. Having laid these conceits for a ground, he sent *Polyxenidas* away with his navy, to hazard the fortune of a battell in some sort or other (it made no matter how:) whilst himself in person led his whole army to *Notium* (a town of the Colophonians, seated upon the sea, and distant about two miles from the ancient City *Colophon*.) The City it self he had a good mind to conquer and bring in subjection unto him: for, being so near unto *Ephesus* as it was, there could not any thing be done either by sea or land, but it was within the eye of the Colophonians, and by their means notified (straightwaies to the Romans. Now he made full account that they would remove their fleet from *Samos* to succour that assailable City of theirs, and so *Polyxenidas* might thereby take his time and good opportunity to execute some notable exploit. Whereupon he went in hand to plant fabrics against *Colophon*, and having raised his rampiers, and cast trenches on both sides also, even to the very sea, he approached with mantlets and terraces, as well the one part as the other, close unto the walls, and under the roof-works, laid upon them with the push & force of the ram. The Colophonians much troubled and affrighted with these dangers and distresses, sent their Orators to *Samos* unto *L. Emilius*, to crave in humble manner the aid and succour of the Prator and people of *Rome*. *Emilius* was much discontented and offended in his heart, that he had made so long abode at *Samos* and performed no service. Nothing less thought he than that *Polyxenidas*, whom twice already in vain he had challenged and bidden battell, would now offer to fight. He perceived it also for a disgrace and shameful indignity unto him, that *Emenius* his fleet should the Consul to wait for the legions into *Asia*, and himself was assigned and enjoined to succour and aid the City of *Colophon* besieged, the issue whereof would be so doubtful and uncertain. *Eudamius* the Rhodian, who was the man that had derained and kept him still at *Samos*, when he was desirous to pass over into *Hellepontus*, yea, & all the rest were instant with him, shewing and declaring how much better it was, either to deliver his allies from siege, or to defeat the fleet again, which had been once vanquished, and so to put the enemy quite besides the possession of the sea: than with the abandoning of his confederates, and betraying *Asia* both sea and land into the hands of *Antiochus*, to depart into *Hellepontus* (where *Emenius* with his fleet was sufficient to hold him play) and to quit that part of the war which was committed to his charge. Well they looked from *Samos* to provide victuals for that all their own provision was spent, & shaped themselves to cross over unto *Chios*. That was the garner and storehouse of the Romans, and the very place unto which all the ships of burden, and the hulks sent out of *Italy*, used to set sail and direct their course. So they set a compass about, toward the coast of the Island that lay farthest off from the City, opposite to the Northeast, in regard of *Chios* and *Erythraea*. And as they were about to pass over thither, the Prator was certified by letters, that great store of corn was come out of *Italy* to *Chios*: that the ships which were charged with wine, were kept back by contrary and cross winds. Likewise, reported it was, that the Teyans had furnished King *Antiochus* his fleet with victuals plentifully and liberally, and had promised also unto him five thousand vessels of wine. Whereupon he shifted still suddenly in the midst of his direct course, and made head for *Tenis*, intending either with their good wills to serve himself of the provision prepared for the enemy, or else to hold them for no better than enemies. Having directed the prows of their ships toward the land, they might descry, as it were, fifteen ships near unto *Myonisia*, which the Prator supposing at the first to be of the Kings fleet, resolved to make way after them: but afterwards it appeared, they were brigantines or pinnaces, and certain small barks of rowers and men of war. These rovers having harried and spoiled all the maritime coasts of the Chians, were upon their return with great store of prizes and pillage: but when they discovered a fleet

* *Teledius*.

in the deep sea far off, they made all the sail they could, and fled. Yare of *steerage* they were and of good of sail, by reason that their vessels were more light, and made of purpose to rid way, and besides nearer they were to land. And therefore they had recovered *Myonessus*, before the fleet could come any thing near unto them. The Prator thinking verily to force them out of the haven made after without direction of a skillful pilot, and knowledge of the place. Now this *Myonessus* is a promontory or cape between *Teios* and *Samos*, a very mountain made in fashion of a steep broad enough at the foot, but rising narrower fill, and runneth up to the top sharp pointed. On the main or land side it hath one passage by a straight and narrow path. From the sea it is founded upon rocks, beaten and eaten with the continual furling waves of the sea, in some places in some places the cliffs that hang over, bear more into the sea than the vessels that lie under the harbor, take up of the sea. The Prator with his ships durst not approach near unto those crags, for fear of being within the flout of the pirates, who were perched upon the top of those steep rocks, and to they spent that day and lay off. At the last, a little before night they gave over that vain enterprise without effect, and the morrow after arrived at *Teios*; and having lodged their ships within the harbor, which themselves call *Geraethum*, (and it lieth out at the back side of the City) the Prator let ashore, and sent out his souldiers to forage the territory about the City. The *Teians* seeing how their lands were spoiled even under their very noses, addressed certain Orators to the Roman Admiral arraigned all in white, after the manner of humble suppliants. And as they would have seemed to excuse their City, for having done or said any thing against the Romans tending to hostility; he both charged them directly that they had relieved the fleet of the enemies with victuals, and also told them what quantity of wine moreover they had promised to *Polyxenidas*. But and if they could be content to do the like by the Roman fleet, he would recall his souldiers from pillage, otherwise he would repute them for his enemies. The Embassadors aforesaid made relation of this heavy answer. Whereupon the Magistrates of the City assembled the people together, for to consult and conclude about this matter what they were best to do. Thither as it happened, was *Polyxenidas* arrived with the Kings Armado; who having looked from *Cerlephon*, when he heard that the Romans were departed from *Samos*, that they had chased the Pirates as far as *Myonessus*, and were now waiting and harrying the lands of the *Teians*, also that their ships anchored in the rode *Geraethum*, himself also cast anchor over against *Myonessus*, hard by an Island which the *Gailers* and mariners call *Macris*, in a secret bay hard by, escounting and clying from this near harbor, what the enemies did and intended. And at the first in good hope he was to discomfit and defeat the Roman fleet, like as he had beforetime the Rhodian Armado near unto *Samos*, by seizing the mouth of the haven, and empeaching their issue forth. For this bay was in all respects like unto the other, lying just between two Capes which meet so near, and in manner enclose the mouth thereof, that hardly two ships at once can go forth together. And to this purpose *Polyxenidas* intended in the night season to take possession, and make himself sure of the said straits, there to place ten galleies under either Cape, which standing there at a vantage should from both points flank the broad sides of his enemies ships in their going forth; and withall out of his other vessels to disburk and land armed souldiers, like as he had done at *Parosmus*, and so at once to assail them both by sea and land, and make an end of them for all. Which designment of his no doubt had taken effect, but that the Romans, after that the *Teians* had promised them to do whatsoever they should command, thought it more commodious for the receiving of their provision of victuals, to pass with their ships unto the other harbor which was before the City, to the open sea. Some say that *Eudamius* the Rhodian, shewed the inconvenience and discommodity of the other harbor, by occasion that two galleies fortuned in that strait to be so intangled, that they brake one anothers oars with jussling together. And among other motives the Prator was induced to change the harbor, because from the land side there he should lie within danger, considering that *Antiochus* himself was encamped not far off. Thus the fleet being brought about close to the City side the souldiers and mariners (without the knowledge of any commanders) were disembarked for to dispose & dispense the victuals and wine especially to every ship. But about noon-tide a certain peal of the country chanced to be brought before the Prator, who gave intelligence, That there was a fleet of ships which two daies already rode at anchor under the Island *Macris*; and that but a while ago, certain vessels of them were seen to weigh anchor, as if they would hoise up sail and be gone. The Prator moved at this sudden occurrence, commanded the trumpets to sound the alarm, and to give knowledge and warning, that in case any were straggling abroad in the fields, they should retire. The Colonels he sent into the City to gather the souldiers together, and the mariners, that they might repair to ship-board. This alarm caused great a trouble and confusion, as usually is seen in a sudden scarefire, or when a City is surprised by the enemies. Here was kudding into the City to recall their fellows; there was running out of the City to recover their ships; not knowing who commanded, by reason of the dissonant noise of men and sound of trumpet; howbeit, as hap was, at length they ran all toward the ships, but in such a hurly-burly and disorder that they scarcely knew their own vessels; if they did, they could hardly for the crowd and press, get thither, and embark themselves. Neither had this affright passed clear without danger both by sea and land, but that *Amphilus* gave direction to every one what to do, and put out of the haven first himself with the Admiral ship into the open sea, & there received every vessel as they followed one after another in their order, & ranged them all affront: and *Amphilus* also with the Rhodian fleet had not staid at the shore to see good order, that the

A souldiers might be let aboard without hurrying in wastful haste, and every ship go forth as it was fitted and made ready. By this means both the closeness of the vanguard were arranged in the sight of the Prator, and the Rhodians also kept their order in the vanguard in such sort, as they put themselves into the open sea in as good array, as if they had seen the Kings fleet under sail. But they were between the two promontories, *Myonessus* and *Corymbus*, before they did reach the enemy. The Kings Armado came forward in long files, two and two in a rank, who displayed and spread themselves also affront towards the wing in such wise, that they might be able to compass and enclose the right wing of the enemy. Which *Eudamius* the reer-admiral perceiving, and seeing with all that the Romans could not possibly make head alike and extend themselves as broad as the enemy, and were at the point already at the right wing to be environed, made haste with his own vessels (for the Rhodian barks were of all other in the whole fleet swiftest by far) and after he had fronted equally and matched wing for wing, he made head with his own ship against the very admiral of the enemies, wherein *Polyxenidas* himself was aboard. By this time the battell began between both the main fleets, all at once from every part. Of the Romans side there fought fourscore in all, whereof two and twenty were Rhodians. The enemies armado consisted of fourscore and nine, all ships of greatest bulk and making, and had among them three galleaces, all six banks of oars on a side, and two of eleven. For goodness and strength of ships, as also for valour of souldiers, the Romans far surpassed the Rhodians. But for agility and nimbleness of their vessels, for skillful knowledge of Pilots, and expert cunning and readiness of mariners, the Rhodians were as much beyond them. And those above all the rest that carried fire before them in their noses Croubled and feared the enemies most; and that stratagem and device which had been their only help and means of safety, when they were surprised and beset at *Parosmus*, was now the thing that stood them in best head to win the victory. For the Kings ships fearing the fire that threatened their very faces, turned aside, because they would not run affront with their prow; so as, they neither could themselves smite and hurt the enemies with their brazen pikes in the beak head, nor yet avoid them, but expose their own broad sides open to receive all pushes and violence from them. If any one fortuned to encounter and run upon them, his was sure to be paid and sped with fire that was flung and cast into her; and more running there was to quench the flame, than otherwise to fight. Howbeit, the resolute valour of the Roman souldiers (which ever in war prevailed most) it was that did the deed. For after the Romans by mere force had broken and closed the main battailon of the enemy in the very midst, they turned about again and presented themselves behind, and plaid upon the backs of the Kings ships whilst they fought afront and made head against the Rhodians; and thus at one instant the battailon in the midst, and the ships in the left wing that served King *Antiochus*, were beset round about, and sunk to the bottom of the sea. The right wing as yet entire and sound, was more terrified at the loss and overthrow of their fellows, than for any proper danger of their own. Howbeit, after they saw the other invested, and the Admirall her self with *Polyxenidas* in her, to abandon her companions and to hoise up sails, they likewise in haste set up all their cloth and small triquer sails for a good forewind they had for *Ephesus*; and fled as fast away as they could. Two and forty ships they lost in this fight: of which thirteen were boarded and taken for the use of the Romans, the rest were either consumed with fire, or devoured of the sea. Two Roman ships were shattered and broken in pieces, and some other hurt, bruised and cracked. One Rhodian chanced to be taken by a notable and memorable adventure. For having with her piked beak head stricken a Sidonian ship, with the violence of the blow she shook out her own anchor, which by one of the flouks took fast hold as if it had been a grappling hook by the prow of the other ship. The Rhodians much troubled herewith, gave over rowing straight, as willing and desirous to be loosed and parted from the enemy; and whilst they were busied thereabout, the cable which the anchor drew with it caught among the oars of her own ship, and swept them clean away, and so left one side of it naked, whereby the ship being much weakened and enfeebled, was taken by the other that was smitten and tied fast unto her. Much after this manner was the battell fought at sea near *Myonessus*. Whereupon *Antiochus* was sore affrighted: for being thus dispossessed of the sea, he distressed himself that he should not be able to hold and defend the places farther off; and therefore commanded the garrison to retire from *Lysimachia*, for fear it should be surprised there by the Romans. But this was but a bad piece of council as the sequel and issue proved afterwards. For it had been an easier matter not only to defend *Lysimachia* against the first assault of the Romans, but also to hold out the siege all winter; yea, and by drawing out the time, or length, to bring the very assailants themselves lying in leiguar, to extreme necessity and want of all things: during which space they might have taken some occasion and opportunity, to find a mean and make way for peace. Neither did he only quit *Lysimachia* and leave it for the enemies after this unfortunate battell, but also sent his galleies before *Colophon* and dislodged yea, and retired himself to *Sardis*: from whence he sent into *Cappadocia* to *Ariarates* for aid, and to all other places where he could, to gather more forces; and now was he set upon no design at all, but to give battell, and to hazard all upon the fortune of the field.

After this Navall victory, *Regillus*, and *Amphilus* sailed directly to *Ephesus*, where he embattelled his ships in array even before the haven, and when by this bravado he had wrought again from the enemies a plain and evident confession that they had abandoned the sea unto him, he set sail for *Chius*, unto which he had intended to shape his course from *Samos* before the

late battell upon the sea, There he repaired and calked his ships which were shaken and cracked in the forsaide fight: which done, he sent *L. Aemilius Scaurus* with thirty sail toward *Hellepontum* to transport the army. And when he had rewarded the Rhodian ships with part of the pillage, and honoured them with the navall spoils, he gave them the renvoy, and sent them home. But the Rhodians lustily out-failed *Scaurus*, and prevented his ships to set over the forces of the Consul: and after they had performed that service also, then they returned to *Rhodes*.

* In Malony;

The Roman Armado sailed from *Chios* to *Phocaea*. This City is seated far within the gulph of the sea, builded so, as that it lieth out in length. The wall containeth in compass the space of two miles and an half: and from both sides is growth narrow (fill, and meeteth in the midst, resembling the form of a wedge or * coin, which the Inhabitants themselves call *Lampyr*, in which place the City is a mile broad and a quarter with the vantage. From which canton or corner there is a bank of firm land running a mile on end into the sea like a tongue, which divideth the haven just in the midst, marked out (as it were) just by a certain line. Where it joyneth to the narrow straights it hath two most fure harbors of both sides, and those lying two contrary waies, That which looketh toward the South, is called according as it is indeed, *N. ussahmor* [namely, a ship-rode, or harbour] for it is able to receive a great number of ships: the other haven is near unto the very *Lampyr* aforesaid. When the Roman fleet was once possessed of both these most fure and safe harbours, the Prator thought good before he set in hand either to scale the walls, or to raise any fabricks and plant engines against the City, to send certain of purpose to found the minds and affections of the principall Citizens and the Magistrates within. But after he perceived they were ordinarily bent, and would not come on, he began to lay battery against it in two severall quarters. The one part was not much peopled, and had but few dwelling houses in it; and the Temples of their gods took up a good space thereof: and there began he first to approach with the ram, and therewith to batter the walls, and shake the turrets: and by that time that the multitude ran thither in great numbers, and presented themselves ready to defend, the ram was pushing also at the other part: So as now the walls were laid along in both places: and upon the fall thereof whiles some of the Roman souldiers presently gave the assault at the very breach, mounting and marching upon the ruines of the stones that were faine: others also assailed to gain the top of the upright walls with scaling ladders. But the townsmen withstood them so fiffly, and with such resolution, that it was well seen they repuled more hope of defence in arms and valor, than in the strength of their walls. Whereupon the Prator seeing in what danger his souldiers stood, and fearing to expose and sacrifice them ere they were aware to the fury of these people enraged like desperate and mad perions, commanded to found the retreat. And notwithstanding the assault ceased and was given over, yet betook not the townsmen themselves to rest and repose, but ran from all parts every one, to raise countermures, fill up the breaches, and repair the ruines where the wall was down. As they were wholly employed about this busines, *Q. Antonius* went from the Prator, came toward them: who, after he had reproved and rebuked their willfull obduracy, and made remonstrance unto them, that the Romans had more care and regard than they themselves of the City: that by continuall assaults and batteries it should not utterly be destroyed: and how it they would be reclaimed and forgo their outrageous folly. he would make them this offer. That they should yield under the same conditions and in those very terms, as at other time they had submitted to *C. Lucius* when they came under his protection: At the hearing of which, they demanded and had five daies space to consider of the matter: during which time they made means to receive some aid from *Antiochus*: but after their Embassadors whom they dispatched to the King, had made relation, That there was no succour to be expected from him: then they let open their gates, having articulated and capitulated beforehand, that no outrage by way of hostility should be exercised and committed upon them. As the Romans entered into the City with banners displayed, the Prator declared with a loud voice, That his will and pleasure was they should be spared, inasmuch as they had yielded. Whereat the souldiers on all hands set up a great cry. That it was an intolerable shame that the Phocceans / who were never true and loyall confederates, but always dogged and malicious enemies / should go away so scotfree, and not suffer for their sins. At which word (as if the Prator had given them a signall of ransacking) they ran into all parts of the City to rife and spoil. *Aemilius* at first staid them what he could: and reclaimed them again, saying, That it was not the manner to sack Cities rendered by composition, but such as were forced and won by assaile; and even those also were at the disposition of the General and not of the souldiers. But seeing that they in their angry mood of revenge, and covetous desire of goods, were of more power than the respective reverence of his person, his quality and commandment: he sent out beades and trumpeters throughout the City, charging all persons of free condition whatsoever, to repair before him into the market place, to the end, that no villany and outrage might be done upon their bodies. And so the Prator did his best to perform his word and promise in whatsoever lay in his power: for he restored unto them their City, their lands, and their own laws. And for that the winter approached, he made choice of the two harbours of *Phocaea* to bestow his ships there for the winter time.

Near about that time, the Consul having passed beyond the borders of the *Adrians* and *Maronis*, received news, that the Kings navy was defeated at *Myonesus*, and *Lysimachia* dismistured of the garrison: and this latter tidings was more acceptable and pleasing unto him, than the other of the navall victory; and especially, when they came thither: where in very truth the City

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A (pleasantly stored with all sorts of victuals, as if they had been provided of purpose against the coming of the army) received them courteously; whereas they made no other account, but to endure extremity of want and painfull travell in behewing thereof. I here they abode some few daies as it were in camp, untill such time as their carriages and sickly perions of their train might reach unto them: such as they had left behind in all the forts and cities of *Thrace*, wearied with long journey and enfeebled with divers infirmities. When all were come and well refreshed and recovered, they put themselves again in their journey, and marching through *Cherfontus*, they came to *Hellepont*: where, finding all things in readines for their transporting (such was the industrious care and diligence of King *Eumenes*) they passed over without trouble and molestation into the peaceable coasts of their allies and friends, without impeachment of any person, notwithstanding some ships arrived in one place, and some in another. And this was the thing that much contented the Romans, and mightily encouraged them to see they had free passage into *Asia*, which they made till reckoning would have been a matter of great difficulty and trouble. After this, they encamped and made their abode a certain time near *Hellepont*, by occasion of those daies which happened then to be, wherein the *S. L.* used to dance with their institutions called *Anelia*; during which time they made use of conscience to take any journey: untill those *Anelia* were bestowed again in the Temple of *Mars*. By reason of which daies, *P. Scipio* also withdrew himself apart from the army upon a more strict regard of conscience & religion, which touched him nearer than other, because he was himself one of the *S. L.*, and was the cause that the army staid behind and came not forward to overtake the camp.

C And even then there happened to come unto the camp from *Antiochus*, one *Heraclides* a Byzantine, having in charge to treat as touching a peace: and good hope he conceived to obtain the same with ease, by reason of the long abode and stay of the Romans in that one place: of whom he had looked for no other, but that as soon as they had left root in *Asia*, they would have marched apace straightwaies against the Kings camp. Howbeit this course he took not to go directly unto the Consul before he had spoken and conferred with *Scipio*, (and indeed in such direction and charge he had from the King himself) in whom he had repoled his greatest hope: for besides his magnanimity and noble courage, as also the satiety of glory and honour, whereof already he had his full (great inducements unto the King that he would be easily wrought and made most pliable to hearken after peace) all the world knew full well how foberly he had carried himself in his victories first in *Spain*, and afterwards in *Affrick*: and more than all this, a son of his was captive in the said Kings hands. But where, when, and by what chance he was taken prisoner, writers agree not no more than in many things else. Some say, that in the beginning of the war, he was beset and enclosed round within the Kings ships, at what time as he sailed from *Chios* to *Oream*. Others write, that after the Roman army was passed over into *Asia*, he was sent out in espial with a troop of *Fragelian* horsemen to view and discover the Kings camp: and when the Kings Cavalry made out to charge upon them, he made haste to retire, and in that hurry his horse fell with him and so he and two other men of arms with him, was surprized, taken, and brought to the King. But this one thing is for certain known, that if there had been fire and firm peace between the King and the Romans, nay, if there had been familiar acquaintance and hospitality between him and the *Scipios*, this young Gentleman could not possibly have had more friendly entertainment, nor been more kindly intreated, liberally used, yea, and honourably regarded than he was. For these causes the Embassador attended the coming of *Scipio*: and so soon as he was arrived, presented himself unto the Consul, requesting that he might deliver his message and be heard. Whereupon in a frequent assembly he had audience given him, and thus he spake: "Whereas (quoth he) there have been divers and sundry embassages passed to and fro as touching peace, and no good as yet done: I lay this for a ground and assure my self now to speed, because the former embassadors hitherto have effected and obtained nothing: for in all those treaties and disputations the question was about *Smyrna*, *Lampiscus*, *Alexandria*, *Tras*, and *Lysimachia*, which is in *Europe*. Of which Cities, the King my Master hath already quid *Lysimachia*, to the end you should not say that he hath any one City at all within *Europe*: and as for those other in *Asia*, he is ready to surrender them also: yea & all the rest whatsoever which the Romans would recover out of the Kings hands and dominions, in regard they had sometime sided & taken part with him. And for the charges which the Romans have defraied about this war, the King will be willing to disburse and make good the one moiety unto them again. And thus much spake he concerning the articles and conditions of the peace. The rest of his speech behind, was bestowed in advertizing and putting them in mind of the alternative revolution of this world, and the affairs thereof: that as they should use their own good fortune and prosperity with measure and moderation (so they ought not to prels down others in their adversity): but hold themselves contented within the bounds and limits of *Europe*, and that was a dominion sufficient (as man would think) and exceeding great: considering this, that it is an easier matter to win one thing after another by way of conquest, than to hold and keep them all together when they are won. To conclude, if the Romans were minded to dismember any part from *Asia*, so they would make amend once, and limit out the same within certain precincts without any further doubt and differences, the King for the love of peace and concord, would suffer the Romans in their unmeasurable desire and appetite, to surmount and outgo his temperance and moderation. But those matters which the Embassador supposed were of great importance and effectfull to obtain

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obtain peace, the Romans made a pith at it, and lightly regarded it, for they judged it but meet and fit reason, that the King should discharge all the expenses they had been at in this war, considering through his default it first arose: also that he ought to withdraw his garrisons not only out of *Ionia* and *Æolis*; but also like as all *Greece* hath been made free and delivered, so the Greek Cities likewise in *Asia* ought to be enfranchised and set at liberty: which possibly might not be unless *Antiochus* were dethroned of the possession of all *Asia* on this side the mountain *Taurus*. The Embassador perceiving well, that there was no reason to be had in the assembly, assayed privately to sound and to win the heart and good will of *Scipio*, according as he had in charge from the King. And first this way he went to work and laid, That the King was minded to fend him his son again freely without ransom: then (ignorant as he was both of *Scipio* his nature and the manner of Romans) he promised him a mighty mass of gold, yea, and to be made equal companion in the government of the whole kingdom (the Kings name and royall style only reserved) in case he would be an instrument and means to effectuate peace. To these motives and offers *Scipio* returned this answer, "That you neither know the Romans all in general, nor my self in particular: to whom you were sent, I tell marvel, seeing you are altogether ignorant of the state of him who hath sent you hither. For if ye had meant to have fought for peace at our hands, as of men who were in care for the doubtful event and issue of the war, ye should have held and kept *Lyfimaachus* still, for to have empeached our entrance into *Chersonesus*, or else ye should have made head against us in *Hellepontus*; and staid our passage into *Asia*: but now seeing ye have granted passage into *Asia*, and suffered your selves not only to be bridled and curbed, but also to be yoked, and like beasts to bear and draw too; since I say there is no remedy but ye must endure, be under our subjection, what equal and indifferent means of treaty is there left for you? Now, as concerning my son, I will accept it as a great present, and becomming the munificence and liberality of a King, in case he send him to me again. As for the other matters, I pray God I never driven in regard of mine estate, to have that need: for surely, I carry a mind that will never find the mile and want thereof. And for these great offers that the King maketh unto me, he shall find me thankfull unto him, if it please him for any private benefit unto me done, to require, as at my hands a private favour and pleasure again: but as touching the State and publique weal, he shall pardon me: I will neither receive ought from him, nor bestow any thing upon him. And all that I can do for him at this present, is to give him good and faithful counsell. Go your ways; therefore and tell him from me, that his best course is to obtain from war, and not to refuse it, condition of peace whatsoever. But all this nothing moved the King, who made reckoning that any hazard and fortune of war would be good and safe for him, since that there were laws imposed upon him already, as if he had been quite vanquished and overcome. Whereupon, without any more part of peace for this time, he bent his whole mind and employed his study about provision and preparation for war.

The Consul having given order for the execution of all his plots and designs, dislodged from thence, and marched hith to *Dardanium*, and after to *Rhætem*: the inhabitants of both which Cities came forth to meet him upon the way in great multitudes. From thence he went forward to *Binus* and encamped in a plain under the very walls: then he entered into the town, and ascended up into the Cattle, where he offered sacrifice unto *Minerva*, the patroness of that City. The Illyrians entertained him with all shew of honour, as well in deed as in word, acknowledging that the Romans were delivered from them, and the Romans again were as joyous and glad to see the place of their first original and beginning. From thence they removed, and the sixth day after arrived at the head or spring of the river *Caucus*. Thither also *Eumenes*, the King (who at first assayed to bring his fleet back from *Hellepontus* to winter before *Ela*, and afterwards, when he could not for certain daies double the point of *Leitus*, by reason of the contrary winds, went a land) because he would not fail but be present at the beginning of these great affairs, made haste the next way with a small power to the camp of the Romans. From the camp he was sent back to *Pergamus*, to give order for purveyance and provision of victuals; and after he had delivered out corn to those whom the Consul had appointed to receive it, he returned again to the same leaguer. The Consul his purpose and intent was to be provided aforehand of victuals sufficient for many daies, and together in one train to go against the enemy, before the winter surprised them.

Now the Kings camp lay about *Thyatira*: where *Antiochus* hearing that *P. Scipio* was carried sick to *Ela*, sent certain Embassadors of purpose, to present and deliver his son again unto him. As which present of his, he took not only great contentment in his spirit, as a father might do for receiving his dear son, but much easement also and comfort to his sick body. After he had satisfied himself at length with much embracing of his son, "Ye shall (saith he) recommend me unto the King your Master, and tell him from me, that I thank him most heartily, and that I have no good thing at this time to send to him again, but only this, That I advise him to take heed that he return not into the field to give battell, before he hath heard for certain, that I my self am returned" to the leaguer. Upon relation hereof, *Antiochus* albeit he was in camp seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and above strong (which puissant power otherwise animated, and fed him with the hope of good issue of battell) yet moved with the authority of so great a personage as *Scipio* was in whom he reposed his whole refuge against all doubtfull events of the fortune in war, he retired back, and passed over the river *Phrygius*, and pitched his camp about *Magnesia* near unto *Syngam*. And fearing, lest (if he should be minded to make long stay and abide there)

A there) the Romans would assay to force his defences, he cast a trench, six cubits in depth, and twelve in breadth; and this trench he environed with a double bank and couree of strong stakes and pales, and upon the inward circuit and enclosure he oppoled a more with main turrets, for the more easie empeachment of the enemy, when he should pass over the trench. The Consul (supposing the King to be about *Thyatira*, marched continually, and upon the first day came down into the plains of *Hircania*. And when he understood, that the King was dislodged and departed thence, he followed him by the tracks, and on this side the river *Phrygius* encamped four miles from the enemy. Where about a thousand horsemen shewed themselves (for the most part * Gallogrecians, some Dacians, with certain archers on horseback of other nations intermingled among them) who in great haste having passed over the river, charged upon the corps de guard of the Romans. At the first they put the Romans to some trouble, finding them out of order and array; but as the skirmish grew hotter and continued longer, and the number of the Romans soon increased, (by reason their camp was so near to yield them succours) they of the Kings side being now wearied and not able to make their part good against so many of them, began to retire: and certain of them before they could take the river, were overtaken by those that followed the chace, and killed outright. For two daies after they (tired of no hand, for neither the one nor the other went over the river. The third day after the Romans all at once passed over, and encamped about a mile and a half from the enemies. But as they were pitching their tents, and busied about fortifications and defences, three thousand chosen horsemen and foot together from the Kings Camp, came upon them with a great trouble and assay. The number of them that were in guard, was (as a good deal) howbeit, of themselves alone, without calling to help and aid the souldiers from their work about the fortification and defence of the camp, they not only at first received the charge with equal valour, but also afterwards, as the fight encreased, put the enemies to flight, when they had killed some hundred of them, and taken prisoners almost as many. For the space of four daies next ensuing, both armies stood embattled on either side before their Camp. And upon the fifth day the Romans advanced forth into the middle of the plain, *Antiochus* came not forward with his ensigns, inso much, as the hindmost were not an hundred foot off from the trench. The Consul perceiving that he fell off and would no battell, called a council the next day, to be advised and resolved what he were best to do, in case *Antiochus* would not be fought withall. For considering that the winter approached, the souldiers were either to lie in the field under their tents, or else if they minded for the winter season to retire unto their garrison towns, the war must be put off untill the next summer. Now the Romans never made so small reckoning of any enemy as of him. Whereupon, throughout the whole assembly they called upon the Consul with one voice to lead forth to battell out of hand, and take the souldiers whiles they were in this heart ready if the enemies would not come out into the field, to pass over ditch and rampier, and break into the camp amongst them: making account, that they were not to fight with so many thousands of enemies, but rather to make a slaughter and butchery of so many beasts. Whereupon *Cn. Domitius* was lent to discover the way, and to view the place where was best entering upon the trench and rampier of the enemies. After he had brought certain relation of all things, it was thought good the next morrow to approach near unto their camp: and on the third day the engines were displaced forth into the midst of the plain, and they began to range the army in battell array. *Antiochus* likewise supposed it was not expedient to lie off and stay any longer, for fear lest in refusing still to fight, he should either abate the courage of his own men, or increase the hope of his enemies, and therefore came abroad with all his forces, and advanced so far forward from his camp that it appeared well he meant to fight. The Roman army stood embattled in one manner of form, as well for men, as munition and armor: for of Romans there were two legions, and of Latine associates as many, and every legion consisted of five thousand four hundred. The Romans put themselves in the main battell, and the Latines kept both the spoins. The *Hastati* were placed with their ensigns foremost in the vanguard, after them the *Principes* in the midst, and the *Triarii* in the rearguard. Without this compleat battell, thus marshalled, the Consul set to the right point the auxiliary souldiers of *Eumenes*, mingled together with the targeteers of the Achæans, to the number almost of three thousand, whom he ranged equally a front, and beyond them more outward he oppoled about three thousand men of arms: whereof eight hundred were sent from *Eumenes*, the rest were the Cavalry of the Romans. Without all these in the outmost place, he put the *Trallians* and *Candiors*, who in all made up the number of five hundred. As for the left wing, it seemed to need no such succours, by reason it was flanked with the river and high steep banks, howbeit, in that side there were planted four troops of horsemen. Thus you see all the forces that the Romans had besides two thousand Thracians and Macedonians mingled and blended together, who followed as volunteers, and were left for the guard of the Camp, and sixteen Elephants, which they bestowed in the rearguard for the defence of the *Triarii*. For, over and besides that they were not like to hold out against the Kings Elephants, which were in number fifty and four, you must consider that those of *Affrick* are not able to match them of *India*, say they were in number equal: either because in bigness the Indians exceed the other (as in truth they are much greater by odds) or surpass them in courage and stomach. But the Kings army was composed of divers nations, different as well in arms as in souldiers. He had of Macedonians sixteen thousand footmen, heavily armed after their manner, called *Phalangia*; these made the main battell, and in the front stood divided in squadrons.

* People of Galatia, now called *Gilats*.

squadrons, parted and severed one from the other by two Elephants placed between. More inward behind the forefront, the battell was displayed in two and thirty ranks of soldiers. This was the strength of the Kings army, and as in other respects, so especially in regard of the Elephants amounting aloft over all the soldiers, represented to the eye a fearful and terrible sight. For besides that they were high and lofty of themselves, their crested headstalls with plumes upon them, their turrets upon their backs, and in every turret four men standing in glittering armour, besides the Master and governor himself, made the appearance and show far greater. On the right wing he placed, aloft upon the Phalangites, a thousand and five hundred horsemen of the Gallogreeks: unto whom he adjoined three thousand lances in complete armour, mounted upon bard horses, and those men of arms they themselves called *Campylarchi*. To these were added another wing of a thousand horsemen, which they named *Agema*. Medes they were, elect and chosen men, together with more horsemen of the same region, mingled of many nations one with another. Close unto them in the rearguard was set a troop of sixteen Elephants. On which side also in a wing somewhat farther drawn out stood the King his own cohort, bearing the name of *Agrapsidi*, by occasion of the silvered shields which they bare. After them followed 1200 *Dacians*, archers on horseback. Then, three thousand footmen lightly armed, and composed partly of Candians, and partly of Trallians, in number almost equal, and 2500 *Myrians* attended upon the archers. And the utmost side and tail of that wing was guarded with four thousand *Cyrenian* slingers and *Elymean* archers forced together. On the left wing likewise there stood fast unto the Phalangites aloft a 1500 horsemen Gallogreeks: and two thousand *Cappadocians* armed after the same manner, sent from King *Antiochus*. Then the Auxiliaries of all sorts 2700; besides three hundred lances in complete harness upon bard horses armed at all pieces, and 1000 other horsemen. As for the Cornet of the Kings, it was more lightly armed, as well themselves as their horses: but their letting out and furniture otherwise, all one. And these were *Syrians* for the most part, with *Phrygians* and *Lydians* together. Before this cavalry went the chariots of four wheels, and drawn by as many horses, armed with sharp and trenchant hooks like fish-blades, and the camels called by them for their swiftness *Dromedaries*. Upon these were mounted the Arabian archers, who also were armed with keen swords four cubits long, that if they did aloft, they might notwithstanding reach their enemy. Then after these were set another multitude equal to that in the right wing, whereof the foremost were certain horsemen called *Tarentines*, and after them 2500 Gallogreecian horse. Likewise of Neocretans 1 thousand; and of Carians and Cilicians one with another 1500 armed alike. As many Trallians, and three thousand targeteers. These were *Pisidians*, *Pamphylians* and *Lyicians*: and last of all, the succours in the rearguard of *Citreans* and *Elymeans*, in like number as they that were placed in the right wing, with sixteen Elephants also distant a pretty way aloof. The King himself in person had the conduct of the right point of the battell, and ordained *Selenus* his son and *Antiochus* his brothers son to command the left. The main battell in the midst was committed to the leading and governance of three Captains, to wit, *Minio*, *Zenist*, and *Phily* the Master of the Elephants. There was a certain mist arose in the morning, and as it waxed farther day gathered aloft into thick clouds and made the weather dark: besides, by the South-wind it reolved into a small drizzling rain, which wet and drenched all. This did little harm to the Romans: but contrariwise, was much hurtful to the Kings side. For, albeit the air was dim and dark, yet by reason that the Roman battallions took up no great compass of ground, they could for all the air was overcast, discern from one end to the other: and the moisture that fell, didled nothing at all (so speak of) either the swords or javelins of them that were heavily armed: whereas the Kings army being embattell'd in broad, had much ado, and hardly could discern from the middle of the main battell to the wings of each hand, and much less discern from one skirt and flank of the battell on to the other. Moreover, the dropping weather slogged their bows, soiled their slings and loops of their darts. Their sisted chariots also, wherewith *Antiochus* made full account to break the arrayes of his enemies, turned to the disorder and fright of themselves. Now these chariots aloft were in this manner armed for the most part: certain sharp pikes they had about the spine-pole, bearing toward from the spring-tree, ten cubits in length, like unto horns, with which pointed pikes they would pierce through whatsoever they encountered. Also at each end of the said spring-tree there were two blades flied out, the one of just and even height with it, the other lower and bearing downward to the ground: the former was devised to cut through whatsoever came near the side thereof, the other to reach and tear them that were slain to the earth, or came under the chariot. Likewise at both ends of the axle-tree without the nave of the wheel there were two such like hooks fastened and bended divers waies. Those chariots thus armed the King had placed in the front of the battell as we said before, because if they had been set either in the middle or the rearguard, they should have been driven through their own battallions. Which *Eumenes* perceiving one that knew well enough the manner of that kind of service, and how dangerous it was in case a man rather frightened the horses than charged them directly by ordinary warlike force: he commanded the Candian archers and slingers, with some other horsemen that lanced darts, to run forth not thick in troops, but scattering as far asunder as they could, and at once from all parts to discharge their shot upon them. This forerunning tempest (as it were) so maddened the horses partly by yelling, wounding, and pelting them with darts, arrows, and stones, discharged from all sides at them, and partly

* Like to Cariburs.

with the strange and uncouth noise which they made, that suddenly as if they had been unbridled and without their goers, they flung out every way, and ran at random: which violence of theirs the light-armed soldiers, the nimble slingers, a full swift running Candians avoided easily with a noise. And the horsemen withall following the chase, redoubled the fright and hurry amongst themselves, yea, and the dromedary camels too; which likewise were unbridled and set a madding; and this hurly burly the manifold cries from the multitude all about, helped well forward. Thus were the chariots chased in the middle of the plain between both armies: and when these main-bugs were once out of the way, then the alarm and signal was given on both parts, and they charged one another in battell-wise. But as foolish an accident as that was, it caused soon a discomfiture and overthrow indeed. For the auxiliaries and aids behind which were placed next unto them, terrified with the fear and affright of the chariots, fled, and left all naked and disurnished even to the bard horses, in such sort, that when the rearguard was in dismay, the Roman Cavalry entered upon the forehead horse, and charged them so hotly, that part of them was not able to endure the first shock and encounter: some were put to flight, others were born down with the point and weight of their harness and weapons. And presently thereupon the whole left wing of the battell began to retreat. And after that those succours were disbanded and in dismay which were between the Cavalry and the heavy armed horsemen called Phalangites, the disorder and fear went as far as to the midst of the main battell: where so soon as the ranks and files were broken and shuffled together, by reason of the enter-course of their own fellows among them, they had no use at all of their long pikes, which the Macedonians call *Surfissa*. Then the Roman legions advanced their engines, and lanced their darts against those disorder'd ranks huddled together. The very Elephants that were placed between, nothing troubled and affrighted the Roman soldiers, as who had been used in the African wars, both to avoid the furious rage of those beasts, and also either with their javelins to flank and hurt them overhead, or else if they could come near unto them, to hew them and cut their hamstrings with their swords. By this time now was the front of the main battell decayed and beaten down: and the rearguard behind environed and cut in peeces: whereas the Romans withall, might perceive their own fellows flying from the other part, and hear the cry of those that were affrighted, even almost as far as to their camp. For *Antiochus* keeping the right wing, seeing in the left point of the Romans no other defence, (by reason that they trusted upon the river) but only four troops of horsemen, and those also by drawing themselves close to their fellows, to leave the bank-side void and naked, charged that point with his Auxiliaries and lances upon bard horses, and not only made head and pressed them afront, but from the river also set a compass and enclosed them; and flanked that wing so long, until the horsemen were first discomfited, and then the footmen next unto them were put to flight, so as they ran again toward their camp. *M. Amyntus* a Colonell, and unto *M. Lepidus*, who a few years after was created the High-Priest, had the charge of the camp: he with his whole guard came forth, and where as he saw them to flee, there he opposed himself, and first commanded them to stand, and afterwards to return to battell, checking and rebuking them for their beastly fear, and shamefull running away. Moreover, he proceeded to minatory words, saying, That in case they would not be ruled by his direction, they should run headlong like blind beetles upon their own mischief: and in the end, he gave a sign to his own company, for to lay upon the foremost of them that thus fled, and caused the multitude that followed, with dint of sword and drawing blood of them, to turn their face again upon the enemies. Thus the greater fear overcame the less: for seeing danger before and behind, first they staid their flight, and afterwards returned to the battell. *Amyntus* also with his own regiment (which for the guard of the camp had 2000 tall and valiant men in it) withstood the King right stoutly as he followed hot in chase upon those that fled. Moreover, *Attalus* (brother of King *Eumenes*) in the right point of the battell, who at the first charge had discomfited the left wing of the enemies, perceiving that his fellows fled in their left point, and fearing a greater alt about the camp, came to the rescue in good time with 200 horsemen. *Antiochus*, when he saw them turn head again whose backs ere while were toward him, and begin to fight afresh, and perceived withall a number coming against him, both out of the camp and also from the battell, turned his horse head and took himself to flight. By this means the Romans obtained the victory of both the wings, and passed directly to the rising of the camp over the dead bodies, which in the main battell most of all were massacred and lay by heaps: where the strength and flower of the hardiest men ranged close together and the weight besides of their heavy armor, would not give them leave to flee away. The Horsemen of *Eumenes* were the first of all others that pursued the enemies: after them, the rest of the Cavalry followed the chase all over the fields, and ever as they overtook any of the hindmost, killed them outright. But that which troubled and plagued them in their flight more than all besides, was their chariots, elephants and camels, intermingled among them as they fled: so far much as being once disbanded and put out of their ranks, they tumbled one upon another like blind men, and were bruised and crushed under the beasts feet which came running upon them. Great execution also there was committed in the camp, yea, and more in manner than had been in the battell: for the first that fled, and those that fought in the vanguard, took their way most of them to the camp, and upon assured confidence of this multitude, the garrison within fought more valiantly, and held

out longer in the defence of the hold. The Romans being thus laid in the sea and kept close in the rampier which they thought verily to have forced and slain at their feet, when they were once at length broken through and got in, made the Roman army slaughter amongst them for very anger and delight that they had kept them for so long. It is said there were slain that day about fifty thousand footmen and 4000 horsemen. 14000 taken prisoners together with fifteen elephants with their governors. A number of the Romans were hurt and wounded, but there died not in the field above 300 footmen and 24 horsemen, and of the regiment of King's men not past five and twenty. And for that day verily the conquerors after they had razed only the tents and pavilions of their enemies, returned to their own camp with great spoil of pillage: but the next morning they fell to spoiling the bodies of the dead and gathered their winners together. And upon this victory there came Embassadors from *Thyrrina* and *Magnesia* to *Syracusa* for to surrender and deliver up their Cities.

Antiochus, who fled accompanied with some few, having gathered unto him many more in the way, who rallied themselves unto him, arrived at *Sardis* about midnight with a small power of armed men; and hearing that his son *Selenus* and some other of his friends were gone before to *Arpame*, himself also at the fourth watch departed thence with his wife and daughter toward *Arpame*; after he had committed the charge of guarding the City *Sardis* unto *Zeno*, and appointed *Timon* governor of *Lydia*. But the inhabitants of the said City and the garrison soldiers within the Castle, despised their governors, and by general consent addressed Embassadors unto the Consul.

Much about the same time also, there arrived Embassadors from *Tralles* and *Magnesia* (which standeth upon the river *Meander*) and likewise from *Ephesus* to yield up their Cities. For *Polyarchus* (advertised of the issue of this battle) had abandoned *Ephesus*, and having sailed with the fleet as far as *Patara* in *Lycia*, for fear of the Rhodian ships which did in guard within the harbour of *Messige*, disembarked and put himself ashore, and with a small company marched by land into *Smyrna*. The Cities of *Asia* were surrendered into the hands and protection of the Consul, and submitted to the people of *Rome*. By this time now was the Consul possessed of *Sardis* and thither repaired unto him *Scipio* from *Elae* as soon as ever he could endure the travail of journey.

At the same time there came an herald from *Antiochus* unto the Consul, who by the mediation of *Scipio*, made request and obtained thus much, That the King might send his Quarters and Embassadors unto him. And after few daies *Zenit* (who had been governor of *Lydia*) together with *Antipater* (*Antiochus* his nephew or brother's son) arrived. Who first dealt with King *Bumenes* and communed with him, whom by reason of old jars and quarrels they supposed truly to be the greatest enemy unto peace, and that he would never abide to hear thereof; but him they found more reasonable and inclining to peaceable terms, than either the King their Master or themselves hoped and looked for. So by the means of *Scipio* and him together, they had access unto the Consul: who at their earnest petition granted them a day of audience in a frequenterly, there to declare their Commission and what they had in charge. "Then (quoth *Zenit*) "we are not so much to speak and deliver ought of our own selves, as to ask and be advised of you (Romans) what course to take, and by what means of satisfaction we might expire and satisfy the trespass of the King our Master and withal obtain grace and pardon as your hands whom we the victors? Your manner always hath been of a magnanimous and haughty spirit, to forgive Kings and nations by you vanquished: How much more then is it decent and becoming you to do the like: yea, and with a greater mind and more generous and honourfull heart, in victory and conquest, which hath made you L.L. of the whole world? For now it behooveth you to lay down all debate and quarrel with mortal men here upon earth, and rather like the immortal gods in heaven, to provide for the good and safety of mankind, and them to pardon and forgive. Now was it agreed upon before the coming of the Embassadors, what answer to make unto them; and likewise thought good it was that *Africanius* should deliver the same, who spake by report in this wise: "We Romans, of all those things which are in the power of the immortal gods, have that measure which they vouchsafed to give us: as for heart and courage which doth pendeth upon our own will and mind, we have born (and ever will) the same without change and alteration in all fortunes: neither hath prosperity raised and lift it up aloft, nor adversity debased and put it down. For proof hereof, I might produce your friend *Antiochus* as witness, to say nothing of others, but that I can report me to your own selves. For as he we had passed over *Hellepont*, even before we saw the Kings camp and army, when the hazard of war was indifferent, when the issue doubtful and uncertain, look what conditions of peace we then offered on even hand, and whiles we were equal one unto the other, and stood upon terms of advantage the same and no other we presented unto you at this time, now that we are conquerors. Forbear to meddle within *Europe* and depart wholly out of *Asia*, so much as is on this side *Taurus*. Moreover, in regard of the expences defraited in this war, ye shall pay fifteen thousand talents of silver according to the computation of *Ephesus*: five hundred in hand, two thousand and five hundred at the assurance and making of the peace, by the Senate and people of *Rome*; and a thousand talents yearly for twelve years next ensuing. Also ye shall make payment unto *Bumenes* of four hundred talents, and the remnant behind of the corn and grain which was due unto his father. And when we have contracted and concluded these covenants, to the end that we may rest assured that ye will perform the same, we demand for a gage and sufficient pawn "that

"that ye deliver into our hands twenty hostages, such as we shall like well of and chuse. And for as much as we can never be persuaded that the people of *Rome* shall enjoy long peace there, where *Antiochus* is, we demand above all things to have him in our custody. Also you shall deliver into our hands *Thas* the *Asiatic*, the principal harbour and firebrand of that war with the *Asiatic*, who do offend you to take arms against us, upon assurance that he give you of their; and likewise armed them upon the trust they had in you. Item together with him you shall deliver *Antiochus* the *Asiatic*, together with *Philo* and *Eubolus* the *Asiatic*. The King shall now contract peace in worse estate then he was, by reason he maketh it worse then he might have done. But in case he hold it still and defy, know he well thus much that the royal majesty and port of Kings is with more difficulty abated & taken down from the bright pitch and degree unto the midst; then from that mean estate, cast down headlong to the lowest. Now these Embassadors were sent from the King with this charge, to accept of any articles of peace whatsoever. And therefore it was decreed that Embassadors should be shortly sent to *Rome*. The Consul divided his army into garrisons for to winter, some in *Magnesia* upon the river *Meander* others in *Tralles* and *Ephesus*. After few daies the hostages above said, were brought to *Ephesus* from the King, and Embassadors also came who were to go to *Rome*. *Eubolus* likewise went to *Rome* at the late time that the Kings Embassadors; and there followed with him moreover of all the States of *Asia*.

While the affairs of *Asia* passed thus in these terms, there were two praetors returned one of their several provinces, both in manner at once, upon hope to obtain triumph, to wit, *Q. Minucius* out of *Liguria*, and *M. Acilius* out of *Asiatic*. When the exploits were heard, as well of the one as the other, *Minucius* was flatly denied triumph, but *Acilius* had it granted with great Content of all men: who rode into the City triumphant over *Antiochus* and the *Asiatics*. In which triumph there were carried before him 3500 engines, 3000 pound weight of malleable iron in ballion; of coin in Attic Tetradrachms 1300000 in *Ciloporus* 348000. In plate many vessels engraved and chased, of great weight. He carried also in pomp the implements of the Kings hold all of silver, with rich and sumptuous apparel. Also crowns of gold 45 presented unto him by *Cilician* officers: besides all sorts of rich spoils, and moreover he led divers noble men prisoners, and fift all 36 captains, as well *Asiatics* as those who served under the King. As for *Demetrius*, a great commander of the *Asiatics*, who some few daies before had broken prison and escaped by night, he was by his keepers that made fresh out after him, overtaken upon the bank of *Tyberis*: but before he could be attached by them, he fell upon his own sword, and ran himself through. Only there wanted those that should have followed after his chariot; otherwise the triumph had been magnificent and rarely, both for the pompous show and also of the honor and renown of exploits achieved. But the joy of this triumph was blemished with heavy tidings out of *Spain*, of a shock and overthrow received of the Portuguese, in the country of *Valerians*, near the town *Lycos*, under the conduct of *L. Amylius*; where 6100 of the Roman army were left dead in the place, and the rest discomfited and beaten back into the camp; which they had much ado to defend and hold, and were faine to retire in manner of flight, and by long journeys recovered the peaceable quarters of their friends. And this was the news out of *Spain*.

From out of *France* the Embassadors of the *Placentians* and *Cremonians*; were brought by the Pretor *L. Aspranuleius* into the Senat: where they made much moan and complaint for default and want of inhabitants, whereof some were devoured by the edge of the sword in wars, others consumed by maldy and sickness; yea, and certain of them departed out of their colonies for wealths they had of the Gauls their near neighbours. Whereupon the Senat ordained *C. Laetius* the Consul to enroll, if he thought to good, six thousand families, for to be distributed among those Colonies afore said; *L. Aspranuleius* the Pretor to create three Commisaries called *Triumvirs*, for the conducting of the coloners and inhabitants thereof. And created there were *M. Annius Serranus*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* the son of *Publius*, and *L. Valerius Tappus* the son of *Caius*.

Not long after, against the time of the Consuls election which approached near, *C. Laetius* the Consul returned out of *France* to *Rome*, and he not only by virtue of the act of the Senat made in his absence, enrolled certain Coloners to supply the want in *Placentia* and *Cremona*, but also proposed a bill, and according to it the L.L. of the Senat ordained, that two new Colonies should be conducted into the land that appertained to the Boians. And at the very same time were letters brought from *L. Amylius* the Pretor, as touching the battell aries fought near to *Mopsus* in which letters also gave intelligence, that *L. Scipio* the Consul had transported his army into *Asia*. For joy of the said naval victory, there was ordained a solemn procession for one day, and it began that the Roman army was then first on foot in *Africa*, the said procession continued another day with supplication to the gods, that this voyage might turn to the prosperity and joy of the Commonwealt. And the Consul was joynted at each procession and supplication, to sacrifice with head of greater beasts. After this ensued the solemn assembly for the chusing of Consuls, which was holden with great strife and contention. For *M. Amylius Lepidus* stood for Consul, in grown into an ill name, and hardly spoken of among the people, in that he had left his government and charge in *Sicily* for this occasion and business only, without making full unto the Senat and craving leave so to do. Together with him were competitors in election, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Valerius Messala*. But *Fulvius* was chosen alone, because the bid yet not sufficient voices of the Centuries, and he the morrow after nominated *Cn.*

M. natus for his colleague, and gave the repulse unto *Lepidus*; for *Maffella* kept silence and held his tongue. Which done, the Pretors were elected, namely, the two *Quintus Fabii*, the one formerly named *Labo*, the other *Pictor* who had been banished that year for the Flamin Quirinal; *M. Sempronius Medicatus*, *Sp. Posthumus Albinus*, *Lucius Plantinus Hyppicus*, and *L. Aebutius Dives*.

During the time that *Ad. Fulvius Nobilior* and *Cn. Manlius Vulso* were Consul, *Publius Aetolius* writeth that there was a great rumour raised at *Rome*, and held for certain, that *L. Scipio* the Consul, together with *P. Africanus*, were called forth to a parley with King *Antiochus*, touching the enlargement and delivery of young *Scipio* the son of *Africanus*, and by that means were both of them arrested and taken prisoners: also that when these chief commanders were under arrest, the Kings army incontinently advanced against the Roman camp, the same was surprised and forced and the whole power of the Romans utterly defeated. By occasion whereof, it went current also, that the *Aetolians* began to look aloof, refused to obey, and shook off their allegiance: also that their Princes and chief States were gone into *Macedony, Dardany and Thracny*, to levy and wage auxiliary forces: moreover, that *A. Terentius Varro*, and *Marcius Claudius Lepidus* were sent unto out of *Asia*, from *A. Cornelius* the Propretor, for to report these news at *Rome*. Last of all, to make up the tale, he addeth and saith, that the *Aetolian* Embassadors among other things, being examined in the Senate about this matter, and demanded of whom they heard and understood, that the Roman Generals were taken prisoners in *Asia* by King *Antiochus*, and the whole army overthrowen? answered directly, that they had advertisement thereof by their own Embassadors, who had been with the Consul. But because I find no other author besides him that maketh mention of this rumor, I dare not for any thing that I can say of my self, report it for a certain truth, nor yet omit it as a meer fable or loud lie.

The *Aetolians* Embassadors were permitted to come into the Senat house; and being induced (in regard of their own cause and present condition) to confesse a truth, and as humble supplicants to crave pardon and forgiveness either for their fault, or misprision and error, began with a bed-roll of their favours and good turns done unto the people of *Rome*, yea, and in manner to upbraid the *Romans* with the valour which they showed in the war against *Phlip*. But with their arrogant and insolent language they offended the ears of the Senators; and by ripping up old matters done and past (time out of mind and utterly forgotten) they handled their own cause so, and brought it to this passe, that the *LL. of the Senat* began to call to mind much more harm and mischief contrived and practised by that nation, then kindnesses and countelies received at their hands: inasmuch as the *Aetolians* having need of their mercy, incurred their heavy displeasure, and provoked them to anger and hatred. Being asked this question by one of the Senators Whether they would refer and submit themselves to the capture and judgment of the people of *Rome*? and likewise of another, If they could be content to hold them for their friends or enemies whom the *Romans* so accounted; they answered not a word: and thereupon immediately were commanded out of the Court: and presently all the Senat began to cry out with one voice, that the *Aetolians* were all still for Kings *Antiochus*, depending wholly and only upon that hope, and therefore they ought to war against them as undoubted enemies, and to take down and tame the so proud and felonious hearts of their own. Over and besides all this, another thing there was that incited and kindled the stomacks of the *LL. against* them, because at the very same instant when they seemed to require peace at the *Romans* hands, they warred against *Dolopia* and *Asbanania*. So there passed a decree of the Senat, (and the same was moved by *M. Acilius*, who had vanquished and subdued *Antiochus*: and the *Etolians*) That they should void that very day out of the City of *Rome*; and within fifteen daies next ensuing, out of all *Italy*. *An. Tarentium Varro* was sent to conduct them on the way: and this warning they took with them, that if ever after there came any Embassadors from the *Aetolians*, without the warrant, license, and permission of the chief General who governed the province, or not accompnyed with a Roman Legat, they should be repudged all of them for no better then enemies. In this manner were the *Aetolians* dismissed & sent away.

After this the Consuls propoled unto the Senat, as touching the government of the province, *Nile*. And thought good it was that they themselves should call lots for *Ætolia* & *Asia*. Unto him whose lot it fell to govern *Ætola*, was appointed that army which *L. Scipio* had. And for turnish it fully - and make up the decayed bands, he was allowed to have four thousand foot men & four thousand with two hundred horse-men of lies that were Latins, eight thousand foot and four thousand men of arms, and with these forces be was to make war against *Antiochus*. The other Consul had assigned unto him that army which was *Ætolia*: and liberty he had for supply of that broken army to levy the same number of Citizens and allies that his comp in government had enrolled. To the same Consul was granted a commission likewise to let in order, furnish, and take with him those things which the former year were prepared and rigged, and not only to make war with the *Ætoliens*, but also to fall over into the Isle *Cephalonia*. And withall, the said Consul had in charge to return home to *Rome* for the election of Magistrats, if he might so do conveniently with the good of the Common-wealth. For besides the annual Magistrats (who were to be chosen one under another) it was agreed upon, that Censors also should be created. But in case his affairs detained him, that he might not return in perion: then he was to give advertisement, and signifie so much to the Senat, that he could not possibly be present at the time of the foresaid Election. So *Ætolia* fell by lot to *M. Furius*, and *Asia* to *Cn. Marcius*. Thenthe Pretors fell to draw lots for their provinces. *Sp. Porcius Cato* had the jurisdiction over Citizens

A citizens and foreigners both: *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* governed *Sicily*; and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the *Quirinal* *Flamin*, *Sardinia*; *Q. Fabius Labio* was admiral of the navy at sea; and *L. Plautius Hyppus* was allotted to the rule of *high Spain*, and *L. Rabius Dives* of the lower. For *Sicily* one legion was appointed, together with that fleet which was already in that province. Also there was order given that the new Pretor should impole two tenths of corn upon the *Sicilians*, and send the one into *Afra*, and the other into *Helisia*. The like impolition was laid and executed upon the *Sardinians*, and the said corn to be conveyed into the same armies that the *Sicilian* corn was. A supply was granted unto *L. Rabius* for *Spain* of a thousand *Rom*, footmen and fifty horse besides: besides fix thousand *Latin* foot, and two hundred horsem. Unto *Plautius Hyppus* for the higher *Spain* were allowed a thousand *Roman* footmen; with two thousand *Latine* allies, and two hundred horse. Besides these supplements, both the provinces of *Spain* were allowed each of them one legion. The Magistrate and governors of the former year continued till in place of command for one other year, to wit, *C. Calpis* with his army, and *P. Iunius* also the Propretor in *Beirwin* with those forces which were in the province *M. Tuccius* likewise in the *Brutians* country and *Apulia*.

But before the Pretors went into their provinces, there hapned a variance between *P. Licinius*, the Arch-Pontiffe or chief Pretor, and *Q. Fabius Pictor* the Quirinal Flamin, like unto that which tometime fell out between *L. Metellus* and *Poppeianus Albinus*. For at what time as *Poppeianus* the Consul was upon his departure and journey to his fleet in *Sicily*, together with *C. Laetanius* his colleague, *Metellus* the Archbishop for the time being, kept him back upon occasion of certain sacrifices to be celebrated: I meably, when as *Fabius* the Pretor would have gone into *Sardinia*, *P. Licinius* the high Priest detained him. Much strife and hard hold there was hereabout, as well in the Senat house, as before the people. Inhibitions passed to and fro. Cautions and pledges were distrained: fines they imposed one upon anothers head: the Tribunes were called unto on both sides for to interpole their authority, and they appealed both unto the people. In fine, religion, and the regard of holy rites took place, and carried it clear, and the Flamin was enjoined to obey the chief priest: and by order and expresse commandment from the people, all fines were taken off and forgiven. And when the Pretor for very anger and spite that he was debarred from his province, would have surrendered and resigned up his government, the LL. of the Senat impeached and testified him by their absolute authority, and ordeined that he should minister justice, and exercise civill jurisdiction between aliens. After that the matter's D were ended within few dayes (for many souldiers were not to be levied and enrolled) both Consuls and Pretors took their journey into the provinces. After this, there arose a bruit concerning the occurrences and affairs in *Asia*, blown and spread abroad I wot not how, nor from what author it proceeded: but after few daies there came certain messengers with letters from the Generall of the Roman army, sent of purpose to the City, which caused not to great joy presently ensuing upon the Irish fear afore said (for why, they were no more afraid of *Asiatic* by them already conquered) as dashed quite the fame and opinion that went on *Antiochus*, whom in the beginning of this war they supposed would have been a dangerous enemy unto them, as well in regard of his own puissance, as for that he had the direction and conduct of *Antibal* in the war: howbeit, they thought good to alter nothing, either as touching the sending of the Consul into *Asia*, or E diminishing his forces, for fear they should have war with the French.

Not long after *M. Aurelius Cotta*, a lieutenant of *Scipio*, came to *Rome* with the Embassadors of King *Antiochus*, and likewise King *Eumenes* and the Rhodians. *Cotta* reported and declared first in the Senat, and afterwards in a full assembly of the people (by order and commandment from the LL. of the Councell) what affairs had passed in *Spain*. Whereupon ordeined it was, that there should be holden a solemn procesion for 3 daies together: and order was given, that a head of greater cattle should be killed for sacrifice. This done, the Senat assembled for to give audience to King *Eumenes*; first above all other matters: who briefly in few words having rendered "thanks to the LL. of the Senat, for that they had delivered him and his brother from siege, and" "proceeded his realm against the wrongs and outrages offered by *Antiochus*: also having testified his joy by way of gratulation for their prosperous and fortunat affairs achieved both by land and" "sea (especially, in that they had discomfited and put to flight *K. Antiochus*, & driven him out of his" "camp, that he could not keep the field; and withall disfeized and dispossessed him first of *Europe*" "and afterwards of all that part of *Asia* which lieth on this side the mountain *Taurus*, he concluded" "died and knit up all with this, That as touching his own demerits and employments about their" "affairs, he had rather they took knowledge by their own generals, captains and lieutenants," "than from his mouth. They all approved well of this speech of his, and willed him to speak boldly" "without bashful modesty in that cause. What he thought in equity and reason the Senat and people" "of *Rome* was to yield unto him by way of fully recompence: assuring him that the Senat would do" "it more willingly and liberally (if possibly they could) according to the worth of his desert."

The King answered thus again, that in case any other had made him that offer, and given him the" "choice of his own rewards, he would gladly have used the Councell of that honorable court" "of the Roman Senat (to he might have the means and liberty to ask their advice) to this end that" "he would not be thought, either to exceed measure in covetous desire, or pass the bounds of" "modesty in craving a recompence. But now considering they are themselves to give that reward," "much more reason it is that their magnificence and bounty to him & his brethren should be re-

The Oration
of King Eumen-
es in the Sen-
ate of Rome.

"ferred to their own abatement and dilation. The LL. of the Senat were nothing moved at this language of his, but urged him still to speak himself in his own cause. And after a certain time that they had strived a-vice, the LL. in courteous and kindnets, the King in modesty and thankfulness, yielding one unto the other reciprocally, in such amiable and mutual manner as hardly can be exprest, *Eumenes* departed out of the temple. The Senat perswaded nevertheless in their resolution saying, it was very absurd and unbecoming that the King should be ignorant upon what hopes he was come, and what he purposed to make suit and petition for: and himself must needs of all others know best what was meetest and most expedient for his own Kingdom: yea, and was far better acquainted with the estate and affairs of *Asia* than the Senat w.s. And therefore no remedy, but he must be called again, and compelled to declare and deliver what his will, desire and mind was to have. Heron upon the King was brought back into the temple by the Pretor, and urged to speak. I then at last, my LL. (qd. he) I would have perswaded still in silence, but that I knew that soon ye will call the embassage of the Rhodians in place, and that after audience given unto them, must neither will nor choose but make some speech of necessity: and verily with so much more difficulty shall I speak, because their demands will be such, as if they would seem not only to require nothing prejudicial and hurtfull unto me, but also (which more is) matters little or nothing pertinent to themselves. For plead they will and maint. in the cause of the Cities in *Greece*, saying, they ought to be free and at liberty: which being once obtained, who can make doubt but rather they will withdraw from our obedience, not only the Cities which had been freed, but also those which have been homagers and tributaries unto us of old time? yea, and will keep them as subjects in very deed and wholly at their devotion, whom being thus bound and obliged to them by so great a benefit, they call by the name of Associates, and would make the world believe they repay them for no other? Yet forsooth (I wot well) in affecting and aspiring to this great power & puissance, they will carry it so cleanly & make semblant as though this in no wise touched and concerned them: but it is befitting you alone, correspondent & answerable to other former deeds of yours. But be ye well advised, and let not their glowing words deceive you, take ye heed, I say, that ye go not with an uneven hand nor bear your selves equally, whilst ye deprede and abate too much some of your allies, in promoting and advancing others beyond all measure: and above all, beware that they who have lifted up their spear and born arms against you, be not more kindly interested & in better condition, then your loving friends and faithful confederates. For mine own part, in all other things I would gladly be thought of every man, rather to keep within my compass & yea, and yield somewhat of my right whatsoever it is, then to strive too much in the maintenance and holding thereof: but in the question of your friendship, my affection towards you, and to the honour which shall come from you, I cannot endure with patience that any one should out-go and out-run my self. This I account the greatest inobedience left unto me by my father the first, of all those that inhabit in *Greece* and *Asia*, who was entertained in your amity and continued in the same alwaies most fast, most constant and sure ever to his dying day: who not only shewed fond affection and loyal heart unto you, but also was in person employed in all your wars which ye made in *Greece*, as well at land as at sea; assisted and aided you with all kind of provisions, in such sort, as none of all your allies besides was any way comparable or came near to him. And finally, as he earnestly exhorted the Boeotians to accept of your society, he sunk down, swooned in the very assembly & not long after yielded up his spirit and dyed. His footstepes have I trodden, and followed his good example. For affection verily and floudious desire to honour you, I could not have more then he had (for I suppose it was impossible to surpass him therein:) but in kind pleasures, effectual services, offices, countesses, and favours, to surmount and go beyond him; the goodness of fortune, the occasion of times, King *Antiochus* and the war of *Asia*, have mingled ample and sufficient matter unto me. *Antiochus* King of *Asia* and part of *Europe* gave me his daughter in marriage, and with her endowed me with the repossellion of those Cities which had revolted from you. He fed me moreover with great hopes of increasing my dominion in time to come, if I would have sided with him against you. I will glory and vaunt of this, that I have done nothing to offend and displease you: I will rather rehearse those pleasures and services which are becoming the ancient amity and friendship between our house and you. In forces as well for land as sea, I have friended and helped your Generals in such wise, as I forbid all your allies besides to do the like: furnished them I have with victuals on the land, with provisions at sea. In all the battels and conflicts by ships (which were many and in sundry places) I was present in person. I underwent all travells, adventures all perils, and no where favoured my self and thought much of my pains: yea, that which is the greatest calamity and misery that followeth wars, I was besieged, and endured it: I was shot and flut up within *Pergamus*, to the utter hazard of my life and of my realm and royal dignity. And after I was delivered from that danger and the siege raised, albeit *Antiochus* of one side and *Selenus* on another, lay encamped about the principal fortresse of my Kingdom, I quit mine own affairs and laid all aside, to come with my whole fleet into *Hellaspis*; & there to meet with *L. Scipio* your Consul, and to aid him in transporting and waiking his army into *Asia*. And when your forces were passed over, I never afterwards departed from him: there was not a Roman soldier more remain ordinarily in your camp then my self and my brethren. No expeditions, no rodes, no exploits of horse service was there without me. In battel have I stood foot & guarded that quarter which the Consul appointed me to keep. I will not say, my LL. what

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The oration of
the Rhodian
Embassadors.

A "one person there is that hath done so good service for you in the last war as I my self, and who is any way comparable unto me: nay, I dare make comparison with all states and Princes whatsoever, whom you esteeme and honour so highly? *Antiochus* before he was your friend, was your professed enemy: he came not to you with his aids in the time of his uprigh fortune, and whilst his Kingdom flourished in good estate; but when he was banished, driven out of his Kingdom, and turned out of all, he fled into your camp, accompanied only with a small troop and cornet of horsemen: Yet nevertheless, because he fled fast to you and bare himself in all loyalty, and shewed his prowess in your behalf against *Sphax*, and the Carthaginians in *Africa*, you not only restored him to his fathers Kingdom, and placed him again in the royal throne, but you laid unto his dominion the richest part of the realm of *Sphax*, made him the most puissant and greatest Prince of all the Kings in *Africa*. What reward then, nay, what honour are we worthy to have at your hands, we (I say) who never were enemies, but ever friends? My father, my self, my brethren, have born arms in your quarrell by land, by sea, not only in *Asia* but far from our own home and native soil in *Peloponnesus*, to *Bactria*, in *Ætolia*, during the war with *Philip*, with *Antiochus*, with the *Ætolians*. What recompence demand you then? My some man say. Forasmuch as (my LL.) you will have it so, and it is your pleasure that I should speak my mind, good reason it is that I obey. This shall stand for all; if you have disposed *Antiochus* of all on this side *Taurus* with this intent, to hold those lands your own selves: none better then you, and whom I would rather wish to be my neighbours and to confine upon me: neither can I think me, of any means in the world more important to the safety and strength of my Kingdom. But in case your purpose be to deprede and retire your forces from thence, I dare behold to say, that of your allies, (and put them all together) there is not one more worthy then my self to have and hold that which you have won by conquest. But an honourable deed it is and magnificent, to set free and deliver Cities out of thralldome and servitude. True and I my self am of the same opinion, provided alwaies, that they had attempted nought by way of hostility against you. But in case they had taken part and sided with *Antiochus*, how much more would it redde with wisdom, nay, with equity and reason, to be merciful to your allies who have so well deserved at your hands, then to regard your enemies. This Oration of the King much pleased the LL. of the Senat, and soon it was seen by their countenance that they would deal bountifully and liberally with him. yea, and gratified him in what they might. Then audience was given to a brief embassage of the *Smyrneans*, who by occasion that some of the Rhodians were absent, came between and delivered their message. Highly were these *Smyrneans* commended, in that they chose rather to endure all extremities then to yield themselves unto King *Antiochus*. Then the Rhodians entered in place: and the chief man of their embassage, after he had declared the first occasion and beginning of the amity which they had with the people of *Rome*, and shewed withall the good actions and services which the Rhodians had performed in the wars first against *Philip* and then against *Antiochus*, went on and spake as followeth. Right honourable, there is nothing more difficult and troublesome unto us in all the businesse that we have in hand then this one thing, that there is some variance and matter to be debated between us and *Eumenes*, the only King of all others, with whom especially every one of us in privat, and (that which toucheth us more) your City in publick, doth entertain the bond of friendship and mutual hospitality. Howbeit no repugnancy is in our affections (my LL.) but even the course of this world and nature it self (the mightiest thing of all) which do joyneth us and causeth difference: this maketh us (being men free born) to defend and maintain the freedom also of others: this is it, that moveth KK. to be desirous to have all in servitude and subjection under them, and at their command. But howsoever it is, our modesty and the reverent regard we have of the King person butteth us more, then either the debating of our cause with him is otherwise difficult unto us, or the deciding thereof like to be intricate and troublesome unto you. For in case it were so, that you could not honour and reward a King, your ally and friend, for his good service done in this war (for recompence whereof you sit in consultation) by no other means, unless you deliver free Cities into his hands, to serve in bondage; then were it hard for you to resolve: for fear lest either ye should send away a prince (your friend and confederate) without guard and honour: or seem to change that laudable enterprise of yours which you have begun, to stain and blemish your glory now (which you have acquired by the war against *Philip*) with reducing so many Cities and states into servitude. But your happy fortune causeth you right well of this difficulty and necessity, that you need not fear either to impair your credit and favour with your friends, or to endamage your reputation and honour among men. For (the gods be thanked therefore) you have achieved victory, no less rich then glorious, and sufficient (if I may so say) to discharge all your debts, and set you clear with all the world. For *Lycania*, *Phrygia* both the great and the lesse, whole *Pisidia*, *Cheronesus*, and in brief all the confines of *Europe* are under your dominion. Of all which provinces, if you lay but one by (which you will your selves) for K. *Eumenes*, you shall mightily enlarge and amplify his Kingdom: but, give him, if you will, make him equal to the greatest princes and monarchs that are. You see then by this, that you may recompence and enrich your allies out of the conquest gotten by war, and nevertheless hold out your good custom that you have begun, remembering alwaies what title you pretended first in your war with *Philip*, & know lately with *Antiochus* considering withall, what you did then after *Philip* was vanquished, & what is required and expected at your hands now: not so much because you have used it already

dy, as for that it was meet and decent you should do. Many cities there be (and those colour-
ably just and lawful) to enter into arms; one pretended this, another that some in right of land
and territories, other of villages; some lay claim to towns and Cities, others challenge the pos-
session of ports and havens, and one tract or other of the sea-coasts. As for you, before you en-
joyed these things, you desired them not: since then ye have now compassed the whole earth,
and are LL. of the world, you cannot possibly cover the same any more. Warred you have and
fought for honour and glory, in the fight of all the nations of the earth, who now this long time
behold and regard your name and empire, no less than they do the gods immortal. And I wot
not well, whether those things which we hardly come by be not with more difficulty holden &
kept afterwards, than they were purchased. You undertook to deliver & rid out of the servitude
and oppression of Kings, and to maintain liberty, a most ancient and noble state, renowned
for their worthy and famous acts, and right commendable for their singular learning and know-
ledge in all sciences. For your honour it is, having once received all this nation in your safeguard
and protection, to defend and preserve the same for ever. And think not, that those Cities only
are more Greek which are built and seated upon the ancient soil of Greece, than their colonies
which have been drawn from them, & in times past went from thence into Asia: for the changes
of air and place hath wrought no alteration, either in the nature and complexion, or the manners
and fashions of the people. As for us, endeavoured we have do better and better, and each City
hath entered into honest contention and religious emulation to out-go and surmount their
forefathers and first-founders in all good arts and commendable virtues. There be many of you
who have been in Greece, many have visited the Cities of Asia, and setting aside this only, that
we are farther distant and remote from you, there is no difference and odds between us and
them. The Massilians, whom if possible it had been, that an imbred temperature might be-
steeled and overcome with the strength and nature, as it were in the soil) in many wild, bar-
rous, and untamed nations, environing them round about, would have made cruel and savage
long before this day; we hear say and understand to be in that request and cultivation (by good
right, and their desert) among you, as if they dwelt in the very midst and heart of Greece, for
not only they retain still the very natural language of their own, they keep them to their old
fashion of apparel and attire, and carry the same port in their gesture and countenance, but also
above all things they have kept and observed their customs, their manners, their laws and natural
disposition pure and entire, notwithstanding the frequent commerce with those, in the midst
of whom they converse and inhabit. Well, the mountain *Taurus* at this day is the limit of your
empire and signory one way: and therefore whatsoever lieth between you and that bound,
you must not think it remote, but look how far your arms have reached, so far let your laws and
jurisdiction extend. Let Barbarians, who know no other laws than lords' beils, have their Kings,
since they take much pleasure in them, and much good may they do their hearts: as for the
Greeks, they must do as they may, and are not (we confess) in so good case as you, howbeit
they carry with them as brave a mind as your selves: and the day hath been, when they were
Monarchs, when they conquered by their own sword a mighty dominion, and held the same
when they had it. Now they are content with that empire where it now is, nay, they wish it
may remain and continue there for evermore, where it is settled at this present. They shall be
well spared, and think they are well, to maintain their liberty by your force of arms, since they
have no means of their own to defend the same. But (will some man say) there be certain Cities
that held a fide and banded with *Antiochus* I answer again, so were some before that took part
with *Philip*, so there were that combined with *Pyrrhus*, as for example, the Tarentins: and so
say nothing of other States, which I could name and rehearse, even *Carthage* it self enjoyed
freedom and is governed by her own laws. Consider then my LL. what a precedent therein
ye have set down to your own selves, and how ye ought to confirm and uphold to good an exam-
ple. You must resolve to deny that unto the covetous desire of *Eumenes*, which you would not
grant to your ownire against the Carthaginians, which they had most justly deserved. And
as for us Rhodians, with what valour and loyalty we have served and aided you, as well in
this war, as in all others which ye have had in those parts and quarters, we report us to our
own selves, and leave it to your judgment. And now in time of peace, we here present unto you
that consell, which if you will accept and approve, all the world will believe and say, That
you have born your selves more honourably in the usage, than in the achievement of your victory.
This Oration seemed to fit well the greatness and majesty of the Romans. When the Rhodians
had done, the Embassadors of *Antiochus* were called in. Who after the usual and hale manner
of those that crave pardon, confessed the King was in fault, and humbly besought the LL. of
the Senat to have more regard of their own accustomed gracious clemency, than remember the Kings
repulse, who had paid sufficiently for it already: and finally that they would ratifie and con-
fess by their authority, the peace granted by *L. Scipio* the Lord General, according to those
conditions, which by him were capitulated and set down. So both the Senat thought good
to admit of that peace, and also within few daies after the people gave their assent and es-
tablished the same. And this accord was solemnly confirmed in the Capitol, with the Kings
Proctrator or agent, to wit, *Antipater*, the chief of the embassage, who also was *Antiochus* his
brothers son. This done, the other embassages of Asia had audience, and were all dispatched with
this one answer, that the Senat would send ten deputies or commissioners, according to the an-
cient

ancient customs of their ancestors, to hear, decide, and compose all their affairs of Asia. But the final
conclusion of all should be this, That whatsoever pertained to the dominion of *Antiochus* on
this side the mountain *Taurus*, should be assigned to King *Eumenes*, excepting the countries of
Lycia and *Caria*, so far as the river *Maander*, all which must lie to the figuory of the Rhodians.
Attouching the other Cities of Asia, which had been tributaries to *Antiochus*, those also were to
pay tribute to *Eumenes*: but such as were sometimes homagers to *Antiochus*, those should be
enfranchised and remain free. The ten commissioners whom they appointed were these, to wit,
Q. Minucius Rufus, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Minucius Thermus*, *App. Claudius Nero*, *Cn. Corneli-
us Metellus*, *M. Iunius Bruttus*, *L. Anturuncius*, *L. Brutius Paulus*, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*,
and *P. Aelius Tiberio*. These men had plenary power and full commission to take order and deter-
mine as they thought good, in all the occurrences that were presented in these Affairs. But they
had direction from the Senat, as touching the principal points: *Imprimis*, that all *Lycia* and
Phrygia, both the more and the less, that *Mysia*, with the Kings chaires and forrells, that the Cities
of *Lycia* and *Ionia*, except those that were free at the day of the battell fought with *Antiochus*, and
expressly by name *Magnesia* near *Sipylus*, together with *Caria*, which is called *Hydrata*, and
all the territories of *Hydrata* lying toward *Phrygia*; moreover *Telmessus* and the forts of the Tel-
messians, relieving only that territory which belonged to *Ptolemus* the Telmessian; that all these
countries, I say, and Cities above written, should be given and granted to King *Eumenes*. Item,
That the Rhodian should be enfranchised in *Lycia*, without the forcell *Telmessus*, the forts and territory
appertaining sometime to *Ptolemus* *Telmessus*: which parcels, I say, were referred as well
from *Eumenes*, as the Rhodians. Item, to the Rhodians was granted that part of *Caria*, which
lieth beyond the river *Maander*, near to the ille *Rhodes*, together with the towns, villages, for-
tresses, and lands bounding upon *Pisidia*: except those towns which were free the day before the
battell with King *Antiochus* in Asia. The Rhodians, when they had given thanks to the Senat for
their graunties, were in hand with them for the City *Soli* in *Cilicia*: they alleged, that they like-
wise as well as themselves, were descended from *Argos*: by occasion of which consanguinity and
nearalliance, they loved together as brethren by nature: in regard whereof, they made petition
that over and besides other donations, they would do them this extraordinary favour, as to ex-
empt that City also from the servitude and subjection of *K. Antiochus*. Then were the Embassadors
of King *Antiochus* called for, and treated withall about this matter, but to no effect. For *Antipa-
ter* stood stoutly upon this point, pleaded hard, that the accord was past already, and might not be
revoked or altered: and that against the tenour of the articles and covenants therein comprised,
it was not the City *Soli*, but also *Cilicia* that the Rhodians demanded; and never would they rest
till they were gotten over the mountain *Taurus*. Then were the Rhodians called back again into
the Senat, unto whom the LL. of the Senat, after they had made relation how earnest the Kings
Embassador was with them upon the point, added thus much moreover and said, That if the Rhodians
deemed in very deed that the matter concerned the honour of their City and State, the
Senat would work all possible means to cause the Kings Embassadors to relent, how stiff and obsti-
nate soever they stood. For this courteous, the Rhodians thanked them much more heartily than
for all theret before, and said withall, that they would yeild and give place to the arrogant spirit
of *Antiochus*, rather than seem to give any cause or occasion of troubling the peace. And so as touch-
ing the City *Soli*, there was no alteration made.

Whiles these matters were thus debated and passed, the Embassadors of the Massilians brought
intelligence, that *L. Babius* the Pretor, being in his journey towards his province of *Spain*, was
entrapped and enclosed by the Ligurians, and many of his train killed outright in the place, that
himself mortally wounded fled without his horse and sergeants unto *Massilia*, and within three
dayes left this life. The Senat upon the advertisement ordeined *P. Iunius Brutus* the Pro-pretor
in *Heitruia* to go in person into the farther *Spain*, and govern the same as his own province: but
first to leave *Heitruia* and the army there to one of the Lieutenants whom he pleased to make
choise of. This decree of the Senat, together with letters from *Spurius Posthumus* the Pretor of
the City was sent into *Heitruia*: and so *P. Iunius* departed as Pro-pretor into *Spain*. In which
province *L. Aemilius Paulus* (who afterwards won a right glorious victory of King *Perseus*) hav-
ing the former year fought unfortunately, now a little before the arrival of his successor, gave bat-
telle to the Lusitanians with an army rallied and assembled in batt in which the enemies were put
to the worse and driven to flee. One thousand eight hundred of them well armed were left dead
in the field, 3300 taken prisoners, and their camp forced and ransacked. The bruit that went of
this victory let all matters in *Spain* in greater quietness.

The same year upon the third day before the Calends of January, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. As-
tinius Serranus*, and *L. Valerius Tappo*, the three Triumvirs, by order from the Senat, planted a
Latin Colony at *Bolonia*; and three thousand people were thither sent to dwell. Every gentleman
by calling that served on horseback had 70 acres of ground for out unto him, and the rest of the
coloners fifty apeece. The land divided thus among them had been conquered from the Boians in
Gaul: and those Gauls first had disposed of the Twelvins of the same.

This year there were many men of mark and name that sued to be Censors: and this compe-
tition as it had not been of sufficient importance it self to move matter of debate, was the occasion
of a contention and variance much greater. The competitors were these, *T. Quinctius
Flamininus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Cneus*: *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Claudius
Marcellus*.

29. Decem-
ber.

Marcellus, and M. Atilius Glabrio, even he who had vanquished Antiochus and the Epirotes at Thermopylae. To this man last rehered the peoples favour and affection most inclined, by reason of many congiaries and largesses which he had given amongst them in publick, by means whereof many a man was obliged and bound unto him. The rest, being to many and nobly defended with all, took it to the heart, and could not endure that such a person as he newly risen and come up, all, took it to the heart, and should be preferred before them; whereupon P. Sempronius Gracchus, and C. Sempronius Rustilius, two Tribunes of the commonalty, com-mended action against him to answer at a day, laying to his charge that there remaineth a surplussage of the Kings army and other pillage gotten in the camp of Antiochus, over and above all that he either carryed and shewed in triumph, or brought in accompt into the City chamber. Many and sundry depositions there were to prove this indictment, as well of lieutenants as of colonels. But M. Cato above all other witnesses was most noted: whose great authority acquired in the whole countrey his life (which he had passed hitherto in all upright conversation and constant gravity) was much empaired and discredited now, with his white robe that he bare on his back. He being proceeded as a witness, deposed and gave evidence, that he had seen certain plate as well gold as silver, as among the rest of the pillage found in the Kings camp, which he never could see eye on in all the triumph above said. In the end, Glabrio, because he would bring some displeasure particularly, and most of all upon Cato, said, he would give over his suit for the Censorship, since that there was another competitor as newly come up as himself, (whereat the Nobles indeed took indignation inwardly, although they said nothing) who pursued the cause to against him, even within credible and inestimable perjury. Well, a fine was set upon his head of a thousand asses. And twice was the matter traversed, whether the mulct should be taken off or paid. But when the third day was come, and the party in trouble (Atilius) had quite increased to sue for the dignity, the people would not give their voices as touching the payment of the fine aforesaid, and the Tribunes also themselves left fall their action. So T. Quinctius Flaminius, and M. Claudius Marcellus were created Censors.

About the same time the Senat sate within the City in the temple of Apollo, in regard of L. Aemilius Regillus, who had vanquished the Admiral of King Antiochus in battell at sea; where he had audience given, and when he had declared what exploits he had done, namely, against how puissant Armados of the enemies he had fought, and how many ships of theirs he had either sunk or taken; The LL. of the Councell without one generall consent and accord, granted unto him a navall triumph. And he triumphed upon the Calends of February. In which triumph there were born in shew fifty crowns save one, of beaten gold: but nothing that store of coin as such a royal triumph required, only there were carried in pomp 33700 Attick tetradrachms, i. 13300 cistophors. After this (by decree of the Senat) there were processions celebrated in consideration that L. Aemilius Paulus had brought his affairs in Spain to an happy issue.

Not long after L. Scipio came also into the City, who became he would not be inferior to his brother in the honourable addition of his name, caused himself to be furnished Asiatick. He discomfited before the Senat, and in the publick audience of the people, as touching his worthy deeds. Divers there were who construed the thing thus and said, That the war was greater in name than difficult unto him in the manning; for with fighting one only memorable battell the matter was achieved and ended, but the glory indeed of that victory was begun unto him and prepared for his hand at Thermopylae. But if a man should judge hereof aright, and according to truth, the battell of Thermopylae may rather be accompted an exploit against the Epirotes than King Antiochus. For what great forces I pray you had Antiochus there in the field of his own? But in the last battell foughten in Asia, the whole power and puissance that he had in all Asia, stood there to be seen, yea, and all the aids and succours which he could levy out of the nations as far as to the utmost parts of the East. Great cause therefore they had both to render much praise and thanksgiving to the immortal gods, in as ample manner as possibly they could devise (for vouchsafing unto them to brave a victory as it was, and the same with such ease and expedition) and also to grant a triumph to the General. He triumphed upon the last of February, even in the very day that maketh the leap year. This triumph of his was much greater than that other of his brothers in regard of the magnificent pomp and shew represented to the eye: but if one call to mind the substance of the things themselves, and compare the dangers, the conflicts and difficulties of the one war with the other: there is no more equality between them, then if a man should in comparison of captain, set Antiochus to match with Annibal. He shewed in triumph two hundred thirty four field ensigns and standards: he carried before him the portraits of two hundred thirty four towns and Cities: a hundred thirty four teeth of ivory: two hundred thirty four crowns of gold: 23700 pounds weight of silver: 234000 Attick tetradrachms: 231090 cistophores: 10000 Philip-perces of gold: of silver plate, and that was all graven and chased: 104 thousand four hundred twenty four pound weight: of golden plate as much as weighed 104 thousand four hundred twenty four pound weight: 32 great commanders: either governors of provinces under the King, or attendants in his court. Every souldier serving on foot, had given unto him 25 deniers: every centurion had double so much; and the gentlemen or knights triple. After the triumph done, the souldiers had their pay double in money, yea; and the portion of corn likewise was doubled. He had moreover given them already a double proportion in Asia, presently upon the end of the battell. A year it was almost after his Consulship expired ere he triumphed. And

A And much about one and the same time, both Cn. Manlius and the Consul entered into Asia and Q. Fabius into the Pretor repaired to the fleet. Moreover the Consul had work enough and wanted not matter of war within France. The seas were quiet after that Antiochus was defeated and subdued: Fabius therefore studied which way to take, and how to employ himself and his force at sea, because he would not be thought and reputed idle in his province: so he resolved at length to put over with his fleet into Crete. Now they of Cydon warred at that time against the Gortynians and the Gnosians: and the voice went that there was a great number of Romans and Italians, captives, living in slavery and bondage in every quarter of that Island. He looked therefore from Ephesus and set sail for Candy, and so soon as he was arrived and set land, he sent his messengers about to the Cities, willing them to abandon their armor and increase from war, and to seek and seek up throughout all the Cities and territories those captives and prisoners aforesaid, to bring them to him: and moreover, to send their Embassadors or agents, with whom he would treat concerning the affairs that in common touched as well the Candians as the Romans. The Islanders made small regard of these messages: and unless it were the Gortynians, there was not one that delivered the captives. Valerius Antias hath recorded, That out of the whole Island there were rendered to the number of four thousand; because the inhabitants were frighted with threats of war. And that this was the cause why Fabius, although he performed no other exploit, obtained of the Senat a navall triumph. From Crete, Fabius returned to Ephesus: from whence he let forth three ships to the coast of Thracia, and commanded that the garlions of Antiochus should quit Aenus and Morona, to the end, that those Cities likewise might be set free and untroubled.

The eight and thirtieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the eight and thirtieth Book.

D Marcus Fulvius the Consul besieged the Ambracians in Epirus, and recovered them upon compulsion to mercy. He subdued Cephalonia, vanquished & brought under his subjection the Acetians, and made peace with them. The Consul Cn. Manlius his colleague, overcame the Gallogreeks, the Tellophagians, the Tellofages, and the Trocmians, who were passed over into Asia under the conduct of Brennus: the only people that within the mountain Taurus yielded not obedience to the Romans. The first beginning and rising is set down: also the time when as they seized first of these places which they hold. Here is recounted also the example of the rare valor and chastity of a woman, who being the wife of a certain King of the Gallogreeks, chanced to be taken prisoner, and when a Centurion had forced and abused her body, she killed him with her own hands. The Centurion being assailing of the City: in which by computation were numbered 258328 souls of Roman Citizens. E Amity was contraited with Ariarathes King of Cappadocia. Cn. Manlius triumphed over the Gallogreeks, notwithstanding the contradiction of those ten Commissioners, by whose advice and assistance he had entered and engrossed the accord of alliance: with Antiochus, and pleaded his own cause himself in the Senat against them. Scipio Africanus was indicted as for a say, by Quintus Petilius Atricus a Tribune of the Commons: as others, by Naevius, for that he had defrauded the City Chamber of some part of the Pillage which he got from Antiochus. When the day was come that he should make his answer, he was called up to the publick pulpit and place of audience, and with a loud voice said unto the people, My masters you that are Citizens of Rome, this very day have I won Carthage: and with that he ascended up into the Capitoll, and the people accompanied him thither: and from thence because he would avoid these hard and injurious courses of the Tribunes, and be no more tormented with them, he retired himself to Litterium, as it were into both places. L. Scipio Asiaticus (the brother of Africanus) was accused of the same crime of embezzling the publick treasure and robbing the common-weal, and thereof condemned: but as he was led to prison, and should have been laid up in bonds and irons, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus Tribune of the Commons (who before time had been an adversary and enemy unto the Scipios) interposed himself and rescued him: and for that pleasure done, he took to wife the daughter of Africanus. When the Pretor sent the treasurers of the City, so far off they were from finding any remnant or token of the King riches and money, that they could not meet with as much as would satisfy the fine wherein he was condemned. And when his kinsfolk and friends had contributed and raised an infinite masse of money for him, he would not receive the same: and as much only was redeemed and bought again, as might serve for his necessities to find and maintain him.

During

During the time of the wars in *Asia*, the affairs also in *Etolia* were in small rest and quietness: which troubles arose first from the Athamanians, who after that *Aminander* was dispossessed of his Kingdom, were held in obedience by garrisons under the captainship of King *Philip*: and they bare themselves so proud, insolent, and outrageous in their government, that the Athamanians found a great misse of *Aminander*, and were desirous of his again. Now remained he at that time as a banished person in *Etolia*: and upon letters received from his own nation (concerning the late wherein *Athamania* then stood) he conceived some hope to recover his crown again; whereupon he sent the messengers back to *Argirhea* (the chief City of *Athamania*) unto the principall men of the country, with this credence, That if he might be assured of the affection and love of the people, he would procure the aid of the *Aetolians* and come unto *Athamania*, accompanied with the elect partionages (and those are the council of the nation) and *Nicanor* the Pretor. When he understood and perceived that they were prest and ready to do him all service, he advertised them oftentimes upon what day he would enter with his army into *Athamania*. At the first there were but four persons that conspired against the Macedonian garrison and these took every one six more unto them for to be assistant in the execution of their complot. But afterwards trusting but little in this small number of their adherents and complices (who indeed were fitter to keep counsell and conceal a matter secretly, then to perform any thing valiantly) they adjoynd unto them the like number unto the other: so as now they were two and fifty in all; and they divided themselves into four companies. One crew of them went to *Heraclea*; another to *Tetraphylia*, where the Kings treasure was usually kept; a third took their way to *Theudoria*; and the fourth to *Argirhea*. But they all agreed upon this purpose, to hold themselves quiet and peaceable at their first coming, and to converse in the market place of these Cities, as if they were come about some particular negotiation of their own: and upon a certain day appointed to set to it at once, and to raise the whole multitude for to expell the Macedonian garrisons out of their fortresses. Now when the day was come, and *Aminander* ready upon the frontiers with his forces of a thousand *Aetolians*, the garrisons of the Macedonians were at one instant chased out of those four Cities aforesaid, like as it was comploted before hand: and letters were dispatched from all parts into other Cities, advising them to deliver and free themselves from the tyranny of *Philip*, and restore *Aminander* into his lawfull kingdom and throne of his father. Thus the Macedonians were expelled in every quarter: only the town *Theium* made resistance and held out some few daies against the siege, by occasion that *Zeno* (captain of the garrison there) had intercepted the letters, and they that sided with *Philip* were possessed of the castle. But in the end he surrendered it was likewise unto *Aminander*, and all *Athamania* reduced unto his obedience excepting only the fort of *Atheronum*, situate upon the marches of *Macedony*.

Philip advertised of the revolt of *Athamania*, accompanied with a power of six thousand fighting men, put himself in his journey, and with exceeding expedition, marched as far as *Gomphi*. Where he left the greater part of his forces, (for they had not been able to endure so long a journey) and with two thousand came to *Athamania*, the only place held by his garrison to his use. And from thence, after he had founded the next neighbours, and soon found that there was nothing but hostility among them, he retired to *Gomphi*, and joined withall his forces together, returned into *Athamania*. Then he sent *Zeno* before with a thousand footmen, and gave him in charge to seize upon *Ethopia*, a place that directly for his purpose commandeth *Argirhea*; and seeing that his men were possessed thereof, himself sat him down, and pitched his tents about a certain temple dedicated to the name of *Iupiter*. There he was forced by reason of the frost and stormy weather to stay one whole day, and the morrow after he went forward with his army to *Argirhea*. As they marched, behold they discovered the Athamanians, running from divers parts to the hill tops, which stood over the way along. They had no sooner espied them, but the foremost ensignes made slay, and all that regiment of the vanguard was surprised with fear and flight. Every man began for his part to cast many counsels, and think with himself what should become of them, in case their companies were entred once into the vallies, so checked by those rocks aforesaid. This tumult and trouble caused the King perforce to call back those in the vanguard, and to retire the same way that he came, notwithstanding he was very desirous (if they would have seconded him) to have made quick speed, and gotten through those streights. The Athamanians at first followed after them aloot quietly enough: but when they had once joined with the *Aetolians*, leaving them behind to come upon the tail of the enemy, they spread themselves all about and flanked them on both sides: some of them also got afore their head by the next waies which they were acquainted with, and beset the passages; insomuch, as the Macedonians were to greatly troubled, that forced they were (more like men that fled in disarray, then marched in good order) to leave much of their armor, and many of their men behind, to passe over the river; and there the chase ended. From thence the Macedonians returned safely to *Gomphi*, and to forth into *Macedony*.

The Athamanians and the *Aetolians* assembled from all parts to *Ethopia* for to surpris and defeat *Zeno* and that regiment of a thousand Macedonians which was with him. But the Macedonians, reposing no great trust in that place, retired from *Ethopia*, to an hill much higher and steeper

A steeper on all sides, and therefore lesse acceptable. The Athamanians having found out diverse passages unto it, enforced them to forgo that hold also. And when they were dispersed among the blind rocks, and unto them unknown, and could not readily find the way out, some of them were taken prisoners, & others slain. Many for fear tumbled down headlong from the pitch of the cliffs, and brake their necks, and very few escaped with *Zeno* to the King. The next day after they obtained truce, until they had committed their dead to earth.

Aminander having thus repossessed his realm, sent Embassadors to *Rome* unto the Senat like-wise unto the *Seepios* in *Asia* (who after the great battell with *Antiochus*, sojourned in *Ephesus*) He craved peace, and pardon, he excused himself in that he had recovered his fathers Kingdom by the means and help of the *Aetolians*, and withall laid great fault and blame upon King *Philip*. As for the *Aetolians*, they departed out of *Athamania*, and made an expedition against the *Amphilochians*, and by consent of the greater part (reduced the whole nation under their puissance and subjection. Having thus regained *Amphilochia* (for in times past it appertained to their suzerainty) rose the same hope they passed over in *Aperrantia*, which yielded also for a great part thereof, and came under their obedience. As for the *Dolopians*, they never belonged to the *Aetolians*, but unto *Philip*. And at the first they assembled together in arms, but understanding once that the *Amphilochians* took part with the *Aetolians*, that *Philip* was fled out of *Athamania*, and that his garrison was put to the sword, they revolted likewise from *Philip*, and turned to the *Aetolians*. Who making now full account that they were low enough on all sides from the Macedonians, by reason of so many nations which envired them about, they took knowledge (by the common opinion) of the defeat of *Antiochus* by the Romans in *Asia*, and not long after their own Embassadors returned to *Rome* without hope of peace, relating withall that *Fulvius* the Consul had passed the sea already with an army. Upon these news, they were much troubled and afraid; and in this perplexity, they induced and procured first the *Rhodian* and then the *Athenian* Embassages, to the end that by the credit and convenance of these two States, their praier lately rejected, might have more easie access to the Senat: and with them they sent to *Rome* once again the principall personages of their nation, to try their last hope of obtaining peace; and never forsook to prevent war, before the enemy was come welnear within their sight. Now had *M. Fulvius* transported his forces to *Apollonia*, and devised with the princes and states of the *Epirots*, where to begin war. The *Epirots* advised him to assail *Ambracia*, which as then was united to the *Aetolians*. And why? if either the *Aetolians* should come to the defence of the place, they had a goodly large and open plain all about to bid them battle, or if they refused the field, and would not fight, they should find no great difficulty to assault and force the town. For not only there was at hand store enough of timber and other matter to raise mounts, maneleets, and other fabricks; but *Arcthon* a river navigable, very commodious to transport all necessaries unto them, runneth under the wals of the City; and besides, the summer was a fit season for war-service. With these reasons they persuaded the Consul to conduct his army through *Epirus*. But when the Consul was come before *Ambracia*, he found it was no easie peece of work to besiege, and assault the town. This *Ambracia* is situate under the stony and craggy hill, which the inhabitants call *Perambra*. The City it self looketh unto the West, what way as the wall reacheth toward the fields and the river: the fort and castle thereof standeth upon the hill, and regardeth the East. The river *Arcthon* running out to *Acarnania*, dischargeeth itself into an arme of the sea, which beareth the name of the City near adjoyning, and is called *Ambracia*. This town, besides that it is well guarded with the river of one side, and defended with hills on the other, is fortified also with a strong wall, in circuit somewhat more then three miles about. *Fulvius* encamped strongly on the fields side, in two holds of a pretty distance asunder, and raised one sconce upon an high ground, opposite against the fortres of the town. All these places he determined to enclose within the compass of a trench and rampier, to the end, that they who were shut up within the town, might have no egrets, and that from without there should be no ingrets, for any aid and succour whatsoever. The *Epirots* were assembled already at *Stratus* by an edict from the Pretor *Nicanor*, to continently upon the rumour that ran of the siege of *Ambracia*, intending fully at first to march from thence withall their forces. But afterwards, when they perceived that a greater part of the City was streightly beleaguered already, and blocked with trench and rampier; and withall, that the *Epirots* were encamped upon a plain on the other side of the river, they were of advise to divide their forces in two parts. *Eupelemus* accompanied with a regiment of a thousand men lightly appointed, passed through the fortifications of the enemies, before they were joined and united together, and entred *Ambracia*, *Nicanor* with the rest of the forces pursued at the first by night to assail the camp of the *Epirots*, considering that the Romans could not easily succour them, by reason of the river running between. But afterwards upon better advise, supposing this to be a dangerous enterprise (for fear lest the Romans should discover their march, and to intercept them that they might not retire again in safety) he altered his mind, and turned to the spoiling and waiving of *Acarnania*. Now when the Consul had made an end of all his fabricks devised for to inveill and enclose the City, and finishing his engines where with he meant to shake the wall, he approached neer and gave assault in five places at once. Three batteries he planted in equal distance asunder, and where the easiest passage and access was from the plain, full upon that place of the City which they call *Pyrhaum* and one over against the temple of *Aesculapius*; and another opposite to the Castle. With ramps the thook the wals, with long poles and hooks he fetched off and plucked down the battie-

batlements of the walls. The opponents at first were afraid to see their strange engines, and huddled to hear the terrible noise of their walls battered: but afterwards, seeing that the wall stood upright beyond their expectation, they plucked up their hearts again, and with wisper weighed either great counterpoises and weights of lead, or huge stones, then with a swing they let them fall as in upon the ramp of the engines, or else tumbled mighty big logs of timber thick, and so either brake them pieces, or bare them down. And as for their hockt store, they caught hold of them with iron hooks like anebors, and to draw them over the walls to the other side with a witness and brake both them and their poles. Moreover, they sallied out in the night upon the watch that attended their engines, infused out of themselves in the day time, assailed the corps de garde, and put them great fear. As things stood in these terms before *Ambra*, the *Ætolians* by this time were returned to *Stratus* from their rides which they made into *Acarnania*. And that *Nicander* the Pretor conceiving some hope to levy the siege by some seditious and hardy adventure devised that one *Nicodemus* should put himself within the town of *Ambra* with a five hundred *Ætolians*; and appointed one certain night, and an hour also of the same night, when both they from out of the town should assail the forticks and engines of the enemy planted against *Pyrrhus*, and also himself charge upon the camp of the Romans at the same time, and put them in flight: supposing by this twofold alarm (especially in the night which maketh every thing more fearful) there might be some notable act and memorable exploit done. And *Nicodemus* verily by his part in the dead time of the night, having passed unseen and not detected by some of the sentinels, and by rebell force broken through the rest of the watches, passed over an arm of the river and recovered the City, and in some measure by this means heartened the beleagured inhabitants to adventure anything, and put them in better hope to accomplish it. And when the night appointed was come, all on a sudden he let upon the engines, as it was before agreed between them. The adventure of this enterprise was much more than the effect, because there were no forces without to join with him; were it that the Pretor of the *Ætolians* was afraid to be bold, or that he thought it was a better piece of service to aid the *Amphilochians* newly recovered, whom *Perseus* King Philip his son, sent from his father to reconquer *Dolopia* and *Amphilochia*, assailed with great force and violence. The Romans had planted their ordinance and artillery, as is aforesaid in these places against *Pyrrhus*, which the *Ætolians* charged all at once, but not with like preparation of means, nor with the same violence. For some came with burning and flaming firebrands, others carried tow and herbs with pitch, and tapers of dry sticks, and other like matter easy to be kindled, in such sort as all their companies shone again with a light fire. Many of the Romans they killed at the first onset, but when the alarm and tumult was heard within the camp, and the sign given by the Consul, they took arms, and ran space out of all the gates for to relieve and defend them. In one quarter the *Ætolians* did their deed, and fought with fire and sword: but in another two places after they had given the attempt, rather than began any skirmish, they retired and went their ways. The heat of the fight inclined wholly to one quarter, where the two captains *Episthenus* and *Nicodemus*, encouraged their men as they fought from two divers parts, and entertained them with an assured hope, that *Nicander* according to agreement would be there and charge upon the back of the enemies. This for a good while maintained the courages of the soldiers: but perceiving there was no sign appeared of their countrymen, and that they kept not touch with them, and seeing withal how the number of the enemies increased, and themselves disappointed and destitute, they flaked their fight, and were not loozer upon the enemy, and in the end gave over and having much ado to retire in safety, were chased into the City, after they had burnt some of the Roman engines, and slain a few more of their enemies than they died of themselves. And surely if the service had been followed in execution according as it was compassed and agreed, those deviled engines no doubt might have been destroyed, if not wholly, yet in one part at leastwise, and that with great murder and slaughter of the enemies. The *Ambra*ns, together with those *Ætolians* which were within the City, not only gave over that nights enterprise, but ever after shewed more coldness to byard themselves again, as if they had been betrayed by their own fellows. Not a man would rally forth upon the ward and watch of the enemies, but they all from their walls and towers stood upon their guard only, and with the vantage of the place defended themselves in safety.

Perseus advertised that the *Ætolians* approached *Amphilochia*, quit the siege of the City which he was about to assault: and after he had only barred and waited the territory about respected from those quarters and returned into *Macedony*. The *Ætolians* likewise were enticed to depart from thence, by reason that their less-coals were spoiled and overrun: for *Plinius* the King of the *Illyrians*, was entered into this river of *Corinth* with a fleet of 60 barks, and with the fleet of the *Acbaean* ships that lay in the rode of *Patre* invetted the maritime tract of *Etolia*. Against whom were sent a thousand *Ætolians*, who waited upon the fleet at every turn as they doubled any reaches, and with the vantage of the short waies and next passages by the land, were ready to welcome them on the banks and make head against them.

The Romans lying still in siege before *Ambra*, by battering and shaking the walls in many places, had diminished a great part of the City, and laid it open: howbeit, they could not enter with it. For at every breach where the wall was broken down, they were ready to make a new encounter, and the soldiers standing upon the very ruins, served in stead of a bulwark. The Consul seeing he could not prevail by open force, determined to undermine and make a secret way

A way in the ground into the City: but first he covered the place where they wrought with mantles. For a good while the pioneers were not perceived by the enemies, notwithstanding they wrought both night and day, not only digging under the earth, but also casting up the mould as they went. But an huge heap of earth bearing up close from the left, was discovered, and gave them within the town to understand what the enemies were about, and fearing that they had wrought so far already as under their walls, and that they were at the point to make a way into the town, they within began likewise to strike another trench, just against the place covered with mantles aforesaid: and when they had digged to that depth as the bottom might be of the enemies mines, they made no words within, but in great silence laid their ear to in divers places close to the earth, harkning if haply they might hear any noise of the pioneers: and when they once had got in ear of them they contented mind directly against them. And long they were not about it: for anon they came as far as to the void hollow ground, whereas the foundation of the wall stood upon stones and props, which the enemies had set to bear it up. Now when their works were met together, and that there was a continued passage out of this trench into the Mine, the pioneers first let it off and sufficed with their spades, shovels, and mattocks, and such other tools that they had used to work withall: but soon after, armed soldiers entered and encountered within the vaults, and closely skirmished under ground. But within a while that manner of dealing grew more cold and slack by reason that they stopped up the Mine between when they first, one while with facks and haircloath, otherwhies with doors and such stuff, as they could come by in haste, and stood next hand. One new invention above the rest was devised against those within the Mine, and the same but a slight matter, and made without any great trouble, and this was, The townsmen took a great run or dryfat with a hole boared in the bottom, of that capacity as might receive a pretty pipe like a faucet within it; and withall they made a pipe indeed of iron to fit it, and anon laid likewise to cover the other end or mouth thereof, but the same had many holes in divers places of it. Now this vessel they stuffed full of down and soft feathers, and then let it with the head forward against the very Mine. From the lid or cover aforesaid these stood breaking out long sharp pikes, which the *Macedonians* call *Shovels*, for to keep off the enemies. Within the vaults they put a cole or spark of fire, and then with a pair of smiths bellows (the noise whereof went into the pipe aforesaid) they blew the cole and set it on a smothering fire within the vaults. By which means there arose not only a mighty deal of smoke, but also a corded with fire, and flaming away, by the reason of the feathers burning within; and so filled all the Mine underneath that scarce durst any man abide within for fear of being choked.

During their affairs about *Ambra*, *Phanates* and *Demotus* two Embassadors sent from the *Ætolians* by a general decree of the whole nation, came with a full and plenary commission unto the Consul. For their Pretor (seeing of the one side *Ambra* besieged, and on the other side the sea coast endangered with the enemies ships, and in a third quarter the *Amphilochians* and all *Dolopia* continually waited by the *Macedonians*; and that the *Ætolians* were not able to oppose themselves and make head at once against three wars in divers parts) had assembled a general Diet for to consult with the chief of the *Ætolians* what was to be done in this case. All their opinions jumped in this one point, "To seek for peace (if it were possible) under equal and indifferent conditions: if not, yet in as tollerable terms as they might. In confidence and assurance (say they) of *Antiochus*, the war began: and now that *Antiochus* is vanquished both by land and sea, ye are hunted as it were out of the compass of the world into an angle beyond *Taurus*, what hope remaineth to maintain and wage the war any longer? And therefore *Phanates* and *Demotus* were to deal as in such a case and time, as they thought best according to their wisdom and fidelity, and the common good of the *Ætolians* for what other counsell remaineth, what course else can they take, or what choice beside hath fortune left them? With this so large and free commission they were these Embassadors sent: who be sought the Consul to spare their City, to have mercy and pity of their nation sometime linked in amity unto them, and soaked through very calamity and misery (for loath they were to speak of any injuries and wrongs offered) to fall into such follies: neither have the *Ætolians* in this late war of *Antiochus* deserved to suffer more harm than they were worthy to receive good for their service in the former war against *Philip*; and when they were not largely rewarded and recompensed then, so they ought not to be punished and chastised extremely now. The Consul made answer again, that the *Ætolians* had made suing for peace many a time, but sincerely and truly at no time: and since they had solicited and drawn *Antiochus* to war let them hardly follow his example in craving peace. Like as he therefore hath not quit and rendered some few Cities which were in question about their liberty and freedom, but parted with a rich and wealthy kingdom, even all *Asia* between this and the mountain *Taurus*: so unless the *Ætolians* will simply lay all arms aside and come to treat for peace, unarmed he would never give them audience. And to be short, if they will peace have, they must deliver up their armour and all their horses first, yea, and make payment of a thousand talents of silver, and the one moiety thereof to pay down right upon the nail before hand. Over and besides this branch, I will annex to the accord and covenant, that they shall hold for their friends and enemies, those whom the people of *Rome* repudiate to be theirs, & none other. To this answer the Embassadors said never a word, both (for that they were very hard and grievous impositions, and also because they knew the nature and minds of their countrymen and neighbours at home, how unstable they were and not so benighted if they once took a pitch: whereupon

whereupon they returned unto them, without doing any thing at all, to know the advice once again of the Prator and the principal States, what to relolve upon in every respect, whilst all stood whole and upright. But they were welcomed with outcries, and well shent for their labour, in that they had not dispatched and made an end, and so were sent away, and commanded to bring back with them one peace or other. As they went again toward *Ambracia*, they were forelayd and surprized in an ambush laid for them near the high way side by the *Acaranians* (with whom at that time they were layd and were had to *Tyrrhenum* and there imprisoned. And by this occasion the peace was delayed.

* *Ambracia*, or *Arta*.

Whiles the Embassadors of *Athen* and *Rhodes* (who were come already to intreat for them) remained with the Consul, *Aminander* also (the King of the *Athamans*) presented himself under false conduct in the Roman camp, and took more care for the City of *Ambracia* (where he had sojourned the greatest part of his exile) than in the behalf of the *Ætolians*. By them, the Consul was certified of the hard hap of the *Ætolian* Embassadors; and then he gave commandment, that they should be brought from *Tyrrhenum*. When they were come, they began to treat of peace, *Aminander* in the mean while laboured what he could in that enterprise which he especially had undertaken, namely, to induce the *Ambracians* to submit unto the Romans: but when he saw he did but small good, for all his parling with the principal persons of the City from their wall at length by the Consul's permission he entered into the town; where, partly by good counsel, and partly by prayer and entreaty, he persuaded them in the end, to put themselves into the Romans hands. Now as touching the *Ætolians*, they found much favour by the means of *C. Valerius* the son of that *Levinus*, who first contracted amity with that nation; and was besides half brother unto the Consul by the same mother. And the *Ambracians* after capitulation made, that the *Ætolians* who came to aid them might go forth without harm, let open their gates. Then arrived it was with the *Ætolians* *Imprimitus*. To pay 500 Euboick talents of silver; two hundred presently, and the other 300 at six payments yearly by even portions. *Item*, To render all Roman captives and fugitive traitors and runagates that they had, into the hands of the Romans. *Item*, To challenge jurisdiction over no City, whilence the time that *T. Quintius* passed over into *Greece*, was either forced by the Romans or entered voluntarily into amity and society with them: provided always, that the life *Cephallenia* be not comprised within this capitulation. These articles, albeit they were somewhat easier than they looked for, yet the *Ætolians* requested, that they might acquaint their Council withall; and permitted they were so to do. Some small variance and debate distracted, and held them awhile as touching those Cities, whilence having been in times past within their feignory and jurisdiction they hardly could abide to be dimembred (as it were) from their body. But in the end there was not one but agreed to accept of the peace. The *Ambracians* gave unto the Consul a present a coronet of beaten gold, weighing 150 pound. Their statues of brass and marble, their painted tables (wherewith *Ambracia* was better stored and adorned, than all the other Cities of that region, because it was the royal seat of King *Pyrrhus* where he kept his court and residence) were all taken down and carried away: nought else was touched nor any hurt done besides.

The Consul dislodged then, and removed from *Ambracia* into the higher and more inland parts of *Ætolia*, and encamped before the City called *Argos Amphilochoium*, two and twenty miles distant from *Ambracia*; and thither at length repaired the *Ætolian* Embassadors unto him, who marvelled much at them, why they itaid so long. When he understood by them that the general council of the *Ætolians* had approved of peace, he willed them to go directly to *Rome* unto the Senat: and permitted also the *Athenians* and *Rhodiens* (their mediators and advocates) to go with them and as orators to speak in their behalf: moreover he granted, that his half brother *C. Valerius* should accompany them: which order when he had taken, himself crossed over the water to *Cephallenia*.

When they were arrived at *Rome*, they found both the ears and hearts of the chief Senators wholly possessed beforehand, with many complaints and imputations that *Philip* had enforced against them: for he by means of his Embassador and letters (complaining that the *Ætolians* had unjustly taken from him the *Oleapians*, the *Amphilochoians*, and *Athamanians*; and that his garrison, yea, and last of all his son *Perseus*, were driven out of *Amphilochoia*) had wholly amazed the Senat from giving any ear at all to their requests and prayers: howbeit, the *Rhodiens* & *Athenians* had audience given them with patience & silence. The *Athenian* Embassador *Leon* (by report) moved and persuaded the Senat with his eloquent tongue: and by a familiar parable and similitude, he compared the people of *Ætolia* to the nature of the sea: For like as it, being oft itself calm is troubled and made rough by the winds: even so (saith he) the people of that nation, all the while they entertained friendship with the Romans, and performed their faithful promise unto them so long were in their right kind, and continued peaceable and quiet: but after that *Thous* and *Dicaarchus* began to blow from out of *Asia*, as after that, *Menetas* and *Dametrius* blustered and puffed from the parts of *Europe*, then arose a storm and tempest, with the gusts of whereof driven they were to *Antiochus*, and cast (as a man would say) upon a rock. Well he the *Ætolians* after they had been much tossed a long time from post to pillar, in fine effected, that these articles of peace ensuing, were freely agreed upon. *Imprimitus*, The nation of *Ætolia* shall maintain faithfully and truly the Empire and Seignory of the people of *Rome*. *Item*, They shall suffer to pass through their country and confines no army that shall be conducted against their allies and friends; nor assist them with any aid or maintenance whatsoever. *Item*, They shall repute the enemies,

of the Romans for their enemies, and wage war against them. *Item*, They shall deliver unto the Romans and their confederates, all runagates, all fugitives, and prisoners that are among them, excepting such as having been once taken and returned home, chained to be caught against the same time: or those, who being Roman enemies, were taken prisoners by them, at what time as the *Ætolians* served in garrison under the Romans. As for the rest, as many as are forth-coming and may be found, shall be delivered (without fraud or covin) within 100 daies next ensuing, to the Magistrate of *Corcyra*: but those that appear not within that time, shall belikewise rendered whensoever their fortune is to be met withall. *Item*, They shall yield forty hostages, such as the Roman Consul in his discretion will approve and like well of: provided, that none of these pledges be under twelve years of age, nor above forty. Neither shall there be taken for hostage any Prator or Captain over horsemen, nor public Notary or Secretary to the State, nor yet any one that hath lain in hostage before time. Provided also, that *Cephallenia* shall be exempt from the articles of this accord. *Item*, As touching the sum of money which they are to pay, and the manner and terms of the payment, there shall be nothing changed of that which hath been concluded with the Consul: yet, if they had rather pay the same sum in gold than in silver, they may so do; provided that, they keep the rate and proportion, of one for ten, to wit, that one golden peece of coin go for ten times so much in weight of silver, and no more. *Item*, What Cities, what lands and territories, what persons (soever, which having at any time heretofore held tenor of the *Ætolians*, were by the Consuls *T. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius*, or any time since their Consulship, either subdued and conquered by force of arms, or otherwise of themselves came under the obedience of the people of *Rome*, the *Ætolians* shall make no claim nor challenge unto them. Finally, the *Æniades* with their City and territory, shall appertain to the *Acaranians*. Under these conditions above said, the accord was concluded with the *Ætolians*.

Not only in the same summer, but also much about those very daies wherein these affairs were managed by *M. Fulvius* in *Ætolia*, *Cn. Manlius* the other Consul maintained war in *Gallio*, whereof at this present I will begin to write. This Consul in the beginning of the spring came to *Ephesus*: where, after he had received the army of *L. Scipio* and taken a review and survey thereof, he made an Oration to his soldiers: wherein, first he praised their valour and virtue, in that with one battell they had finished the war against *Antiochus*: then he exhorted them to enter into a new war with the Gauls who had succoured King *Antiochus* with aid; and were beside of name so untamed, that unless their puissance were abated and their courage taken down, to little or no purpose it was that *Antiochus* was removed beyond the mountains of *Taurus*. Last of all, some discourse he made of his own person, which was nothing prolix and long, implying neither vain words nor excessive reports. The soldiers gave audience to the Consul with great joy and a general applause, making this account, that since King *Antiochus* was vanquished, the Gauls alone (who were one part of his forces) would be of no puissance to withstand them. But the Consul supposed that it was much out of his way, that *Eumenes* should be absent (for then he was at *Rome*) who knew the countries, was acquainted with the nature of the people, and whom it imported and concerned very much, that the power of the Gauls should be enfeebled and abated. And therefore he sent for *Attalus* his brother, from *Pergamus*, and exhorted him to enter into action with him and take arms. And when *Attalus* had made promise to aid him both in his person and with all the power that he could make, he sent him into his country to levy soldiers. After some few daies, when the Consul was departed from *Ephesus*, *Attalus* (accompanied with a regiment of a thousand foot and two hundred horse) met him at *Magnesias*: and had given order to his brother *Athenaus*, to follow after with the rest of the forces: having committed the guard and government of *Pergamus* and the kingdom to those, whom he knew to be faithful and to his brother and himself. The Consul, after he had praised and commended the young gentleman, marched forward with his whole power as far as *Maander*; and there encamped, because it was not possible to pass the river at any foord, and therefore boats and barges were to be gotten together for ferry and transport the army. When they were set over the river, they went to *Hiera* *Come*, where there was a magnificent and stately Temple of *Apollo*, and an Oracle in it. And by report the Priests and Prophets there, deliver the responds and answers of the Oracle in verses, and those not rudely composed without rhythm & meter. From hence they removed, and at two daies end arrived at the river *Harpagus*: & thither were embassadors come from the *Alabandians* requesting the Consul, either by virtue of his authority, or by force of arms to compel one of their fortresses which lately had revolted from them and rebelled, to return again to their former obedience. And hither *Athenaus* also, brother to *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, was come together with *Leontius* the Cardiot, and *Corragus* the Macedonian, bringing with them 1000 foot, and 300 horse, of divers nations mingled together. The Consul sent one of his martial Tribunes or Colonels with a mean company to summon the Castle or fortress above said and after it was forced and recovered, he delivered it into the hands of the *Alabandians*. Himself kept on his direct way, and turned on the side until he came unto *Antiochia* upon the river *Maander*, where he encamped. This river *Maander* riseth from *Celene*, where the first head and source thereof is to be seen. Now this *Celene* had been in times past the capital City of all *Phrygia*. But in process of time this old *Celene* was abandoned by the Inhabitants, and not far from it they peopled a new City called *Apamea* bearing the name of *Apamea* the sister of *Selenus*. The river *Marfus* likewise springing not far from

* Otherwise named *Galatia*.

* *Maander*.

the foresaid Ionnes of *Maender*, did charge it self therein too. And as the common fame goeth, that this *Cleaitis* was, where *Marcius* the Musician gave defiance to *Apollon*, and challenged him to play upon the flute. This *Maender* above named, issuing out of an high hill at *Clarus*, turneth through the middle of the City and first keeping his course along the country of the Carians, and afterwards of the Ionians, falleth at the last into an arm of the sea between *Priene* and *Miletus*.

Whiles the Col. lay encamped about *Antiochia*, *Selenus* the son of *Antiochus* presented himself unto him with corn for his army, according to the covenant contracted with *Scipio*. Some small variance and difference there was as touching the aid demanded of *Antiochus*: for *Selenus* pleaded that *Antiochus* had capitulated only to find corn for the Roman souldiers. But this debate was soon at an end by reason of the strict resolution of the Col. who sent a Colonel to warn and charge the souldiers to accept no corn before the aid souldiers of *Antiochus* were received. From thence he marched to *Gordianicus* (a City so called) & so toward the third day to *Tat*. This City is seated upon the frontiers of the Pisidians, in that coast which boundeth upon the Pamphylia sea. This quarter was able to yield lusty men for war, when it had not been any way endangered, but remained entire and whole. For proof whereof, even then also there issued out of the City a cornet of horsemen, who charged upon the Romans as they marched, and at the first onlet troubled them not a little. But afterward, seeing themselves neither for number, nor yet for power comparable unto them, they were driven back into the town, & craved pardon for their trespass, ready to surrender their City into the Col.'s hands. The Col. imposed upon them a payment of 25 talents of silver, and 10000 medimms of wheat, and upon that composition their surrender was accepted. Three daies after the Romans came to *Chau* the river & from thence to the City *Eretria*, which at the first assault they won. After this the army marched as far as to a Castle called *Thebustion* standing over the river *Indus*, so called of a certain Indian, whom an Elephant threw and cast into it. Now they were not far from *Cyrra*, & yet no embassage appeared from the tyrant of that country and state, *Morgestes* a disloyal and treacherous man in all his dealings, and besides extremely hard and unreasonable. Whereupon the Col. sent out before *C. Helvius* with 4000 foot and 500 horse to sound his disposition and mind. As these companies entered into his frontiers they encountered them his Embassadors, giving them to understand that the tyrant their Master was ready to do whatsoever they would command: only his request was unto *H. Helvius* to pass peaceably through his country, and to restrain his souldiers from wasting & spoiling the territories: & 15 talents they brought with them for to make a crown of gold. *Helvius* promised to live his lands for being spoiled and wasted. And he willed the embassadors to go to the Col. Now when they had related the same unto him he made them answer in these terms: We cannot gather by any sign (qd. he) that the tyrant beareth good will and affection to us Romans: & again it be like an one as the world taketh him for we are to think rather of his chaflement than of admitting him into our army. The embassadors were troubled at this word, requested him for that present no more, but to take the crown of gold, and to permit that the tyrant himself might have access to his presence for to speak with him and clear himself. The morrow after, by permission of the Col. came the tyrant into the camp bearing no port of a Prince. For a private person and mean man of small wealth would have gone in better apparel and carried a greater train about him than he neither went he so meanly but he spake as lowly, hacking and hewing his words, as if he had not been able to speak them out. He complained of his own bareness and want, & likewise of the poverty of the Cities under his signiory (for besides *Cyrra* he held in possession *Syrium*, & that which is called *Alimure*). Yet he promised to see what he could do if haply by undoing himself & spoiling his subjects he might make up five and twenty talents. Mary he mistrusted greatly that he should never effect to much. Are you thereabout? (qd. the Col.) Now verily I can no longer endure this mockery. Was it not enough that in your absence you basted not to delude and disappoint us by your Embassadors but you must persist still in the same impudence now that you be here yourself in person? And would you make us believe indeed, that the disbursing of 25 talents will beggett you and your whole kingdom? Come on for, I say: Bring me hither within three daies, and lay me down in ready money 500 talents, or look for no other favour, but your territory to be N

* The same that Gordianus came out of Julius.

* Hinc, Nigro, Dind. Lancul.

wifed, and your City besieged. Greatly affrighted was he at these minatory words, howbeit he continued still obstinately, countering it & pretending his neediness and poverty, and afterwards bafe hucking and riling by litle and litle, one while basting and wrangling, another while praying and entreating. (And that with whining and putting finger in the eye) he was fetcht over at length, and came off to pay 100 talents of silver, and to deliver 10000 medimms of corn besides. And all this was exacted of him to be performed in six daies. From *Cyrra* the Col. conducted the army through the country of the Sindenians, and after he had passed over the river *Calaurus*, he there pitched down his tents. The morrow after they marched by the lake or meat *Carabris*, and set the next City the inhabitants fled for fear: whereupon the town void of people, but replenished with abundance of all things was ransacked and rifled. This done, they arrived at the head or spring of the river *Lycus* and the next day marched toward the river *Cobolatus*. The Trocmians at the same time having forced and won the City of the Lyrians, were now upon the point to assault the Castle. They who were within besieged, seeing no other hope of succour, sent their Embassadors to the Consul, beseeching his help, and making pittifull moan, how they with their wives and children were shut up within the fortres, and looked every hour for death, either by famine or the sword.

A sword. This fell out as the Col. wished, namely, to have (on good occasion presented unto him, of turning his way into *Pamphylia*. At his first coming he delivered the Lyrians from the siege. To *Terminus* he granted peace, upon composition that he should receive first 30 talents. In like sort he dealt by the Apesidians and other States of *Pamphylia*. In his return from thence, the first day he encamped fast by a river called *Taurus*, and the next day following, near a town which they call *Xylus-Come*. From whence he marched and held on his journey continually, until he came to the City *Corasus*. The next City unto it was *Darsa*, which he found abandoned by the Inhabitants for fear, howbeit full of all kind of goods. As he marched till along the marshes, there met him Embassadors from *Lycina*, who came to render their City into his hands. After this he entered into the territory of *Sagalassus*, a fertile & plenteous quarter, for all sorts of corn & fruits. The Pisidians inhabit those parts, who are the best warriors in all that country. Inevard whereof, as also for that their territory is fruitful and well peopled, and their City strongly situate (as few like unto it) they were grown to be hardy and courageous. The Col. seeing no embassage presented unto him in the course of the frontiers, sent out foragers to fetch in booties. When they perceived once their goods hurtled, and arrived away before their faces, their homacks came down, and then they sent their embassadors, and upon composition to pay 50 talents, 10000 medimms of wheat, and as many of barley they obtained peace. From thence he passed to the mountains of *Obrima*, until he came to a village which they name *Apuridon-Come*, and there he encamped. Thither repaired the next day *Selenus* from *Apamea*. And the same day, after he had sent away unto *Apamea* his sick folk and other baggage and felt that he had (good for nothing) he took guides of *Selenus* for the way, and entered into the plains of *Metropolis*, and the next morrow marched as far as *Dindia* in *Phrygia*. After this, he entered into *Synada*, where he found all the towns about abandoned for fear, and left deserted. With the booty and pillage whereof his army was so heavily charged, that hardly he could march five miles a day; and so he came at length to *Bendis*, named. The old, from thence he passed to *Anabara* and the next day to the source of *Alender*, and the third day pitched down his tents near *Abissus*. There he lay encamped many daies together, because he was now arrived into the country of the Tolistobogians.

The Gauls in times past being a mighty people in number were induced to take a voyage, either for want of land to inhabit, or for hope of booty and prizes: and supposing withall, that they could not pass through any nation whatsoever, comparable to themselves in feats of arms, entered under the conduct of *Brennus* into the country of the Dardanians. Where, they began to ravine among themselves: by occasion whereof it happened, that to the number of twenty thousand of them, following two of their Princes *Lomnorus* and *Lutarius*, departed from *Brennus*, and took their way to *Thracia*: where partly by warring with them that made resistance, and partly by imposing tribute upon them that craved peace, they came at length as far as to *Byzantium*: and after they had held tributary a good time the coast of *Proponis*, they possessed themselves also of the good towns and Cities of that quarter. After this they had a mind and desire to invade *Asia*: for they heard say, being so near, how fertile and plenteous the soil of that country was. And after they had surprized and won *Lysimachi*, by a wile, and by force of arms conquered all *Chersonesus*, they descended to *Hellefont*. Where seeing how they were divided from *Asia* but only by the straits, and that it was but a small cut thither, their desire was much more inflamed to pass over, and for this purpose they dispatched certain carriers to *Antipater* the governor of that coast, to demand passage. But by reason that they effected not this so loon as they hoped, there arose another new edition between the Princes themselves. Whereupon *Lomnorus* accompanied with the greater part retired to *Byzantium* from whence he came. But *Lutarius* took from the Macedonians (who under colour of an embassage were sent from *Antipater* in elpiali) two covered ships, and three brigandines. By means of these vessels, within few daies he had set over all his army, transporting them one after another day and night continually. Not long after *Lomnorus* also passed over into *Asia* from *Byzantium*, by the aid of *Nicomedes* Kings of *Bithynia*. After this, the Gauls joyed again together in one, and accompanied *Nicomedes* in his wars against *Zybas*, who held a part of *Bithynia*, and by their help and assistance especially, *Zybas* was vanquished, and all *Bithynia* became subject to *Nicomedes*. Then they departed out of *Bithynia* into *Asia*. Now of twenty thousand there were not above ten thousand armed. Yet to great a terror they struck into all nations on this side the mountain *Taurus*, that both they to whom they approached not near, and also they whom they came unto, as well the farthest as the nearest, submitted themselves, and ranged under their obedience. In the end, being three nations of them to wit, the Tolistobogians the Trocmians, and the Teftages, they divided *Asia* likewise into three parts, and parted them equally among themselves, that each nation of them possessed a severall tract which paid them tribute. The coast of *Hellefontus* was given to the Trocmians: the Tolistobogians had for their share *Lydia* and *Ionis*: and unto the Teftages were allotted the inland parts of the main continent of *Asia*. And in one word they demanded tribute of all *Asia* on this side *Taurus*. But they planned and feasted themselves about the river *Halyd*. The bruit of their name was so fearful and terrible, and especially after their issue was multiplied and increased in great number, that the Kings also of *Syria* in the end refused not to be their homagers and give them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants in *Asia* that denied them homage, was King *Antiochus* the father of *Eumenes*: and fortune beyond the expectation of all men, favoured his hardy and courageous enterprise: for he vanquished them in battell. Howbeit, he danted not their hearts so much, but still they upheld

* Mar di Mar, mox.

and maintained their sovereignty, in such sort, as their puissance continued until the war between *Antiochus* and the Romans. Yea, and after that *Antiochus* was vanquished and chased out of part of his Realm, they conceived great hope to hold their own still; by reason they were so remote from the sea, and therefore thought that the Roman army would never pierce so far as to them. The Consul now, forasmuch as he was to war with this nation, so terrible to all their neighbours in those quarters; assembled his souldiers to a publicke audience, and in this manner made speech unto them.

"I am not ignorant, my souldiers, that of all the people which inhabit *Asia*, the Gauls are most renowned for valiance in war. And why? this fierce and cruell nation having run over the world in a manner, and warred with all countries, chose them a place of abode, and to settle themselves in the midst of a generation of all other most mild and tractable. Big and tall they are, of stature; and perlonage: their hair they wear long in golden crimped and shining locks: they carry bucklers of huge bignesse, and handle swords of exceeding length. Besides, when they enter into battell, they use to hog, to hoop, and dance, and with clattering their targets and weapons together, alter the guise of their country; they make an horrible noise. And all this is done of purpose by them to terrifie their enemies. But such devices as these be, let the Greeks the Phrygians, and Carians be afraid of, who are not used and accustomed to hear and see such things: as for the Romans, acquainted with the Gauls sudden and tumultuous wars, they can skill well enough of these their toys and vanities also. Once indeed, and but once, at the first encounter they discomfited the Romans at the river *Alia*: but since that time our Ancestors for the space of two hundred years have made havock of them, killed, put to flight, and driven them like sheep before them: and of later, I dare well say, have they triumphed of the Gauls, than of all the world besides. Thus much we know of them by experience, that if a man be able to stand out their first shock and violence (which upon a furious heat of their own by nature, and in blind choler and anger they spend all at once) all the parts of their body run to sweat and become faint: their weapons are ready to fall out of their hands: their bodies are to render, their courages so feeble after their cholarick anger is once allayed and passed, that the very heat of the sun the dunt and the drought is able without drawing sword, to overthrow them and lay them along. Proof and trial we have had of them, not only legions to legions, but man to man. *T. Manlius* and *M. Valerius* shewed plainly how far Roman vertue and prowess surpasseth the furious rage of Gauls. Why? even *Marcus Manlius*, one man alone: repulsed and beat down the Gauls as they climbed up by numbers to the Capitoll cliff. And those ancetors of ours beforenamed, had them dole with natural Gauls indeed, born and bred in their own country: whereas these here, by this time now are a baslard sort of them, and clean degenerate, mingled they are with others, and in truth as they be called, so are they Gallo-greeks. And as fereish with them as with plants, fruits, and living beasts in which we see that the seed is not of that vertue, & so effectual to keep and retain still the own kind and nature as the property of the soil and the air where they are nourished is to change the same. Thus the Macedonians who inhabit *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, who dwell in *Seleucia* and *Babylonia*, and other Colonies dispersed over the earth, are grown out of their own kind, and in manners become Syrians, Parthians, and Egyptians. *Massilia* seated among the Gauls, hath drawn somewhat of the nature of the nations adjoining and bordering upon them. And what have the Tarentines left them of that severe, rough, and hard disposition of the Spartans? For, whatsoever is ingendered and bred in the own proper place, is evermore kindly, and retaineth its own nature better: but look what is transplanted into another soil, doth soon degenerate, and grow into a baslard kind: for nature transformeth her self, and changeth into that where with she is nourished. Be sure therefore, that like as ye have defeated these Phrygians (for no better they be) overcharged and laden with French arms in the battell against *Antiochus*, even so being now conquerours, ye shall subdue and hew them in pieces once already vanquished. And I fear me more that ye shall win too small glory of them, then I doubt by fighting too little with them that ye shall have their hands too full of war against them. Why even King *Attalus* many a time and often hath discomfited and put them to flight. Neither would I have you to think, that savage beasts only newly taken, and keeping at the first their self and wild nature, after a time that they have been fed by mans hand, grown to be tame and gentle: but that the fierceness and cruelty of man is likewise of the same nature to be daked and made tractable. Are ye perswaded that these Gauls resemble their fathers and grandfathers in conditions? Their forefathers long since left their native country for want of ground and land to possess; and being driven to pass through the most rough and difficult country of *Illyricum*, first came into *Pannonia* & afterwards travelled all over *Thracia*, fighting ever as they went with most fierce and cruell nations, until at length they ceased upon these parts and settled there. After (I say) they had been hardned and made more fell by so many travels and dangerous adventures, they were received in the end within such a land, as through abundance of all good things might feed and frack them up. All that the fierceness and savage nature of theirs, which they had when they came first thither, is (no doubt) mollified by the goodness of the most fertile soil, by the sweetness & pleasure of a moist temperate air, and last of all by the gentile and delicate bonit nature of the inhabitants their neighbors. And even you also (in good faith) are to look unto it: (martial men although you be, and the very offspring of *M.* himself) ye are (I say) to take heed and beware of these delights of *Asia*: and besides to get you forth from them. So

forceable

"forceable are these forraign pleasures and delicate enticements to quench and corrupt the rigor of your spirits: to powerful is the commerce and conversing with strangers; so potent is the contagion (as it were) of their manners and discipline of neighbour inhabitants. Yet this one good turn ye shall have, that as against you they have not that contagion which in times past they had: so among the Greeks here, they are of as great name as ever they were in ancient time. So that amongst your allies you shall win as great honour by your victory, as it should have been if you had conquered the Gauls, when they were at the height of their valour and prowess. After the assembly dismissed, and Embassadors sent to *Epiphonius* (the only Prince in those parts who perished in battell with *Antiochus*), and had refused to aid *Antiochus* against the Romans) the Consul marched forward. The first day he came to the river *Alander*, and the morrow to a certain village which they call *Tysson*, thither repaired unto him the Embassadors of the Orochians, craving to be accepted as friends; but they were enjoined to pay two hundred talents: and when they requested leave to make relation and report thereof at home, they were permitted. From thence the Consul led his army to *Plitendun*; and after that he encamped at *Alphar*. Thither returned they who had been sent to *Epiphonius* together with the Embassadors of Prince *Compulsius*, requesting the Romans not to war upon the Teutobogians: for that both himself and *Epiphonius* also, would go in person to them, and perwaded the nation to do whatsoever they should be commanded. The Prince obeyed their request: and so from thence the army began to march through the land which they call *Aylas*: and well it might be so called, for it hath no wood at all in it: nor beareth it much as thornes nor any thing else to burn and maintain fire: cow-dung is all their burning, for want of other fuel. Whiles the Roman lay in camp before *Cuballum* (a fortress of *Githogedon*) they disordered the Cavalry of the enemies coming toward them with a great hurly and tumult: and they charged so fiercely and suddenly upon the corps de guard of the Romans, that they not only troubled and disordered them, but also killed many of them. The alarm being given within the camp, the Roman horsemen at once issued forth of all the gates, discomfited the Gauls, and slew many of them in the chace. The Consul perceiving now that he was come into his enemies country, and had not from thenceforth without sending out his espials before, and kept his army together in battell array with great heed and carefulness. Thus he held on his journey continually till he came to the river *Singarius*, where he purposed to make a bridge, because there was not a single river at any foord. This *Singarius* ariseth out of the mountain *Adoreus*, and running through *Phrygia* in joyneth with the river *Thymbria* near unto *Bithynia*, and so growing bigger by receiving a double current, keepeth his course through *Bithynia*, and discharge himself into *Propontia* river, not so famous and noble for the greatness thereof, as because it yieldeth fish abundantly to all the nations bordering and dwelling thereupon. When the bridge was finished and the army passed over, as they marched along the bank side, the Galli or Priests of *Cybele* (the great mother of the gods) were come from *Pessinus*, and with streamers, insules and other ornaments meet them: and in their fanatical verities (as men distracted of their wits) seemed to prophesie and foretell, that the goddes vouchsafed the Romans a fair way to war and victory; yea, and the conquest and feignory of that country. Hereat the Consul said, That he accepted their words for a pretage of good fortune, and thereupon in that very place he pitched his Tents. The next day he went as far as *Gordium*: a town verily it is none of the greatest, but more frequented and resorted unto for traffique and merchandise, then usually such dry towns are that stand far within the land. Three seas there be triangle-wise of equal distance all from it. On the coast toward *Smyrna*, it hath *Hellepont* and the shores of the other tract, whereas the Cilicians inhabit by the sea-side. Moreover, it bordereth upon the confines of many great nations, who for their mutual need and commodity, have commerce of negotiation, and meet together in that one place. This town at that time they found altogether dispeopled, by reason that the inhabitants were fled for fear: but well stored, and full of wares and goods of all sorts. Whiles the Romans lay there encamped, there came Embassadors from *Epiphonius*, reporting unto them, that he had made a journey to the Princes of the Gauls, but could obtain no reason at their hands: also, that they were dislodged out of the champaign country, had quit their villages and lands in great numbers, and together with their wives and children driven before them and carried with them whomever they could, and were retired to the mount *Olympus* from whence they purposed to defend themselves by force of arms and the strong situation of the place. The Embassadors likewise of the Orochians, gave more certain intelligence, to wit, That the whole people in general of the Teutobogians had seized the hill *Olympus*: that the Teutobogians severally by themselves had taken another mountain called *Macana*; that the Trocmians, had committed their wives and children to the guard of the Teutobogians, minding with a main army to aid the Teutobogians. Now at that time the Princes of those three States were *Orginio*, *Conthionianus*, and *Galatius*. And the principall reason and means that these had to enterprise war, was this, That being possessed of the highest hills of that country, and having brought thither provision of all things to serve them for a long space, they supposed to weary and wear out their enemies in procees of time. For this account they made, that they would never venture to march against them, through so hard, so difficult and disadvantageous places: and if they assued to do so, they might be impeached, repulsed back and beaten down with a small company: again, if they would sit still in leguer at the foot of those iron mountains and do nothing, they were never able to endure the cold and the scarcity which they should find there.

And

And notwithstanding the very altitude and height of the places defended them, yet over and besides they cast a trench, and made other defences round about the tops of the mountains which they held. Also for provision of darts and other shot, it was the least of all their care, supposing that the rough places would furnish them with sufficient store of stones to sling. The Consul forecasting in his mind that he should not deal with their enemies close at hand-fights, but a far off when he was to assail their holds, had made provision also of great store of darts, light velletary javelins, arrows, bullets of lead, and small stones that might be levelled and sent out of slings. Thus being well appointed and furnished with such kind of shot, he led his army toward the mountain *Olympus* and about five miles off he encamped. The next day he together with *Artidius* advanced forward with 500 men of arms to view the nature and standing of the mountain, together with the situation of the Gauls camp. But the enemies horsemen being double in number to them, issued out of their camp, and put them to flight, slew a few of them in the rout, and hurt many. The third day he set forward with all his forces to discover the places, and by reason that there came not one of them out of their defences and fortifications, he rode round about the mountain in safety at his pleasure, and perceived that on the South-side, there were certain little hills, all of of clean earth without stones, and the same rising up with an easy ascent to a certain place but to the North were high rocks, and the same in manner steep upright, and whereas all the rest were inaccessible three only waies and adventures he found, the one directly toward the middle of the mountain (where those little mounds of earth stood) the other two were difficult, the one lying Southeast, and the other Northwest. After he had considered and viewed these places that day, he pitched his camp at the very root and foot of the hill. The morrow after he sacrificed and finding by the first beats which he killed, that the gods were pacified and favourable unto him, he divided his army into three battalions, and so advanced against the enemy, and himself in person with the greatest part of his forces, mounted up the hill, whereas it yielded the easiest ascent. He commanded his brother *L. Manlius*, from the Southwest to get up the hill, as the place would permit with safety, giving him in charge that if he met with any dangerous places steep and hard of ascent, that he should not wrestle with the difficult sides of the ground, nor strive against those things, which to force and overcome were impossible; but rather to traverse the ground, and retire toward him, and so to join with his battalion. As for *C. Helvius*, he willed him with a third part of the forces to wheel about by little and little, and fetch a compass at the hill foot, and then from the Northwest to mount up. Likewise the aids of *Artidius*, he divided into three equal parts, and took order that the young Prince himself in person should keep with him. The Cavalry and the Elephants he left in the next downs beneath the hills, and charged the Captains thereto to have a carefull eye and good regard to mark what was done in every place, yea, and to make haste to rescue and succour wheresoever need should be. The Gauls making full reckoning that on two sides they were sure enough, and the place that way to be inaccessible; because they would stop the other adventure by force of arms on the South side, sent forth about four thousand armed men to seize upon a certain hill within a mile of their camp, which hill commanded the way, supposing there, as from a fence and fortress to debar them of passage. Which when the Romans perceived, they put themselves in readiness to fight. A pretty space before the ensignes, marched the skirmishers, together with the Candior archers and slingers from *Artidius*; likewise the Tribunes of *Thrace*. The ensignes of the footmen followed softly after (as well as they might) against the hill, bearing their targets before them so, as they seemed to cover themselves only to avoid the shot, and meant not to enter into any fight hand to hand. The fight at first was equally performed with shot a good distance off: for as the Gauls got the advantage of the ground, so the Romans had the odds for variety and store of darts. But as the skirmish continued and increased, there was no more equality seen. For the shields of the Gauls being made long, and not broad enough for their bodies, and withall flat and plain without, hardly covered and defended them: and by this time all their shot was spent; & weapon had they none but their very swords, whereof there was no use at all, considering the enemy came not to close fight. The only help they had was with stones, and those too big for their handling and not easy to wield, by reason they were not provided before, but such as in that haste came next to their hand without any choice. Moreover, being not used and exercised to slinging, they had neither the artificial sleight, nor yet sufficient strength to help themselves withall: but contrariwise, from all parts were pelted with bullets of lead and galled with arrows & darts at unawares, which they could neither ward nor avoid and for that with anger & fear together their wits & understandings were blinded, they wist not what to do, seeing themselves surprised and overtaken in a kind of fight whereunto they were least of all fitted. For as in close conflict hand to hand, where blows are dealt, where raps are given and taken interchangeably, choler kindlyeth courage: even so when men are wounded aloof with light darts, & from whence they know not, they wot not upon whom to run & at whom to make in that blind fire of theirs, but they turn upon their own fellows without all reason as a venture like wild beasts O galled with arrows sticking in their sides. Now, they receive not a wound but it is seen by reason that they fight naked, and their bodies are fair flitk and white, as being never bare but in battell, by which means greater store of blood pourth out of the wounds in their fleshy bodies, the same they appear greater, and their white skin much more stained with black blood. But they pain not so much for broad & wide flashes (for otherwise when the skin is cut away & the wound rather broad than deep, they take more pride therein, & think they fight with greater honor.) Many if it happen

As happen at any time, that an arrow head or a bullet sticking within the flesh all hidden, put them to pain and torment; notwithstanding the hurt be small in appearance, yet when they seek to pull out an arrow, and the head will not follow, then they take on and are stark mad, for shame that so small a prick should plague them so, and be ready to kill them, in much as they call themselves on the ground, and lie wallowing along every where. Others there be of them that run full upon their enemy, and those were sticked with arrows and darts from all parts & when they came near to hand were by the skirmishers killed and cut in pieces with their swords. Their louders use to cover themselves with a shield of three foot long, carrying in their right hand certain spears to use aloof, and wear by their side a Spanish sword, now in case they come to hand fight, they shift their spear out of their right hand into the left, and take them to their swords. By this time there were few out of the Gauls left alive; who perceiving that the light armed skirmishers of the enemies were too good for them & seeing withall the ensignes of the legions to approach near unto them, took them to their heels on all hands, and began to flee again toward the camp; which now was full of cheer and trouble, as where women and children and a multitude of feeble folk (not fit to bear arms) were crowded and thronged together. The Romans following the train of their victory, seized the hills abandoned by the enemies that were fled. About the same time *L. Manlius* and *C. Helvius*, having mounted so far as they could find way, traversing the sides of the hill, when they were come to an end, where they could fee neither way nor path, they turned to that quarter of the hill which only afforded a way, and both of them began to follow the Consul's battalion a pretty distance aloof, as if they had agreed beforehand to do so; and that which at first had been simply the best thing to be done, they were of necessity forced at last to put in execution. For in such difficulties and places of disadvantage, in court behind in a rearward have oftentimes served in right good stead: that if those in the vanguard should have to be beaten back, they in the second place might receive and protect them, and also begin in such a new fight. A ter that the foremost ensignes of the legions were come to those hills; which the light armed before had seized the Consul commanded the louders to retire them awhile and breath themselves, and showed them withal where the bodies of the Gauls lay dead along all over the mountains. And it (quod) the light armed skirmishers have made such a riddance of them, what is to be looked for at the hands of the legionary louders, armed all over in compleat harness? What will they do that carry the hearts of most noble warriors? Surely they must needs win the camp, into which the enemy is chased, and driven by the light armed louders. Howbeit he commanded the light armed to go after who all the while that the legions retelled themselves spent not the time in vain, but employed it in gathering together the darts and javelins that lay about the hills, to the end that they might have sufficient shot. Now the Romans marched forward and approached the camp. The Gauls likewise for their parts, fearing lest their defence would not be able to defend them, stood armed before their trench and rampier. But afterward being overcharged with all sorts of darts, they were driven in the turning of an hand within their hold, (for the more they were in number, and the thicker they stood, the less lighted any dart in vain) only they left strong guards about the gates and entrance into the camp. Moreover, among the multitude which was driven into the camp, there was discharged at random a mighty number of darts: and that many of them were hurt thereby, appeared by their cry mingled with the shrieks of women and children. Now again, when that they warded the gates, and took up the avenues with their guards the legionary louders in the forefront let fly their javelins. And albeit they were not wounded in their bodies, yet by reason that their shields & bucklers were pierced through, they were most of them entangled one within another and stuck fast. Long they could not abide the violence of the Romans in forms as before that the victors could enter into the camp, the Gauls fled forth at all the gates wide open, and ran they wist not whither like blind men, as well through places which had no way as those that were passable. No rocks so steep with downs, no cliffs so rough with crags, could stand in their way: and nothing feared they affront; their enemies only at their heels affrighted them. And therefore most of them either fell headlong down a mighty height and brake their necks, or else for very feebleness lost their breath, were windless, and ready to die. The Consul after he had taken their camp, would not suffer it to be ransacked, but commanded the louders every one to follow the chase hard; and whiles the enemies were thus affraid, to affright them thoroughly. Then came the other regiment with *L. Manlius*, but the Consul would not suffer them to enter the camp, but sent them forthwith to pursue the enemies. Himself also in person anon after followed; when he had delivered the charge of keeping the prisoners, unto the military Tribunes of the army: for this reckoning and resolution he made, that the war was at a final end if in this tumultuous fright of theirs he might either kill or take prisoners a number of them. The Consul was no sooner departed, but *C. Helvius* came with his third regiment, but he could not hold his louders from the pillage of the camp, in much as the booty and prizes were most unguilely dealt among them who were at no end of the skirmish. The Cavalry stood all this while still and wist not of the fight, or that their fellows had gotten the victory: but afterward they also spying the Gauls dispersed about the root of the mountains made after them as well as their horses would mount against the hills: some they flew and others they took prisoners. The just number of those that were slain cannot easily be counted, because they stood fir and near among the cranks and windings of the mountains, where they were killed in sundry orders. Many of them besides, having engaged themselves to the crags and rocks that had no way forward,

ward, tumbled down into the valleys of a monstrous depth underneath. Yea, and some hapned to be killed in the woods amidst the thickets & bushes. *Claudius*, who writeth of two battles fought upon the mount *Olympus*, reporteth that there died there forty thousand enemies. But *Valerius Antias*, who otherwise is wont to overreach and exceed in number, hath recorded not above ten thousand. But without all question the prisoners amounted to forty thousand full, because they went with a train of all sorts and ages, more like men dislodging and removing out of one country unto another, than going to war. The Consul, after he had burned all the armour of his enemies in one heap, commanded his soldiers to bring forth the rest of the pillage and spoil into one place, and either sold and made money of that which was to come into the publick treasury of the City, or else parted it amongst the soldiers indifferently, with great regard, that every one should have a just and even portion. Moreover, he commanded them all in open audience, and rewarded every one besides with gifts according to their several merits. But above the rest, and with the general accord of all he both praised, and also recompensed *Attalus*. For surely that young gentleman shewed not only singular valour and forwardness in all travels and dangers, but also a special modesty and rare sobriety.

There remained yet entire and whole the war with the *Tectosages*, against whom the Consul made an expedition, & upon the third day arrived at *Ancyra*, a noble City in those parts, from whence the enemies were little more than ten miles distant. During the time that he lay there encamped, there hapned a memorable act, performed by a captive Lady. Among many more prisoners, there fortune'd to be kept in ward, the wife of *Ortiagon*, a woman of surpassing beauty. The Centurion who had her person in safe custody, was lecherous and covetous withal, as many of these soldiers are. Her he solicited and tempted first to commit folly; but seeing her altogether unwilling, and that she abhorred to prostitute her self unto him, he did violence upon that body of hers, which fortune had made bond and thrall unto him. But afterwards to mollify and assuage the indignity of this villany, he put the woman in good hope, and promised that he should return home again to her friends; yet he would not do all for pure love alone and freely without ransom, for he bargained to have a certain sum of gold besides. And to the end forthwith that no person belonging to him might take knowledge thereof, he permitted her to send one of the prisoners whom she self called messenger to her friends and kinsfolk, and appointed a place near unto a river, whither the next night (following should repair two and no more (of the said captive Ladies friends, with the gold above said) for to receive her at his hands. It fell out so, that among the rest of the captives committed to his guard, there was a bondslave of her own; this messenger at the shutting in of the evening the Centurion conducted without the *campus guard*. The morrow night after came accordingly to the place appointed, both the two friends, the said of the gentlewoman, and also the Centurion himself with his prisoner, where they shewed the gold, amounting to the full sum of one Attick talent (according as it was agreed between them) and with that the woman spake unto them in her language and commanded them to draw their swords, and kill outright the Centurion as he was weighing the gold. Which done, she caused his head to be stricken off, and wrapped it her self within her garments, and so carried it home to her husband *Ortiagon*, who from *Olympus* had fled and escaped to his own house. But before that she clipped and embraced her husband, she threw down the Centurion his head at his feet. And when he wondered what mans head it was, and what act this might be, as passing a womans deed, she confessed to her husband the injury that her body had suffered, and likewise the revenge for the abuse of her chastity by force and violence: and as it is reported, she maintained the honour of this matronlike act ever after even to her dying day, in all sanctimony of life and modest carriage of herself like a chaste dame.

Whiles the camp lay at *Ancyra*, the Orators of the *Tectosages* shewed themselves unto the Consul, requesting him not to dislodge and remove from thence before he had parled with their Lords and Princes: saying withal, that they would accept any conditions of peace whatsoever, rather than war. The time was set down, even the next morrow, and a place likewise appointed as just in the mid way (as it could be guessed) between the camp and *Ancyra*. The Consul, thither came at the hour assigned, accompanied with a guard of five hundred horse: but perceiving no Gaul at all there, he returned into the camp. And thither repaired the same Orators unto him the second time, excusing the default, and saying that their Princes could not be present by occasion of some scruple of conscience that arose the while: howbeit, the chief persons besides of the whole nation should appear by whom all matters might be composed as well as with themselves. The Consul made answer, that he likewise would send *Attalus* in his stead. So they came to this paring from both parts, *Attalus* had three hundred men of arms about him for his guard: and certain conditions of peace were drawn and propounded: but so far as they might not grow to any final conclusion in the absence of their chief Commanders, accorded it was that the day following the Consul and their Princes should meet in that place together. Now the drift of the Gauls in making these delays and trifling off the time, was this, that first they might gain some convenient place to transport over the river *Helys* all that ever they had (which they would not hazard with their own persons, together with their wives and children) and afterwards to lay a train of an ambush for the Consul himself, who took small regard and was not provided for to prevent their villany intended under the colour of that conference. For that purpose, they chose a thousand horsemen out of all their cavalry, of especial valour and approved hardi-

ness, for the execution of this treacherous design. And surely this their fraud had taken effect, if fortune had not defended and maintained the law of nations, which to break and violate they had completed. Certain souldiers of the Romans sent out to purvey forage, and fowls, were directed to those very quarters whereas the party above said should be kept. The Colonels thought it the fittest place for them, because they were to have the Consul guard also opposed for their defence against the enemy: howbeit, they set another *corps de guard* of their own, consisting of 600 horsemen nearer to the camp. Now by reason that *Attalus* assured the Consul so certainly, that their Princes would come, and that the matter might be soon knit up and dispatched, he departed out of the camp with the same guard of horsemen as before, and when he had marched almost five miles forward, and was not far short of the place appointed, he discovered all of a sudden the Gauls riding in full gallop against them in most furious manner as enemies: whereupon he raised the march and made a stand: commanding the horsemen to make ready their weapons and resolve to fight. The first charge and shock he received right valiantly, and stepped not back one foot: but afterwards as the multitude pressed still upon him, he began to give ground and retreat, but so as he brake not the ranks of his troops. But in the end, when they found more danger in longer stay, than commodity and help in keeping their array, they all at once turned their horie heads and fled. When they were dilarrained once, the Gauls pursued hard and killed them: and no doubt a great part of them had died for it, but that the foragers guard of 600 horse foresaid came to relieve them. For they hearing afar off the fearful cry of their fellows, made ready their armor and horses, and being fresh & in heart, entred upon the fight that was given over by their wearied and discomfited companions: whereupon fortune quickly changed, and the fear turned from the losers to the winners: for at the first encounter the Gauls were put to flight: and withal, the said foragers and souldiers came running out of the fields, and from all parts made head and affronted the Gauls: inasmuch as they could neither flee readily nor escape surely, because the Romans with their fresh horses followed them in chase, and they themselves were already tired: few therefore went away with life, and not one was taken prisoner, for the greater part by odds paid dearly by the loss of their lives, for violating of this their party under the colour of truth and fidelity. The Romans whiles their Romans were inflamed with anger, the very next day came against them with the pursuit of all their forces. But the Consul, employed two whole daies himself in viewing and discovering the situation and nature of the hills, because he would not be ignorant of any thing requisite. Upon the third day, after he had first taken the auspices and presages of the birds, and afterwards killed a sacrifice, he led forth his army divided into 4 battalions. Two of them were to mount up the midst of the hill & the other two he set in the sides to flank the wings of the Gauls, and to march up against them. The *Tectosages* and *Troximons*, who were the whole flower and strength of the enemies, made their main battel in the midst, consisting of 50000 men: and because there was no use of horse among those rough & uneven rocks, the cavalry alight on foot to the number of 10000, and those they put in the right wing. The Cappadocians with *Ariaratus*, & the auxiliary *Morzians* who arose to the number almost of 4000 men, held the left. The Consul, (like as before in the mount *Olympus*) marshalled his light armed for skirmish in the forefront of the vanguard, & gave order to have ready at hand as great store of darts & other shot of all sorts as he had before. When they approached one another, all things answered both of the one side & the other, like as in the former conflict: saving that the courage of the victors increased in regard of their former success, & the hearts of the enemies were much abated and danted. For albeit themselves had not yet been foiled & vanquished, yet they took the overthrow & loss of their countenances for their own. And therefore as the beginning of the battell was fustable, so the issue was likewise. For the Gauls battell was overspread & covered again as it were with a cloud of light shot. And not one of them durst run forth out of his range, for fear he should discover his whole body & lay it open to take all that came: and keeping still together as they did, the thicker they stood, the fairer mark they were for the enemies to level at, & the more wounds they received. The Consul, perceiving they were already of themselves troubled, and supposing that if he set forward & presented unto them the ensigns of the legions, they would immediately all of them flee, received the light armed loose shot, & the rest of the auxiliary souldiers within his own ranks and files, and then advanced his legions. The Gauls affrighted with the fresh remembrance of the late defeat and overthrow of the *Tolistobogians*, carrying also about themselves the darts sticking in their bodies, weary besides with long standing afoot, and overcharged likewise with many a wound, could not abide so much as the onset and shout of the Roman legions. Then began they to take their heels and flee toward their camp, but few of them recovered it, and got within the rampier and other defences. The greater number fled here and there on both hands, and dispersed themselves into all parts as they took them in the head, and as every man in this confused fright caught a way by himself. The Conquerors followed them still even hard to the very camp, and all the way charged upon their backs and beat them down. Which done, they fled and stuck still in the camp for desire of pillage, and there was not one that followed one foot after. The Gauls in the wings stood to longer, by reason that it was later ere they were set upon but able they were not to abide the first charge and shot of the Roman darts. The Consul, who could not possibly pick those out of the camp that were once entred in for greediness of spoiling and rifling the tents, sent out the consul immediately to be in the wings to follow the enemies in chase still forward. These pursued them a certain space: howbeit in this flight, (for in truth it was no fight at all) there were not above eight thou-

land that left their carcasses behind them; all the rest recovered the other side of the river *Hayti*. Many of the Romans remained that night within the enemies camp: the rest the Consul brought back again to his own. The next day he took account and survey of the prisoners and prizes, which was so great as a man would conceive that a nation of all others most greedy of pillage and spoiling might possibly take and heap together for so many years, as they held all those parts within the mountain *Lacry* by force of arms. The Gauls thus scattered in flight, rallied themselves into one place, as being many of them hurt or disarmed, and stripped clean but of all they had for their ambassadors into the Consul to treat for peace. The Consul willed them to give attendance upon him at *Epilysus*: himself made haste to remove out of those cold quarters by reason that the mountain *Tamus* was so near (for now it was the midst of Autumn) and led back his victorious army to pass the winter near the seaside.

While the affairs thus passed in *Asia*, all was quiet in the rest of the Provinces. At *Rome* the Consuls *T. Quintus Flaminius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* made a new choice of Senators; and *Publius Africanus* was chosen the President of the Senat now the third time: four only were left outland discarded; but not one of them had born office of State; and had the honour to sit in the Curule chair. The Consuls shewed themselves likewise passing mild in the review of the Cavalry and order of Knighthood. They put out to framing the foundations and ground works upon the *Aquilum* in the Capitoll: and likewise they bargained for to pave the street with hard flint or pebbles from the gate *Capena* to the Temple of *Mina*. The Campans demanded of the Senat, in what place they should be assailed and enrolled: and thereupon a decree passed for their enrolment at *Rome*. The rivers were out, and great deluges happened that year. The *Tyber* overflowed his banks twelve times and drowned *Marcellus* and all the low parts of the City.

After that *Cn. Manlius* the Consul had brought the Gauls war to an end in *Asia*, the other Consul *M. Fulvius* having utterly subdued the *Aetolians*, passed over into *Cephalenia*: and sent to all the Cities about the Island certain messengers, to sound them whether they would rather yield themselves unto the Romans or hazard the fortune of war? And so forcible was fear among them all, that there was not one person refused to surrender. And being enjoyed (according to the ability of the people who were but bare) to give hostages, the *Nehotes*, *Cranians*, *Petionians*, and *Samaeans* delivered twenty apiece. This peace no sooner shone upon the *Cephalenians* beyond all their expectation, but suddenly one City of the *Samaeans* revolted, and upon what cause it is not known: themselves alledged and said, That forasmuch as their City was seated in a commodious place they feared greatly to be dispossessed and turned out of it by the Romans. But whether they only imagined this and put themselves in fright, and so changed their quiet and repose for war and foolish fear: or whether there had been question heretofore among the Romans, and upon much cavilling in mens mouth the rumour of such a matter, came unto them, it is not certainly known. Only this much, after they had given their hostages, they shut their City gates upon a sudden; and desired they would not from their enterprise, for all the entreaty and prayers that their own hostages made, whom the Consul had sent (on purpose) even under their walls, to move their countenance and parents, to pity and compassion. When as therefore they would make no answer, depending upon peace, the Consul began to assault the City: and all the ordinance of artillery and engines of battery were under his hand, which had been brought from the siege of *Ambracia*. And look what works and fabricks were needfull besides to be made, the soldiers with great diligence and forwardness performed. So in two places at once they planted rams against the City and battered the walls. The *Samaeans* on the other side for their part omitted and neglected nothing, that might either annoy the enemy or impeach the works. But two things there were principally wherewith they made resistance and withstood their violence: the one was a contrivance within the City which they ever raised new instead of the old & as strong as it was, that was demolished and broken down: the other was their often sudden sallies, one while upon the fortifications and fabricks, otherwhiles upon the *corps de guard* of the enemies: and for the most part in these skirmishes they had the better hand. But one mean there was devised, and the same of small shew to speak of, to refrain and keep them in from falling forth. The Romans sent to *Agemus*, *Patras*, and *Dime*, for an hundred slingers. These nations from their childhood used to exercise themselves (after the manner of the country) to discharge out of slings into the open sea certain round stones, which commonly the shore is overspread with among the sands, by reason of which exercise, they have more skill both to sling farther from them; and also to strike more sorely and give a smarter tap and stroke than those of the *Baleares*. For their sling is not made with one only cord as the *Baleares* are, and those of other nations, but it hath three leather thongs hardened and made stiff with many sinews and sinews left in the leather were soft and gentle, the bullet and stone within should wag to and fro and roll out in the delivery and hurling of it: but being seized and counterpoised (as it were) it went merrily away, and sent and driven out of the noose of a stone-bow. And so well practised they were in this, that they could a great way off level a bullet through garlands, rings, and hoops of small compass; and misn not say, they would be sure to hit, not only the head of an enemy, but any part of the face that they aimed at, point blank, and never fail. These slings they made the *Samaeans* to pluck in their hands; that they durst not fly out neither to offend nor to defend as they did. To whom as from the walls, they requested the *Achaens* for a while to stand aside and repose themselves, and see them how they skirmished with the *corps de guard* of

* Villius
* Patras
* Dime
* three towns
of *Asia*.

of the Romans. Four months space the *Samaeans* endured the siege. Now when of that small number which they had, some or other daily dropt away, and were either killed outright or wounded; and they that remained, were both tired in body, and danted in courage: the Romans one night passed over the wall by the fortrefs which they call *Capena* for the City where it boun- deth upon the Sea, yeth toward the West, and entered so far as the market place. After that the *Samaeans* perceived that one part of the City was taken by the enemies, they fled with their wives and children into a greater fortrefs, and the next day yielded: the Town was ransacked, and they themselves were all sold in open market to who would give most.

The Consul having first the State of *Cephalenia* in good order, and put a garrison within *Samaeans*, passed into *Peloponnesus*, having been called and sent for to come thither a long time, principally by the *Aegians* and *Lacedaemonians*. Time out of mind, and from the first beginning of the Diets of *Achaia*, the whole nation used to assemble and meet at *Aegium* ordinarily, were it to grace and honour the City, or because the place was commodious therefore. This ancient custom *Philopomen* that year began first to infringe, and went about to make a law and ordinance, That in all the Cities of *Achaia*, their Councils and Diets shall be holden in course and order at their times. And against the coming of the Consul, when the Demingues of the free Cities and States summoned the Diet to be kept at *Aegium*, *Philopomen* (Pretor for that time) came with a count- less summons and proclaimed it to be held at *Argos*. And when it was evident to be seen, that they all in manner minded thither to resort: the Consul also (albeit in affection he favoured the *Aegians*) came to *Argos*; where, after much debate, seeing the matter growing the other way, he de- parted from his design and gave over the cause. After this, the *Lacedaemonians* averred him thence, and drew him away to the deciding of their controversies and dissensions. Certain ban- nished persons they were who most of all disquieted and troubled that State: and many of them had their abiding place in the Castles coasting along the frontiers of the *Laconian* territory toward the sea, which was taken wholly from the City. The *Lacedaemonians* much discontented and offended heretofore, entered one night a certain borough called *Lus*, surprised it unawares to the inhabitants, and kept it to their use: to the end that if need were at any time to send Embassadors to *Rome* or else whither, they might have some free access unto the Sea: and withal, be served of a mart-town for yent, and a place of recit for all forrain merchandise from strangers to their necessity uses. The Townsmen within, as also the exiles aforesaid (there dwelling) were terrified at the first with this sudden and unexpected occurrence: but afterward (before day-light) when they had once rallied themselves together, with small ado and skirmish chased forth the *Lacedaemonians*: howbeit the least parted over all the Sea coast, so that in one general accord, the Castles and Villages of every one, year, and the exiled persons (as many as there inhabited) dispatched their Embassadors to the *Achaens*. *Philopomen* their Pretor (who ever from the beginning friended the cause of the banished, and had always advised and counselled the *Achaens* to abate and take down the puissance and reputation of the *Lacedaemonians*) granted them at their request and seeking a Diet, in which (upon a motion by him made) there passed a decree in this form: That whereas *T. Quintus* and the Romans, had committed and delivered to the safeguard and protection of the *Achaens*, the fortresses, burroughs, and villages, situate along the Sea coast of the *Laconians*, and (by vertue of a covenant and accord) the *Lacedaemonians* had nothing to do therein, but ought to forbear them; and yet notwithstanding, the Town *Lus* was by them forced, and a great massacre there committed: therefore unless the principals and accessories both of that outrage, were yielded to the *Achaens*, they deemed the covenant and accord in that behalf provided, to be broken. Hereupon incontinently were Embassadors addressed to *Lacedaemon*, to challenge and demand the parties above said: but the *Lacedaemonians* took this for so proud a commandment, and thought it such an indignity, that without all doubt, if they had been in as good estate then, as sometimes they were, they would immediately have taken arms. But nothing troubled and disquieted their spirits so much as this, for fear lest if once they received the yoke of subjection upon their necks, in yielding obedience to their first demand, *Philopomen* would proceed and put in execution that which he long intended and went about: even to deliver the City *Lacedaemon* into the hands of the banished aforesaid. Enraged therefore with choler and anger, they fell upon thirty of that faction who were comptrolled in council with *Philopomen* and the exiles, and slew them out-right: and withal made a decree, To renounce and reject all society with the *Achaens*: and forthwith to send their Embassadors to *Cephalenia*, with commission, to deliver *Lacedaemon* unto *M. Fulvius* and the Romans; and to beseech him to take the pains to come into *Peloponnesus*, therto to receive the City *Lacedaemon* under the obedience and protection of the people of *Rome*. When the Embassadors had made relation hereof to the *Achaens*, presently war was proclaimed against the *Lacedaemonians* by common consent of all the States of that assembly and general council: but the winter impeached them for entering into any action or present execution. Howbeit they made small rodes into their frontiers, and wasted the same not only by Land, but also by Sea, after the manner of robbery and piracy, rather than of warlike hostility. The troubles drew the Consul, into *Peloponnesus*, and by his commandment a Diet was published to be holden at *Elis*; and thither were the *Lacedaemonians* sent forth to argue and debate their cause. Where there was not only much reasoning and dispute, but also wrangling and altercation. The Consul who in other points bare himself nicely enough, and answered in doubtful terms, as one willing to entertain both parts, determined and ended the controversy in one word,

bounds of their own territories. After this, having gathered into one place all the vessels from the Sea coasts, together with the entire fleet of King Eumenes, which by his brother Attalus was brought from Elea, he transported all his forces into Europe. From whence he marched through Chersonesus by short & easy journeys, because his army was heavily charged with prizes and booties of all sorts; and encamped at *Lysimachia*, purposing there to rest a while, to the end that his travelling beasts of draught and carriage might be fresh and in good heart to pass through *Thracia*, which was a voyage and journey commonly feared and abhorred. The same day that he dislodged from *Lysimachia*, he came to the River which they call *Melas*, and from thence the next day to *Cypselia*. When they were past *Cypselia*, they had for ten miles almost no other way, but through wild woods, narrow freights, and those rough withal and uneven underfoot. For the difficulty of which passage, the army was divided into two parts. The one he commanded to march before, the other to come behind in the rearward a great distance after; and in the midst between, he bestowed the carriages with bag and baggage, and amongst them were waggons and wains, laden with the publick treasure, and other pillage of great price. As he thus marched through the freight pass, there were about 10000 and not above, raised out of four nations of *Asia*, to wit, the Attians, Carians, Maduarenes, and Coletes, who beted the freights to debar them of passage. It was supposed that King Philip of *Macedony* his hand was herein, and that they entered not into this action without his privy and fraudulent practise; who as he knew that the Romans could return no other way but by *Thracia*, so he was aware and witt well enough what a mass of money they carried with them. The Roman General himself was in the vanguard, careful only and troubled about the difficulty of the way. All this while the Thracians (as still and stirred not until the armed soldiers were passed by. But when they perceived once, that the vanguard was gotten out of the freights, and that the rearward was far enough behind, they fell in hand with the packs and coffers of the carriages; and after they had killed the guards some of them ranfacked and rifled that which was in the waggons, others away the pack horses and other lumber beasts with their load and burden on their backs. Hereupon arose a cry and alarm, and was first heard of those that followed, but afterwards of them also in the forward & so from both ends they ran to the midst, and at one time in diverse places, skirmished without all order confusedly. The Thracians heavily charged and encumbered with pillage and moft of them without any weapon at all, because they might have the use of their hands more nimble and agile to snatch & catch unto them their prizes, were by this means more exposed to receive hurt, and soon killed. The Romans again were much distressed and annoyed through the disadvantage of the ground and the waies; which the barbarous people were well enough acquainted with, and out of them would issue forth to encounter, and otherwhiles lurk within hollow blind caves, and not be seen. The very packs likewise and the waggons, standing and lying unto wardly in the way, sometime of one, and sometime of other (as it happened), troubled and hindered them much in their fight. So as here in one place lay the tree dead, there in another the true man that pursued him. And according as the plot of ground was good or bad, as well for the one sort as the other, as their hearts and courages lifted or failed them and as the number was more or less, so the skirmish and fight was variable: and in one word, on both sides many a man lay in the dust and lost his life. By which time the night approached, and the Thracians departed out of the conflict, not so much to avoid wounds and for fear of death, as for that they had perished themselves sufficiently of prizes. The Roman vanguard encamped without the forest in the open ground about the Temple of *Neptune*. The rearward remained still behind in the midst of the woods to guard their carriage, fortified within a double pallisado of strong stakes. The morrow after, when they had well discovered by their espials the way before them, they joined themselves with the vanguard. In this battle (over and besides a great part of their pillage lost, and a number of camp-followers and jacks slain, with some soldiers also, for that there was skirmishing every where throughout the chafe) there died *Q. Minutius Thermus* and a right great loss there was of him for he was a man of much valour and execution. That day the army marched as far as to the River *Hebrus*. From whence they passed through the confines of the *Arrians*, near unto the Temple of *Apollo* whom the inhabitants name *Zerynthus*. And there they met with another freight passage about a place called *Tempra*, as rough and cumbersome underfoot as the former. But forasmuch as there were no woods about it, it yielded no good place for ambushes. Howbeit the Thracians (a people likewise of *Thrace*) assembled together, hoping also to light upon the like booty. But by reason that the valleys lay naked and open, so as if any beted the narrow waies they might be discovered a far off, the Romans were less afraid and troubled. For, say that they were to fight in some place of disadvantage, yet they might arrange themselves in battel array in open field, and join in close fight hand to hand. Being therefore embattled in Squadrons thick and strong they charged the enemy with a great shout and cry, and at the first shock forced them to retreat and lose ground, and afterwards to turn back and fly, and in the rout they were beaten down and killed; for even their own freights which they seized for their vantage, empeached and hindered themselves. The Romans having gotten the victory, encamped near a village of the Maronians, called *Sarz*. The next day they marched through the champaign open country *Priacicus*, where they to journeyed three daies to take in corn, partly from out of the fields of the Maronians, which willingly of themselves they copied upon them, and partly out of their own ships, which followed after, well furnished with all kind of provision. From this place they made but one daies journey to *Apollonia*, and so passing through the territory

* Diene.

of the *Abderites*, they came to *Naples*. All this way they journeyed peaceably through the Colonies of the Greeks. But the rest behind, if it were not dangerous unto them for any hostility, yet speeded still it was, all the whiles that they passed night and day through the midst of the Thracians, until at length they came into *Macedony*. The same army conducted sometime before by *Scipio* that very way, found the Thracians more gentle and tractable, for no other cause, but that they had less force of pillage and booty with them to let their teeth on water, and fingers on itching. And yet even then also (as *Claudius* writeth) there were fifteen thousand Thracians that encountered *Marius* the Numidian, as he marched before the vanguard to discover the coasts; and he saith, that he had in his company four hundred Numidian horsemen, and some few Elephants: also that his son with an eleet wing of a hundred and fifty horse, brake through the midst of the enemies, who also with a while after, (when his father *Marius* having placed the Elephants in the midst, and the Horsemen in the flanks, joined in battel with his enemies, charged them upon their backs, and put them in great fear) by means of which form and tempest (as it were) of the Cavalry, they never came so far, as to deal with the battel of the footmen. *Cn. M. Julius* led his army through *Macedony* into *Thessaly*, and marching on by the way of *Epirus*, arrived at *Apollonia*, where he abode all winter. For he made not so light a matter of winter failing, that he durst take the Sea, and hazard the passage at that time of the year.

The year almost expired, *M. Valerius* the Consul returned but of *Liguria* to *Rome*, for the creation of new Magistrates, having achieved no such memorable exploit in his Province during the time of his government, as might have yielded any colourable reason of his long stay, in that he came more tardy (than the usual manner was) to the assembly for an election of Consuls: (for he had then it was upon the 12 calends of *March*) wherein were created, *M. Emilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*. The next day after these Pretors were elected; namely, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, *Q. Terentius Cillo*, *L. Terentius M. Siffidius*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. After the election of Magistrates the Consul propoied to the Senat as touching the Provinces and governments of the Pretors. And the L. decreed, that two of them should remain at *Rome* to minister laws and execute justice: other two should be employed out of *Italy*, in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*: two in *Italy*, to wit, at *Tarentum* and in *Gaul*. Immediately before they entered into office they were enjoined to visit *Asia* and *Ser. Sulpicius* had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and *Q. Terentius* of strangers and aliens: *L. Terentius* took the charge of *Sicily*, *Q. Fulvius* of *Sardinia*, *Ap. Claudius* was to govern *Tarentum*, and *M. Furius* to rule *Gallia*. It furnished the same year that *L. Manlius* and *L. Manlius* were delivered to the Carthaginian Embassadors, by the hands of the *Fæd* heralds at the commandment of *M. Claudius* Pretor of the City for the time being, and transported over to *Carthage*. For that the voice and speech went, that they had beaten the said Embassadors. A bruit and rumour there was of a great war begun in *Liguria*, which encreased every day more than other. Whereupon the Senat ordained to both the new Consuls the Province of *Liguria*, that day on which they propounded unto the Senat to consult about the Provinces and the affairs of the Common-weal. But *Lepidus* the Consul opposed himself against this their act and ordinance, alleging, "That it was a shameful indignity, that both the Consuls should be shut up and enclosed within the valleys of *Liguria*; whereas for two years already *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* had reigned like Kings, the one in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*, instead of *Phil* and *Antiochus*. And if (qd. he) it be the pleasure of the Senat that there should be armies maintained in those parts, more meet, I wot, it were, that Consuls should have the command & conduct thereof, as of such private persons. As for them, they range about those nations, certifying them with threats of war against whom there hath been none proclaimed; imitating merchandise and selling peace among them for sums of money. Now if it be requisite and needful to keep two armies for the government and defence of those Provinces, like as *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* Consuls, succeeded *M. Atilius* and *L. Scipio* Consuls: so *C. Lælius* and *M. Valerius* the Consuls ought to have entered in place of *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. At least while now, when the *Ætolian* war is finished and brought to an end, *Asia* recovered and conquered from *Antiochus*, and the Gauls vanquished subdued, either ought Consuls to be sent unto their armies, or else the legions to be brought back from thence, and at length delivered to the Common-weal. The Senat notwithstanding they gave him the hearing, persisted still in their resolution, that both Consuls should be employed in the Province of *Liguria*. Yet thought good it was, that *Manlius* and *Fulvius* should leave their Provinces, withdraw their forces from thence, and return to *Rome*. An old grudge there was and a rankred enmity between the said *M. Fulvius*, and *M. Emilius* the Consul: and among other matters of discontentment, *Emilius* gave out, that by the means of *Fulvius*, himself was created Consul two years later than otherwise he should have been. And therefore to work him delight and make him odious to the World, he caused the Embassadors of *Ambracia* (whom he had suborned and set on for to lay matters to his charge) to enter into the Senat: These being in place, complained that *M. Fulvius* had wronged upon them, and were also that they were in peace, performed all that other Consuls before had imposed upon them, and were also that they were peaceably spoiled and waited: then were they terrified with the sacking of our City, and threatened with the killing of our people, that for very fear we were forced to shut our gates. Afterwards we were beleaguered and assaulted, and against us all kinds of hostility practised, by sword, by fire, by ruining and ranfacking our City. Our wives, our children, have been led

* 18 of Febr.

and haled into captivity and bondage) our goods violently taken from us; (and this which we have all we need to our heart) our Temples throughout the whole City despoiled and robbed of their goodly ornaments: the images of our Gods, and finally our Gods themselves plucked out of their shrines and places, and so carried away: yea, the very walls and pillars left bare and naked, so as the Ambracians have no Gods remaining amongst their rocks, and to whom they might make their prayers and supplications. As they poured out their complaints, the Consul of a mind to aggravate and heap more matter upon his adversary, ceased not to propound unto them many interrogatories (as it was plottened between them before) and drew them out to speak many things, as if with their good will they would not have uttered them. When the rest of the LL. were moved herewith, then the other Consul C. Flaminius undertook the apologetic defence of M. Fulvius, saying, "That the Ambracians trod in an old beaten way, and did no other worse than some before them had done. For even so was M. Marcellus accused by the Syracusians, so was Q. Fulvius charged by the Capuans. And why by the same means suffered they not? Quintus was by King Philip, M. Aelius and L. Scipio by Antiochus, Cn. Manlius by the Gauls, and the same Fulvius himself by the Ætolians and people of Cephallenia? That Ambracia was assaulted, battered, and forced in the end: that images and ornaments were taken from thence; that other acts were done and committed, which usually follow upon the winning of Towns; think ye my LL. that either I in the behalf of Fulvius will deny, or Fulvius himself will deny? who in regard of these worthy exploits and noble acts, is minded to demand at your hands the honor of a Triumph, who purporeth to carry before his triumphant chariot the portraiture of Ambracia as it was taken, the images which they accuse him to have carried away and other spoils of that City; yea, and to set them upon the posts of his house for a memorial to posterity? No reason there is that the Ambracians should sever themselves from the Ætolians, and do more than they, for their safe and condition is all one. And therefore let my colleague shew his rage and malice, and bewray a festered enmity in some other cause: or if he will needs follow and pursue this forward, let him intertain and keep still his Ambracians unto the coming of M. Fulvius. And for mine own part, I will suffer no act to pass either of the Ambracians or the Ætolians, so long as M. Fulvius is absent. Æmylius accused his enemy for having a crafty head of his own, and for his subtle fetches, as being notorious and well known to all men for no better; saying, that full cunningly he would trifle out the time, and make delays all the year long, that he might not come to Rome so long as his adversary was Consul. Thus in this debate between the two Consuls two dayes were spent and nothing else done. And it appeared evidently, that so long as Flaminius was in place and presence, nothing could be concluded and determined. Whereupon a time was spied out when Flaminius chanced to be sick, and by that occasion was away. Then upon a motion made by Æmylius there passed an act of the Senat. That the Ambracians should have all their goods restored unto them again; that they should enjoy their freedom and franchises, and live under their own Laws: and finally might take what customs, toll and imposts they would for portage, as well by Land as Sea: provided always that the Romans, and their allies the Latins, should be exempted and free therefrom. As for the images and other ornaments which they complained were taken out of their sacred Temples, the Senat ordained that when M. Fulvius was returned to Rome, the college of the Pontifics should have the hearing and deciding thereof, and look what they awarded and set down, it should stand and be performed accordingly. And the Consul not content with all this, took the vantage when there were but few Senators in the house, and procured an other act of Senat in this form. That they judged Ambracia not to be reputed a City forced by assault. This done, there was by virtue of an order from the Decemvirs a solemn supplication holden three dayes for the health of the people, in regard of a grievous pestilence that did despoiled both City and Countrey. After that the Latine feasts and holy-dayes were celebrated. When the Consuls had accomplished these dedications, and rid their consciences of scruple, and withal made a full and compleat levy to furnish legions (for both of them were desirous to have new souldiers) they departed unto their Provinces, and called all the old.

After the Consuls were set forward on their journey, the Pro-consul Cn. Manlius returned home to Rome. For whose sake the Pretor Servius Sulpicius assembled the Senat in the Temple of Iuliana. Where after relation made of his deeds achieved, he demanded that in consideration thereof, due honor and thanksgiving should be rendered to the immortal Gods, and withal, that himself might ride triumphant into the City. The most part of the Legats and Commissioners, who had been with him gainst and desired the same, and above all the rest L. Furius Purpuris, and L. Æmylius Paulus, who stepped forth, and informed against him in these terms: "That they had been sent in commission to assist Cn. Manlius, for the making of a peace with Antiochus, and finishing of that accord and those covenants and conditions, which were commended and agreed between him and L. Scipio. Yet Cn. Manlius, say they, endeavored all that ever he could to trouble that peace yea, and to have supplanted and intrapped Antiochus by means of ambush. If he had ever come in his way, or within his reach, but the King being a ware of the Consul's fraud and deceit, albeit there was made great means many a time to have caught him by colour of parley and conference, yet avoided evermore not only to have speech and communication with him, but also to come within his sight. And when Manlius would needs have passed over Taurus, hardly and with much ado could he be kept back, notwithstanding all the commissions prayed for and

and be sought him to slay, and not to hazard himself and incur the danger of a notable loss and overthrow, fore-told by the verities and propheties of Sibylla to light upon them that would pass beyond the bounds limited by the fatal destinies. All this notwithstanding he advanced forward and approached with his army, yea, and encamped near the very pitch and top of the mountain, where all the water that falleth from above, runneth contrary wayes into divers Seas. And when he could find no quarrel there for which he might make war (because the Kings people and subjects were still and quiet) he turned the army about to the Gallagrecs, against which nation there was no war intended either by warrant and authority from Senat, or by grant and commission from the people. And what man was ever so hardy and bold, as to war upon his own head? The wars against Antiochus, Philip, Annibal, and the Carthaginians, are most fresh in each mans remembrance: and of all these the Senat was consulted with, and the people granted their ordinance. Embassadors many a time and often were addressed before: restitution and amends were by order demanded: and last of all, heralds were sent, solemnly to denounce and proclaim war. Now tell me, Cn. Manlius, Which of all these things were done: that we may call this by the name of a publick war, allowed by the State of the people of Rome; and not rather a private brigandage and robbery of your own? But contented you your self with this, and did you no more? marched you directly forward, and took you nothing but that which was in your way? leading your army against those only whom you took to be your enemies? or rather at all turnings and windings, nay, at every forked high way leading on both hands, when you were at a stand, followed not you like a mercenary and waged Consul unto Attalus (King Eumenes his brother) with the Roman army, what hand soever he turned and marched? There was not a crank and nook but you visited; there was not a corner that you left unsearched, in all Bithia, Lyconia, and Phrygia. There was not a tyrant, Prince nor Potentate, there was not a Lord of any borough or castle, how far soever out of the way, but you had a saying to them to pill and poll them, and to pick pence out of their purses. For what business had you with the Orontians? What had you to do with other nations, as innocent and guiltless as they? Now as concerning the war, (in regard whereof you demand a triumph) in what sort managed you it? fought you a battail either in place commodious, or time convenient? Surely, I must needs say, great reason you have and good cause, to require that honor and praise be given to the immortal Gods: first for that their gracious will and pleasure was that the army should not smare for the temerity and rashness of their chief leader, warring as he did against the law of nations; then in that they preferred unto us, not men indeed for enemies, but very beasts and no better. For ye must not think, that it is the name only of the Gallagrecs, which is mingled and compounded for long time before, both their bodies and minds have been mixed and corrupted, and then themselves bafard and degenerate from their first nature. Had they been the same Gauls with whom we have fought a thousand times in Italy, and with doubtful issue, and lost as much as we won, and every foot received as good as we brought, think ye there would have returned one messenger from thence, to bring us news, for any good at least, wife that our General there did? Twice he came to conflict with them; twice he encountered them in place of disadvantage; mounting with his army against the hill, and ranged in the bottom of the valley, even under the enemies feet: in such sort, that if they had lanced no darts against us from the higher ground, but only come upon us with their naked and disarmed bodies, they had been able to have overcome us and gone over our bellies. And what hapned hereupon? God-amercy the good fortune of the people of Rome: we may thank (I say) the great and terrible name of the Romans. Their fresh renown of the late ruins and overthrowes of Annibal, Philip, and Antiochus, amazed and astounded (as one would say) these men with their so corpulent and mighty bodies; with slings and arrow-shot only were they discomfited and put to flight, so affrighted were they. There was not a sword once bloudied in all this Gauls war: at the first twing of the bow and ringing of the arrow, they fled away like swarms of bees with ringing of balons. And yet believe me, even we the same and no other (as if fortune would admonish and shew what had become of us if we had affronted an enemy indeed) in our return, when we returned to fight upon certain petty robbers and thieves of Thrace, were soundly beaten, killed, and put to flight, and spoiled and well stripped of our bag and baggage. Q. Minutius Thermus (by whose death we have sustained a far greater loss, than if Cn. Manlius had miscarried, whose rashness was the cause of all this calamity and misfortune) with many a tall and valiant man besides, lost his life in this skirmish. Our host bringing away with them the spoil and pillage of K. Antiochus, was discombed and parted into three troops: the vanguard in one place, the rearguard in another, and the carriages in a third: were faine to take up their lodging one whole night amongst bushes, briars, and brambles, and lurk within the caves and dens of wild beasts. Are these the brave and worthy exploits, for which you demand a triumph? But say, that you had received in Thrace, no other damage nor dishonor: which be the enemies over whom you would needs triumph in all the hazard? tro they be those whom the Senat & people of Rome destined & assigned to be your enemies: for so was triumph granted to this L. Scipio here in place: so likewise to that M. Aelius before him over K. Antiochus: so to also ere while to Q. Quintus for the victory of Philip; and so to conclude unto P. Africani for subduing Annibal the Carthaginians, and K. Syphax. And when the Senat had ordained war, yet before they enterprised and began these high and hairy affairs, they made some doubt and pause in such petty circumstances as these, to wit, unto whom they should

should send defiance and denounce the said war: whether to the Kings themselves in their own persons or it were sufficient to give intimation to one garrison or other within their frontiers. And would ye now (my matters) that all these observations and ceremonies should be polluted and confounded, that the rights and laws of the Feciales and heralds should be abolished, that there shall be no more Fecial at all. But let religion and divine service (God forgive me, if I seem to blaspheme) be trodden under foot: suppose the Gods were utterly forgotten of you, and their remembrance quite exiled out of your hearts: Is it your pleasure also, and think ye I meet, that the Senat be consulted no more for their advice in question of war? or that a bill be not proposed to the people, in this wise: Pleadeth it you or no, to ordain that war be levied against the Gauls? The other day, and no longer since, the Consuls were delirious and exorbitant to govern Greece and Asia, yet when they perceived you to be reolute and perill still in offering unto them both, the Province of Liguria, they were content and obeyed. Great reason shall they have therefore to demand a triumph at your hands, after they have achieved an happy victory and finished that war, which they first enterprised under your warrant and authority. After this manner as ye have heard, spake *Furius* and *Emilius*. And *Manius* again, as we find in record, answered thus, much to this effect, as followeth: "Right honorable & my very good LL., the Tribuns of the Commons were ever wont afore-time, to repugn and cross them that demanded triumph: and I take my self much beholden unto them for this favour, that either in their love to my self, or in regard of my great and notable exploits, they have not only by their silence given their consent for my honor, but also seem ready and prett to propound the same unto the people, if need had been. Burnow forsooth, whom have I (and God will) for mine adversaries, but even some of my ten adjacents or suffragans, whom our ancestors thought good to give unto their Generals in the wars, as a council both to assist and aid them, and also to countenance and grace them in their victory? *L. Furius* and *L. Emilius* are the men and none but they, who inhibit and debar me for mounting up into the triumphant chariot: they are ready to pluck from my head the glorious and honorable crown that I should wear: eventhose (I say) whom (if the Tribuns had hindred and impeached my triumph) I would have reported myself unto as witnesses of my worthy acts. Certainly, (my LL.) far be it from me, that I should envy and repine at the honour of any man: but I remember well, that of late daies when certain Tribuns of the Common state (men of great courage and action) went about to flay and forbid the triumph of *Q. Fabius Laber*, ye by your authority diverted and scared them from their intended enterprise: and he triumphed in the end, notwithstanding his adversaries gave out and said aloud, not that he had fought a war unjustly, but in reprochful manner charged him, that he had not so much as set eye upon the enemy. And I, who have lo often in ranged battell fought with an 100000 most fierce and warlike enemies, slain or taken prisoners more than 40000 of them, forced and won two of their camps: and left all places on this side the ridge of the mountain *Taurus*, more peaceable and quiet than is the Land of Italy, am not only frustrate and put beside my triumph, but also stand here before your honors to defend my self against the challenge of these mine own Council and Suffragans. Which accusation of theirs, I counteth (as ye have heard my LL.) of two principal points: for objected they have, first, that I ought not at all to have made war with the Gauls; and secondly, that I conducted and managed the same, rashly and without discretion. The Gauls (say they) were no enemies of ours; but being quiet in peace, and ready to do whatsoever they were charged, were by you abused and wronged, I will not require (my LL.) that ye should have the same hard conceit of the Gauls which inhabit in Asia, as touching their cruelty and mortal hatred against the Roman name, which ye know generally to be in the people of the Gauls: Do but consider and judge of these Gauls as they be in themselves simply without respect of the infamous name and odious opinion that goeth of the whole generation: O that King *Eumenes* were here. Would to God that all the States of Asia were present in place, that ye might hear them rather what complaints they would make, than my self accusing of them. Send but your Embassadors to all the Cities of Asia, and enquire whether servitude were greater and more grievous, that which they were delivered from by the chasing of *Antiochus* beyond the mountain *Taurus*, or this whereof they are now eased by the subduing of the Gauls? Let them relate unto you, and make report how often their territories have been wasted by them, how many booties have been driven, and prizes carried away out of them, and how they were brought to so low a pass, that they hardly could find means and make any shift to redeem their prisoners by ransom. Let them tell you what they heard there besides, how they killed men, yea, and their children, to sacrifice, unto their Gods. But know ye now from me, that your allies yielded tribute to the Gauls, yea, and should have paid still at this day, notwithstanding they were by you delivered from their subjection under King *Antiochus*. If I had not bestirred my self the better, for the farther that *Antiochus* was removed from them, the more proudly and outrageous would these Gauls have ruled like LL. over all Asia, and whatsoever lands had lien on this side the top of the mount *Taurus*, you should have laid to the legacy of the Gauls and not annexed to your own Empire & dominion. All this is true will some one say, and what of all that? These Gauls likewise once spoiled the temple at *Delphos*, repented in times past the common Oracle of the whole world and situate in the very heart and midst of the earth, & yet the people of Rome neither denounced nor made war for all that. Certainly, I always would have thought there had been some difference to be made between those daies, when at neither

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A Greece nor Asia was under your jurisdiction and obedience (that you should need to take care and regard of what was done in those parts) & this present time, in which ye have yet the mountain *Taurus* to be the bound & limit, wherunto your Empire extendeth, in which you give freedom and immunity to Cities: in which ye enlarge the confines, and take in the precincts of others, finishing these cities with forreiture & lots of their territories, and take in the precincts and tributes: in which I say, you augment and diminish realms, give and take in kingdoms at your good pleasure: and in one word, in which ye judge it a matter that concerneth you, to provide that there may be a general peace both on land and sea. Were you so much pleased, that Asia might not be counted free, unless *Antiochus* had withdrawn his garrisons, and kept quiet within their fortresses and castles, and flattered not forth and thought you with gifts granted unto King *Eumenes*, might be assured unto him, and the freedom likewise of the Cities, established unto them, if whole armies of Gauls might range all about to and fro in the precincts? But why stand I to much arguing and reasoning in this manner, as if I had not here to do with Gauls enemies, but rather caused them to be our enemies? O *L. Scipio*, I call you now to witness, into whose charge and government I succeeded, whole virtue and felicity withal, I besought the immortal Gods to vouchsafe unto me (and my prayer was not in vain) and you likewise, O *P. Scipio*, who with the Col. your brother and in the whole army, had the room & place indeed of an adjoint Lieutenant and no more, but carried the Majesty of a Colleague & joint companion; I speak frankly both of you upon your knowledge, whether whole legions of Gauls served not in the army of *Antiochus*? Tell us, whether you saw them not in the field, marshalled in both the points and flanks of the main battell, as the very flower and strength of the whole puissance of *Antiochus*? Say directly, fought ye not with them, when they slew you them not, & carried away their spoils, & undonned and lowly enemies? And yet both Senat decreed and people ordained war with *Antiochus* by name, and not with the Gauls. But I too (or else I am much deceived) within this decree and ordinance, they included all those besides that came to aid and assist him. Of whom (excepting *Antiochus* himself, with whom *Scipio* had articulated peace and alliance, and ye also had expressly given order therefore) they all were our enemies no doubt, who had born arms against us in the quarrel and behalf of the said *Antiochus*. Now albeit the Gauls above all others were comprised in this number, together with some petty Kings and Tyrants besides, yet I contrasted accord and peace with others, (after I had forced them to suffer due punishment according to their treachery) as far forth as I thought it expedient for the honour of your Empire: yea, and assisted also to gain and win the hearts of the Gauls, if haply it had been possible to have dulced and reclaimed them from their inbred fierceness and natural cruelty. But when I perceived that they were untractable, untamed, and implacable, then and not before I resolved, that it was high time to bridle and bring them into order by violence and force of arms. Now that I have cleared the former point of my accusation, as touching the enterprise of the war, it remaineth that I proceed now on account of the conduct thereof. Wherein verily I would make no doubt to approve mine innocence, and justify the goodness of my cause, if I were to plead, I say not, in the Senat of Rome, but even at the council table of *Carthage*, where (as men say) they make no more ado, but trust up hang and crucify their Generals, if they proceed to execution of any service in a City, which therefore vouch the name of the Gods both before they begin, and also when they proceed to the managing of all their affairs, (because no person should come to detract or deprave that militiously, which the Gods have once approved) and which City in the grant & ordinance either of procession or triumph, useth this solemn form of words: For that he hath well and happily accomplished and managed the weal publick: In this City, I say, if I were unwilling, nay, if I reputed it an odious matter, and favouring too much of pride and arrogance to vaunt my self and boast of mine own prowess; yet if in regard of the happy success and felicity of my self and mine army, in that without any loss of soldiers, we vanquished and subdued in great and mighty nation, I demanded first that due honour and thanksgiving should be rendered unto the immortal Gods, and then, that I might my self ascend and mount up the Capitol in triumph, from whence I descended to take my voyage, after I had conceived and pronounced my vows, and made my prayers after the solemn and religious order: would ye deny both me and the immortal Gods also? Yes marry would you, and why? Forsooth I fought in a place of disadvantage. But tell me then, I pray you, in what ground I might have fought with better vantage? Considering the enemies were seized of the hill, and kept themselves within their strength and fort. Should have gone unto them, if I had been willing to have vanquished and overcome them. What? how if they had been there within a strong City? how if they had kept within the walls, and would not have issued forth? You must then have laid siege unto them and given the assault. Must I so indeed? And how I pray? Fought *M. Acilius* (I beseech you) at *Thermopylae* in a place of advantage? Why? did not *T. Quintius* after this manner dispossess *Philip* of the high Mountains, which he held over the River *Aous*? In faith, I cannot yet devise what kind of enemies they either imagine to themselves they were, or would have you to take and esteem them to be. If degenerate, if effeminate, if enervate with the delights and pleasures of Asia, what danger was it to march up the hill against them with all disadvantage? If redoubtable and terrible for fierce courage and bodily strength, deny ye triumph for so noble a victory? Envy (my good LL.) is blind, and can skill of nothing, but to detract and defame vertues, to falsify

"and corrupt the honors and rewards due thereto, Pardon me I beseech your Hts and hold me
 "excused; I have been over long and tedious. It is not, I assure you, any delight and pleasure that
 "I take to put forth and glorify my self, but a necessity imposed upon me (in mine own defence,
 "to confute these crimes objected against me) which hath driven mine Oration out in length. To
 "proceed, was it possible also that in *Thrace* I could make the passes within the forests large and
 "wide, which naturally were straight and narrow? the ground plain and smooth, which by na-
 "ture was uneven and rugged? Could I make level downs of steep mounts? open champion and
 "fair fields of woodland overgrown, and rough wylds. Lay it in me, to prevent those Thracian
 "cheeves that they should not hide themselves within their lurking holes and ordinary covert
 "thickets? Was it in my power, to impeach them that they might snatch and carry nothing of
 "our baggage? Was I able to warrant that none of our laboring beasts out of our great number, I
 "should be driven and led away from their company? that no person should be hurt and finally,
 "that *Q. Minutius* a brave and hardy knight, should not die of his wound? My adversaries pressed
 "hard and much upon this misfortune, that it was our unlucky hap to lose loe worthy a Gen-
 "eral: but they never think that if they would say nothing but suppres and conceal all, yet you
 "should know (since the whole army is here present to testify that which I say) That although
 "the enemy assaulted us in a narrow flight, in an inconvenient place of great disadvantage, yet
 "both our battalions at once, as well the vanguard as rearguard, compassed the army of the
 "Barbarians busily and occupied in rifling of our carriage, slew many thousands of them that very
 "day, and within few daies after either killed or took prisoners a greater number of them by far.
 "Well, if I had not drawn a sword in *Asia*, if I had not seen an enemy there, yet I Pro-consul had
 "deserved a triumph well enough for those two battels in *Asia*. But enough hath been said of
 "these matters, and I am to request you rather (my Lords all) to forgive me for my boldness, if
 "I have held you longer than my will and desire was.

The acclamation that day had prevailed more than his own defence, but that they continued
 arguing and debating in the Council-house until it was late in the evening. Then the Senate rose
 with this mind (as it should seem) to deny him a triumph. The next morning, the kinsfolk and
 friends of *Cn. Manlius* laboured all that ever they could; Likewise the authority of the ancient
 stood him in great stead; who said plainly that the precedent could not be found in any histories;
 That a General who had vanquished his enemies, accomplished the full time of government in
 his Province, and brought his army back, returned into the City as a private person, without the
 honor of the triumphal chariot and the laurel garland. The very indignity and shame of this
 example, surmounted the malice of his adversaries, in so much as the Senators in a frequent assem-
 bly granted him triumph.

The remembrance and memory of this debate, was afterwards drowned in a greater contenti-
 on that arose with a far mightier and more noble personage. For as *Valerius Ant.* as hath recorded,
 the two *Q. Petilii* called *P. Scipio Africanus* into question, and set him down a day peremp-
 torily to make his appearance, and answer for himself. This action divers men construed diversly,
 according to their several disposition and affection. Some blamed not so much the Tribunes of the
 Commons, as the whole City in general, for suffering such an abuse; discoursing in this wise: That
 the two chiefest States and Common-wealths in the World were become at one time unthankful,
 but *Rome* more ungrateful of the twain. For *Carthage* being subdued, had banished *Annibal* like-
 wise vanquished; but *Rome* a victress was about to expulse *Africanus* a conqueror. Others again
 reasoned thus: that in no State there ought to be a citizen so pre-eminent and high above the rest,
 that he might not be under law, and brought to answer unto interrogatories accordingly. And
 nothing, preferreth liberty in a City, and maintaineth equal liberty more, than to have the
 mightiest man to hold up his hand at the bar. For what may be safely committed to any man
 (and surely the sovereign rule of the state least of all other things) if he be not to yield an account
 of the managing of his affairs? And verily, he that can abide to be equal unto others, to pro-
 ceed against such a one by rigor and force, is no injustice at all. Thus men commonly talked pro &
 contra, until the judicial day came of his personal appearance, and answer to be made. Never was
 there man known before that day (no, not *Scipio* himself when he was at the highest, either Consul
 or Censor) accompanied with a greater train of men of all degrees and qualities, than he that day
 was conducted unto the common place and court of Pleas as an accused person, there to plead his
 cause. Being commanded to speak in his own defence, he began his oration without any mention
 at all of the imputations and matters with which he was charged, and entered into a discourse
 of the acts by him achieved; and that with such a Majesty and magnificence as it was well known
 and confessed, that never man was praised either better or more truly than he. For with that
 courage and mind he achieved those his brave exploits indeed; with the same spirit he delivered
 them in words. And no man thought him tedious and was weary to hear his speech, because all
 that he related was for his own defence in this his danger, and not upon vain glory and ostenta-
 tion. The Tribunes of the Commons his adversaries, when they had laid open certain supposed
 crimes committed of old, as touching his wastful excesses whiles he wintered in *Syracusa*; as also
 the riot and outrage of *Pleminius* which hapned at *Locris*; they proceeded to charge him by presump-
 tions and suspitions, rather than by direct evidences and proofs, for embezzling and averting to his
 proper use certain treasure gotten from King *Antiochus*; and namely, that his son being taken pri-
 soner, was rendered unto him without ransom; and that in all other things, *Scipio* was respected

A alone had carried the Roman peace and war under his guide. Altho that he bare a strong hand over
 the Consul, more like, I wot, a Dictator and absolute commander, than a Lieutenant and
 assistant unto him, all the while he was in the province. Neither aimed he and his lieut. any other
 mark, when he went that journey, but that the same, which long before was notoriously known
 to *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Sicily*, and *Africa* might as evidently appear to *Greece*, to *Asia*, and all to the Kings
 and nations of the East parts, to wit, that he was the only man, he was the chief, the head and
 pillar of the Roman Empire, that under the shadow of *Scipio* his wing, that City which is the
 lady of the world, was covered and protected; that a beak and nod of his head, was as good as
 all arrests of Senat and helts of people. Thus when they could not touch him in life, nor fa-
 steen upon him any note of infamy, they charged him all that ever they could with matter to kindle
 envy. Thus with orations they spent the time until night came, and the business was put over
 to another day: which being come, the Tribunes, only in the times in the morning were set in
 their places within the *Rostra* [or common place] the defendant was called, who gar-
 ded with a great company of his friends and followers, passed through the mids of the assembly,
 approached the *Rostra* and stood full under it. Then after an *exor*; and silence made: "My
 "Masters (quoth he) you that are Tribunes of the commons, and likewise Quirites, my neigh-
 "bors and citizens of *Rome*, upon this very day of the month it was that I fought a great bat-
 "tle against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, with right fortunate and happy success; meet there-
 "fore and good reason since it is, that to day all pleas and actions faulter: I will go directly
 "and immediately from hence to the Capitol and present my self before *Imp. Opt. Max.* before
 "Jove and *Minerva*, with all the rest of other gods and goddesses, presidents and patrons of that
 "temple and fortress, to perform my humble duty unto them to salute and thank them, for that
 "they have vouchsafed me that resolute, affection and powerful means with all, both on such a
 "day as this, and also many times besides, to perform my devoir well and truly unto the Com-
 "mon-wealth. As many of you (before Quirites) as well may, go ye with me, and pray the
 "gods to lend you like governors to ourselves, and no worse. If I say (and not else) as you ever
 "thought I was seventeen years of age, even to these mine old daies, you alwaies advanced me to
 "the honors before the ordinary time of mine age, so I again advanced and prevented the said honors
 "with good service and noble deeds. This said, he departed from the *Rostra* and ascended up to
 the Capitol; whereas the whole audience there assembled turned at once and followed *Scipio*;
 so much as last the scribes and notaries, ye, and the very servants left the Tribunes there a-
 lone, without any to bear them company but their own bondservants and the common cryer,
 who still from the *Rostra* called and cited the defendant. *Scipio* not only visited the temples upon
 the Capitol hill, but also made a perambulation with the people of *Rome* throughout the whole
 City to all the churches and chappels of their gods and goddesses: This was in manner a more
 solemn day unto him in regard of the affectional favour of men, and the elimination of his true
 gender indeed, then on which he rode into the City in triumph over King *Syrax* and the Car-
 thaginians: But it was the last fair day that ever he saw; and never shone the sun again pleasant
 upon *P. Scipio*. For after this, foregoing envy growing toward him, and what a life and how
 full of dangers he should have with those Tribunes, upon a longer day granted for the process of
 law against him, he retired himself apart to *Laternum*, of set purpose to make default and not ap-
 pear to plead his cause any more: He carried a greater spirit with him, his heart was too big, & used
 he had been to an higher degree of port & honour, then to take knowledge what it was to be accused;
 he could not skill to vail himself and stoop so low, and to abate himself to the abject condition of
 those that plead for themselves at the bar. Now when the day was come, and that in his absence
 his name began to be called, *L. Scipio* answered for him, and alledged sickness to be the cause why
 he was away. But the Tribunes his accusers, would not admit of that excuse, replying and say-
 ing: "That upon the same pride of heart, in which he avoided once before, his judicial trial, and
 left the Tribunes and the whole assembly, he now also would not appear to make his answer.
 "Even so triumphed he then over the people of *Rome*, when accompanied with those whom he
 called after him as prisoners (after he had once taken from them their power and liberty to give
 their sentence and doom of him) he requested himself that day, by way of an insult (from
 the Tribunes of the Commons) into the Capitol. Well are ye now served therefore (say they) and
 justly punished for that daies folly and rashness. For lo how he himself now abandoneth you,
 whose your motive and leader then, to forsake us. See how every day more then other our
 courage is fallen and heart abated: and dare not we now send folk to fetch him (a private per-
 son and no more) out out of his farm and house in the country, and make him to appear and
 plead his answer: unto whom not past 17 years ago, at what time as he was General of an ar-
 my on land, & Admiral of the Armado by sea, we were so bold as to send Tribunes of the Com-
 mons *Adile*, to arreik and bring him away with them to *Rome*? In the end, the rest of the Tri-
 bunes of the Commons being called earnestly unto by *L. Scipio* for their lawful favour, set down his or-
 der & conclusion: that if sickness were alledged for his excuse, and that there were nothing else
 that had occasioned his absence, it should be received for good & lawful, and their colleagues
 should adjourn his trial to a farther day. It fortuned at that time that *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* was
 one of the Tribunes between whom & *P. Scipio* there was some quarrel, he forbade expressly that
 his own name should be subscribed to the instrument of the adjournment of his colleagues. And
 with every man looked to hear, some heavier sentence denounced against *Scipio*, he awarded

in this manner. "For as much as *Lucius Scipio* executeth the absence of his brother by sickness, it is good
and sufficient in my opinion. And then that as I will not for my part suffer *P. Scipio* to be ac-
cused before he return again to *Rome*. Yea, and then also, if he call for my helpings, he and I will
give him assistance, and stop the course of pretence against him. And as to the main point of
the cause, this is my resolution, that *P. Scipio* being advanced to highly as he is to that pitch of
honor, by his noble and famous exploits, and by the dignities received at the hands of the peo-
ple of *Rome*, as if both gods and men had condescended to set him aloft, for him to come down
now and stand pleading below at the bar beneath the *Rostra*, and there have his eyes glow
and ring again with the cheeks and taunts of certain green heads and butchery cuts, were a great
shame and disgrace to the people of *Rome*, then to himself. Nay, he shamed not thus with
this bare award, but sealed and set it on solely with words of indignation, testifying his discon-
tentment for this course and manner of proceeding. And shall *Scipio* (quoth he, my master Tri-
bunes) that renowned conqueror of *Africa*, stand under your feet at your devotion? Dejected
he and put to flight in *Spain* a most brave and noble Generals of the Carthaginians, with their 4
entire armies? Took he *Syracus* prisoner, vanquished he *Annibal*, subdued he *Carthage* and
made it tributary unto us? Chased he *Antiochus* beyond the mountain *Taurus*, (for it must be
confessed, that in this glorious conquest *L. Scipio* and his brother copartner with him) and all
for this, to be trodden under foot of two *Patritii*? And that ye should seek to triumph over *P. A-*
fricanus? Will it never be better? Shall great personages (with all the good deeds of their own
for all the dignities and honors by you upon them conferred) never reach and attain to a strong
fort and sure place of defence, wherein they may make account to be safe and past all danger, L
and wherein their old age may rest and repose, if not with worship and honour, yet at least with
in security, exempt from abuse and violent outrage? The sentence it self of *Gracchus* (enforced
with such a speech especially) moved not others only, but also the wiser aculeus themselves; who
made no other rejoinder again but thus. That they would consider better what they might
by their place and what they ought of duty to do. When the assembly of the people was
broken up, the L.L. of the Senat began to sit in council, where the whole order of the Sena-
tors (but principally the ancients and as many as had been Consuls) highly commended and
thanked *Tib. Gracchus*, for that he had preferred the weal-publick, before privat grudges and
particular quarrels. But the *Patritii* were well spent and baited with reproachfull checks and bi-
ter rebukes, in that they would seem to rise by the fall of another, and to grace themselves with
the disgrace of *Africanus*, and seek to triumph over him and be enriched with his spoils. Well af-
ter that, there was no more words of *Scipio Africanus*. The rest of his life he passed at *Liternum*
and never had mind to come to the City: there ended he his daies in a country village; and (as
they say) he charged his executors upon his death bed, to inter him in that very place. And there
his tomb or monument was built, because he would not that so much as his funeral obsequies
should be performed at *Rome*, (his native country) to be unthankfull as it was. A rare man he was
and worthy to be recommended to the memory of all posterity: howbeit the former part of his
life was more singular and memorable, as well for the conduct of martial exploits in war, as the
governance of civil affairs in peace, then in his latter daies. For in his youth, he followed the
war continually; whereas in his old age, as his body decayed and faded, to whatsoever he did, M
lost much of the wonted beauty and lustre. Besides, there was no matter presented, to employ
that wit and spirit of his. What odds was there between his former Consulship and the second, al-
though ye put his Consulship to in the balance? What comparison was there, and what
semblable thing in that lieutenancy of his in *Asia* of so little or no employment was it by reason
of his own sickness; and beblimished withall, by the occasion of the misfortune of his son. And
afterward, his return home again was no lesse unfortunate, for the hard choice whereunto he was
driven, forced of necessity to abide the trial of a doubtfull issue in judgment, to quit with his
native City for ever. Howbeit he alone went away with the honor above all other, of finishing
the punick war, as great and dangerous to the Romans as any that ever they made.

When *Africanus* was once dead and his head laid, his adversaries and enemies were wont of
whom, *M. Porcius Cato* was the chief and principal: a man who was wont to bark (as it were)
and rail against him during his life in regard of his greatness. And it is thought, that the *Patritii*
were set on by him, and procured through his perswasion, both in the life of *Africanus* to be
drawn out, and after his death to have preferred a bill in this form and manner following: May
it please you to grant and ordain, that true feach and diligent enquiry be made, what sums of
money were taken in prize, carried away, and levied away of King *Antiochus* and those which
were under his obedience and dominion; and that of as much thereof as came not into the pub-
lick treasury and chamber of the City, *Ser. Sulpicius* (the Pretor of the City) may propo-
se unto the Senat, to know their advice and pleasure touching it: that whensoever of all the Pretors
for the time now being, it shall please the Senat to appoint, he may sit in commission and inquir-
ation thereof. This bill was first crossed by *Q. and Lucius Mammilius*, who thought it meet and
reason, that the Senat alone (as at all times heretofore) should make due enquiry of the monies so
parloined and embezzled: as is aforesaid, and not brought into the account or chest of the City. The
Patritii charged the *Scipios* for being over great and mighty, and as it were *XX* in the Senat, to call
all before them. *L. Furius Purpureo* (a man that had been Consul, and one of the ten consularians
in *Asia*, was of opinion, that the foyled enquiry should be granted in more large & ample terms,
namely,

namely, as touching the money not only taken from *Antiochus*, but also from other Kings and the
provinces covertly taxing herein *Cn. Manlius* his old enemy. *L. Scipio* on the other side stepped
forth to disprove this matter: albeit it was thought he would rather speak in defence of himself
than against the thing. He complained much and shewed his grievances, that such a bill as this
should come forth now, and be set on foot after the death of his brother *Africanus*, the most val-
iant knight and noblest personage that ever was: As if it were no sufficient, that *P. Africanus*
wanted the solemn Panegyrick oration at the *Rostra* after his death, but he must be accused al-
so. Why? the very Carthaginians are contented with the exile of *Antiochus*, and seek no more:
but the people of *Rome* is not satisfied even with the death of *Scipio*, unless his own good
name after he is buried be wounded and mangled, and his brother also (to fill up the measure of
their malice and hatred) be killed and sacrificed upon his tomb. *M. Cato* spake in the behalf
of the bill, and perswaded that it might passe. His oration as touching the treasure of King *Antiochus*
was so pleasant to be heard, and by the majesty of his authority, he diverted the two *Patritii*
Tribunes of the Commons, clean away, from interposing themselves any more. When they
once had denounced and given over their negative, all the tribes in general passed their voices af-
firmatively. *Vitruvius*. After this, *Ser. Sulpicius* propo-
posed unto the Senat: Whom they would appoint for this enquiry according to the act *Patritii*? and the L.L. of the Senat deputed *Q. Tere-*
ntius. This Pretor was to great a friend to the house of the *Cornelii*: that some authors,
truly to be true, who report how *P. Scipio* both died and also was carried forth to be entered at
Rome (thus that bruit is so runneth current) have written, How he went at his funerals before
the bier and the mourners, with a cap of liberty on his head, like as he had done before in his tri-
umph, and gave sweet wine or merriment to all those that attended the convey, as far as to the gate
Capena. This honour he did *Scipio* at his death, for that among other priviledges in *Africa*, he was
by his honors recovered out of the enemies hand, but it should seem rather, that he was such an
enemy to that family, that for the carked rancour and malice which he carried against that name,
he was by the adverse faction of the *Scipios*, chosen especially of purpose to sit upon & execute that
inquisition. But certain it is, before this Pretor (and in his extremities, who either in love & friend-
ship, or in hatred and enmity, kept no mean) information was given immediately against *L. Scipio*.
Presentments were made likewise, and the names received of his lieutenants *A. Hostilius* and
L. Hostilius both *Caeso*: and of his treasurer besides, *C. Furius Aculeo*. And to the end that it
should appear to the world, that they were all attain of this crime of purloining and robbing the
publick treasure of the common-weal if one complor, there were two secretaries also and one
of his lieutenants called into question. But these three last mentioned, and *L. Hostilius* before-
named, were found unguilty and acquit, before *Scipio* had his judicial trial: howbeit *Scipio* and
A. Hostilius his lieutenant, together with *C. Furius* were condemned. *Scipio*, for that he (as *Valerius*
Maximus writeth) to make a more easie peace to the contentment of *Antiochus*, received 6000 pound
weight of gold, and 480 pound weight of silver more than he brought into the City chamber. *A.*
Hostilius, for that he likewise detained eighty pound weight of gold, and 483 pound of silver;
and *Furius* the Quellor for keeping back to his own use 130 pound of gold, and two hundred of
silver. These sums I set down of gold and silver, as I find them gathered and registered by *Valer-*
ius in his Chronicle. As for the sum of gold and silver, which *L. Scipio* should embezzle, I
would rather think that the clerk or secretary faulted with his pen in writing the copies, than that
he should fail to loud with his tongue in the first inditing of the Original. For it is more likely of the
twain, that the weight of the silver was more than of gold. As also for the fine wherein he was
doomed, I should amount but to forty thousand *Sesterces*, then arise to two hundred and
fifty thousand. And I am rather induced thus to calculate, because it is said, that *P. Scipio* himself
was required in the Senat to give his account but of such a sum; and when he had bidden his bro-
ther *L. Scipio* him that book of accounts, he took it of him, and there before the Senat, tore and
rent it with his own hands, with indignation, that having brought into the Treasury two mil-
lions of *Sesterces*, he was called to his account for forty thousand. In which confident boldness of
spirit and courage, when the Quellors durst not (against the order of law) take forth money out
of the Treasury, he called for the keys, and said he would be to bold as to open the chests
of the Treasury since he was the cause that they were locked. Many things besides are diversely
reported of *Scipio*, especially as touching the latter end of his life, his trouble and accusation, his
death, his funerals, and last of all, of his sepulchre and tomb, which distract me so, that I wot not
what report to cleave unto, nor which records to beleve. For they accord not as concerning his
sever. Some write it was *M. Nevius*, others again say that they were the *Patritii* that called
him to his answer. Neither agree they in the time when he was troubled, nor in the year, no,
nor the place wherein he died, nor yet where he was entered. Some affirm he ended his daies
at *Rome*, others at *Liternum*. And in both places there are monuments and Statues
of him to be seen. [For of *Liternum* there stood a tomb, and over the same tomb an image of
his personage erected, which of late time we our selves saw overthrow in a tempest. At *Rome*
likewise without the gate *Capena*, there be three statues upon the monument of the *Scipios*,
whereof two are said to be of *Pub.* and *L. Scipio*, and the third of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And this
difference among authors is not touching his acts and affairs only, but also about the very Orations
that he uttered were the orations indeed of *P. Scipio* & *Tiberius Gracchus*, which are commonly to
taken and carried about, which disagree so much as they do. For the title of the oration that goeth
for *P. Scipio*, hath the name of *M. Nevius*, a Tribune of the Commons: but through the whole

Oration it self there is no mention at all of that accuser. He termeth him one while *Nepos* [Knaue] and another while *Nugator* [Confuser.] In like sort the oration of *Gracchus* maketh no mention at all either of the *Perila*, the accusers of *Africanus*, or of the day assigned unto him for his answer. And we must devise to tell the whole tale otherwise, it would have it to agree with the oration of *Gracchus*; and for taking bribes of King *Antiochus*, his brother *Africanus* was Ambassador in Tulemy; and upon the news of his brothers misfortune, left his embassy and made hal to *Rome*. Where he took his way directly from the gate to the common place (for that was told him how his brother was going to prison) and thrust the sergeant from his body, yea, and when the Tribunes themselves would have restrained him, he used violence against them, and carried himself in this action off, as he shewed more kindness and love to his brother, than manners and civility otherwise. For thus complaineth *Gracchus* in his oration, that the Tribunes authority and power was infringed and broken by a privat person. And in the latter end, when he promised to assist *L. Scipio*, he knit up his speech with these words, that it was a thing more tolerable that both the Tribunitian puissance and the Common-weal should seem overcome and overcome by Tribunes themselves, then by a privat man. But he aggravated and enforced this violence and excessive outrage against him, and made it odious in such sort, that in blaming him for so much overshooting himself and degenerating as it were from his own nature, he rehearsed the commendable parts of his moderation and temperate carriage of himself aforesaid, and that in so good terms and ample manner, that thereby he made him some part of amends for the sharp reprehension he used for the present. For he said, that in times past he had rebuked and reproved the people, when they would have made him a perpetuall Consul and Dictator; that he had forbidden expressly, that any of his Statues in triumphant habit, should be set up and erected in the public places of assemblies, as in the *Comitium* and *Curia*, in the Capitoll and chappell of *Iupiter Opt. Max.* These commendable reports of him, if they were uttered in an oration passed of purpose for his praise, must needs testifie and shew a wonderful magnanimity of him, in the modest use of high honours according to a civil port; which an enemy by way of reproach and upbidding him, acknowledgeth and confesseth. But all writers accord, that *Gracchus*, took to wife the younger of his two daughters (for the elder without all question was affianced and given in marriage by his father to *F. Cornelius Nasica*, But it is not so certainly agreed upon, whether the was both betrothed and wedded alownto him, after her fathers death or no. As also, whether it be true (as it is reported) that when *L. Scipio* was a leading to prison, *Gracchus*, seeing one of his own fellow Tribunes to succour and release him, swate a great oath and protested that he was an enemy still to the *Scipios* as much as ever he was, and would not do any thing to carry favour with them, or to come into their grace, yet could he never endure that he should be carried to the prison, into which he had seen his brother *Africanus* lead Kings, great generals and commanders of enemies, captive. Moreover, that the same day the Senat furnished to be at supper together in the Capitoll, and arose up all at once, and requested *Africanus* to affianse his daughter to *Gracchus*, before the supper and banquet was ended. Which epoulsals being performed with all due complements accordingly, during the time of that solemn feast, *Scipio*, when he was returned home to his house, said unto his wife *Emilia*, that he had fancied and bestowed his daughter upon a husband. She then falling into a fit of choler like a woman, and chafing that he had not made her acquainted with the matter, and taken her advice touching the maiden, who was as much her child as his, brake out into these words withall, that if he had given her in marriage to *Tiberius Gracchus*, yet good reason it was that the mother should have been at the making of the bargain. Whereupon *Scipio* took great contentment and joy at this conformity of judgment in the choice, and inferred straightwaies, that he was the man to whom she was espoused. Thus much I thought good to relate of this worthy and noble person, albeit there is great variety of opinions, and diversity of writings in that behalf.

After the Pretor *Q. Terentius*, had finished the inquisition and whole process thereof, *Hyllinus* and *Furius*, who were attaint and condemned, that very day put in sufficient sureties to be bound in recognisance to the treasurers of the City, for the payment of their fines. But *Scipio* debating the matter still, & pleading that all the money which he had received was in the City chamber, & that he had purloined none of the publick treasure, was laid hold on to be had away and committed to prison. *P. Scipio Nasica* called unto the Tribunes for their help, and made a speech full of true praises and commendations, not in generall only of the whole name and family of the *Cornelii*, but in particular also of his own blood. And nemely he alleged and said, That himself and *P. Africanus*, together with *L. Scipio* (who now was going to prison) had to their fathers *Cn. Scipio* and *P. Scipio*, most noble and famous personages: those who for certain years in the end of *Spain*, advanced the renown and glory of the Roman name, managred the heads of many captives & armies, as well of Carthaginians as Spaniards; not only in martial feats of war, but also in this especially, that they had given testimony and proof unto those nations, of the temperate government, & faithful dealing of the Romans: and in the end both of them spent their blood and lost their lives in the quarrel of the people of *Rome*. And albeit it had been sufficient for all their posterity to maintain only & uphold the glory from them received, yet *P. Africanus* so far surpassed the praise worthy acts of his father, that it was verily beleevied he was not born of human blood, but descended from some divine and heavenly race of the gods. As for *L. Scipio*, who now is in trouble, to say nothing of his worthy acts which he achieved in *Spain* and in *Africa*, when he

As was lieutenant there to his brother Consul) he was both reputed by the Senat sufficient, with- out any calling of lots, to undertake the province of *Africa* and the war against King *Antiochus*, and also esteemed by his brother *Africanus* to worthy a person, that himself who had been Consul twice, Censor once, and had ridden in triumph, thought not foor to accompany him unto *Africa* in quality of his lieutenant. In which province (to the end that the greatest & so splendend glory of the lieutenant should not dim the brightnes of the Consul, and to drown his vertues and good parts) it so fell out, that the very same day, on which *L. Scipio* vanquished *Antiochus* near *Myndes*, *P. Scipio* lay sick at *Elea*, a City distant certain daies journey. He defeated I say an army there, nothing inferior to that of *Antibal*, with whom his brother had encountered before in *Africa*. In which battell among other great commanders and captains under the King, *Antibal* was himself imploied in person, even he who had been the grand General in the *Punick* war. Which service was so well conducted and managed, that a man posibly could not find fault so much as with fortune, or any second that happened there. And now when the war is unsplendend, there is picked matter of crimination in the peace and it (they say) was bought and sold for money. In which challenge the ten deputies and assistance in council, are also touched and noted with corruption, by whole advice the said peace was granted and concluded. Well, of those ten, there were some that stepped forth and accused *Cn. Manlius*: yet to far off was that accusation of theirs from being credited, that it did not so much as hinder and delay the very time of his triumph. But (beleevae me) in *Scipio* his case, the very conditions of peace favour strongly of bribery and indirect dealing, for that they are advantageous, respective & favorable to *Antiochus*. For his kingdom is left entire and whole unto him; now that he is vanquished he posselseth as much as before the war began; and *Scipio* having received from him a mighty made of gold and silver, hath brought nothing into the common treasury, but averted all from thence, and converted it to his proper use. Why? was there not carried in pomp at the triumph of *L. Scipio* in the very sight of all men as much gold and silver, as in ten triumphs before (and put them all together) could not be shewed. For what should I speak of the confines and frontiers of his realm? Namely, that *Antiochus* before time held under his dominion all *Africa*, and the marches of *Europe* adjoining; & great a part of the world that is, which extendeth from the hill *Taurus*, and stretch out so far as the *Egean* sea; how many not Cities only, but spacious countries and populous nations it containeth, all men know right well: as also that this country, bearing upon its length more then 30 daies journey, and in breadth between two seas ten daies journey, is even as far as to the top of the mountain *Taurus*, is taken from *Antiochus*, & he driven into the smallest angle and corner of the globe of the earth? What could he have been diseized of more in case his peace had cost him never a penny of money? When *Philip* was conquered, he had *Macedony* left unto him: when *Nabis* was subdued, he enjoyed still *Lacedaemon*: and no man ever went about to call *Quintius* in question for it. And why? may he had not to his brother *Scipio Africanus*, for whose sake the envy and malice of men hath defaced and hurt *L. Scipio*, whereas his brothers glory ought to have graced and helped him. Would any man of fence and reason judge, that so much gold and silver was brought into the house of *L. Scipio*, as may not possibly be raised, if all the goods he hath were sold to the worth? What should become of all the gold of the Kings? Where be those great purchases of lordships and inheritances that he hath made therewith? Certainly it cannot be, but in that house that hath not exceeded in superfluous expence, there should be seen some heap and mount of this new treasure. But what care his enemies for this? That which cannot be made of the substance and goods of *L. Scipio* they will make good on his body and back; which they mean to torture (belike) and expose to contumely & villany, to the end that a man of the best mark and quality that ever was, should be shut up in a dungeon among robbers by the high-way side, amongst night thieves and cut-purses, and there in the hard rocks and balefull darkness render his last breath; and when he is dead, to have his body cast out naked at the prison door. But be it whensoever it shall, this will be a greater Blot to the house *Cornelia*, then a shameful reproach for ever to the City of *Rome*. Against all these remonstrances, the Pretor *Terentius* opposed and read the law *Perilia*, the decree of the Senat, and the sentence given of *L. Scipio*, and he for his own part said, he could not do withall, but if the sum wherein he was condemned, were not brought into the common Treasury house, he knew no other remedy, nor what else to do, but to command him (a condemned person) to be apprehended again, and had away to prison. Then the Tribunes went apart to consider (to be apprehended again, and had away to prison). And within a while after *C. Flaminius* pronounced aloud, according to his own advice and the opinion of all his Colleagues (excepting only *Gracchus*) that the Tribunes would not interpose themselves, but that the Pretor might do and execute his office and his authority to the full. But *Tib. Gracchus* let down his own decree in this form, That as touching the sum wherein *L. Scipio* was condemned, he would not be against it, nor impeach the Pretor, but that he might use his power according to his place, and take it out of his goods, as far as they would extend. But that *L. Scipio* who hath subdued the mightiest and most puissant monarch in all the world, who hath drawn out and extended the bounds of the Roman empire, as far as the furthest frontiers of the earth; who hath obliged and bound King *Eumenes*, the *Rhodians* & so many Cities and States besides of *Africa*, and made them beholding to the people of *Rome* for favours and benefits bestowed upon them; finally, who hath himself laid up fast in prison many a General captain over the eunemics, after he led them in triumph: that he I say, should lie in prison & iron

among the enemies of the people of Rome he would never suffer: and therefore he commanded him to be released and set at large. This decree was heard with great applause, and all men were (so joious to see *L. Scipio* delivered, that hardly a man would have believed (unless he had seen it) that there had been such a judgement: passed in the same City. Then the Pretor sent the Quæstors or Treasurers, to enter and seize upon all the goods of *L. Scipio*, in the name and to the use of the City: whereof there was not to be found, so much as any one token or mention of the Kings money, no, nor to great a sum could be raised, as the fine came to wherein he was condemned. The friends, kinsfolk, followers and wellwillers of *L. Scipio*, made such a contribution of money for him, that if he would have accepted of it, he had been a richer man by odds, therefore this crime and calamity fell upon him. But he took never a denier. His nearest kinsmen in blood bought again and redeemed as much of his own goods, as served for his necessary maintenance and no more. And the envy and hatred of men intended against the *Scipios*, turned upon the heads of the Pretor and his counsell, together with the accusers themselves.

The nine and thirtieth Book Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of *L. Florus* upon the nine and thirtieth Book,

Marcus Emilius the Consul after he had subdued the Ligurians, made the street or highway from Plautine to Ariminum, until it met with the way Flaminiæ. In this book are recounted the beginnings of virtuous and dissolute life brought in by the Asian army. All the Ligurians on this side Apennine are tamed and brought under. The Bacchanals (a Greekish feast and celebrated in the night season, the very seminary and nurse-garden of all wickedness, being grown to this enormity, that therein was contrived a conspiracy and comploit of a mighty multitude) were now visited and touched into by the Consul, and put down with the punishment of many persons. *L. Quintus Flaminius*, the brother of *T. Quintus*, was deprived of his Senators dignity by the Censor, to wit, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Mar. Porcius Cato*, a right excellent man, as well for fears of arms as peace. The cause was this, for that while he was Consul and governor in Gaul, at the request of one Philippos Pæzus, a notorious wanton Gæmyde whom he loved, he slew a certain Gaul with his own hand, so, as it have written, because at the entreaty of an harlot, upon whom he was enamoured, he beheaded one of them that were condemned. The invective oration of *L. Cato* against him is extant. *Scipio* departed this life at Læternum, and (as fortune would have his funeral accompanied with the death of the same time of two most renowned and great personages) Annibal poisoned himself, by eating the Prusias King of Bithynia (unto whom he was fled for succour after the defeat of King Antiochus) would have yielded him into the hands of the Rome, who had sent of purpose *T. Quintus Flaminius* to demand him. Likewise Philippos the General of the Achæans, an excellent man, was poisoned by the Messenians, who took him prisoner in war. Colonies were sent to Pollentia, Pisaurum, Mutina, and Parma. Over and besides, this book contains the prosperous affairs against the Celtiberians, also the beginning and cause of the Macedonian war, whereof the original spring arose from Philip, much discontented, that his Kingdom was empowered by the Romans, in regard that he was forced by them to withdraw his garrisons out of Thrace and other parts.

The nine and thirtieth Book of T. Livius.

During the time that these affairs passed at Rome (if this were the year wherein they happened), both Consuls made war against the Ligurians, a nation born as it were to maintain the military discipline of the Romans, and to find them occupied in all times of rest and rest from greater wars: neither was there any other province that gave a sharper edge to the valour of the soldiers. For Asia with the beauty of their Cities, the abundance of all commodities as well by sea as land, the effeminate tenderness of the enemies, and the royalty of the Kings riches, had made their armies more wealthy than valiant: and especially under the government of *Cæneus Manlius*, ruled they were in much looseness and negligence. And thereupon it was, that finding the way in Thracia a little more rough and difficult than ordinary to travel in, and an enemy better practised and exercised to deal withal, they received a great toil and loss among them. Now in Liguria, they met with all things that might rouse and awaken slothful soldiers: the country rough and full of mountains, that much ado they had to make themselves to seize the fame, and as great a labour they found to dislodge the enemies, that were before posted off them: the waies, steep up-hill, narrow, and dangerous for ambushes: the enemy, light, swift, nimble, and suddenly leaping upon them, giving no time of rest, no place of repose and security. Driven they were of necessity to assault strong and fortified Castles, with great difficulty and danger both: the country poor and needy, which caused the soldiers to spare and live hardly, and afforded them no opportunity of preys and prizes: and therefore no victuals, collions, soldiers boyes and lackies, followed the camps, neither the labouring beasts for carriage, took up a length in their march: nothing there, but armour and men, reposing all hope in their

their arms, and nothing else. And never wanted they some matter of quarrell, and some occasion or other to make war: for by occasion of their barrenness and penury, they made roads into the lands of their neighbours, but so, as they never ventured all at once, nor put the main chance in hazard.

C. Flaminius the Consul having fought sundry times with the Friniat Ligurians, and in many battels gotten the better hand over them, even at home in their own country, brought the whole nation by compulsion under the obedience, and disarmed them: but because in the delivery of their armour, they dealt not soundly and faithfully, and should have been chastised therefore, they abandoned their villages & fled to the mountain *Apennine*; whither the Consul pursued them hard at heels: howbeit, being disbande and scattered again, and most of them disarmed, they fled into the valley through places where no wayes led, and over broken and caggied steep rocks, whereas the enemies could not possibly follow after, and so passed the other side of *Apennine*. But as many as kept still within their hold, were beset round about and overthrown. Then were the legions led to the further side of *Apennine*, where the enemies for a time while, defended themselves by the height of the place, but soon they yielded. Then was their armour sought for with more care and diligence then before, and they were disarmed and stripped out of all. After this, was the war diverted and before turned wholly upon the Apuan Ligurians, who had so overrun the territories of *Pise* and *Bolonia*, that they could not be manured and tilled. The Consul having subdued them also, granted peace unto the borders: and now that he had brought the province into quietness and rest, to the end that his soldiers should not be idle and do nothing, he made a cauley or street-way from *Bononia* to *Arretium*.

The other Consul *M. Emilius*, set on fire the villages, and wasted the lands of the Ligurians, as well in the campaign fields as the valleys, when the inhabitants themselves were retired into the two mountains *Baifia* & *Swissmontium*, which they held. Afterwards he assailed them also who had taken the hills afore said: and first wearied them with light skirmishes; after wards, he forced them to descend into the pl. in, and there in a set battell vanquished them: in then conflict he vowed a temple to *Diana*. Thus having subdued all on this side *Apennine*, he then set upon those that dwelt beyond the mountain; among whom were the Friniat Ligurians, (so far as to whom *C. Flaminius* went not:) all choise, *Emilius*, subdued despoiled them of their armour, he forced the multitude of them to forsake the mountains and come down into the plains. After he had quitted the Ligurians, he led his army into the country of the Gauls, and made an high way from *Plautia* to *Arminum*, so as it met with the cauley *Flaminiæ*: and in the last battell, wherein he fought with banners displayed against the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to *Queen Iuno*. And there were the exploits for that year, in Liguria.

M. Furius the Pretor in Gaul, seeking in time of peace for some pretence and colour of war, had taken from the Cenomans their armour notwithstanding they were innocent and did no harm. The Cenomans made complaint hereof at Rome to the Senat, and were put unto the Consul *Emilius*, unto whom the Senat had directed a commission of view and determine. After great debate with the Pretor, they overthrew him in the action, and had their armour delivered unto them again: and so the Pretor was commanded to give over his government and depart out of the province.

After this, the Embassadors of the Latin nation, who assembled and resorted in great number out of all parts of Latium had audience given them in the Senat. These complained, that the great multitude of their own natural citizens, were removed and gone to inhabit in Rome, and there were enrolled: whereupon a commission was granted to *Q. Terentius Culles* the Pretor, to make search for such: and look how many of them those Latine allies could prove to have been enrolled (either themselves or their fathers) in any City or corporation of theirs, either at the time that *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Censors, or after their Censorship, to force those to return thither again, where they had been entered or matriculated. By virtue of this inquisition, to the number of 12,000 Latins returned home again into their own country: for now the City of Rome was overcharged and pestered with a multitude of strangers and forerunners.

Before that the Consuls repaired to Rome, *M. Fulvius* the Proconul returned out of *Ætolia*: who, for he had discomfited of his exploits performed in *Ætolia* and *Cephalonia*, before the Senat assembled in the temple of *Apollo*, requested of the L. to judge to meet and requit, and accordingly to grant and ordain, that praise and thanksgiving might be rendered unto the immortal gods, and himself allowed to triumph, for that he had so well and happily managed the affairs of the common-weal. Then stepped forth *M. Aemilius* a Tribune of the Commons, and declared openly, That in case they went about to pass any decree in that behalf, before the coming of *M. Emilius* the Consul, he would cross it: for that the Consul himself was minded to contradict the proceeding, and had given straight charge unto him, at what time as he took his journey to the province, that the consule of this matter should be referred wholly until his return home. And *Fulvius* (quoth he) Th. I hope so much time: and when the Consul himself is present in place to still, then might the Senat move what decree it pleased them. Then answered *M. Fulvius* and said, If men were ignorant either of the grudge and quarrell between me and *M. Emilius*, or with what outrageous spirit and Kinglike cholour and indignation he pursued the said enmity and variance, yet it were not a tolerable thing and to be endured, that the absence of the Consul should both impeach the honour due unto the immortal gods, and also hinder and stay the triumph

"triumph which I have so justly deserved: that a General (I say) who had so worthily achieved his service, and an army so victorious, should stay and give attendance, without the City gates, until it pleased the Consul to return home: who no doubt of very purpose and on set purpose, upon this occasion would make slow halt and take his leisure. But now considering that the enmity and heart-burning that the Consul beareth to me is so notorious as it is, What indignity and reasonable dealing may a man look for at his hands? who taking the advantage of the time, when a small number of Senators were assembled, caused an act of the Senate to be passed by stealth, and entered it in the treasure house, containing thus much in effect, that *Ambraclia* should not be reputed as a town forced by assault, notwithstanding it were assailed with mantilets and platforms: where we were driven to erect new fabrics, and plant other engines and ordnance of war after the former were consumed with fire: where we maintained fight about the walls, as well under the ground as above, for the space of 15 daies together; where after that the souldiers had scaled and gained the walls, the conflict endured notwithstanding a long time doubtfull, from morning to night; and where were slain above 5000 enemies. Now as touching the sacrilege committed (after the City was forced) in spoiling the churches of the immortal gods what a slander think ye, hath he raised of me? what a matter hath he made thereof, and how he hath informed the Pontifics and Bishops? unless a man would say, that lawful it was not for the City of *Rome* to be garished & beautified with the ornaments of *Syracusa* & other Cities won by force; but the law of war extended it to this only City of *Ambraclia*? I beseech you therefore the L.L. of the Senat, yea, and I request the Tribuns, not to suffer me to be mocked and abused by a most insolent and proud adversary. Then at all hands they dealt with the Tribune, some intreated him, other rebuked and blamed him; but the speech of *Tib. Gracchus* (one of his colleagues) moved him most of all others: who shewed, that it was no good precedent and example, that men should maintain and follow their own privat quarrels in time of magistracy and publick government, but a shamefull matter and a foul indignity it was, and much becoming the Tribuns of the Commons and their sacred laws, that a Tribune should be Proditor to other men and prosecute their actions and comities. "Men ought (quid he) according to their own discretion and judgment, either to love or hate the persons, to like or dislike the cause; not to depend and hang upon the countenance and beck of others, not to be carried to and fro with the will, pleasure, and appetites of other men. As for the Tribune of the Commons here, he accordeth and taketh part with a choleric and telly Consul, and remembereth well what *M. Emilius* left him in him in privat charge; but forgetteth altogether that the Tribunship was committed unto him by the people of *Rome*: committed I say, and put into his hands for to assist privat persons, and to maintain their liberties, and not to uphold the Kinglike rule and a royalty of a Consul. Never seeth he thus much before him, that it will be written another day in the Annis and yeerly Chronicles, that of two Commoner Tribuns in the same fellowship and society, one for the love of the Common-weal renounced and gave over his own privat displeasure and enmity to a particular person, and the other took charge as it were by way of Commisison, to pursue the quarrell of another man. The Tribune could endure no longer these rebukes and checks, and therefore departed out of the temple: then the Pretor *Ser. Sulpicius* propounded the bill the second time; and so a triumph was granted to *M. Fulvius*. Who after he had rendered great thanks to the L.L. of the Senat, added moreover and said, that the very day wherein he forced the City *Ambraclia*, he had by vow promised, to the honor of *Jupiter Opt. Max.* for to exhibit the great and solemn Rom. games. And to that effect the Cities of *Greece* had contributed towards the charges, a hundred pound weight in gold: his petition was therefore, that the Senat would ordain that out of that mass of money which he was to carry and shew in triumph, and meant to bestow and lay up in the City Treasury, the forsaid sum of gold might be sequestred and reserved apart for the proper use abovesaid. The Senat commanded, that the Colledge of the Prelats and Priests in this case should be consulted with, and their advice demanded, whether they thought it necessary that so much gold should be spent and consumed in the charges of the said games? The Prelats made answer again, that it was not material to relegend and to the service of the gods, to bow great a reckoning lower the charges of the games should arise. Whereupon the Senat permitted *Fulvius* to defray what he would himself, so as it exceeded not the sum of 800000 [aurei]. He had proposed to triumph in the month of *January*, but hearing that *Emilius* the Consul (who was advertised by letters, that *Ambraclia* the Tribune of the Commons had renounced and left fall his opposition which he commended) was coming in proper person to *Rome*, only for to hinder the triumph, and flayed by the way sick; he prevented the day, for fear he should have had more anger and trouble in his triumph, then during his war. So upon the 22 day of *December* he triumphed over the *Ætolians* and *Cephælians*. Before his chariot there were born 100 crowns of gold, weighing 12 pound peece: of silver 83000 pound weight: of gold 43 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachms 128000: of Philip peecees of gold coin 12422: images of brass 889: of marble 230. Likewise of armor, as well defensive as offensive, and other spoil of the enemies, an huge dead besides Catapults, Balists, and other engines and peecees of battery. Moreover, there went before him 27 captives either *Ætolians* and *Cephælians*, or else under King *Antiochus*, left by him in those parts. The same day before that he entered into the City, he bestowed in the cirque *Flaminius*, many military gifts upon many colonels, captains, horsemen and centurions, as well Romans as allies. Generally to all the footmen he gave out of the pillage 25 Denarii peece: twice as much to the centurions, and threefold to horsemen.

Now

Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for the election of Consuls, and because *M. Emilius* whose lot it was to be president thereof, could not be present at the day, *C. Flaminius* was chosen of purpose to *Rome*. By whom were created Consuls *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Marcus Philippus*. After that were Pretors elected, to wit, *T. Quinctius*, *P. Cornelius Sulla*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*, *M. Licinius Lucullus*, *C. Aurelius Scæurus*, and *L. Quinctius Crispinus*. In the end of the said yeer, after the magistrates were thus created, *Cn. Manlius Volsus*, the third day before the Nones of *March*, triumphed over the Gauls who inhabit *Asia*. The cause why he triumphed so late, was this, for that he would avoid making his answer (according to the act of *Pestum*) whilst *Q. Terrentius Culleus* was Pretor, fearing he should burn in the flame of the same sentence and judgment whereby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, or lest the flame of another mans judgment, I mean the sentence whereby *L. Scipio* had been condemned, would have been too hot for him, and might hold of him likewise: considering that the jury and enquest were more incensed and provoked against him then *Scipio*; for that he succeeding after him, had spoiled and marred with all kind of licentious lobbies, the military discipline, which *Scipio* had observed most precisely and severely. Neither was he noted and touched in name for those things only which by bare hearsay were reported to have been done in the province, far remote from the view of men, but also of those particular instances to be seen daily in the demeanor of his souldiers. For verily the forth excess and strange superfluities took beginning from the Asian army, who brought all with them into the City. They were the first with in *Rome* that took up the use of brazen tables of rich counterpoints, carpets, cupbord-cloths, hangings and curtains of sundry kinds of yssue. Likewise of one footed standing tables, buffets and cupboards, which in those daies were counted magnificent and rarely moveables. Then came up the manner of having at bankets finging minstrelsy, and such as could play upon the dulcimers or other instruments of musick, with dances, jokers and other pastimes, and delightful pleasures and fits of mirth at the table. Then began the board to be furnished and set out with more exquisite & deinty viands, and of greater expence. Then Cooks, who in old time were reputed the most contemptible slaves, as well for calling as estimation, as for the use they were put unto, came to be in great request: and that which before time was a mechanical kind of manual service, grew now to be accounted a science of deep skill and understanding. And yet all these things that then bare so great a shew, were scarce so much as small fees and tips, to the excessive superfluities that were to ensue.

Wile *Cn. Manlius* carried in triumph two hundred crowns of massie beaten gold, weighing twelve pound a peece: of silver 220000 pound weight: of gold 2123 pound weight: of Attick Tetradrachms 129000: of Cistophors 250000: of Philip golden peecees 16320. Also much armor was and spoils of Gauls carried in shew upon wagons: and 52 captains of enemies were led before his own chariot. Amongst the souldiers he gave a donative of 42 denarii a peece, he doubled the same to every centurion, Alto to every footman he gave double pay, and to every horseman triple. Many there were of all States and degrees, whom he rewarded with military pretors for especial service, and those followed next after the chariot. The souldiers chanted such songs and sonnets as a man might easily see they were composed to feed the humor of a General desirous of glory, and one that made much of his souldiers especially; whereby his triumph was more honored with the affectionate favour of them, then otherwise recommended and celebrated with the hearty love of the people. Howbeit the friends of *Manlius* served him in good stead to win the good will of them also, through whose solliciting & earnest endeavour, there passed an act of the Senat, that out of the money which had been shewed in triumph, there should be repaid unto the people that subsidy which had been levied among them for souldiers pay, and not yet contented back again. So the Treasurers of the City made true and faithfull payment with all diligence of 25 asses and d. in every thousand [for the loan.]

About the same time two Colonels came out of both provinces of *Spain*, with letters from *C. Cælius* and *L. Manlius* the governors there: by which letters intelligence was given, that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians were in arms, waisting and spoiling the lands of the Rom. confederates. The Senat referred the entire consultation of this matter to the new Magistrates. During the time of the Roman games that yeer which *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Publius Posthumius Albinus* represented, a certain malt or high pole which stood not fast in the shew place called *Circus maximus*, fell down upon the image of *Pollux*, and overthrew it to the ground. The L.L. hereupon made some temple in conscience, and ordeined, that the solemnity of those games should continue one day longer, and caused two images to be let up for that one, and that the new should be all gilt. Likewise the Plebeian plaies were renewed one day more, by the *Ædiles*, *C. Sempronius Blaesus* & *M. Furius Lælius*. The yeer following averted the Consuls *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, & *M. Marcus Philippus* from the army, from the regard I say of wars and government of provinces abroad, to the punishment of a certain intestine conspiracy at home. The Pretors left costs for their province, *T. Manlius* had the jurisdiction of the citizens, and *M. Licinius Lucullus* between citizens & strangers. Unto *C. Aurelius Scæurus* fell the governance of *Sardinia*, and to *P. Cornelius Sulla* of *Sicily*. *L. Quinctius Crispinus* was assigned to the biher *Spain*, and *P. Calpurnius Piso* to the further. Both Consuls were enjoined to make inquisition into secret conspiracies within the City.

There was a certain Grecian of base degree and condition, who came first in *Heunria*; a man not endued with any of those arts, whereof the nation (of all others most learned) hath brought many unto us, as well for the erudition of our minds, as the trimming of our bodies; but sacrificing

seeing priest he was, and a divining wizard withal. Neither was it one that made out-ward profession of reaching men, and thereby getting a living openly, and so by an open show of religion possessed their heads and minds with fear and horror; but the knowledge he had forsooth for certain hidden and secret sacrifices. These mysteries of his at first he taught but unto a few, howbeit afterwards they began to be communicated and divulged as well to men as women: and this religion were added pleasures and delights of wine and good cheer to the end that the more cupplers might be allured and enticed for to have a liking thereof. Now when wine had drowned and dulled the understanding: when the night season, when the intermingling of men and women together one with another (and namely, they of young and tender years, with those of elder age) had clean put out and extinguished all respect and regard of themselves honestly: they began first to be practised all sorts of corruption, for every one had all pleasures ready at commandment, and his choice of those whereto by nature he was more prone and given to lust after. Neither was there wickedness committed here, of one sort, namely, the abusing of mankind and promiscuous one with another without distinction: but out of this shop and workhouse proceeded all wickedness, forging of seals, depositions, and testimonies: and more then so, wrong, and untrue informations. From hence came the devilish craft of poisoning, and privy murders of the nearest of kindred in one house: and the same to secret, that otherwhiles the bodies would not be found to be committed to the earth. Many sinful parts were there played by way of fraud, guile, and cunning cozenage: but more by open force. As for violence, it was kept close and hid, by reason that with the hideous noises, with the sound of tymbrels, tabors and cymbals, there could no voice be heard of such as cried out, when either they were forced to villany and abuse, or beaten to death. The infection of this catching poison of *Heteria*, spread as far as *Rome*, like a contagious malediction. At the first the spacious capacity of the City, having been used to wink and bear with loose courtships, concealed all: at length revealed it was to the *Col. Vestibulum*, much after this manner.

The Bacchanals detected.

P. Eburus (whose father had served in the wars in quality of a gentleman of *Rome* with a Citizen's horse) left an orphan, after that his guardians were likewise deceased, became ward to his mother *Duronia* and his father in law (her second husband) *T. Sympronius Rusticus*, under whom he had his bringing up. Now as his mother was wholly devoted and obsequious unto her husband, so his father in law had so handled the matter in his guardianship, that he could make no good use, except thereof, and therefore his desire was, that either the infant his ward should be made sure, or else obliged and enthralled unto him. The only way to compass and bring this about, was the corruption and abuse of the Bacchanals. The mother therefore upon a time called her son unto her, and told him, that she had made a vow for him when he was sick, that so soon as ever he should recover and be well again, she would present him to the priests of *Bacchus* to be consecrated and professed in their mysteries: and now, quoth she, (seeing that by the goodness of the gods thou art amended, and I thereby obliged by the bond of that vow, I will acquit my self thereof, and perform it accordingly). She bare him in hand therefore, that he must for ten dayes live chaste, and not touch a woman, and at the ten dayes end after he had taken his supper, and was well washed and perfumed after the manner, she would bring him into the holy place of those sacred mysteries. Now there was a famous trumpet, by condition a bondwoman enfranchised, named *Thyphala Fessera*, too good, I wis, for that occupation, which she used while she was a young wench, and bond servant: but yet still after that she was manumitted and in frank state of a free citizen, she maintained her self by the same trade and manner of living. Grown she was into familiar acquaintance with the forsaid young *Eburus*, by reason they were near neighbours, and dwelt not far asunder: yet so, as the endangered not the youth one jot either in charging his words, or touching his credit. For the it was that first was inamored upon him, and him the pupil and for as much as he had but short allowance every way from his mother and father in law, and by men kept hardly, he was maintained well by the bounteous liberality of this loving harlot. Nay, more than that, in continuance of time she was so deeply engaged in him, that when her own patron was dead, and her self at the disposition of none, she sued unto the Tribunes and the Pretor for another tutor, because she meant to make her last will and testament, wherein she declared *Eburus* her only heir in remained, or to all that she had. There passing thus between them the legacies and pledges of love, and they using to impart the one unto the other the secrets of their hearts, the young youth by way of merriment and pleasant talk, would her one day not to marvell or think any thing in it, if for certain nights he lay away and parted beds with her: for that upon a religious zeal and devotion that he had, he was minded for to be professed and consecrated by the Priests of *Bacchus*, and all to be absolved from a vow made in regard of his health. The woman hearing him say so, and grow all in spirit, Mary god forsooth, (quoth she) and I would not that for all the good in the world. And heiter it were for me and you too to die both at once, then so to die and with that she threatened, the cursed and banded, wishing all mischief and plague to light upon them that had put such a thing into his head. The youth wondered much to hear her words, and to see her so to fare and taken on beyond all reason and order, beseeching her of all loves to be content, and to forbear those cursed speeches, and said it was his own mother, by the consent of his father in law, who had enjoined him so to do. And is it that father in law of yours, quoth she, (for peradventure I should not do well to blame your mother) that hathen you by this action of yours to make shipwreck of your honesty and chastity, of your credit and good name, your hope another day, and lastly, to hazard your very life? Hereat the young man marvelled much more then before

As soon, and desired earnestly to know the depth of all this matter. Then after she had prayed all gods and goddesses to pardon her, if for tender love and affection that she bare unto him, she could neither will nor chuse but reveal those secrets that indeed were to be concealed, she let tale on, and said (That she her self once entered into that chapel, when as she waited on her mistress, but because that she was made free and at her own liberty, she never set foot within the dore. And upon my knowledge (quoth she) it is the very shop and workhouse of all wickedness that can be devised. And now for certain these two years last past, there is not one professed and admitted to those mysteries there, who is above 20 years of age. So soon as any one is indicted and brought thither, she or he is delivered to the priests as a very sacrifice to be killed: for they lead them to a place which resoundeth with yelling and crying, with singing of divers conjoints, with jangling noise of cymbals, with thumping & beating of tabors, to the end that the voice of any one that cryeth and complaineth of force and violence done to the abuse of his or her body might not be heard. Now I beseech you therefore, and of all loves I pray you, that in any case by one means or other you avoid this: howsoever ye do: and plunge not your self headlong into this, when first you shall be sure to endure and suffer, and afterwards to perpetrate and commit all abominable wickedness not to be named. And never would she let the youth go from her, until he had made her faithfull promise to abstain and forbear such mysteries and ceremonies. When he was come home, and that his mother was in hand with him, telling him what he must do this day and that day, and so forth: he flatly denied and said plainly, he would do neither the one nor the other, and at one word, professed and consecrated he would not be, whatsoever came of it. His father in law was present and at one end of this resolute speech of his. His mother straightwies cried out and said, that he could not find in his heart to lie apart from *Thyphala* one ten dayes, and that he was so far bewitched and envenomed with the charms & poisoned allurements and bits of that false serpent and perilous *Hydra*, that he had no respect or regard either of his mother, or mothers husband, no, nor any reverent fear of the immortal gods. The mother raised him of one side, the father baited and cursed him on the other, till in the end they hunted him out of doors with 4 bondslaves besides. The young man betook himself to *Eburia*, an aunt that he had by his father's side, and shewed her the whole matter, why his mother had thrust him out of her house by the head and shoulders: which done, by her advice and counsell the next day he opened and declared, he same in great secret, without the hearing of any earthly creature, to the *Consul Phellurus*. The Consul commanded him to repair again unto him three dayes after, and for the time dismissed him. Then the Consul in the mean while enquired of his wives mother *Salpisia*, a brave and sober matron, whether she knew an old wife called *Eburia* dwelling in the *Aventine*? Yes that I do quoth she, and I know her to be an honest dame, and a woman of the old world, and few her like now a dayes. I must needs speak with her (quoth she) and therefore I would have you send a messenger unto her, for to will her to come hither. *Eburia* at the first sending came *Salpisia*, and the Consul within a while forced (as it were by chance) into their company, & began to find some talk of her brothers (son *Eburus*): with that the woman eyes stood full of water, and with tears she began to bewail the care and mishap of the young man; who being spoiled of his goods and patrimony (by those who of all others should least have done it) was now at home in her house, chased and driven out of doors by his own mother: for that the honest good youth (God bless us all and be mercifull unto us) was unwilling to be consecrated and admitted to certain filthy and detestable sacrifices (if all be true that is reported thereof.) The Consul had caught on, and was fully perwaded of *Eburus*, that he had told him no lie. Then he gave *Eburia* leave to go her ways home, and requested his mother in law *Salpisia* aforesaid, to send likewise for *Thyphala* from thence unto the *Aventine* to come unto her: a woman (quoth she) affianced and well enough known to all the neighbours of that street: for that I have somewhat also to say to her. *Thyphala* was somewhat disquieted at this message, to think that she should be sent for to a noble and honourable a dame, and knew no cause wherefore. But after that she saw the Lictors before the entry of the doore, the troop and train also belonging to the Consul, and with the Consul himself in person, she was allomted and (in manner) half dead. The Consul taking with him his wives mother, had the woman into an inward room of the house, and said unto her, that she need not to be afraid, if so be she could find in her heart to tell the truth: and for assurance thereof, she should have the faithfull word and promise either of *Salpisia* (a lady of so good credit and reputation) or of himself it need were. Only he would have her to utter and declare what was ordinarily done at the grove of *Simula* in the Bacchanals, where they used to sacrifice in the night season. The woman had no sooner heard that word, but she fell into such a fit, trembling and quaking all over her body, that for a good while she was not able to open her lips and speak a word: but after she was come to herself again out of this trance, and by them comforted and encouraged, she said, that when she was a very young wench and a bond-maid, she, together with her mistress, was there professed and consecrated: but for certain years of late, and namely since that she was enfranchised and made free, she was not acquainted with the place, nor with what work was there. I can ther thanks for this yet (quoth the Consul) that thou deniest not how thou wert there entered into that profession; but say on and tell out the rest as truly and faithfully. She answered again, that she knew no more then she had already disclosed. The Consul upon her and said, that in case she were taken away, & that another came forth to her place & reproved her, she should neither find the same pardon, nor have the like favour at his hand.

as otherwise she might if of her self she confessed the thing, forasmuch as he who had all from your own mouth, hath already discovered the whole. The woman knew where he was, and was perfwaded verily (as it is indeed) that *Ebunius* was a blab of the tongue, and had revealed this secret: whereupon she fell down at the feet of *Sulpia*; and first began in most humble manner to beseech her, that she would not suffer, that words of courtesie passed between her and an infamous woman and her paramour, should turn not only to earnest and importance, but also to a scurrilous matter, to touch her as much as her life was worth: for what I said (quoth she) was but to fright him, and not for that I knew any such thing. *Posthumus* heicet was chafed, and fell into a fit of choleric. What? (quoth he) thou thinkst belike, that thou art jelling and coggling with thy lover *Ebunius*; and forgettest how thou art in the house of a right worshipfull lady, and in communication with a Consul. But *Sulpia* on the other side, willed her to stand up, (sighing as she was) and withall, both exhorted her to be of good cheer, and also appeared the wish of her son in law. In the end after she had taken a better heart unto her, she greatly blamed & found fault with the disloyalty and falshood of *Ebunius* for serving her so, and requiring her full body again for so singular a good turn that she had done him, and then said, That she stood in great awe of the gods, whose secrets she should reveal and divulge; but in greater fear of men, who no doubt for bewraying their matters, would be ready to tear her in pieces with their very hands. And therefore she belougth *Sulpia*, and entreated the Consul to take some order for her, and to send her into some place out of *Italy*, where she might passe the rest of her daies in safety of her life. But of good cheer woman (quoth the Consul) let me alone for that, I will provide well enough, that thou shalt live at *Rome*, and that without all danger. Then declared *Hispala* the originall and first commencement of these sacrifices and solemnities. At the beginning (sd. she) it was privileged place & consecrated for women only; & they alone medled with those mysteries; neither was it the custome and manner, that a man should enter in among them: and three let holidays they had in the year, during which time the priests of *Bacchus* performed their ceremonies in the day time, and folk were admitted by them, to their religion and profession; and women they were all (and those matrons) who were created priests for that purpose, in their time & turn one after another. But *Paucilla Minia* (a Campanian woman) when she was the priest, chanced all, as being advertised and admonished by the gods to do so: for she was the first that lifted and admitted men, to wit, her own sons *Minius* and *Mercurius* the Cerrinians: she altered the solemnity from the day to the night; and for three daies in the whole year, she ordained first, every month, to serve for the attendance and ministry of these mysteries. Since which time the sacrifices & ceremonies were thus divulged, & men and women intermingled together, & the licentious liberty of the night time also to help all forward, there is no lack of wicked, no fid to filkly, nor there is committed: and more filkly & unnatural abuse there is, of mankind one with another, then there is of women. If any are either unwilling to suffer this foul filkiness, or belike themselves more dully in the beauly action and performance of that villany, such presently are to be killed and sacrificed as beasts. And this is upholded amongst them, the principall point and sum of their religion, to hold and believe that nothing is unlaful whatsoever. The men shaking and wagging their bodies to and fro after a fantastic fashion, as if they were distracted & out of their right wits, seem to divine and tell things to come. The women, attired like the priestesses of *Bacchus*, with their heads unbound and their hair hanging loose about their faces, and holding flaming torches to the river *Tiber*, where they dip their torches into the water, and take them out again light burning still, because they are made with sulphur vive and quick lime: and they say, that certain men are by the gods carried away from among them, no man knoweth whither: such as they bid fall to a certain engine or frame, and harry them out of sight into certain hidden caves: and those be such, as either would not swear to be of their conspiracy, or be partners with them in all their mischievous designments, or endure against kind to be abused. The number & multitude thereof, is not counted, is exceeding great, and grown now be another body of a people: & among them are some noble persons, as well men as women. But now for these two years last past, or N. denied it is. That one should be there professed and sacred above twenty years old; for such ages they say for to serve their turn, as are loonsly seduced and drawn to error, or most subject to be forced to suffer abuse and villany. Whence he had thus finished her information and discovered all, she fell down upon her knees again, and lay at their feet, and repeated her former supplication the second time, to wit, That she would lend her away out of the country. Then the Consul treated his mother in law to spate some void corner of her house, whereunto *Hispala* might retire her self, and there make her abode: So she allowed her an upper lodging in her house, and the and the stairs th led towards the street were stopped up, and the entrance turned into the back. Then presently were all the moveable goods and household stuff of *Fessenia* removed, and herself sent for thither, and there entertained. Likewise *Ebunius* was commanded to go and lodge with a tenant or client belonging to the Consul. Thus when both the informers were forthcoming, and under *Posthumus* his hand, he declared the whole matter to the Senat. And after he had laid every thing abroad in order, namely, what was reported unto him first, and what he had learned afterwards by enquiry, the Lords of the Senat were surprized with exceeding great fear, as well in regard generally of the common weal, lest those conspiracies, nightly meetings and conventicles, might import some secret, complot of mischief and danger: as also for doubt in particular, that some of their own friends or family should be accessory and culpable.

A The Senat yet were of this mind, that the Consul was highly to be praised and thanked, for that he had found out and brought to light such a matter as this, both with so singular care & diligence, and also without any tumult and uprore. Then they took order and ordained, *Imprimis*, That the Consul should have an extraordinary commission to make search and inquiry into these Bacchanals and night-facilities. Item, That *Ebunius* and *Fessenia* the informers thereof, should not be prejudged the eby, nor come to harm for it, yea; and that a recompence and reward should be propounded to others that could give light and reveal the same. Item, That the Priests belonging to their religions; be they men or women, should be sought out not only at *Rome*, but in all other markets towns, fairs and places of frequent resort, and conveyed before the Consul to be and remain at their disposition. Item, That proclamation be made at *Rome*, and edicts sent throughout of *Bacchus*, to call any more into assembly or conventicle for those facilities, nor yet do ought pertaining to such divine service. And above all things, that information and proclamation be made of all those that had frequented such meetings or conventicles, to commit whoredome or any such filkiness and wickedness. And these were the ordinances of the Senat. The Consul, then granted their warrants out to the *Adiles Curule* to make diligent search and enquiry for those Priests for to be examined: also to the *Adiles of the Commons* to look well, that no service of the gods be celebrated in secret. Moreover, the *Triumvirs* capital were straightly charged to let good watch be kept throughout the City, and see to meetings by night, for fear that no fire should hold of any place. To those three Commissaries or *Triumvirs* were five other *Quinquervirs* adjoined assistants, who every one should watch well and take charge of all the houses of his quarter with in *Tyber*. Then the Consul having let them about these their severall charges, mounted up the *Rostres* or place of publicke audience. And when the people were assembled together, then the Consul after he had pronounced the solemn prayer which Magistrates are wont to use as a preamble, before they make speech unto the people, began his Oration unto them in this wise, "Never in any of your assemblies, O Quirites, was this solemn prayer unto the gods, either for meet and convenient, or for solicit and needfull as in this, to advertise and put you in mind, that those be the true gods indeed whom your ancestors ordained, that you should honour, serve, worship, and pray unto, and not these here who prick & provoke (as it were) with goads of furies, your spirits and minds transported and carried away with false and strange religions to commit all wickedness, mischief, & filkly lust. Surely for mine own part I wot not either what I were best to counsel, or how far forth to speak out and utter my mind, if you know not all, I doubt I should give you occasion to be negligent; again, if I discover all, I fear me that I shall affright & terrify you too much. But what and how much soever I shall say, be ye sure it will be far less than the greatness and enormity of the thing requireth. Yet endeavour will we so much to deliver, as may suffice to give you a warning and watch-word to take heed, this am I well assured of, that you neither should not only by hearlay and bare report, but also by the ringing noises and yelling cries in the night season that the Bacchanals have been a long time kept over all *Italy*, yea, and in many places throughout the City of *Rome*, which resoundeth again there with. But what manner of thing it is, I am verily perfwaded there is not one of you that knoweth. Some believe that it is a certain worship and service of the gods; others suppose it is some foolery and wanton pastime tolerated and winked at. But be what it will be, they think there are but a few interested & employed therein. As touching the number and multitude of them, if I should tell you that they were many thousands, you cannot chule but suddenly be afraid, unless I also presently shew, who they be and of what quality. Know ye therefore first and foremost, that the most part of them are women; & from thence is sprung the source of all this mischief. / Then are there men indeed but such as for all the world seeme women, so counterfeit they are: such I say, as have abandoned themselves as well to be abused as to abuse others: fanatical persons and bereaved of their wits by reason of excessive watching, past fence & even stoned with bibbing of wine without measure, with shouting, hollowing & crying all night without intermission. This conventicle of conspirators is yet of no great force, howbeit it gathereth much strength, in regard that they multiply, & their number is every day more than other. Your ancestors in times past would in no wise admit that ye should assemble together at a venture and without important and just occasion, unless it were either by rearing a standard or banner upon the fortrels for to levy an army; or to gather the people together to give their voices in elections of Magistrates; or that the *Triumvirs* proclaimed a general congregation of the common people; or some of the Magistrates summoned them to an open audience for to hear an Oration; and wherefore a multitude were gathered together, there they ordained and thought meet to have a lawfull governour and overseer of them. But what kind of night conventicles think ye first they might be & namely, where men and women are met and thronged together pell mell one with another? In faith, if ye wist it, ye would be ashamed and dismised. Think ye my Masters Quirites, that young men thus professing, having taken this oath, are meet to make foulders of? and that ye are to put weapons into the hands of such as are taken out of that sinking and deefestable Chappel? Shall these, thus polluted, and overwhelmed with filthy uncleanness, as well of their own kind as of others, be right for the pure chastity, for the honesty (I say) of your wives and children? Lest harm

The Oration of the Consul *Posthumus*, for the overthrow of the Bacchanals.

should not thereby sustain discredit, or receive damage. Finally, that not only the *Col.* and *Prætor* in now in place, but also those hereafter to come, should provide and take order that no wrong be done to that woman, but secure her from all harm. This the *Senat.* judged meet and requisite to be done. All these things were likewise propounded unto the *Com.* and executed according to the opinion of the *Senat.* Finally, as touching both the impunity and also the recompence of the delinquents, it was referred to the discretion of the *Comitum.*

By this time *Q. Marcius* also having finished the inquisition in his circuit and quarters, made preparation to go into his Province of *Liguria*, after he had received for to supply and make up his legions 3000 footmen, and 150 horsemen Romans, besides 5000 footmen and 200 horse of *Liguria*. The same Province, with the like number as well of horse as foot, was decreed likewise to his companion in government. Those armies they took charge of within the former year (*Tit. Minius*) and *M. Minius* the *Col.* had; moreover, by an act of the *Senat.* enjoyed they were to enroll two new legions besides; and withall they levied of the *Latine* allies 20000 footmen, and 3000 horse 5000 footmen also, and 200 horsemen Romans. All these forces (letting as the legions) it was thought good to be led to furnish out the army in *Spain*. And therefore the *Col.* whyles they were themselves in person occupied about the forsaide inquisitions, gave commission to *M. Minius* to take the musters. And when those enquests were performed and done as is before said, *Q. Marcius* took his journey out of the twain towards the *Apennines* in *Liguria*. But whiles in expectation of them he engaged himself into the secret and blind passes, wherein at all times they had their lurking retreats and places of refuge: within those brights and passages which he took, he had desired before, he was environed by them in a place of great disadvantage: where he lost 4000 soldiers, with three ensignes of the *Col.* and legion, and eleven banners of the *Latine* allies which were all taken by the enemies. Also much armour and many weapons were thrown away: and there, by reason that they were encompassed therewith as they fled through the woody parts of the forest: neither did the *Ligurians* give over their chase, before that the Romans ended their flight. The *Comiti* so soon as they came of speed out of the enemies territory sent his army away into divers parts of the peaceable country: so the end, that it might not be seen, how much his losses were; empaired; yet could not be for all that suppers and smother the bruit that was blown abroad of his unfortunat journey. nor cancel the remembrance of the overthrow: for ever after, the forest out of which the *Ligurians* hunted him was called. The streights of *Marcius*. A little before the news of the affairs in *Liguria*, the letters out of *Spain* were read containing sorrow mixed with joy: to wit. That *C. Cæsius*, who two years before went as *Prætor* into that Province, fought a field with the *Lusitanians* in the territory of *Alba*, where 6000 enemies fell upon the sword: and the rest were discomfited, put to flight and driven out of their camp. Afterward, he conducted his legions to the assault of the town *Alba*, which he forced and won with no greater ado than before he gained their camp. But as he approached near the walls and took no good heed to himself, he was wounded, and of his hurt within few daies died. Upon the reading of these letters (importing the death of the *Pro. Prætor*) the *Senat.* was of advice to dispatch messengers (to overtake the *Prætor C. Calphurnius*) as far as the port of *Luna*, and give him to understand from the *Senat.* that their advice was he should make all the haste he could in his journey, to the end that the Province might not be without a governor there to command. The courier which was sent, within four daies arrived at *Luna*: and but few daies before, *Calphurnius* was departed and had put himself in his journey.

Morcover, *L. Manlius Acidinus* (who was gone into his Province at the same time that *C. Cæsius* went) struck a battell likewise with the *Celiberians* in the higher Province of *Spain*. But they departed on both sides out of the field with doubtful victory: save only that the *Celiberians* the next night following dislodged and removed from thence: whereby the Romans had liberty and time both to inter their dead, and to gather up the spoils of their enemies. And within few daies after, the same *Celiberians* having raised a more puissant army, of themselves gave the Romans battell near the City *Calagurra*. It is not set down in the history, what should be the cause why they were the weaker, considering their number was re-enforced: but foiled they were in fight and had the overthrow. Of the enemies there died upon 12000 and not so few as 20000 prisoners: and the Romans likewise were Masters of the camp. And had not *Manlius* been impeached and restrained in this train of victory (which he hotly followed) by the coming of *Calphurnius* his successor in government, the *Celiberians* had been utterly subdued. The new *Prætor* withdrew both armies to their wintering harbours.

At the same time that these news came out of *Spain*, the plaies called *Taurilia* were celebrated two daies together in honour of the gods. And after them, *M. Fulvius* set out (with great furniture in sumptuous manner for the space of ten daies) his plaies which he had vowed in the *Ætolian* war. And for to do him honour and grace this solemnity, many conning actors and players came out of *Greece*. This was the first time that there was represented at *Rome* the shew of champions and wrestlers: for the best game: then also was exhibited the pastime of hunting and baiting Lions and Panthers: and in one word, these sports were celebrated with as great magnificence and variety almost as the modern pastimes and games in these daies. After all this, was holden a Nones-day feast: during which, there was much sacrificing: and all by occasion that for three daies it rained stones in the Picene country: and because it was reported that the lightning in divers places, and in sundry forts, had blasted and lightly fired the garments especially of many folks.

To

A To the said feast, there was adjoynd a supplication of one day, ordained by a decree of the Pontifices, for that the Chappel of the goddess *Opis* (standing in the Capitol) was smitten with a thunderbolt. In regard of these prodigies, the *Col.* procured expiation by sacrificing greater beasts, and they purged and hallowed the City. At the same time word was brought out of *Thracia*, that there was an *Hermaphrodite* or *Scyt* found almost twelve years old. This was held for a detestable monster; and therefore order was given, that it should be kept out of the territory of *Rome*, and killed out of hand.

The same years certain Gauls from beyond the *Alps* passed into the territory of *Venice*, without foraging, spoiling, and using any hostility; and not far from the place where as now *Aquileia* standeth, they seized upon a plot of ground to build a City in. Certain Roman Embassadors were sent about this matter beyond the *Alps*: where they received this intelligence and answer from the inhabitants of the country, That neither those Gauls took that voyage and expedition by authority and warrant from the whole nation neither knew they what they did in *Italy*.

Scipio likewise about the same time, let out his plaies for ten daies together: for which he said that he had made a vow during the time of the war against *Antiochus*. He defund the charges thereof with the money contributed unto him by divers *KK.* and States for that purpose. *Valerius Antius* writeth, that after he was condemned, and his goods confiscated and sold he was sent in Embassage unto *Asia*, for to take up certain controversies and differences between the two *KK.* *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*: and then it was (saith he) that the said contribution was made, and many skilful artificers and plaiers gathered unto him out of all *Asia*: and in the end after this Embassage he moved the *Senat.* for these games, because he had made no mention nor words at all of them after the said war: by occasion whereof (by *Valerius* his saying) he vowed them.

The year being now at an end, *Q. Marcius* in his absence was to leave his Magistracy: & *Q. Posthumus* having late upon the inquisition afore said, and with all fidelity and careful diligence that might be brought it to an end, held the solemn assembly for election of Magistrates: wherein were chosen *Col.* *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* & *M. Sempronius Tudianus*. And the morrow after were elected for *Prætors*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *A. Posthumus Albinus*, *C. Silius Silla*, *C. Attilius Serranus*, *L. Posthumus Tappianus*, & *M. Claudius Marcellus*. At the years end upon the relation of *Sp. Posthumus* the *Col.* that in his visitation about the enquests afore said, as he rode along the sea coasts of *Italy* on both sides, he found certain Colonies dispeopled and desolate, to wit, *Sipontum* upon the Adriatick sea, and *Buxentum* upon the *Tuscan* Sea, *T. Manius* the City *Prætor* by virtue of an act of the *Senat.* in that behalf created three Commissaries, called *Triumvirs*, for to enroll and plant new inhabitants there, namely, *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Tullius*, and *Cn. Babius Tampilus*.

The war against King *Perseus* and the Macedonians, which now was a breeding, arose not upon that cause & occasion which most men imagine, nor yet from *Perseus* himself: for the first groundwork thereof was laid by *Philip*, who if he had lived longer, would have been seen in open action. One thing there was above the rest which stung him, at what time as the Romans imposed conditions upon him after he was vanquished, to wit, That the *Senat.* laid a bar for to be revenged of those Macedonians who had revolted from him: which he depaired not but it had been possible to have obtained at their hands, considering that *Quintus* in the capitulations of peace referred that point entire and excepted not against it. Now afterwards, when *Antiochus* was defeated in the battell of *Thermopyle*, and that both *Philip* & the *Col.* entered upon the several exploits: *Antiochus* went in hand to assault *Heraclea*, and *Philip* at the same time the City of *Lamia*. *Heraclea* was sooner forced, but *Philip* had commandment to levy his siege before *Lamia*, and the town was yielded to the Romans: and this he took to the heart. Howbeit, the *Col.* appeared his challenger for the time, in that making halte in person to *Nausipolus* (unto which town the *Ætolians* after their rout were retired) he suffered *Philip* to war upon *Atthamania* and *Aminander*: to adjoyne also and lay unto his kingdom those Cities which the *Ætolians* had taken from the *Thessalians*. Now had *Philip* chased *Aminander* out of *Atthamania*, and won certain Cities without any great ado. *Demetrius* also (a strong City of great importance, and very commodious for all things) together with the nation of the *Magnetes* he brought under his obedience. After this he forced certain towns in *Asia*, which were troubled with the detestable variance of their principal and great personages: by reason that they knew not how to use their new liberty, wherewith they had not been acquainted: he won those Cities (I say) by taking part with those, who in this civil dissension were the weaker: and otherwise would have gone to the walls. By these means the wrath of the King against the Romans was well allayed for the present: nevertheless, he ceased not all the time of peace to bethink how he might gather more strength, and be able to war again, whensoever any good occasion should be presented unto him. He increased therefore the revenues of the Crown, not only by raising taxes out of all the fruits of the earth, and letting import and customs upon all merchandise brought into his Realm by sea from foreign parts: but also revived the *KK.* & issues of the old mines which had discontinued, yea, & in many places ordained new. Moreover, to replenish his country, which by many calamities following was dispeopled, he not only took order that his subjects should multiply by forcing them to get, breed, and bring up children, but also translated a great multitude of *Thracians* into *Macedony*: and for a good time wherein he was in repose and rest from the war, he bent his whole mind, and employed all his study how to make him self great, and augment the puissance of his kingdom. Then old matters and quarrels were renewed, which might whet his stomach, and kindle his anger against

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the Romans. For the complaints which the Thessalians and the Perrhæbians made for that their Cities were by him possessed, likewise those grievances which the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* laid abroad touching the Thracian Towns, which he seized and held by force, were heard by the Romans; so as it evidently appeared, that they neglected them not. But that which moved the Romans most, was this, that they had intelligence how he intended to be Lord of *Ætolia* and *Acrota* as for the Thessalians, they took less regard of them. Moreover, there came the Embassadors of *Abthamania*, who complained not for the loss of some part of their territory, nor that he encroached upon their frontiers, but that all *Abthamania* full and whole, was reduced under the subjection and jurisdiction of the King. The banished persons also of *Maedonia*, who had been expelled out of the City by the Kings garrison (for that they stood in defence and maintenance of liberty) made relation, that not only *Maedonia* was in the hands of *Philip*, but the City of *Ænus* like his wife there came Embassadors from *Philip*, to purge him of all these matters laid to their charge, who averred, That their King and Master had done nothing but by commission and warrant from the Roman General, They pleaded and alleged, that the case of the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and *Magestian* Cities, yea, and the whole nation of *Abthamania* together with *Amphidromus*, was all one with the *Ætolians*: namely, That after *Antiochus* the King was chased and expelled, the Col, himself being employed and occupied in besieging the City of *Ætolia*, sent *Philip* to recover the States above named, which being vanquished in war, were now subject unto him. Hereupon the Senate, because they would not determine and let down any thing in the absence of the King, sent three Delegates or Commissioners, to decide these controversies, to wit, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, *M. Bibulus*, *Tamphilus*, and *T. Sempronius*. Upon whose arrival, there was published a general Diet of all those States that were at difference with the King to be holden at *Tempe* in *Thessaly*. When they were all set there in council, the Roman Legats, as umpires and judges, the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and *Abthamians* as plaintiffs and accusers, and *Philip* as defendant to hear and receive the challenges and accusations against him; the chief Embassadors from the said Cities, pleaded against *Philip* bitterly or mildly more or less, according to the several disposition of their natures, and the proportion either of affectionate favour or malicious hatred which they bore to him. Now all the question and debate touching *Philippopolis*, *Tricca*, *Phaloria*, *Emymene*, and other towns about them was this: Whether those pieces, considering the *Ætolians* won and held them by force (as well known it was that *Philip* had taken them from the *Ætolians*) belonged in right to the Thessalians or appertained of old time to the *Ætolians*? for *Ætolius* had granted them to the K, upon these conditions, namely, if they were any of the appurtenances of the *Ætolians*, and if they combined and took part with the *Ætolians* willingly of their own accord, and not by constraint and force of arms. Upon like terms stood the controversy of the Perrhæbian and *Magestian* towns. For the *Ætolians* had brought a confusion in all their territories, by reason that they held and possessed those Cities, by taking their vantage upon divers occasions. Besides these substantial points properly to be decided, the Thessalians came in with their complaints also: For that those towns (in case they were out of hand delivered unto them, yet) he should render them spoiled, naked, and desolate. For over and besides those who miscarried by casualty of war, *Philip* had carried away into *Macedony* 500, even the principal flower of their youth, and abused them like slaves. In putting them to base ministries & servile drudgeries, and look whatsoever by compulsion he redelivered to the Thessalians, he had taken order afore that they should be good for nothing. As for example (say they) *Thebes* in *Phthia*, the only maritime City for much traffick and merchandise, was in times past gainful and commodious to the Thessalians, and brought them great revenues and profits, But *Philip* had turned the staple and all the trade and negotiation by sea from thence to *Demetrias*, and having got hulks and barks, cauled them to baulk and pass by *Thebes*, and direct their course for *Demetrias*. Nay, he could not so much as hold his hands from evil entreating their Embassadors, who by law of nations are inviolable. For he foreclosed them in ambush, as they were in their journey to *T. Quintus*. By which means the Thessalians all in general were so over-awed by him, and put in such fear, that there is not a man amongst them dare open his mouth, either in their own Cities, or in any of the Diets and Councils of the whole nation. For why? their patrons of whom they hold their liberty are far off, but an imperious Lord they have that sitteth ever on their skirts, and pricketh them continually in the sides, and will not suffer them to use and enjoy the benefits granted them by the people of *Rome*. For to take away from them the liberty of speech once, what freedom have they left? And even at this present, for all the assurance and confidence they have in the privilege of Embassadors, they rather sigh and groan out their words, than speak frankly, and partly with liberty. And unless the Romans provide better in some good sort, that both the Greeks remaining in *Macedony*, may be void of fear, and *Philip* also curbed and kept short for being so bold, it will be to no purpose at all, that either he was vanquished, or they enfranchised. He is therefore to be held in with a rougher and harder bit in his mouth, like an headstrong and unruly horse, that will not be ruled with a gentle snaffle. In this sharp and eager manner dealt the law, where, as the former had used fair language to appease and mollify his anger, beseeching his grace to pardon them in case they spoke their minds for their liberty, to lay down the rigor of a Lord and Master, to bear himself like a kind ally and loving friend, & to take example of the Romans, and them to imitate, who chose rather to gain associates by love, than constrain them by fear. After audience given to the Thessalians, the Perrhæbians came in place, and alleged that *Commene*

that a City which *Philip* named *Olympia* belonged in right to *Perrhæbia*: & earnest they were, that it might be restored unto them. They demanded also to have *Mallus* and *Erismum* again. Then the *Abthamians* put in, and spoke for their liberty, and to have the forts of *Athens* and *Patmos* rendered unto them. *Philip* because he would seem more like a plaintiff than a defendant, to accuse rather than to be accused, began himself also with complaints. He found himself grieved, that the Thessalians had won by force of arms the City *Mendus* in *Dolopia*, part of the appurtenances belonging to his kingdom, *Item*, that the tame Thessalians and the Perrhæbians together had forced *Petra* in *Pieria*, as for *Xynia* (an *Ætolian* town without all question) they had indeed laid it unto his seignory, but *Panachelus*, which should be under *Abthamania*, by no right in the world was annexed to the Thessalians, & comprised within their charter. For as touching the matters (quoth he) charged upon me so odiously, namely, of laying wait for the Embassadors of frequenting those port-towns or abandoning those: the one is a meer mockery and ridiculous thing: namely, for me to give account what havens, merchants, and mariners sail, and another arrive, attine other is clean adveit & contrary to my nature & that which I never could abide to practice. For these many years (quod he) Embassadors have never ceased and given over, to inform grievous matters against me to the Roman Generals, and to the Senat at *Rome*: and which of them ever to this day hath had so much as a foul word given again unto him from me? Supposed & objected it is, that once they were tormented by the way as they were going to *Quin*, and that it is not laid withal what happened unto them. This manner of dealing & accusation, a vereth of quarrellers that vain would have somewhat to say, be it never so false, when they can find no matter of truth to charge a man withal. These Thessalians beyond all measure abuse the kindness & indulgence of the people of *Rome*, & taring as men who had endured a long drought, they drink over-greedily, pouring in their liberty & nothing else to it, and know not when to make an end, and to break their draught: Like, for all the world to bondslaves suddenly let at freedom beyond their hope and expectation, whose manner is to break out into broad terms and acrimonious language, and cannot contain but revile and rail at their very Masters. And at last, in a furious fit of choler he burst forth into these words. That the sun was not set and gone to bed for ever, but would one day rise again, this minatory speech of his not only the Thessalians took to themselves, but the Roman, also construed as a glance at them. Upon these words arose loud and murmuring in the assembly, but being in the end appeased & stilled, he answered the Agents for the Perrhæbians and *Abthamians* in this wise: That the case and condition of those Cities for which they stood, was one and the same, namely, that the Col, *Ætolius* and the Romans passed them unto him by a deed of gift, as having aforetime belonged to their enemies. Now if they who have given, will also take away the same, then (quod he) I must needs quill my hold, and lose them: but in so doing, they shall to gratify their fickle, inconstant, and vain allies, men of no regard, and good for nothing, do mere and manifest wrong to a far better and more faithful friend. For nothing is there in the world more thankless and less while accepted than liberty, especially with them who know not how to use it, & by abuse thereof will soon spill the grace of such a benefit. Then the Roman Delegates, having heard the reasons and allegations of both parties pronounced sentence, That the *Macedonian* garrisons should quit the Cities above said, and the Realm of *Macedony* be confined within the ancient bounds and limits. As touching the injuries which they complained to have been reciprocally offered from one to another, there was a time and course of law to be set down, which should contain a process and manner, how the matters between the *Macedonians* and the other nations might be reformed and composed. Hence the King was highly offended and displeased, but the Delegates went their waies toward *Thebes*, and likewise the Cities of *Thrace*, and to hear their causes; where the Embassadors of King *Antiochus* made a speech to this effect.

If the Republic of the Romans be, that the two Cities *Ænus* and *Maedonia* shall be free, it is not for us modestly to say any more, but advertise & admonish them to leave the same in real and not in verbal liberty, and not suffer a gift by them granted to be impeached or intercepted by another. But if they have less care and consideration of the Cities and States planted in *Thrace*, yet more direct and reason it is, that those places which sometimes were subject unto *Antiochus*, should fall to *Romanus* rather than to *Philip*; by way of recompence for war-service in regard, as well of the merits of his father *Antiochus* during the war against *Philip*, as of his own deeds, who during the war with *Antiochus*, was personally present in all travels & dangers both by sea and land. And to this effect, he hath besides an award of the ten Delegates passed already before, whereby in the grant and donation of *Chersonesus* & *Lysimachia*, have no doubt given *Antiochus* more to *Ænus* likewise to be as dependants of a greater gift, considering the near vicinity and neighbourhood of those other Cities: For, as concerning *Philip*, what hath he deserved at the hands of the people of *Rome*? What right of seignory can he pretend, why he should plant garrisons in these Cities so far remote & distant as they be from the frontiers of *Macedony*? I will not only and certainly in all respects of the whole state of these Cities. Then were the Embassadors of the *Abthamians* called in: who affirmed: That the King had a garrison not in one place only of their City (as he had in other Cities besides) but in many quarters thereof at one time: so as *Maedonia* was pestered full with *Macedonians*. And therefore (say they) the Kings favorites and flatterers are they that rule all and bear the sway: they and none but they, may be allowed to

The Oration
of King Philp.

"speak both in Senat at the Council-table, and in general assemblies before the people; they go
away with all honours & dignities, & either are invited therein themselves, or else conser them
upon whom they please. The best men, who stand either for defence of freedom, or in maine-
nance of the laws, either are driven their country and banished, or fit a cold & blow their stile,
for any advancement they come unto; & being subject and thrall to persons of no worth, stand
like cyphers and hold their peace. Somewhat they said moreover as touching the right of their
limits, to wit, That *Q. Fabius Labeo*, at what time as he was in those parts, confined *Philp* within
the bounds of the old Kings: frett or high way, which directly leadeth to *Paroria* in *Thrace*; and
in no place declineth toward the sea: but *Philp* afterwards had made a new caufway, and drawn it
with a compals about, within which he empaled and took in the Cities & territories all of the
Maronites. To these challenges *Philp* began far otherwise, than he did of late the *Thessali-
ans* and *Perrhobians*, and in this wise he spake: "I have, quoth he, no matter to debate either
with the Maronites or *Emmenes*; but now at this present I am to contest even with you (my Ma-
sters of *Rome*) at whole hands I have seen thus long that I can obtain no reason and equity, I
thought it meet and right, that the Macedonian Cities, which had revolted from me during the
time of truce, should be rendered again unto me: not for any great encrease of feignory that
thereby should have accrued unto my kingdom (for small towns they are god wot, and situate
on the utmost frontiers) but because their precedent and example might have imported much,
to retain the rest of the Macedonians in their duty and allegiance, in no wile it would be gran-
ted. During the *Ætolian* war, I was enjoyned by the Consul *Acilius* to besiege and assault the
City *Lama*; and after I had been toiled out and wearied with maintaining skirmishes, raising King
fabricks, planting ordnance and engines against it, even when I was at the very point to scale
the walls and force the City, the Consul reclaimed and called me away, yea, and compelled me
to levy the siege, and withdraw my forces from thence. And for to make me some part of amends
for this wrong done, permitted I was to win again and conquer certain small piles and forts,
rather than Cities of *Thessaly*, *Perrhobia*, and *Athamania*. And even those also, may I say unto
you *Q. Cælius*, ye have taken from me within these few daies. And now forthwith of late, the
Embassadors of *Emmenes* also (and God will) have presumed upon this as a thing granted and
without all question, That more reason it is for *Emmenes* to have & enjoy that which belonged
to *Antiochus*, than for me. But my judgment is far otherwise. And why? *Emmenes* could never
have continued in his Realm, unless the Romans, I will not say, had vanquished *K. Antiochus*,
but surely if they had not waged war against him. And therefore is he indebted unto you, and
you no waies beholden unto him. As for my kingdom, so far was it off that any part or quarter
of it should be in hazard and jeopardy: that when *Antiochus* of his own meer motion offered
to buy my society with three thousand talents, and fifty covered ships of war, together with
all those Cities in *Greece* which I held in possession aforesaid; I refused all, and disclaimed his
alliance, yea, and I professed openly, even before that *M. Attilius* came over with his army into
Greece, that I was his enemy, and together with that Consul, was employed in what part oc-
casion, determined to lead his army by land to *Hellspon*, I not only gave him leave to pass
peaceably through my Realm, but also called the high waies to be paved and gravelled, bridges
to be made against his coming, yea, and furnished him with provision of victuals. And this did
I, not in *Macedony* alone, but also throughout all *Thrace*, where among other matters, this
was not of least importance and consequence, to restrain those barbarous nations there, from
running upon them, and to keep them in peace and quietness. In consideration now of this
kind affection of mine (If I may not call it a good desert) unto you, whether ought ye Romans
in recompence give me somewhat that I have, to augment and encrease my dominion by your
largesse and munificence, or to take from me (as you do) that which I have either in mine own
right, or by gift from you? The Macedonian Cities, which you confess to have been parcels of
my kingdom, are not restored unto me. *Emmenes* on the other side, he comes to make spoil of
me, as if I were *Antiochus*, and mark I pray you the device of it, he pretendeth a decree of the
Senate to colour his most shameless, impudent & cautious falsehood; even that by which
himself may be most refuted and convicted. For in very expresse and plain terms it is thus writ-
ten, That *Cherfonesus* & *Lysimachia* be given to *Emmenes*. Where I pray you, and in what cor-
ner of the instrument and patent stand *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and the Cities of *Thrace*? Shall he ob-
tain that at your hands, and by your means, as given and granted from those ten Delegates, which
he never durst so much as once demand and require of them? Tell me (if the thing be worth so
much) in what place ye would range and reckon me? If your purpose be to persecute me as an
enemy and mortal foe, spare not, but go on still as ye have begun: but if you respect me as a
King, as your ally and friend, I beseech you, repune me not worthy of so notorious and man-
ifest a wrong. This Oration of the King in some measure moved the Commissioners, and there-
fore by framing a mean and indifferent answer, they held the matter still in suspense undecided.
If (say they) the Cities in question were given to *Emmenes*, by virtue of a decree laid down
by the ten Delegates, we will not change nor alter any thing therein. But in case *Philp* acqui-
red them by Conquest and force of arms, he should have held them as the gerdon of his
victory. If neither, we are of opinion, That the hearing and decision of this difference shall
be referred over to the Senat: and to the end, that all may remain entire, the garrison in those

whose Cities shall be withdrawn and depur it. These, I say, were the causes that principally estran-
ged the affection of *Philp* from the Romans, and wrought discontentment in his heart: his infor-
mation is evident it is, that the war was not enterprised by his Ion *Perseus*, upon any new quadrats
and both occasion, but upon these motives Ier unto him by his father to be pursued.

Nouspition was there at *Rome* of a Macedonian war, *Laeta* in the *Pro Conul* was returned
out of *Spain*: and when he demanded a triumph of the Senat assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*,
the same in regard of his noble and worthy exploits might have been obtained; but for example
sake it was not granted. For an order it was in *Rome*, by ancient custome of their forefathers,
that no man might triumph, who brought not his army back with him, which he let unto his suc-
cessor the Province fully subdued and settled in peace. Howbeit, *Marius* was allowed an indis-
cuss honour, namely to enter into the City by way of Ovation. In which solemnity he had borne
before him in a pompous pageant two and fifty coronets of gold. Moreover, in gold a hundred
twenty pound weight, and in silverix thousand three hundred. Also he pronounced aloud in the
Senat, that *Q. Fabius* the Queitor was coming, and brought with him ten thousand pound
weight more of silver, and eighty of gold, which he meant likewise to bring into the Chamber of
the City.

That year a great commotion and insurrection there was of bondslaves in *Apulia*, *L. Postu-
mian* the Pretor had the government of *Tarentum*, and he sat in inquisition upon a damned crew
of certain herdsmen and graziers, who had conspired together, and tied to rob by the high-way
side, and in the common pastures belonging to the City: which Commission he followed with
such severity and rigor, that he condemned 7000 of them. Many escaped and fled, but many were
executed and suffered death. As for the Coss long were they kept in the City of *Rome*, about the le-
vy of soldiers, but at length they went into their Provinces.

The same year, *C. Calpurnius* and *L. Quinctius* the Pretors in *Spain*, having in the beginning of
the Spring led forth their armies out of their wintering holds, and joyned their forces together in
Reus advanced forward into *Carpetania*, (where the enemies were encamped) with a resolu-
tion to manage and conduct the war with one joint mind and common counsell together. Not far
from the Cities *Hippon* and *Tolenum*, there began a skirmish between the foragers of both parties,
by means whereof, the whole armies of both sides by little and little, came forth into the field to
fight a full battell. In this tumultuary skirmish, the enemies had the vantage, as well of the ground
wherein they were embattelled as of the manner of fight and service. By reason whereof, both
the Roman armies were discomfited and driven back into their camp: but the enemies pressed
not upon them nor withstanding they were put in great fright and much discomfited. The Roman
Prætor doubting lest their camp the morrow after should be assailed, dislodged in the night be-
tween in great secret and silence, without any sound of trumpet, and departed. In the morning by
break of day the Spaniards in ordinance of battell approached the trench and rampier: and be-
ing entered within the camp (which they found void and empty beyond their hope and expectati-
on) they rifled and ranfacked all that the Romans left behind them, whilst they made halfe away
in the night season: from whence the enemies returned to their own camp, and there for certain
daies abode in standing leaguer and stirred not. In that battell and in the chase together, there
were slain of Romans and allies 5000: and with the spoiles of their bodies, the enemies armed
themselves: from thence they marched to the river *Tagus*. The Roman Pretors in the mean sea-
son employed all that time to levy and assemble new forces out of the Confederate Cities of *Spain*,
and in comforting and encourg the hearts of their own footsiders after their fright, upon this
idle conflict and unlooky foil. Now when they had gathered (as they thought) a sufficient
power, and took themselves strong enough, and that the soldiers also desired to be doing with
the enemy, for to rate out and cancel the former ignomy and disgrace, they encamped twelve
miles from the river *Tagus* aforesaid: and about the third watch of the night advanced their
battels and marching in a four square battell, by day light they were come to the bank of the
river (now were the enemies lodged upon a little mount beyond the water) and incontinently
in two places (where the river shewed a ford) they waded through with their arms, *Calpurnius*
on the right hand, and *Quinctius* on the left. All this while the enemies continued quiet and mo-
ved not: but in the mean time, while as they wondered at their sudden coming, and devised how
to trouble and disorder the soldiers as they should make haste to pass the river, the Romans
had timbered over themselves, and their bag and baggage also, yea, and brought all together
into one place. And because they perceived by this time the enemy to stir and remove, and
had no time to fortifie their camp, they put themselves in battell array. In the midst flood the
river *Calpurnius*, and the eighth of *Quinctius*, which was the very flower and strength
of the whole army. Now they had a fair open plain all the way between them and the enemies
camp, so as there was no cause to fear any ambush. The Spaniards so soon as they espied two ar-
mes of their enemies upon that side of the bank which was next to them, all at once issued out
of their camp and ran to battell: to the end that they might surpris and empeach them be-
fore they could joyn and range themselves together. The fight was sharp and hot in the begin-
ning: for the Spaniards of the one side were pushed up with the covet and pride of their late
victory: and the Romans of the other, were galled and incited for anger of a dishonour re-
ceived, which they were not used unto. The battell in the midst (consisting of two most valiant
and

and hardy legions) fought right courageously: which the enemies, seeing that they could not otherwise force to retreat and give ground, began to charge upon them with a battalion in confusion flock together; and still they pressed hard upon them in the midst more and more in number, and ever the less ranged. *Calpurnius* the Praetor seeing this battle difficult and in danger, sent with all speed *L. Quinctius Varus*, and *L. Junius Tullus*, two Lieutenants, to either of the legions severally, to encourage and exhort them to stick to it like men, and to make resolutions and relation. That in them alone consisted all the hope of conquering, and keeping some; if they never so little yielded back & left their ground, there was not one of the whole army that should ever see Italy again, nor so much as the farther bank of *Tages*. As for himself, he took with him the Cavalry of two Legions, and when he had wheeled a little about and seen things with them, he charged hotly upon the flank of the foreaid strong battalion of the enemies, which assailed and urged still the main battle. *Quinctius* also with his Cavalry flanked the enemies on the other side, but the horien of *Calpurnius* fought more fiercely by odds than the others, and the Praetor himself in person was foremost of them all: for he was the first that drew blood of the enemy, & so far engaged himself within them, that hardly a man could know of which side he fought by his singular valour, the horsemen were mightily animated; and by the valour of the Cavalry on horseback, the Infantry also were endeavored to fight on foot. The principal Captains were abashed and ashamed to see the Praetor in person among the pikes and swords of his enemies, and therefore every man for his part did his best, put forward the port-ensignes, willing them to advance their banners, to the end that the soldiers might follow hard after. Then began they on all hands to set up a fresh and lusty shout; they took their bier and charged upon them from the vanage of an higher ground: by reason whereof they disarrayed them first, and like a sea, the stream they bare them down before them, so as they could not stand upon their feet and resist this violence of theirs, but fell one upon another. As many as fled toward the camp, the horien pursued, and so intermingled themselves among the rout of the enemies, that they could not pell-mell with them into their hold: where, they that were left for the guard thereof, renewed the fight, so that the Roman horsemen were forced to fight from their horses: and whilst they maintained the conflict, the first Legion came to second them, and consequently more and more succours as they possibly could ran to them: down went the Spaniards, and were massacred in all parts of the camp; and not above 4000 of them all, fled away and saved themselves; of which number, about 3000 (who still kept their armour) seized upon a hill near adjoining to the other, and about being for the most part armed by the balls, were scattered all over the field. The enemies were at first above 35000, but after this battle few how few of them were left; and from them were won 33 ensignes. Of Romans and Allies, there died few above six hundred of auxiliary souldiers from out of the Province, about 150. Five martial Tribunes were lost, and certain Roman Gentlemen, whose death especially, made it seem a bloody victory. After which the army abode within the enemies camp for that themselves had no time to fortify their own. The next morrow *Calpurnius* in an open audience, highly praised the horien, and rewarded them with rich harness and trappings, declaring aloud, That by means of their good service principally the enemies were discomfited, and their camp forced. As for *Quinctius* the other Praetor, he bestowed upon his men of arms, small chains and burtons of gold. The Centurions likewise of both armies received gifts at their hands, and namely, those who fought in the main battle.

The Consuls having finished the levy of souldiers, and accomplished all things requisite to be done in Rome, led the army into their Province of *Liguria*. *Sempronius* departed from Rome, and made a journey against the Apan Ligurians; where, by waisting their territories and burning their towns and fortresses, he made way into the forest and opened the passages as far as to the river *Macra* and the port of *Luna*. The enemies took a certain mount (an ancient hold) where their ancestors sometimes had seated themselves: but from thence they were by force discomfited, in reason that the Romans overcame the difficulties of the avenues thereto. *Ap. Claudius* likewise for his part, was equal in valour and good fortune to his Colleague, as having fought certain prosperous battles with the Ligurian Inguines. He forced besides six towns of theirs, and took many thousands of prisoners within them. Of the chief authors of that rebellion, he caused three and forty to lose their heads.

Now approached the time of the solemn assembly for election of Magistrates at Rome; and albeit *Sempronius* his lot: it was to hold the said assembly, yet *Claudius* returned first to Rome, because *P. Claudius* his brother made suit to be Consul, He had for his competitors, *L. Emilius Q. Fabius Laber*, and *Servius S. Iulius Galba*, all four of the Nobility. Old suitors they were all, and because they had suffered the repulse aforesaid, they renewed the suit for this dignity, as being so the rather due. because it had been once denied them. And this was the cause that these four followed & pressed the harder for to obtain the same, because it was not lawful for any more person one of the *Patritii* at once to be created Col. There were also of the Commoners certain persons well beloved and of good reputation that stood in election for the place, to wit, *L. Porcius Q. Terentius Culex*, and *Cn. Rabirius Tappulus*: they also had taken repulse beforetime, and were put off still in hope one day yet to obtain that honourable dignity. *Claudius* of them all was only the new Competitor. Now men thought verily without any doubt & question, yet and destined in their councils, *Q. Fabius Laber*, and *L. Porcius Licinius* to be Consuls. But *Claudius* the Consul together

together with his brother bestirred himself, and without his others attending upon him, travelled and laboured hard in all parts of the common place: notwithstanding the adversities, yet, and the most of the Senators cried out upon him, and said, That he ought to consider and remember rather that he was the Col. of the people of Rome, than brother to *P. Claudius*; why then let him not fill in the Tribunal either as president and judge of the court assembled, or else as a beholder and spectator only, without saying any word himself? Howbeit, he could not possibly be reclaimed from this diordinate affection of his which he shewed in labouring for his brother. This election was divers times also troubled with the great debates and contentions caused by the Tribunes of the Commons: whilst some of them spake against the Col. others again maintained his suit, and took part with him. But in the end, *Fabius* took the foil, and *Appius* went away with the game, for his brother. So *P. Claudius Pulcher* was created Col. beyond his own hope, and more than others looked for. *L. Porcius Licinius* held his own, and obtained the second place in his course: for that the Commoners went moderately to work, & shewed not so much affection and forcible means as *Claudius* did. After this, was holden the election of Praetors, and chosen there were, *C. Decimius Flavinus*, *P. Sempronius Longus*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q. Navius Maibo*, *C. Sempronius Blaesus*, and *A. Terentius Varro*. Thus much concerning the acts achieved both at home in the City, and abroad in the war that year wherein *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls.

In the beginning of the next year, in which *P. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* bare the Consulship, when as *Q. Caecilius*, *M. Babius* and *T. Sempronius* (who had been sent to hear and decide the controversies between the two Kings, *Philip* and *Eumenes*, and the States of *Thessaly*) had made report of their embassages: they permitted likewise the Embassadors of the said Princes and Cities, to come into the Senat. Who related the self-same things again, which had been alleged before in the presence of the foreaid Legats in Greece. After this, the LL. of the Senat addressed another new embassy into *Macedonia* and *Greece*, whereof *App. Claudius* was the chief for to visit and see, whether the Cities adjudged and assigned to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrharians were delivered unto them accordingly. They also had in charge to cause the garisons to quit *Enus* and *Macedonia*, and to look that all the sea-coast of *Thracia*, were freed from the subjection of *Philip* and the *Macedonians*. They were enjoined moreover to go into *Peloponnesus*, from whence the former embassy was departed in more doubtful terms than if they had never gone thither. For over and besides other things they were sent away without any answer for their dispatch: and albeit they requested the Achaens for to assemble their general Diet, they might not obtain it. For which, when as *Q. Caecilius* found himself discontented and grievously complained, and the *Lacedaemonians* withal made piteous moan, that the walls of their City were demolished and razed, their common people lead away in captivity into *Achaia*, and there sold, and the laws of *Lycurgus* taken from them, under which their City and Common-wealth until that day had been maintained and governed: the Achaens excused themselves most of all for the imputation of refusing to hold a Council; and to that purpose they rehearsed a Law and Ordinance, whereby they were forbidden expressly to call and publish a Diet, unless it were in the case of levying war and contracting of peace, upon occasion that any embassadors came directly unto them from the Senat of Rome with letters, or commission in writing. But for that this manner of excuse should not serve them again afterwards, the Senat gave them plainly to understand, that they ought to take care and order that the Roman Embassadors might at all times have means of free access to their Councils, like as they also reciprocally should have a Senat held for their sakes, as often as they would themselves.

After these embassages were departed, *Philip* was advertised by his Embassadors, that there was no remedy but he must abandon those Cities, and withdraw his garisons: and herewith being mightily offended & angered against all, yet he discharged his choler only upon the Maronites. *Uxo Onomastus*, warden of the ports and sea-coasts, he gave commandment to kill the chief of the advice-part. And he by the means of *Cassander*, one of the Kings upstarts and favorites who a long time had dwelt in *Macedonia*, procured certain Thracians to be let into the town by night. & there he committed murder and massacre, as if it had been a City won by force of arms. And when the Roman embassadors made complaint to him, namely of such outrages committed so cruelly against the gentiles Maronites, and so proudly and insolently against the people of Rome: in that they should be killed and cut in pieces at enemies, unto whom the Senat had ordained restitution of their freedom he made answer and said, that neither himself, nor any of those who belonged unto him, could do withall: but it was long of themselves and their variance one with another; whilst some of the Citizens drew to him, and others inclined to King *Eumenes*. Which ye may (say he) soon know to be a truth, if ye will but ask the Maronites themselves: for this account he made, that whilst they were all terrified with so late and fresh a massacre, there durst not one of them open his mouth against him. *Appius* replied again, and said, That they were not to make enquiry in this so evident and notorious a fact, as if it were in any respect doubtful: but if he would discharge and clear himself as innocent of the action, he should send to Rome *Onomastus* and *Cassander*, who were named to have committed the outrage, that the Senat might examine them upon interrogatories. This word at the first so troubled and dashed the King, that his colour went and came in his face, & he knew not how to keep his countenance. But after he was come again to himself, he made answer, That if they needs would he cared not much to send *Cassander*, for that he had dwelt & continued in *Macedonia*; but as for *Onomastus*, who neither was at *Macedonia*,

not so much as in any quarter near unto it, how possibly could he be charged or touched with that matter? Now as he is pained *Onomachus* the rather of the twain, and was loath to have him come in question, as being his more dear and honourable friend: so he feared him much more than the other, lest he should bewray and disclose the thing: for that himself had conferred with him thereabout: and besides, he had served his turn divers times as a Minister to execute, and been privy unto him as a complice to plot such like delinquencies. *Cassander* also, as it is verily thought, was poisoned and made away, by certain that were sent of purpose to accompany him through *Epirus* to the sea side: and all because the villany should not be detected and come to light. Thus the Legats departed from the parley and conference with *Philip*, as shewing in their countenance, that they were nothing well pleased: and *Philip* on the other side went his ways as before, to levy war again: but inasmuch as his forces as yet were not sufficient to do any exploit, and because he would delay the time between, he determined to send his younger son *Demetrius* to *Rome*, both to purge his father of those matters wherewith he was charged, and also by humble request to appease the anger of the Senat: supposing, that this young gentleman, who had been left as an hostage at *Rome*, and there had shewed a good testimony of a Princely nature and royal disposition, might much avail in the cause. In the mean while himself under colour of aiding the Bizantins, but in very truth to strike some terror into the Princes of *Thrace*, made an expedition against them: and when he had in one battell discomfited them, and taken prisoner their chief Captain *Amatorus*, he returned into *Macedony*, having sent certain messengers to solicit the barbarous nations, inhabiting near the river *Ister*, for to enter and invade *Italy*, in *Peloponnesus* also the coming of the Roman Legats was expected, who by this commission were enjoyned to pass out of *Macedony* into *Achaia*: against whom because the Achazans would not be to seek what to say, *Lycurgus* their Prator summoned a publicke Councill aforehand. In which there was parly as touching the Lacedemonians, namely, how that of enemies they were become informers and accusers, and danger it was, lest when they were vanquished they would be more to be feared, than all the time that they waged war. For during the wars, the Achazans found the Romans to be their good associates, but now the same Romans are more friendly to the Lacedemonians, than to the Achazans, seeing that *Aratus* and *Alcibiades* (banished persons both out of *Lacedemony*, and by the means of the Achazans restored again to their place) had undertaken to go in embassage to *Rome*, against the Achazan nation, which had so well deserved at their hands: and there gave to hard language against them, as if they had been chafed and driven out of their country, and not restored thereunto by them. Hereupon arose a great outcry from all parts of the assembly, for to put to question, what should be determined expressly of them by name, and in this fit where all went by choler, and nothing by counsel, condemned they were to die. Some few daies after came the Roman Embassadors, for whose sake a Councill was holden at *Chiusus* City: in *Arcadia*. But before any matter was treated on the Achazans were surprised with exceeding feare, considering and thinking how this deciding of matters was not like to be managed and carried with any indifferency for their behoof: forasmuch as they saw *Aratus* & *Alcibiades* (condemned by them in the last Councill) to be in the company of the said Embassadors, and no man durst open his lips and speak a word. *Appian* declared, That the Senat was much displeased at those matters whereof the Lacedemonians had made complaint, namely, That first in a tumultuary way and in conflict, they were murdered, who had been called forth by *Philopomen*, and came to speak in their own cause: Then, after they had exercised their cruelty thus against their persons, to the end, that in no part their inhumanity should be wanting, they had rased the walls of a right noble and famous City, abolished their most ancient laws, and put down the discipline and government of *Lycurgus*, so renowned throughout all nations. When *Appian* had made an end of his speech then *Lycorides*, both in regard that he was Prator, and also because he took part with the faction of *Philopomen* (who was the author of all that had been done at *Lacedemon*) made answer in this wise: "More hard it is for us now. O *Appian*, to speak before you, than of late it was in the presence of the Senat. For then we were to answer the Lacedemonians, who accused us: but at this present we have you to be our accusers, before whom, as competent judges we should be plead in our own defence. Howbeit, we have submitted our selves, and undergone this unequal and hard condition, presuming upon this hope, that you will lay aside that accusatory heat which not long since you used, and put upon you the penion of a Judge to hear with indifference and equity. For mine own part, considering that you ere while have but related those matters which the Lacedemonians both here in place before *Q. Cassius* of late, and also at *Rome* afterwards complained of, I would think that I am to answer therefore not unto you, but unto them in your hearing. You charge us with the murdering of them, who being called out by the Prator *Philopomen* to plead their cause, were killed. This crime I hold that it ought not to be objected against us by you Romans, no, nor so much by any other in your audience. And why so? because it was expressly specified in your own treaty and accord of covenants, that the Lacedemonians should have nothing to do with the maritime Cities. At what time as the Lacedemonians took arms, and leiled by force in the night those Cities, which they were precisely forbidden to meddle withall; *T. Quintus*, if the Roman army had been in *Peloponnesus*, as sometime no doubt we must needs think that being thus surprised and evil entreated, they would have had recourse thither for succour. But since ye were so far off, whether else should they have retired themselves, but to us your allies, whom they had been before to help and succour *Gythium*?"

*Mora.

"whom upon the like cause they knew to have assailed *Lacedemon* together with you? It was in your quarrell therefore that we entertained a just and lawfull war. Which being an act of ours, by others commended, and which ought not by the very Lacedemonians to be condemned, and considering that even the Gods themselves have approved thereof in that they gave us victory, how cometh it then to pass, that you bring those matters into question which are by right of law warranted? And yet a great part thereof in no respect toucheth and concerneth you. That we caused them to come forth to answer their cause, who had called a commotion of the multitude, who had forced the maritime Cities, who had ransacked them, who also had massacred the principal citizens, we are to answer therefore, and to us that properly appertaineth, but that they were murdered in the way as they came into our camp, was nothing to us, but you caused *O Aratus* and *Alcibiades* who now (forsooth) are become our accusers. The banished Lacedemonians (of which number those two also are, and who at that time were with us, for that they chose the best Towns to retire into for their habitations) supposing that their own death was sought, and that there would have been outrage committed upon them, they ran upon those by whose means they were driven out of their country: even upon an indignation; that they might not so much as pass their old age in banishment with safety. They were the Lacedemonians then and not the Achazans that slew the Lacedemonians whether justly or unjustly, that is not the question, neither yet how it is, but what lay ye to this O Achazans, how can ye deny that there are, uponable, inth it ye have abolished the Laws and the most ancient discipline of *Lacedemon* and withal rased the walls of *Lacedemon*? And how is it possible that both these things should be objected unto us by the same men? considering that those walls were never demolished by *Lycurgus* but contrary-wise (and not many years past) for to overthrow and annihil the discipline instituted by *Lycurgus*? For the tyrants of late daies built them to serve as a fortress and bulwark for themselves: and not for a defence unto the City. And if *Lycurgus* at this day should rise again from death to life, he would take joy in their ruins, and say that he acknowledged now his own native country and ancient *Spuria* indeed. You Lacedemonians should not have expected *Philopomen* nor the Achazans but yourselves ought with your own hands to have perished down and destroyed, all the tokens and memorials of tyranny. Those walls were the very marks and as a man would say the unemied and deformed scars of your thraldome and servitude. And you who without walls for the space almost of 800 years had lived in freedom, were yet for a certain time also had been matters of *Greece* became slaves during a hundred years, and enclosed and restrained within walls, as if ye had been fettered by the feet. Now as touching the laws, which ye pretend to have been taken away by us, I suppose verily that the tyrants they were, who deprived the Lacedemonians of their ancient laws: and that we have not taken from them theirs (for none they had of their own) but rather have given them ours: neither have we done otherwise than well by them, but regarded much the good of their City and Commonwealth: in that we have united them in our solemn court of Parliament, and incorporated them unto us to the end, that in all *Peloponnesus*, there should be but one body, one State, and one Councell. Then (I wot well) they might have justly complained to have been wronged: then they might have grieved and said they had not been well used, in case we our selves had lived under one kind of laws, and put them to be ruled by others. I know full well, O *Appian*, that all my speech hitherto is neither becomming allies to me unto their allies, nor decent and meet for a nation that is free, but rather (to speak more truly) fit for slaves debating before their masters. For if that found of the trumpet if that voice of the publick crier were not in vain, whereby ye ordained and declared, That we Achazans before all others should be free; if the confederation stand firm and stable; if our alliance and amity be entertained and observed equally and indifferently: why demand not I of you Romans what you did after the winning of *Capua*? Seeing you will have us Achazans to make account unto you, what we did to the Lacedemonians whom we conquered by war? Set safe that we caused some of them to be killed, What of that? Commanded not you (I pray) that the Senators of *Capua* should lose their heads? We have demolished the walls indeed, but ye have not only ruined their walls, but wholly turned them out of City and territory. But (you will say) the confederation in behalf of the Achazans is equal and indifferent in outward appearance, and in truth and effect their liberty dependeth upon the good will and pleasure of the Romans, who indeed have the pre-eminence of the feignory and dominion besides: I know it *Appian*, as well as you can tell me, yea, and (although it behoveth me to be so) I am not overmuch offended and discontented therewith. But this I beseech you let there be as great odds and difference as ye will between us Achazans and you Romans: provide this only, that your enemies and ours be not with you in as good regard and account, as they that they be not in a better degree and condition than we your allies and associates. For, that they should be equal to us, we have been the cause in that we granted them our own laws, and that we admitted them to be incorporated in the general Diet of the Achazan State and commonalty. But will ye have the truth? the conquered have not sufficient to content and satisfy the conquerors: enemies demand more than allies have and enjoy; and those things which are confirmed by oath, ratified and consecrated by monuments and instruments of writings, are never engraven in stone, for a perpetual memory to all posterity, they would force and wrest from us with our perjury. True it is, O Romans, we honour and reverence you: yea and if you will needs have it so, we dread and fear you also: but yet so, as we both honour and also fear the im-

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"mortal Gods more than you. Audience he had with the accord and content of the greater part: H and all men judged, that he had spoken like a Magistrate indeed, and for the dignity and Majesty of his place: in such sort, as it was easily seen, that they were never able to hold their dignity and maintain their authority with the Romans, in case they went coldly to work and proceeded in mild terms with them. Then *Appian* answered and said, "That he would gladly advise and persuade them, al. that he possibly could, to be reconciled unto the Lacedæmonians, whies they might do it with full contentments: for fear lest soon after they should be constrained and forced to seek unto them against their wills and mangle their hearts. At this word they all lighted and groned again: but afraid they were and durst not refuse to do that which they were commanded. This petition on y they made unto the Romans, that as touching the Lacedæmonians they would change & alter what they thought good: and not force the Achæans to sin against their conscience, I in dissuading those things which they had established and ratified with a solemn oath. So the sentence of condemnation only (lately passed against *Aratus* and *Alcibiades*) was reversed.

In the beginning of this year (when at *Rome* they had sitten in consultation about the Provinces of Consuls and Pretors) *Liguria* was assigned unto the Consuls for their charge and government, because there was no war in any other place. Then the Pretors call lots for theirs. To *C. Decimus Flavius* fell the jurisdiction of the City: and to *P. Cornelius Cethegus* that other between citizens and forainers: *C. Sempronius* had the government of Sicily, and *Q. Nevius Matro* of *Sardinia*, with commission also to sit upon the inquisition in case of poisoning. *A. Trecentius Varro* was deputed *L. Governor* of high Spain, and *P. Sempronius Longus* of the low. Out of those 2 Provinces fell our fo, that there came much about the same time two Lieutenants, *L. Juventius T. Iulius T. Quintilius Varus*: who having related before the Senat how great a war was now dispatched and finished in Spain, required what, that there should be rendered praise and thanks to the immortal Gods for the happy success in the wars, and likewise that the Pretors might be permitted to bring away their armies. So there was a solemn procession ordained to be holden two dayes: but as touching the reducing of the armies, they gave order to refer it wholly to be debated at what time as there should be question about the armies of Consuls and Pretors together. Some few dayes after, it was ordained that the Consuls should have with them into *Liguria* two legions apiece, which *J. P. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* had the conduct of. As touching the Spanish forces, great contention there was between the new Pretors and the friends of *C. Appurmius* and *Q. intus* in their absence. Both sides had 1 tribuns: and both had Consuls to take part with them. The Tribuns threatened to cross the act of the Senat: if they ordained that the armies should be brought home. The Consuls again protested, that if the Tribuns thus opposed their negative, they would not suffer any other decree and ordinance to pass. In conclusion, the respect of those that were absent, was of less importance: and an act of the Senat was entered. That the Pretors should enrol 4000 footmen of Romans, and 400 horsemen: likewise 5000 foot and as many horse of Latine alliance to conduct with them into Spain. And when they had thus enrolled these four full legions, look what superfluitie there remained over and above 5000 foot and 300 horse in a legion, they should give them their orgie and dismiss them of soldiery: first, as many as had served out their full time, and then those who had born themselves most valiantly in the war under *Calpurnius* and *Quintus*.

After this debate and variance was appeased, there arose another in the neck of it, occasioned by the death of *P. Decimus* the Pretor. *Cn. Licinius* and *L. Poppius* (who had been *Ediles* the last year before) likewise *M. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, laboured to bein his room late deceased. As for the last of these requested (because he was *Edile Curule*) he shewed not himself in his white robe: but he made more means and laboured above all the rest, having to his adversary and concurrent the Flamin above said. At the first he seemed equally unto him in the suit, but afterwards, when he began to have the better of him, certain Tribuns of the Commons stood upon this point, and alleged. That his name was not to be accepted as eligible: for that one and the self same person might neither take nor exercise at one time, the function of two Magistracies: and namely, both Curule or of State. Others again said, that was not meet and reason that he were dispensed with and exempt from the Laws in that behalf to the end, that the people might be at liberty to elect whom they would for Pretor. *L. Porcius* the Consul was first of this resolution, not to admit his name: and afterwards, because he would seem to do by warrant and authority of the Senat, he assembled the LL. together and said, that he propounded and put to question before them, That forasmuch as an *Edile* elect, sued to be Pretor without all right, or any precedent tolerable in a free state: for his own part he was minded (unless they were of a contrary opinion) to hold the general assembly for the election according to law. Then the LL. gave their advice that *L. Porcius* the Consul should commune and treat with *Q. Fulvius*, that he would be no hindrance, but that the assembly for the substitution of a Pretor in the room of *C. Decimus* departed, might be holden by order of law. As the Consul was thus in hand with him according to the act of the Senat, *Flaccus* made answer that he would do nothing unbecoming his own person. By this doubtful and indifferent answer of his he kept those ingred sore (who expounded and confirmed as they would have it) that he would accommodate and rely himself to the authority of the LL. of the Senat: but at the time of the election he feel more earnestly than before: complaining of the Consul and Senat that they wronged and wrested out of his hands the benefit of the people of *Rome* intended unto him: and to bring him into ill will and obloquy

A obloquy of the people, they made much ado about two offices and a double dignity: as if all the world saw not, that after he were declared and pronounced Pretor, he would incontinently resign up the *Edilship*. The Consul perceiving both him fully resolved and set upon a pitch in the suit, and also the favor and affection of the people inclined more and more toward him, he kept the assembly as before said, and called a Senat: where, in a frequent lesson of Senators it was ordained, That for as much as *Flaccus* was little or nothing moved with the authority of the LL. of that honorable court, he was to be dealt withal in a general assembly before the body of the people. When the people were met together at the summons of the Consul, he proposed the matter unto him before them. *Flaccus* rejected never a jot, but persisted still in his opinion, and gave the people of *Rome* thanks for their favour, in that they shewed themselves willing to elect him Pretor, as often as they had time and place wherein they might testify and declare their love to him: which affectionate kindness of his fellow citizens, he never meant to reject and abandon. This constant and resolute speech of his, kindled and inflamed so great love and affection in them toward him, that past all peradventure he had been chosen Pretor out of hand, in case the Consul would have received his name. Much strife and debate there was amongst the Tribuns, one against another: and between them and the Consul, until at length the Consul held a Senat, and there a decree passed in this wise, That forasmuch as the willful stubborns of *Q. Flaccus* of one side, and the inordinat affection of men on another side, was such, as the solemn assembly for subelecting of a Pretor in the place of the deceased, could not be holden according to the laws, the Senat agreed and resolved, that there were already Pretors enough, and *P. Cornelius* should administer and execute both jurisdictions in the City, and exhibit the plays and games in the honour of *Apollin*.

After this troublesome debate about the election, was by the sage wisdom and valorous courage of the Senat suppressed, there arose another far greater, by how much the thing was of weightier importance, and the persons agents therein more in number, and for quality and place mightier. There stood in election to be *Censors* (and that with earnest endeavour and exceeding heat of contention) *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *P. and L. both Scipios*, *Cn. Manlius Follo*, and *L. Furius Purpureo*, all *Patris*, And of commoners, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *T. and Marcus both Sempronii*, the one turnamed *Longus*, the other *Tudicianus*. But *M. Porcius* over-went them all by many degrees, as well those of the Patricians as also of the commons, notwithstanding they were some of most noble families. This man carried with him so vigorous a spirit and pregnant wit, that however he were born and defended, it seemed he was able to make way of himself to advancement and honour. He wanted no Art and skill meet and requisite for the managing either of private busines of his own, or publick affairs of state: cunning he was in country husbandry, as well as in civil policy. Some are advanced to the highest dignities and most honourable places, by their deep knowledge in the law: others attain to promotion by eloquence: and there be again, who have risen and become great through martial prowells and feats of arms. But this man was by nature so trainable and pliant to all alike, that whatsoever he addicted and gave himself unto, a man would have said, he had been born and framed even from his mothers womb to it and to nothing else. In war, a most hardy and valiant soldier: and in many foughten fields highly renowned. Being mounted once to high places of honorable calling, a first excellent commander beyond and General of an army. In peace again, for found conllet in the civil law, passing well learned: for pleading at the bar and making orations, most eloquent. Neither carried he himself so, that his tongue flourished only while he lived, as leaving no monument behind him of his singular eloquence: but it liveth, nay, it flourisheth still, immortalized as it were and recommended to posterity in all kind of writing. Orations of his there be extant many, which he penned and pronounced as well in his own cause as for the defence of his friends yez, and invectives also against others: for albe he was to put down and weary his adversaries, not only by declaiming and accusing them, but also by pleading his own cause. Factions quarrels and enmities there were exceeding many that tormented him: and he plagued others with as many: and hard it is to say or set down, whether he were urged and pressed upon by the nobility, or himself coursed and baited them more. Doubtless, by nature he was austere and rigorous, his speech was sharp biting and beyond measure plain and true: but he carried a mind with him that stooped to no desires and lusts whatsoever: his life so severe and precise, as it was untouched and without all spot of blame: despising all fawning favours, and contemning earthly riches. In thrift and frugality, in sobriety, in patience, in sufferance of travail and danger, his body was steel to the very back. And as for his mind and courage, it was such, as very age and time (which abateh and consumeth all things else) was not able to break and daunt: when he was fourscore years old and fix, he pleaded at the bar for others: he made orations for his own defence, and wrote books: and in the ninetieth year of his age he convinced *Sergius Galba*: before the people to receive his judgment by them. As all his life time before the nobility was set against him so when he stood now to be *Censor* they pressed hard upon him: in so much as all his competitors (excepting *L. Flaccus*, who had been his colleague in the Consulship) conspired together, how they might give him the repulse and put him besides the Consulship: not only for that their own teeth watered, and they were desirous themselves of that honor: nor because they repined to see a new risen Gentleman, and one of the first head to be a *Censor*: but also because they looked for no other but that his *Censorship* would be rigorous and prejudicial to the name and reputation of divers men: considering how he had been

The common-
dation of *M. Porcius Cato*.

crossed and hurt by very many, and was desirous himself to wait them a shrewd turn, and to meet with them again. For even then, while he laboured and sued for the place, he used minority speeches, and gave out, that they only were opposed against him, who feared they should have Censorship sharply exercised without partiality and respect of persons. And herewith he maintained and upheld the suit of *L. Valerius* with him, saying that if he had but him of all others to be his colleague, he should be able to repress the wicked enormities newly come up and rise in the City, and to bring in request against the ancient manners and fashions of the old world. Men were much moved in these respects and considerations; and so mangle the heads of the nobility, they now only created him Censor, but also adjoyined unto him *L. Valerius* for his companion in that government.

After the election of Censors was ended, the Consuls and Pretors took their journeys into their several Provinces. all save *Q. Naevius*; who before that he could go into *Sardinia*, was staid behind no less than four months, about certain inquisitions of poisoning; whereof, he late upon many without the City of *Rome*, in incorporate burroughs, market Towns and places of great resort, for that he thought that manner of proceeding more convenient. And if we list to believe *P. Atrius*, he condemned two thousand persons.

Seemably, *L. Posthumius* the Pretor, (unto whom the government of *Tarentum* by lot fell) did good justice upon great conspiracies made by certain gratiers; and with great care and diligence followed the enquiry of the Bacchanals, and dispatched the reliques thereof quite and clean. Many of them who were adjourned and made not appearance, but gave the slip and left in the lurch their fireties bound body and goods for them, and lurked in that quarter of *Italy* he either judged and condemned as guilty and convicted, or caused them to be apprehended and sent to *Rome* unto the Senat; who were all cast in prison by *P. Cornelius*.

In the latter part of *Spain* all was quiet, by reason that the Lusitans were in the last war subdued; but in the hither part, *A. Terentius* took *Corbio* a Town of the Suetians, which he assaulted with mantlets and other tabicks of war, and sold all the prisoners; which done, he passed the winter peaceably in that higher part of *Spain* also.

The old Pretors, *C. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Quintius* returned to *Rome*; and both of them were with great accord and consent of the LL. of the Senat allowed to triumph, And first *C. Calpurnius* triumphed over the Portugals and Celtiberians. In which triumph, he carried in these 83 coronets of gold, and 12000 pound of silver. Within few days after, *L. Quintius* triumphed over the same Portugals and Celtiberians. In which solemnity, there was represented in show, as much gold and silver as in the former.

The Censors, *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius*, while men hung in suspense between fear and hope what they would do, he'd a review and a new choice of the Senat. Seven Senators they displaced and deposed from that dignity: amongst whom, there was one of mark, for his nobility of birth and honorable offices which he had born, namely, *L. Quintius Flaminius* who had been Consul. An ancient order (they say) it was in time of our fore-fathers, That when the Censors had put any out of the Senat, they should note them directly for those faults which they had committed: and at this day, extant there be divers sharp orations of *Cato*, against them whom either he called and displaced out of Senat, or from whom he took away honours of service: but of all others, the fourest and bitterest is that of his against this *L. Quintius*; which if he had pronounced as an accuser before he had noted him with that disgrace, and not as Censor after the said note, his very own brother *T. Quintius* (if he had been then Censor) could not possibly have kept *L. Quintius* in the state of a Senator. Among other grievous matters he articulated against him, That he had trained with him from *Rome* into his Province of *France* (in hope of many great rewards) one *Philipus Pannus*, a notorious and costly Gamedye. This boy, as he was fooling and playing, the wanton with the said *Quintius* then Consul, used to upbraid him with this, That he was bid away from *Rome*, against the very time that the show of sword-players at utterance was to be exhibited: and this he said, to show how ready he was to satisfy the pleasure of him his lover. Now it chanced as they were making good cheer together, and having taken their wine liberally were well heat therewith, news came and reported it was in the banquet time, That a certain noble man of the Boians was arrived, with his children, as a renegat in the adverse part; and was desirous to speak with the Consul, for to have assurance from his mouth of safe conduct; who being brought into the pavilion began to pry with the Consul by a trunk man and interpreter. And in the midst of his speech: How fallest thou (quoth *Quintius*) to that wandonciety, his Caramie, because thou hast mistled and lost the sight of those sword-players at *Rome*, wilt thou lose presently here this Frenchman die in the place before? He made not any great semblance unto him his great earnest of his desire that way: but the Consul at the first beck of that beastly fish and baggage, caught the naked sword which hung over his head, and fust gave the poor Gaul a wound in his scone as he was speaking unto him, and afterwards as he made shift to flee from him, and called upon the protection of the people of *Rome*, and the assistance of those that were present, *Quintius* ran him quite through the sides. *Valerius Atrius*, who never had read the oration of *Cato*, but gave credit to a flying tale only, without any head or author, telleth the tale with some other circumstance howbeit much like in substance of matter, as touching his lecherous lust and bloody cruelty. He writeth, that *Quintius* while he abode at *Plaisance*, lent for a famous courtesan (upon whom he was enamored) to a banquet; and as he courted and made love to this strumpet, wanting himself unto

* This *Philipus* I take to be no Carthaginian. The name foundeth it like others; but both *Cato* and *Pannus* are Roman proper names.

unto her, among other discourses he recounted with what rigor he had followed certain inquisitions; what a number of prisoners he had in irons condemned to death; and how many of their heads he minded to chop off. Then this harloty sitting next beneath him, said, That she had never in all her life seen any man to cut ones head off, and it was a fight that of all other the most faint he. Whereupon, this kind amorous knight, to gratify the queen, caused one of those poor souls condemned to die, to be set out of prison into the banquetting room, and presently to be beheaded before her face. A cruel fact it was & inhuman, whether it were committed as *Cato* hath objected in his Oration, or as *Valerius* hath written in his story, that any human creature should be thus mistreated like a sacrifice, and the table besprinkled with his blood, amid the cups standing full of wine and the dishes furnished with viands, where and when the manner and custom was to raise and take the first essay in the honor of the Gods; and that devoutly with grace and good prayers; and all to content and feed the eye of a wanton and shameless Harlot, lying in the bosome of the Consul. In the end of *Cato* his Oration, this condition was offered unto *Quintius*. That if he would plead unguilty, and deny this fact and others which he charged him with, then he should put in a real caution, and stand to his defence and trial; but if he confessed himself guilty, then he would him to consider whether he thought any man would grieve and be sorry at the ignominy which he was to receive, who being transported beside his understanding with wine and women, made but a sport and pastime to shed mens blood at a very banquet. In taking a review of the Cavalry or Gentlemen of *Rome*, *L. Scipio Africanus* had his great horie of service taken from him. This Censorship was likewise executed with severity and rigor to all sorts and degrees, and namely, in the pricing and valuation of their goods. For *Cato* commanded the Sergeants to take a note of all the ornaments, jewels, and apparel of women, also of their chariots and coaches; if they amounted to the sum of 5000 asses, and to enrol the same in the Censors book. Item all bondslaves under twenty years of age, sold after the last tax or assessment for 10000 Asses or upward; that they should be valued at a higher price by ten fold than they were esteemed worth; and that for all these things they should pay and contribute to the City chamber after three in the thousand. These Censors cut off all water either running out of any common stream into a private house, or derived into particular fields and grounds. And all houses either built by private persons upon common ground, or any wayes encroaching and leaning to publick places they caused to be demolished and pulled down within thirty days. After this, they set out divers peeces of work to be wrought at a price, of that money which was ordained to that purpose, namely, to pave certain pools with stone, to scoure the draughts and links where need was: and in the mount *Aventum* and other parts where none were already to make new. And particularly of themselves *Falerio* caused the cauley or wharf to be made against the waters called *Nepesina*, that the people might pass to and fro that way: and also a street-way through *Formianum*, And *Cato* for his part built two galleries, *Manianum* and *Titium*, in the Mineries; and bought four shops for the City: he built there also the stately Hall or Palace called *Portia*. As for the City revenues, they did let and let them forth to farmers at an exceeding raked rent; but all the City works they put out to undertakers by the great, at as low a reckoning as they could. These leases and bargains store laid to be renewed by order from the Senat and new made at the important suit and that with Bounties and rears of the Publicans, as well farmers as undertakers: then the Censors by proclamation commanded those to avoid far from the substation, who had dismantled the former leases and bargains, and with some little abatement and easing of the former rents, they demised the same profits and revenues again to others. This was a censorship of great note, full of rapine, ill will, and heart-burning, which troubled and molested *M. Porcius* as long as he had a day to live, for that he was reputed and held to be the author of that severity and rigor exercised therein.

The same year two Colonies were erected and inhabitants sent from *Rome*, to wit, *Pollentia* into the Picene territory, and *Psavianum* into the Gauls country. Six acres of land were assigned to every one of the colonists. And the same Triumvirs, namely, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, *M. Fulvius Fl. Crus*, and *Q. Fabius Nabilior*, were they that both parted the said lands, and also had the leading and planning of the foresaid Colonies.

The Consul that year achieved no memorable exploit at all, neither at home in City, nor abroad in war. Against the year following they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius*, who upon the fifteenth of *March*, on which day they entered into their government, put to question as concerning the Provinces as well their own as the Pretors. For there had been chosen Pretors *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter* (who also the year before was in election for the place) *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *P. Cornelius Sisenna*, also *L. Pappius*, *L. Iulius*, and *Cn. Scinius*. Then the Consuls was assigned the province *Liguria*, together with the charge of the same armies, which *P. Claudius* and *M. Porcius* had conducted. As for both the Provinces in *Spain* [as we] bepeared as on this side *Iberus*] they were referred with their ordinary forces, for the Pretors of the former year by special commission without calling any lots at all therefore. The new Pretors were enjoined for to dispose and part their governments, that *C. Valerius* the Flamin of *Jupiter* might exercise one of the jurisdictions of *Rome*. So he was *L. chief justice for the forainers*, and *Sisenna* *Cornelius* over the citizens. Unto *Sp. Posthumius* fell *Sicily*, to *L. Pappius* *Apulia* to *L. Iulius* *Gallia* unto *Cn. Scinius* *Sardinia*. As for *L. Iulius* he was enjoined to make halt and set forward on his journey for the *Transalpin* Gauls (beyond the mountains) had passed over by the strength of the Gauls and waies unknown before time, into *Italy*, as hath been before said, and were building them,

a Town in that territory, which at this day is called *Aquilensis*. This Pretor had in charge to apprehend them in that enterprise, so far forth as he might possibly without war and force of arms: and if there were no other remedy but that they must of necessity use violence, then to certify the Consuls thereof: for agreed it was that one of them should lead the Legions against the Gauls. In the end of the former year there was a general assembly holden for the choosing of an *Angurum*: in Sp. *Posthumius Albinus* was created in the room of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* late deceased. But in the beginning of this present year P. *Licinius Crassus* the arch-Pontif departed out of this world, in whole place *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was invited for the Bishop, But *C. Servilius Geminus* was created the arch-pontif or high-priest aforaid. In the honor of P. *Licinius* at his funerals, there was given a dole of flesh: and a show exhibited of 120 sword-fencers fighting at sharp: likewise there were represented funeral plaies and games, which continued three dayes: and after that solemnity, I a feast was holden during which, when the tables were set & spread accordingly all over the grand-place of the City, suddenly there arose a tempest with great storms, which forced most men to erect tents and booths there: but after a while when the weather was fair again, they were taken down and had away: and men commonly gave out and said, That whereas the Prophets & wizards had foretold among other their fatal prelates, that they should be forced to quarter & pitch tents in the market place of *Rome*: now that prophesie was fulfilled, and they were freed and excused from farther danger. And no sooner were they eated and delivered of that scruple, but they were troubled with another; for that it had rained blood two dayes in the court-yard of *Vulcan*: and the Decemvirs published a solemn supplication for the expiation of that prodigious sign.

Before that the Consuls departed into their provinces, they brought into the Senat for to have audience, the embassages come from beyond Sea. And never before that day were so many men of those foreign parts seen at *Rome*. For from the time that the bruit was blown abroad amongst the nations bordering upon *Macedony*, that the Romans gave no deaf ear to the complaints and accusations committed against *Philip*, and that many had sped well by complaining; every City and State in their own behalf, yea, and many privat persons in particular (for a small neighbour he was to them all) repaired to *Rome*, in hope either to be righted and eased of their wrongs, or to discharge their stomachs and be morned and comforted for their miseries. Likewise from King *Demetrius* there arrived an embassage accompanied with his own brother *Athenaus* to make complaint, as finding themselves grieved that the garriouns were not withdrawn out of *Thrace*: as also to inform that *Philip* had sent certain aids into *Bithynia* to *Prusias* who made war upon *Epirus*. Now *Demetrius* (*Philip* his son) at that time a very young Gentleman, was to answer all these challenges: and an easy peece of work it was not, either to bear in mind all the matters objected, or to think upon the points of every answer accordingly. For over and besides, that the articles were many in number, most of them were of very small consequence and importance: principally strife about limits and land-marks, about carrying away men and ravishing women; or driving of cattle of misimilring justice partially and with affection, or else of none misimilred at all: of sentences given and judgments passed in causes either by force or for favour. The Senat perceiving that neither *Demetrius* could speak to these points and give them good evidence, nor themselves be well informed and clearly instructed by him; being moved also and grieved to see the youth so raw a choler in the affairs, and therewith much troubled in spirit, gave order to enquire and demand of him. Whether he had received any notes in writing from his father, as touching the premises? And when he answered and said, Yea, they thought the first and principal thing for them to do was to see and hear what were the answers of the King to every speciality and particular. And thereupon they presently called for that book of his fathers, and then permitted him to read the contents thereof. Now therein were set down certain brief abstracts of pleas and defenses, to each severall point shewing *Inprimis*, that some things he had done according to the decrees & awards of the Roman Delegates and commissioners. *Item*, Whereas he had left some what undone, the default was not in him but in the very parties that accused him. He had interlaced between certain grievances and complaints, as touching the iniquity and hard penning of those decrees: and how matters were not scanned and debated before *Cacilius* with that indifferency and equity as was meet: and requir'd; and namely that without desert of his part, all men were set against him and insisted over him. The Senat collected hereby good arguments, how the heart of *Philip* was wounded and galled against the Romans. But when the young Prince exalied some of these matters, and for the rest premised and underrook, that all should be done to the uttermost as it pleased the Senat to order and set down: then it was thought good to deliver this answer unto him. That his father had in nothing done better nor more to the contentment of the Senat than that he seemed willing (howsoever matters were passed already) to make satisfaction to the Romans by the means of his son *Demetrius*. As for the Senat, they could dissemble, forget, put up and endure many things done and past: yea and were perswaded verily in their hearts, that they might believe and trust *Demetrius* as knowing assuredly, that although they sent his body again to his father *Philip*, yet they had his heart and affection with them still, as a sure pledge and hostage: and that he was a friend to the people of *Rome*, so far forth as his reverent duty to his father would permit and give him leave: letting him withal to understand, that for to do him honor, they would send Embassadors unto *Macedony*: to the end that if ought had not been so fully equated as it should have been, it might be done yet in good time, without imputation of fault and blame, or pœnal satisfaction to be made for any thing hitherto omitted yea, and desirous they were, that *Philip* should understand, that by the

the mediation of *Demetrius* and for his sake, he stood yet in good terms of peace and friendship with the people of *Rome*. These things intended and done for the increafe of credit and reputation, presently turned to the displeasure of the young Gentleman, and in the end to his utter ruin and overthrow.

When were the Lacedæmonians admitted to audience in the Senat. They moved many petty matters and trifling controversies: but those that principally touched the main point were these: to wit, Whether they should be restored again whom the Achæans had condemned, or no? *Item*, Whether they were justly or unjustly killed, whom they murdered: Moreover they put to question, Whether the Lacedæmonians were to be comprised within the general assembly and Communion of the Achæans: or, that this State (as before-time) should have their rights and franchises apart by themselves from all others in *Peloponnesus*: The Senat ordained and awarded *Inprimis*, That they should be restored. *Item*, That the sentences pronounced against them, should be reversed. *Item*, That *Lacedæmon* should do service to that high court and public Diet of *Achæa*: and finally that this accord and award should be engrossed, subscribed, and signed as well by the Lacedæmonians as Achæans.

Q. Marcius was sent Embassador into *Macedony*: who also had direction and order given him by the same commission, to visit the state of the allies in *Peloponnesus*: for there also remained many troubles after the old quarrels and variance, yea, and the Messenians refused to appear at the general council of *Achæa*. Now if I would set in hand to record the causes and circumstances of that war, I should forget my purpose in the beginning of my work, wherein I resolved not to touch at all any discourse of foreign histories, no farther than they were linked to the Roman affairs, howbeit one memorable occurrence there hapned, which I cannot pass by, namely, that albeit the Achæans had the better hand in war, yet it chanced that *Philopœmen* their Pretor was taken prisoner by the Messenians, as he made an expedition to seize upon *Corone* by prevention, which the enemies were desirous to be matters of. Surprised he was in a valley of great disadvantage, and some few horsemen with him. It is reported, that by the help of the Thracians and Candiotis, he might have fled and escaped: but for very shame to abandon whole men of arms, which were the noblest Gentlemen of that nation, & whom he lately had made choice of, he had not the power to do otherwise, but stay to see the last. For whilst he came himself behind in the reterward, because he was desirous to make means for their evasion through the frights of that pass, and to that purpose valiantly received the charge of the enemies, his horse fell and cast him at once: so as with his own fall and his horse lying upon him he had like to have gone away in a swoon: a man now threecore years old and ten: and withal, newly crept abroad and recovered of a long and lingering disease, which might rightly waite and consumed the strength of his body. Well, thus lay he along, and the enemies ran over him: and so soon as they knew who he was, they reared him upon his feet from under his horse, no less respective than if he had been their own General in regard of a reverence they bare unto the man, and in remembrance of his noble exploits: they brought him again to himself, and forth of that by-valley standing out of the pass, they carried him into the high way: and were so far possessed and overcome with joy & unexpected, that they could not well believe their own eyes that they had gotten him. Some dispatched away courtiers to *Messene* with the news thereof: namely, that the war was brought to an end, considering that *Philopœmen* was taken and was their prisoner. At first the tidings seemed so incredible, that the foremost messenger was held not only for a vain liar, but also for one not well in his wits: but after that there came one after another, and all with one voice verified and affirmed the same at length it was believed. And then, see what they did! before they knew for certain that he approached near unto the City: they all ran forth of the gates by heaps to see the man: all (I say) bond as well as free, women and children one with another. In so much, as the gates were choaked up with the thrust and throng of the press: for no man could believe assuredly it was true, the thing was so strange, unless he might see him with his own eyes. They that had the charge of bringing him, found much ado to put by the multitude whom they encountered, and to enter in at the gate: and so thick they stood in the press, that they took up all the wayes besides, so as he could not be brought forth to be seen. Now became the most part of the people might not possibly have a sight of him. They gat up all at once into the Theatre, which stood near unto the way, and pelted it full and with one voice they cried aloud, That he might be brought thither and presented unto the view of the whole people. The Magistrates and principal citizens, fearing lest the compassion that might arise in mens hearts upon the beholding of so worthy a personage, would raise some trouble and commotion: whiles some comparing the reverence of his former authority and Majesty, with his present condition and calamity: and others calling to remembrance his manifold dejects and passing good turns, might haply be touched with pity: let him a far off in the open sight of them all, and then at once took him hastily out of their view: for their Pretor *Demetrius* gave out openly and said, That the Magistrates were to enquire and demand certain points of him as touching the main issue of the civil war. Then he was brought into their Council-Chamber, where their Senat assembled and began to consult about him. It was now well toward evening; and so far off they were from resolving in other matters, that they could not bethink themselves and agree, in what place they might keep him that one night in safeguard. Astonied they were and amazed, to consider and think upon the greatness of his estate past, and of his noble virtue and valour: and no man durst receive the charge and custody of him in his own house, nor trust any one besides with

his keeping. At length some there were, that put them in mind of the publick treasury of the City, vaulted under the ground like a dungeon, and walled all about with strong square stone. Into it was he let down bound as he was, and a mighty huge stone (being the cover of the vault) was by an engine laid over, to enclose him sure. Thus reposing more truit for his safe custody in that place than in any person, they waited and attended the next morning. When morning day was come, the whole entire multitude in general, recommending the benefits and good turns done of old by him to their City, were of mind to pardon and spare him, and by his means and mediation, to seek for remedies and redress of their present distresses and calamities. But those persons by whose motive and inducement the Messenians had revolted (and such were they as ruled all the common-weal) consulted apart in secret, and concluded with one consent to punish to death: only the doubt and question was, whether they should do the thing with speed, or by delay. But those prevailed in the end, who were more greedy of present revenge, and so they let one unto him with a draught of poison. When he had taken the cup in his hand (by report) he gave not a word, but only asked, whether *Lycortas* (the other General of the Achæans) were called alive, and the foresaid horrid fate? When answer was made, that they were in safety: This he happy, (quoth he) and therewith drunk off every drop in the cup right heartily, and a while after yielded up his vital breath. But long joyed they not of his death who were the bloody authors of this cruelty: for the City of *Messene* being conquered by force of arms, among other captivities, delivered these malefactors into the hands of the Achæans, who demanded presently to have them. The bones and reliques of *Philopomen* were likewise rendred unto them, and interred he was by the general Council of all *Achæa*, in such solemn wife, that in heaping upon him all honours that could be devised for an earthly man, they forbore not also to adore him as a God-immortal. The Historiographers as well Greek as Latine, attribute so much unto this man, that some of them have recommended to posterity (as a memorable thing of all others that hapned this year) to wit, that in this one year there died three renowned Captains, *Philopomen*, *Antibal*, and *P. Scipio*. See how they have matched him in equality with the greatest warriors and nobilit Generals of the two most puissant nations in the whole world!

Then came *T. Quintius Flaminius* in enbassage to King *Prusias*, whom the Romans had in suspicion and jealousy, both for that he had received *Antibal* after the flight of *Antiochus*, and also because he made war upon *Eumenes*. Now were it that among other matters *Flaminius* charged *Prusias*, that he entertained in his court the most implacable enemy of all men living, unto the people of *Rome*: who first followed his own native country to take arms against the Romans, and after the force and power thereof was abated and defeated, persuaded King *Antiochus* to do the like: or rather that *Prusias* of his own accord to gratify *Flaminius* there present, and to do the Romans a pleasure, had a meaning and intent either to kill *Antibal*, or to deliver him alive into their hands. I wot not how it came about, but upon the first communication and conference between them, there were souldiers sent incontinently to beset and guard his house. *Antibal* evermore forsaith in mind some such issue and end of his life, seeing the deadly and insupportable hatred that the Romans bare unto him: reposing besides no confidence at all in the fidelity of these Kings, and having withal some experience already of the inconstancy and levity of King *Prusias*. Moreover, he had in horroir this coming of *Flaminius*, as fatal unto him, and as mean to M work his final destruction. To the end therefore he might be ever provided aforehand against those inconveniences and dangers, wherewith on all sides he was encumbered, and have a ready way of evasion to save himself, he had devised and caused to be made seven dores for egress out of his house: whereof some were very privy and secret vaults, because they should not be environed with guards. But Kings commandments are of that force, that whatsoever they would have to be searched out and discovered, cannot lie long hidden. For the guards so compassed and enclosed the whole circuit of the house, that it was impossible for any to get forth and make an escape. *Antibal* being advertised that the Kings souldiers were at the gate, assailed to steal away at a postern, which stood furthest out of the way, and wherof the conveyance was most secret; but perceiving that the souldiers had beted it too, and lay for to encounter and receive him that way. N and that every place was invellied with a set guard, he called for the poison which he had of long time before ready prepared for all such occurrent occasions, and uttered these words withal, "Let us rid these Romans of this their continual fear and pain wherein they have been all this while, since that they think it so long to stay for the death of one of man. *Flaminius* shall obtain no great nor memorable victory of me, disarmed thus as I am, and betrayed into his hands. But this very day shall prove and testify, how far the people of *Rome* are degenerate and changed from their ancient manners. Their forefathers (quoth he) advertised King *Pyrrhus* their enemy armed in field, and lying with an host of men against them in *Italy*, they gave him warning I lay to take heed of poison: but these living at this day, have sent their Embassadors, even one that hath born the dignity of a Consul, to advise and counsel *Prusias* wickedly to take the life away of his own guest. Then after he had cursed the person of *Prusias* and his whole realm, and called upon the Gods protectors of the law of hospitality, to bear witness how he had violated his faith and broken promise with him, he fer the cup of poison to his mouth, and drank it off. This was the end of *Antibal*, *Polibius* and *Rutilius* write that *Scipio* also died this year. But I accord neither with them nor with *Valerius*. From them I square, because I find that when *M. Porcius* and *L. Valerius* were Censors, the same *L. Valerius* being Censor, was elected President of the Senate, where-

The end of
Antibal.

As *Africanus* had been President for ten years space together, during the time of two reviews by Censors next before: And so long as the said *Africanus* lived, there would have been no other chosen President in his room, unless himself were to have been called and deprived of the Senatorial dignity, of which disgrace and loss of infamy, there is not one that maketh any mention. And as for *Valerius Maximus*, he is sufficiently rebuted by *M. Navius* a Tribune of the Commons, against whom there is an Oration extant, and the same penned by *P. Africanus*, and bearing his name. This *Navius* is recorded in the rolls and registers of Magistrates, by the title of Tribune of the Commons in that year when *P. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* were Consuls, but he entered into his office during the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius*, the tenth of December. From which time unto the fifteenth of March are three months, upon which day *Pub. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* began their Consulship: So it seemeth that he was living during the Tribuneship of *Navius*, and that he might well commit an action against him, and call him to his answer, but he departed this life before that *L. Cato* and *M. Porcius* were Censors. But in my conceit the death of these three (the most renowned personages each one of their own nation) are not to be compared one with another in this regard, that they hapned all just at one time more than for this, that none of them all had an end correspondent and answerable to the poorly fate and glorious liture of his life. For first and foremost in this they all jumped together, that they neither died nor were entered in their native country. Again, *Antibal* and *Philopomen* were both poisoned. *Antibal* was banished and betrayed by his own friend and host, *Philopomen* was taken prisoner and left his life in prison and iron. As for *Scipio*, although he was neither exiled nor condemned, yet making default of appearance at the day assigned unto him and being cited to his answer in his absence, willingly banished himself only for his life time, but his corps and unerals also after his death.

Whiles those affairs passed in *Peloponnesus* (from whence our pen hath a little diverted and digressed) the return of *Demetrius* and the Embassadors into *Macedon*, diversly wrought in mens minds, and amuled them some in one thing, and some in another. The common people of *Macedon*, who were mightily afraid that the Romans would make war upon them, highly affected *Demetrius*, and cast a favourable aspect upon him as the author of peace, and withal they delighted him without all doubt to the Kingdom after the decease of his father. For albeit he were younger than his brother *Perseus*, yet men thought and spake, that he was begotten in matrimony by *Philip* of his lawful wife: whereas he had *Perseus* by a concubine, who carried no token and mark of a certain father, as having to his mother a woman that was nought of her body and common. Whereas *Demetrius* resembled his father *Philip*, and was as like him as might be. Moreover, men said, that the Romans would place and establish *Demetrius* in the Royal throne of his father, but *Perseus* was in no credit and reputation among them. Thus folk stuck not to give out abroad in their common talk. Whereupon not only *Perseus* was in care and doubt, that the preeminence of age only would little boot and advantage him, considering in all respects else he was inferior to his brother, but *Philip* also himself, supposing verily that it would hardly lie in his power to leave the inheritance of the crown to whom he pleased, thought that his younger son was a more in hisue, and troubled him more than was for his ease. Offered otherwhiles he was, that the *Macedonians* resorted unto him so much as they did, and highly displeased that there should be any more royal courts than one in his realm, during his life. And to speak a truth, the young Prince himself returned from *Rome* more puffed up, no doubt with pride than was becoming: as who presumed and grounded much upon the opinion that the Senat had of him, perceiving that they had granted those things to him which had been denied unto his father before: but look how much a haiver and honor (in respect of the Romans) he won among the rest of the *Macedonians*, so much envy and ill will he procured himself thereby not only with his brother, but with his father also: and especially after that other Roman Embassadors were arrived, and that *Philip* was forced to part with *Thracia* and withdraw his garisons, and to do other things either by vertue of the old award of the first commissioners, or by a new ordinance of the Senat. Well he performed all but with an heavy heart and many a deep sigh and groan, and so much the rather, because he observed and saw how his son *Demetrius* converted more with the Embassadors, and frequented their company oftner than his. Howbeit he obeyed, and did whatsoever was enjoined him by the Romans; because he would minuter unto them no occasion of levying war against him out of hand. And supposing it was good policy to avert their minds from all suspicion that he minded any such designs tending that way, he led his army into the midst of *Thracia* against the *Odryans*, *Damabets*, and *Bessians*. He won the City *Philippopolis* abandoned by the inhabitants who were fled, and had retired themselves with their whole families to the high mountains next adjoining: and after he had wasted the Lands and territories of the Barbarians that inhabited the champaign country, he received them under his subjection by composition. Afterwards, having left a garison at *Philippopolis*, which soon after was chased and expelled by the *Odryans*, he determined to build a Town in *Deuriopis*, a region of *Pannonia* near the river *Erissonus*, which issueth out of *Nitricum*, and keeping his course through *Pannonia* discharged it itself, and falleth into the river *Alpeus*. Not far from *Scoba* the old City, he built a new and caused it to be called *Perseus* thereby to honour to his eldest son *Perseus*.

During the train of these affairs in *Macedon*, the Consuls took their journey into their several Provinces. *Marcellus* sent a messenger before him to *L. Porcius* the Pro-consul, to give him to understand that he should present his legions before the new Town of the Gauls. But at the first approach

approach of the Consul, the Frenchmen yielded the place. Twelve thousand they were that were arms, and most of them had by force gotten their surname out of their country villages, which were taken from them among their hearts, with all things else, that either they had gotten out of the country by pillaging and robbing, or brought with them of their own. Whereupon they added their Embassadors to Rome, to make complaints of these abuses and wrongs: And when audience was given in the Senat by C. Valerius the Pretor, declared, how by escalation that Gaul was charged with a multitude of people, they were constrained as well for want of ground and possessions, as also for need and poverty, to pass over the Alps and seek themselves some place of habitation. And where they saw any quarters forsaken, desolate, and unpeopled, there they had planted themselves, without offering injury to any person: where also they had begun to build towns, which might be a good proof and argument, that they came not to do violence upon any City or Country Village. And now of late M. Claudius had sent unto them a message, that unless they submitted and yielded, he would war upon them: whereupon they preferring certain peace (although it were less honorable) before the doubtful hazard & adventures of war, surrendered rather to be in the protection and safeguard, than under the subjection of the people of Rome. But a few daies after, they were commanded to quit both City and Country. And thereupon resolved in their mind to depart in silence and saying never a word, into what place soever they could, there to seek their fortune: but then they were disarmed, yea, and spoiled and stripped of all that in they had, and nothing left, that either they drove before them, or carried about them. In regard whereof, they were humble suppliants to the Senat and people of Rome, that they would not proceed in more rigour and cruelty against them, harmless persons as they were, and submitting themselves unto them, than against professed enemies. To this Oration of complaint the Senat caused this answer to be returned: That neither they had done well in coming into Italy, and promising to build them a City upon other mens territories, without permission of the sovereign Roman Magistrat, who had the government of those parts: nor yet the Senat was well pleased, that they should be thus depouled, considering they had yielded. And therefore minded they were to lead with them their Embassadors to the Consuls, to command them in their name, to see that all their own goods should be restored again unto them, so that they made return thither from whence they came: who also should go forward immediately over the Alps, to give the States of France warning to keep in their people with them, and hold them in their native country: for although the Alps were the frontier limits standing in the midst to confine between them, and therefore those mountains neither ought nor might be passed of one side or the other: and to make account of this, that they should speed no better now in transgressing their bounds, than at what time they first made a way and passage over them into Italy. The Embassadors employed about this business, were L. Furius Purpureus, Q. Minutius, and L. Manlius Acidinus. Thus the French Ambassadors made unto them of all that was their own by good right, and without wrong of others, departed out of Italy. Now when these Roman Legats were come they had good words and courteous answer from the Transalpine Romans. And those amongst them that were more ancient than the rest, blamed the people of Rome for their overmuch lenity, in that they let those persons go, who without warrant from the whole State, durst be so bold as to take a voyage to leave upon any lands belonging to the Signory of Rome, and were so hardy as thereon to build a Town, surely they deserved not less than to abide grievous smart for their rash demeanor. Moreover and besides, whereas the Romans have given them their own goods again, they feared much that so great indulgency of theirs, would induce and encourage others to enterprise the like. So they friendly entertained and as kindly accompanied the Embassadors yea, and liberally presented them with rewards.

M. Claudius the Consul having thus expelled the Gauls out of his Province, began to lay the ground of the Ithrick war, and for this purpose wrote his letters unto the Senat, for a warrant and commission to pass with his legions into *Isfria*. The Senat was therewith contented. But whereas they were in question and consultation about conducting a Colony to inhabit *Aquileia*, they could not agree whom to send, whether Latins or Roman citizens. But in conclusion the Senat thought it better to plant there a Colony of Latins. The Triumphs for to effect this, were created P. Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius, and L. Manlius Acidinus.

The same year were two Colonies of Roman citizens created at *Mutina* and *Parma*: and two thousand persons were to either place translated out of the territory which lately was occupied by the Boians, and before time had been in the tenure of the Tuscan. They of *Parma* were endowed with eight acres of land, and those of *Mutina* with five a peece. The Triumphal Commissioners who had the disposing and managing of the business, were M. Emilius Lepidus, T. Elicius Carus, and L. Quintus Crispinus. Likewise the colony *Saevina* consisting of Roman citizens, was brought into the territory of *Calabria*, by the conduct of Q. Fabius Laber, C. Afranius Stabius, and T. Sempronius Gracchus, deputed Triumphs theretore: who set out for every man ten acres of ground.

The same year A. Terentius the Pro-pretor, nor far from the River *Iberus* in the Aulestian country, fought fortunately against the Celiberians, and forced certain Towns which they had fortified. By Spain beyond *Iberus* was quiet this year, because both P. Sempronius the Propretor by sick of a long disease, and also the Lusitanians (as good hap was) rested still and quiet, as being nor man provoked to stir. Neither was there any memorable exploit achieved in *Liguria* by Q. Fabius the Consul, M. Marcellus was called home out of *Isfria*: and after he had discharged his

army,

army, returned to Rome for to hold the election of the Magistrats. For Consuls he created Cn. Balbus Tampilus and L. Emilius Paulus. This man had been *Adile Curule* together with M. Fulvius Lepidus, who was Consul five years before: and yet the late Lepidus suffered the repulse twice ere he was created Consul. Then were Pretors chosen, to wit, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, M. Valerius Maximus, L. Manlius the second time, M. Ogninus Gaius, L. Caelius Dentus, & C. Terentius Istra. In the very end of the year there was a solemn supplication holden by occasion of certain prodiges for men believed very that in the court yard of the goddess *Concordia* it rained blood for the space of two daies: and reported it was not far from Sicily, that a new Land was discovered out of the Sea, where never any was before seen. Valerius Antias writeth that *Amulius* died this year: and that to compass and work his death, there were sent in embassage to *Prusias*, L. Scipio Asiaticus, and P. Scipio N. fides, besides T. Quintus Flaminius, who in that action is named moit.

The fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the fortieth Book.

When Philip had given commandment to make straight search for the children of those whom he kept in prison, and personages they were of most noble birth, for to put them to death: Theoxena being the King's most malicious intent, and wicked lust, in the behalf as well of her own children, as of her illegitimate ones (God not) and very young infants, brought forth and offered unto the said children naked by her death, which after she had obtained and seen effected, she likewise placed her own pare, and slew herself. Moreover in this book are related the debate and variance between Pericles and Demetrius, the two sons of Philip King of Macedony: and how Demetrius came to his death by poison, through the misfortune of his brother Pericles, who devised false crimes and raised slanders against him: and accepted among the vessels, which he intended to kill his own father, and meant to usurp the Kingdom & list of all, because he was a friend to the people of Rome: by which means after the death of Pericles obtained the crown. Also it containeth the happy exploits achieved by many and diverse commanders in *Liguria*, and in Spain against the Celiberians. The books of Numa Pompilius were by certain husbandmen as they laboured in the ground of L. Petilius a Notary, under the Janiculum, found out of a with a coffer of stone, and written both in Latine and Greek. And when the Pretor of the City whom the books were brought, had perused them, and found therein many points tending to overthrow religion and the divine services of the Gods, he swore before the Senat, that it was dangerous for the State and common wealth, that they should be read and preserved: in such sort, that by an Act of the Statutes were burned within the Comitium or Hall of public assemblies. The Colony *Aquileia* was created. Philip exceedingly displeased with himself, and pricked with remorse of conscience for that he had caused his son Demetrius to be poisoned, upon the self-suggested slanders and accusations of his other son, and against him, devised to punish Pericles, and rather to confer the Kingdom upon Antigonus his friend, than that his son should succeed him: but in this designment and purpose of his he suddenly died: and so Pericles took the crown and Kingdom upon him.

The fortieth book of T. Livius.

In the beginning of the year next ensuing, the Consuls and Pretors cast lots for their several governments. As for the Consuls, there was no other Province to employ them in but *Liguria*. The civil jurisdiction among citizens, fell to M. Ogninus Gallus, and the foreign over strangers to P. Lollius. L. Caelius Dentus had the governance of Sicily, and C. Terentius Istra of *Sardinia*. The Consuls were employed to take mutters: for Q. Fulvius had written out of *Liguria*, that the Aconians in lined to rebellion, and early to be feared it was, that they would break out and make noise into the territory of *Pisa*. And well they knew already, that of the two Provinces of Spain, the higher parts were in arms, and the war with the Celiberians was still in trimme, and as for the lower the military discipline there was clean corrupt and gone, by reason of riotous pleasures and idles were upon the son diers were wholly given, by occasion that the Pretors lay long in *Isfria*. For this cause thought good it was that new armies should be levied and enlisted to wir four legions for *Legatus*, and every one of them to contain 5200 foot and 300 horse: unto which there was an addition of 15000 footmen, and 900 men of arm from out of the Latine allies. And these two armies were to serve the Consuls. But over and besides, they were commanded to enrol 7000 foot, and 600 horse men of Latine allies, and them to send into *Francia* to M. Marcellus, who was to continue still in pace of command, after the term of his Confin this expired. Likewise they had in charge to levy of Roman Citizens 4000 footmen and 200 horse, and of allies 7000 of the one and 300 of the other to be conducted into both Provinces of Spain. And Q. Fabius the Consul had his commission of government renewed for one year longer, with the charge of the army which he had in *Liguria*.

The

"gainst me so as you do, for discovering the ambush set for me, and complaining thereof; but I
 "gainst him rather that laid in wait to surprise me: neither would you set so light and make
 "small account of my life, as to be moved neither for the danger past wherein I was, nor at the
 "peril to come, if such wait-layers may escape unpunished. Now if there be no remedy, but that we
 "must die and say nothing, let us hold our tongue and be mute: let us only pray to the Gods be-
 "fore that this intended mischief begun in me, may also take an end in me alone, and that you be
 "not he, who is to be wounded and pierced through my body. But in case (like as by the very in-
 "stinct and suggestion of nature, they that are allied and set upon in a desert wilderness, be
 "taught to implore and call for help and succour, although they neither saw nor knew of
 "any before) in case (I say) it be lawful for me likewise to open my mouth and speak, when I see
 "the naked sword drawn upon me: then I beseech you for your own love, even for the love of I
 "your good self, and the name of a father (which whether of us twain have more esteemed and
 "regarded, you have full well known long ago) to give me audience, and to hear me as if you had
 "been awakened at my cry and pitiful lamentation in the last nights riot, and came in the way
 "where I was forced to call, help, help: and as if you had taken *Demetrius* in the manner, with-
 "in my gate, in the very entry of my door, accompanied with armed men, at an undecent and un-
 "due hour of this night past. Those plaints and moans which then I would have uttered by way
 "of disordered and confused cries, in that sudden fright of mine upon the deed doing the same
 "I now make the morrow alter. Ah brother, we have lived now a good while, not (I wot) as
 "brethren that should banquet and make merry one with another. It is the crown that you look
 "alter, that is certain and past peradventure: but your hope to attain unto it, is crossed divers
 "waies. My birthright and mine eldership is a block in your way, between you and the law of
 "nations is against it: the ancient custom of the Macedonians, lotheth it: and finally, the will,
 "pleasure, and judgment of our father is opposite unto it. Mount you cannot possibly to high, but
 "by the effusion of my heart blood. You go to work, you assay all means, you leave no stone un-
 "rolled, and nothing unattempted to effect that: but to this day, either mine own way diligence
 "or happy fortune, hath guarded me and withheld your wicked parricide. Even yesterday, du-
 "ring the time of the solemn review and purging of the army, during the time of running at tilt
 "and jousting, in time of the shew and pastime resembling a skirmish, you mislaid very little of a
 "king a bloody battail of it and a deadly conflict indeed: and nothing else saved me from death,
 "but this, that I suffered my self and my men to go by the worke and be overcome. From this mar-
 "tiall combat, as if it had been no more but a game and sport among brethren, you would needs
 "have trained and drawn me to a supper. Why? think you father, that I should have supped a-
 "mong those guests unarmed, who came in arms to banquet with me? Do you believe, that I should
 "have been in no danger of their naked swords of steel at night when in the day time and within
 "your sight, laid on such load with wooden swords and batons, that they had like to have kil-
 "led me? To what end else came you brother, at that time of the night? why came you as an ene-
 "my, considering I was in choler and my blood was up: wherefore came you accompanied with
 "tall fellows privily armed and with short swords under their garments? I durst not venture to sit
 "at supper with you: should I have received you then, coming as you did with armed men to ban-
 "quet with me? Father, if the door had been opened: whereas you hear me now to make my com-
 "plaints, you should have been by this time busied about my winding-sheet, heere, and funeral.
 "I lay not forth and urge matters in slanderous manner, alter the fashion of these accusers at the
 "forum: neither collect I bare conjectural presumptions to enforce & conclude any doubtful points:
 "for what need I so to do? Denieth he that he approached my door with a troop of men: that he
 "had in his train a company, such as wore weapons covertly under their apparel? Do not feed
 "for them whom I shall name. But in faith, what will not they dare to do, that can do this? and
 "yet I trow, they will never be so hardy and shameless as to deny it. If I had taken them in
 "manner with their weapons about them within mine entry, and so brought them before you,
 "then you would say, it were a plain case and out of all doubt. If then, they confess as much with
 "their mouth, hold them as culpable as if they had been surprised in the act doing. Now come
 "and spare not: the greedy appetite and thirst after a Kingdom: now fall to raise and call up the
 "furies out of hell to set brethren together by the ears: but, good father, let not your cries and
 "exclamations thus flie at blind random: make some distinction yet and difference, between him
 "that lyeth in await, and the party who is foreslaid. Let him be holden guilty, that sought to kill
 "his brother, let him feel withal the gods of his father to be his enemies and angry against him.
 "But as for him who was in danger to lose his life through his brothers mischievous practice, let
 "him have his release and recourse to the mercy and justice of his father. For alas, whether else
 "should I flie for succour? seeing that neither the solemn review and purging of your army, nor the
 "running and jousting of the men at arms, neither mine own house nor my table, nor yet the very
 "night season (which nature hath given to mankind for covert & repose) affordeth me safety and
 "security? If I go to my brother (being hidden to supper) did I shall: if I receive my brother with-
 "in my doors (coming to banquet) did I must. So that whether I go or I stay all is one: I cannot a-
 "void but fall into trains and ambushes, laid for to take away my life. To what place shall I retire
 "and bethke my self? None have I regarded, nothing have I relied upon, but the gods & your good
 "self, father. As for the Romans, I stand in no such terms with them of grace and favour as to trust
 "upon their succour: nay, they all with me charged, because I take the wrongs done unto you by
 "them;

* *Sabitus*, or
Kadius. The
 same I sup-
 pose, that
Polysius,
Polysius,
Polysius,
Polysius,
 Like as
 in the end
 of the 26
 book, where,
*Pro-
 letis* mis-
 sular, take
 to be all one
 with *Pro-
 letis*.
Proletis,
Proletis,
Proletis,
 in
Proletis,
 either some
 round bill
 of wood is fast-
 ned to the end
 of the dart or
 javelin, after
 the manner of
 tails: or else it
 is turned
 round in the
 head like a
 bird's beak. For
 so *Proletis*
 is used in his
 book of *Hist-
 orie*.
Proletis,
 is used in
 his *Proletis*,
 even
 as *Proletis*,
 is used.

"them, to the heart; because I shew my self discontented and touched with the indignity that to
 "many Cities, so many nations are plucked from you and namely, that of late they have deploied
 "and bereaved you of all their maritime parts and coasts of *Thrace*: and so long as either you or
 "I live, they never look to enjoy *Maccedony*. But it by the mischievous practice of my brother, I
 "might once be rid out of the way: and whilst it old age had made an end of you, yeas, and perad-
 "venture before that day came, (which they would never stay to long for) then they know well
 "and make full account, that both the King and Kingdom of *Maccedony* will be theirs ere long,
 "I dede if the Romans had spared any piece at all without *Maccedony*, I should have thought and
 "made reckoning, that it had been a place of retreat and refuge left for me. But what need that, so
 "long as I have strength enough among the very Macedonians. You saw your self yesterday how
 "violently the soldiers charged upon me: what wanted they but the sharp sword and edged
 "weapons, with which they failed and mislaid of in the day time my brothers banqueters met
 "with in the night. For what should I speak of the greater part of the nobility? they have groun-
 "ded and built all their hopes of dignity, promotion, and advancement, in the Romans, and na-
 "mely in him who now can do all in all with them and is of greatest reputation. And surely, to
 "speak a truth, him they prefer not only before me his elder brother, but also they go within a
 "very little to let him before your self, his liege King and natural father. For this is he, for whose
 "love and in favour of whom, the Senat hath remitted and pardoned you that penalty which you
 "had incurred, this is he, who now protecteth you from the force of Roman armies: who de-
 "meth it meet and reason that your old age should be obliged and beholden to his youth. For him
 "stand all the Romans with him take part all those Cities which are delivered and free from your
 "subjection: of him hold the Macedonians that wish for peace with the Romans, and take con-
 "tentment therein. Now for me, father, what hope or help can I have elsewhere but in you alone?
 "Wherein think you tend those letters of *Quintus* lately unto you? wherein he writeth, That
 "you did passing well for your own estate, in sending *Demetrius* to Rome: and exhorter you with-
 "all to send him again the second time, accompanied with more Embassadors, and thole the very
 "principal and best of all the Macedonians? This *T. Quintus* (if you will needs know the reason)
 "is the man, who leadeth, induceth, and directeth him at this present in all things: he is his coun-
 "sellor and school-master. And *Demetrius* hath rejected and cast you off his own father, & hath
 "put him in your stead. There it is, where all these privy plots have heretofore been fitted contrived
 "and set a hatching: and at this present in willing you to send more in embassy, and thole the
 "chief persons of the Macedonians: with him, he seeketh nought else but helpers and assistants
 "to put those designs in execution. As many as go forth hence to Rome, be they never so bound &
 "unconcerned at their setting out, be they loyal subjects and acknowledging no other but *Philip* for
 "their King, return from thence tainted and infected with the alluring enticements of the Ro-
 "mans. *Demetrius* alone is altogether in their books. They are all for him, and pass for none else.
 "Him they call their King, during the life of his own father. Now if I seem to be touched, offend-
 "ed and grieved herewith, by and by I am sure to have it charged reproachfully on both sides of
 "mine ears, not only from others, but also from your mouth father, that I aspire and seek to be
 "King. For mine own part, I would both they and you knew, that if the diadem and crown were
 "here let between us both, I would none offer. For who is he, that I should need to undermine &
 "uproot, for to step into his place and succeed? None there is at all but my father before me, and
 "long may he so be. I pray God, and I wish to survive him no otherwise, but if I be worthy and
 "deserve that he should likewise desire the same. If my father will make me his heir and inheritor
 "of the Kingdom, I will accept thereof. He indeed coveteth to be a King, yeas, and ungraciously co-
 "veteth it, who hath need to make pace forward, and to step before the course of nature, the order
 "of age, the custom of the Macedonians, and the law of nations. But what imagineth *Demetrius*,
 "suppose yet Mine elder brother (thinketh he) stands in my way between me and home; to him
 "appertaineth the Kingdom by right and by my fathers will: Let us rid him out of the World;
 "What! am not the first that fought to be a King by murder of a brother. As for my father he is
 "aged, he is desolat, and bereaved of a son: he will have more care to look to his own person, than
 "to revenge the death of his son. The Romans, they will rejoice, they will approve and
 "maintain my fact. These be nice points, and these be ticklish and doubtful hopes, but believe me
 "rather, they are not altogether vain and frivolous. For thus stands the case, and this is the sum of
 "all: Well may you preserve me out of danger, now whilst I am alive, by inflicting punishment
 "upon thole who take warning in hand to kill me: but let their enterprise speed once, and take ef-
 "fect, you shall never be able to pursue them to the purpose and revenge my death.
 "When *Perseus* had made an end of his speech, they that were present in place cast their eyes wil-
 "ly upon *Demetrius*: as if he would have made answer immediately, and so were all silent a long time,
 "and did not a word: for they perceived evidently that he could not for weeping open his mouth: a
 "bow in the end he was urged by them to speak, and then after that necessity had furnished his
 "Grief, thus he began, "My father, all thole means of help which were ever wont to serve the defend-
 "ers in good stead, I am prevented and disappointed of, by the plaintiff my accuser. By thole fail-
 "ed and failed tears of his, wrong out and shed to work the ruin and undoing of another, he hath
 "made my true tears (supposed, which gnishing out of mine eyes, proceed from a melting & wound-
 "ed heart within. And whereas himself hath not ceased, (ever since that I returned from Rome) to
 "to trouble secretly with his comforts and complices both night and day to lay wait for my life,

The Oration
 of *Demetrius*
 in his own de-
 fence, before
 his father.

"now he begins first with me, and will needs put upon me the visor, and have the world believe that I play the part not only of a secret and cunning wait-lair, but of an open thief and a notorious murderer and cut-throat. He seemeth to fright you with his own danger, that he might make even you the very means and instrument to hasten forward the death of his innocent brother. He saith that he hath no place of refuge in the whole world: to the end that I might have no parcel at all of hope left, so much as in you. Thus circumvented as I am, left alone, forsaken, destitute and void of all succour, he chargeth me with being in favour and grace with foreign strangers: a thing I wis, that doth me more harm than good. Moreover, see how he procedeth like a practised and cunning barrister, in that he interteth and minglith the last nights work together with the blame of my former life: to the end that he might make more suspicious by the course of mine other years passed, this criminous matter also (the simple truth whereof you shall know anon) and withal confirm and maintain this vain surmise and slander, of my hopes, my will, and intended designs, by this subtle invention of his, by the fained & forged fable I say of that which was pretended the night that was. He hath not failed moreover to make you believe that this accusation of his was not premeditated and studied upon beforehand, but framed *extempore*, and occasioned only upon the suddain fright and trouble overnight. But in good faith, *Perseus* I have been a traitor to the King my father & the realm, if I had comploted with the Romans and other of my fathers enemies, me thinks you should not have waited for this nights devised tale, but you ought to have accused me before this time, of treason. And if that imputation were vain and frivolous without this surmise, and served to discovey and bewray your envy & spite which you bear against me, more than it doth detect any crime which is in me; yet you should have clearly seen whether of us twain laid wait for the other, you or I, upon a strange & extraordinary manner of hatred. As for me (so far forth as I possible can, in this suddain trouble of my spirit) I will endeavour to speak severally of each point, which you have heaped up together so disorderly, and reveal I will the ambushes and trains of this night, yours or mine, fall out as it shall. He would have it thought that I practised to kill him, for this intent forsooth, that when mine elder brother were once made away, unto whom the inheritance of the crown appertained by the law of nations, by the custom of the Macedonians, and also, as he saith, by your judgment: I the younger might step into his place, and succeed him whom I had killed. What meaneth then, and wherto serveth that other part of his Oration, wherein he saith, that I have been so respectful to the Romans, and that upon the assurance that I have in them, I hoped to be King? For if I were persuaded thus of the Romans, that they could set up whom they pleased to be King of Macedonia: & if withal I presumed of what of their good grace and favor to me-ward, what need had I then to commit a parricide? Was it because I had a mind to wear a diadem embued with my brothers blood by me murdered: and was I desirous to make my self odious & execrable among them, with whom either for mine honesty indeed, or at least waies for a countenance I then desired of I have won some credit, such as it is, if haply it be any at all? Unless perhaps, you think that *T. Quintus* (by whose virtue and counsel, you reproach me that I am ruled) advised me to kill my brother *Quintus*, I say, who is so kind unto his own brother, and liveth with him so lovingly. This plaintive & accuse of mine hath collected not only the affection of the Romans which they bear unto me, but also the opinion which the Macedonians have of me, yea, and in manner the consent of all Gods and men in my behalf: in which regards all he took himself the same to match me in this quarrel and difference about the Kingdom: and yet see, how the faine man saith to my charge, that as if I were in all other respects, inferior unto him, I was faine to have recourse to this last shift of practising mischief and wickedness. Will you have this to be the case? Will you be content to join issue in this point? That whether of us twain feared the other to be reputed worthier of the Kingdom, he should be judged & condemned to have sought and contrived the death of his brother? But let us discuss and examine in some sort or other, the order and manner of this pretended and devised crime. He hath burdened me, that I have laid him many and sundry waies; yet hath he knit up all these means and conched them together in one daies work. I purposed to kill him (saith he) in the open day-light, after the solemn review and allotting of the army even when we jousted together, and seemed to charge one another in battle: yea upon the very day (God he knoweth) of the said solemnity. I intended thus (believe him) you will) when I invited him to supper, to make him away with a cup of poison. I would have stabbed him (what else?) or run him through with my sword, when I came to banquet with him & was accompanied with some of my train armed and having weapons about them. You see, father, what proper and choice opportunities I had picked out to commit this pretended murder: namely the very day of disports, the time of supper, of banquet and collation. As for the day, let us examine it and the manner thereof: was it any other than that, wherein the army was surveied and solemnly purged? when between a sacrifice cut in twain, the royal coats of all the arms of Macedonian Kings that ever had been, were carried aloft in a stately show; and we alone your two sons (father) marched on either side of you before the rest, and the whole Macedonian army followed after. When I was thus cleansed and purified by this expiatory sacrifice (if haply I had committed any sin before that deserved expiation) and especially at the very same instant when I beheld before mine eyes (on either side of the way) the parcels of the beast sacrificed: entertained I then in my thoughts the practise of poison, & the handling of swords pre-

"pred

"pared aforehand against the banker, to perform a parricide? that afterwards I might with some other sacrifice expiate and cleanse my conscience thus stained & defiled with all kind of wickedness? A likely matter truly. But a spirit corrupt & blinded with the humour of slandering another, upon a desire to gather matter and make all suspicious, careth not to huddle one thing upon another confusedly. For if I meant to have poisoned you at supper, what was there more unfit to let forward that design, than to provoke you to anger, by running so eagerly upon you & fighting with you so roughly, that thereby you might take good and just occasion to refuse being requested, for to come to supper? And when in your choler you had once denied to sup with me, was it not the next way for me then, to endeavour how to appease you, and seek some other opportunity, since I had prepared the poison for that present only? But I must leap from that design, to segment to another, even to the killing of you by the sword, and that upon the very same day, under a pretence of banquetting with you? If I thought that for fear of death you forbore my table at supper time, how comes it that I imagined not sensibly, that for the laid tear you would avoid my company at banquet after supper? There is no cause why I should be ashamed, Father, if upon such a festival day as it was I drank wine liberally, and took perhaps a cup too much among my companions. Nay, I would it might please your majesty to enquire with what mirth, and merriment I feasted yesterday at home in my house, and this joy let us the farther out, because that that warlike pastime of lusty youths, our side went not by the worse. But this misery & unhappiness fear upon that our mirth, hath well delayed and cooled the wine; I spent it at the strength thereof summing up into our heads: which if it had not come between, we as great laiers await as we were, had to this hour lien sound asleep in our beds. Well, if I had minded to assail and disperse your house, and that done to murder you the master thereof, would I not think you, have I born for my part one day to bib and quaff wine, to freely and likewise kept my soldiers from drinking drunk? But because I should not alone plead my simplicity and make my excuse thereby, this my good brother also, who God wot is none of these naughty and suspicious creatures, comes in with his vie and faith, I know nothing, I charge nobody, neither wot I what to say, but that they came armed to banquet with me. If I might be so bold as to ask how you came to that knowledge, you cannot chuse but confess that either my house was full of your spies, or those armed men of my train took their weapons so openly, that every one law them. And because he would have you believe, that neither himself made any enquiry before, nor at this time pursueth the matter with any accusatory spirit, he willed you to demand of them whom he named, whether they had not their swords about them? to the end that after you had sought into it a matter doubtful, and found them to confess it, they might thereby be held convicted. But why rather will you not, that examination should be taken in this manner: whether they took their swords with them to kill you or no? And whether they did so by your warrant, directly, or indirectly? For this is it that you (brother) would make the world believe, this is it which you would have to appear, and not that which my men confess. But the case is plain, yea, & they will be known no other, than that they were armed in their own defence. Whether they were well or ill done, they are of age to make account and render a reason of their doings. Do not you mingle my cause with that action of theirs, which interteth it nothing at all. But rather declare, whether we meant to assail you openly or secretly? If openly, why were we not all armed? why was there none of us besides those persons that did bear your spite? If secretly, what was the train and order of the execution of that design? After the banker ended, and I the fester of the banker retired from thence, should those four have staid behind to fall upon you when you were asleep? How could they have carried it so close as not to be spied, for that a little before, they had been in a brawl? And say, they had killed you: by what means could they escape themselves? Was it possible that your house should be forced and kept with four swords? Fie, fie at the heart, which kindly your envy and setteth you on fire, How cometh it to pass, O Demetrius, that men speak abroad that you shall be King? why should you be deemed of some more worthy than my self, to succeed the royal estate of my father? How is it that I am in doubt of my hope, which but for you, were sure & certain? These are the secret thoughts of *Perseus*, although he saith nothing: these make him of a brother to become an enemy: these cause him to be mine accuser: these conceits be that fill your palace your court and your realm, with surmises, slanders, and suspicions. But for mine own part, father, like as I ought neither to hope for your royal crown, nor at any time peradventure, to make words and dispute about it; because I am the younger, and because it is your will and pleasure, that I should give place unto mine elder brother, for so it became me not heretofore, neither doth it become me yet, to demean my self (to in any action that I should seem unworthy to have you for my father, but to be capable of all dignities whatsoever. The one point I should attain unto by indirect courtes and wicked vices, in not yielding unto him, as right and reason would: but the other, by my good carriage and sober behaviour. You reproach me with the Romans, brothers and those things which in right ought to be unto my praise and glory, you blame and reprove me for. It was no feeling of mine, that I was delivered to the Romans as an hostage, or sent to Rome as Ambassador: but when I was appointed by you, father I refused not to go. At both times, such was my demeanor, that I had an eye full and good regard, not to discredit either your highness, or your Kingdom, or the Macedonian nation. And therefore you were the cause, father, of that friendship which I have with the

"Romans,

"Romans, As long as you and they are at peace, I shall be well affected to them: begin war once, I that was an hostage and Ambassador among them, and (though I say it) not unprofitable for you my father, even I, will become a most spiteful and mortal enemy unto them. Neither do I see this day require, that the favour I have among the Romans might lead me any way to like speech you that it may not prejudice and harm me. It began not by occasion of war, neither is relieved for the time of war. For assurance of peace, I was a pledge and hostage: for maintenance of peace I was employed in embassy. Content will I be, by the one and the other, in case I neither pur. have fame nor incur blame. If I have committed any impiety against you fathers, I have done or designed any wicked part against my brother, I refuse no punishment. I crave no pardon or favor. If I be innocent, I desire only and humbly beseech your grace, that I be not overweighed with the heavy load of envy and ill will, since I can be overthrown by no crime justly I objected unto me. This is not the first day, that my brother hath accused me: but this is the first day, that he is seen to be my accuser: and full little have I deserved it at his hands. If my father had been displeased and angry with me, I would have thought that you of all others being the elder brother, should have been a mediator and intercessor for me (the younger) to my father, and means to purchase a pardon for my folly and the error of tender youth: but see! where my succour and refuge should have been, there contrary-wile is my ruin and overthrow. From my feasting and banqueting, from my mirth and good cheer, by his means have I been haled hither not halt waked, but with mine eyes full of sleep, to answer in the case of parricide: and forced I am to plead mine own cause without my counsel, without my proctor or advocate. If I had been to speak in the defence of another, I would have taken time to study, premeditate and time to make an oration. And yet, what was I to hazard there, but the reputation of wit and learning. Instead thereof I, not knowing for what cause I was sent for, heard your Majesty first (wroth and angry as you were) to command us to plead our causes: and then my brother, who hath stood up to accuse me. As for him, he hath pronounced an Oration (studied for, and devised long before hand): but I was allowed no longer time (than whilst I heard my self accused) to be think me what to plead: or to examine and take knowledge of the matter that he hath laid forth against me. In that present moment of time, could I, think you (so suddenly taken as I was) either give ear to my accuser, or consider and think duly of mine own plea? (I was, with that sudden trouble and unexpected occurrence, that much ado I had to understand what I was charged with: so far was I from devising what to speak in mine own defence. What hope should I have now in that what case were I, if I had not my father for my judge at whose hands (albeit I am not so well beloved as mine elder brother is, yet since I am the party defendant, I ought at leastwise to find as much pity and compassion. For I beseech you (O father) to save me, in regard of my self and you: but he requirerth you to take away any life, only for his own assurance and better security. And what will he do against me think you, after you have made over the crown and scepter into his hands: who now already thinketh it meet and reason, to dispose of my blood at his good pleasure? In uttering of these words the tears gushed forth so abundantly, that they stopped his mouth so, that he could neither speak or draw his breath. Then *Philip* after he had commended them to go apart, and communed a while with his friends, spake and said: That he would not decide their cause upon these words of theirs, nor upon one hours debating, but by enquiry into both their lives, and observing their behaviour in deed and word, as well in great matters as in small. Herewith they all saw well enough, that the accusation of the precedent nights act, was sufficiently refuted and evicted: and the only thing in *Demetrius* to be suspected, was the over-great favour that the Romans bare toward him. This was the very seed of the Macedonian war, as was one would say, during the life of *Philip*, but the war was after to be waged most of all against *Pereus*.

The two Consuls took their journey into *Liguria*, the sole consular Province of them both: and because they had achieved their exploits fortunately there, ordained there was a solemn procession on one day. It fortuned that there came two thousand Ligurians or thereabout to the utmost frontier of the Province of *Gaul*, where *Marcellus* lay in leaguers, requesting to be received under his protection. *Marcellus* after he had commanded the said Ligurians to give attendance upon him in the same place, required by his letters the advice of the Senat. The Senat gave order to *M. Opimius* the Lord chief Justice of the City, to write back again unto *Marcellus* to this effect. That it was more meet that the Consuls, unto whom that government appertained, should give order and determine (as touching the Ligurians who yielded and submitted) what was expedient for the common-weal in that behalf, than the Senat. As for them, if they were to give their opinion, they thought it not good to accept of the Ligurians (surrender: and being once received then to be diamled: but they were of this mind and advice, that it was requisite they should be sent and referred over to the Consuls.

The Pretors at the same time arrived in their Provinces, to wit *P. Manlius* in baile *Spain*, where O he had been Governor before during his former Pretorship; and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* in the higher: where he received the army of *Terentius*; for that other side of *Spain* beyond *Iberus*, had been left without a Lord Deputy by occasion of the death of *P. Sempronius* the Pro-pretor. Whiles *Fulvius Flaccus* assaulted a Town in *Spain* named *U-bicula*, the Celtiberians made head and came upon him; where many and sundry hot skirmishes passed and wherein many Roman soldiers were both hurt and slain. Howbeit *Fulvius* held still his resolution, and by no forcible

cible means whatsoever, could be brought to levy the siege. The Celtiberians toiled out of heart with divers combats, retired and departed. The City then seeing their favours dislodged and gone, within few daies was forced and ransacked; and the Pretor gave the pillage thereof to his soldiers. Thus *Fulvius* after he had gained this Town, and *P. Manlius*, when he had retired and raised his forces into one place, which had been dispeired, without any other memorable act performed, brought their armies within the wintering harbours. And there were the exploits in *Spain*, during that summer season. *Terentius* who was departed out of that Provin before, entered the City of *Rome* in a petty triumph. by way of ovation. He carried before him in shew, eight thousand three hundred and twenty pound weight of silver, and four score of gold: besides two golden coronets weighing 67 pound.

The same year the Romans were choien Arbitrators between the people of *Carthage* and King *Masaniassa* as touching their territories: and came personally to see the place in controversy. And thus stood the case: *Gala* the father of this *Masaniassa*, had won the ground in question from the *Carthaginians*. *Syphax* afterward disfeized *Gala* thereof: and consequently to gratify *Africulus*, his wives father, freely gave the same to the *Carthaginians*, and let them in possession again. Now last of all, even this very year, *Masaniassa* had dispossessed the *Carthaginians* of the same. This matter was debated by the parties of both sides in the prelen, e of the Romans, with no less courage and fervency of spirit, than at other times when they tried the issue by dint of sword in open field. The *Carthaginians* laid claim and put in their plea. For that first it appertained to their ancestors in right of inheritance, and afterwards was conveyed to them by their free gift and donation of *Syphax*. *Masaniassa*, counterpleaded again and alleged, that he had both recovered the said territory, as parcel of his fathers realm, and also held it by the law of nations: and that the case was clear on his side, in regard as well of the just title as also of the present possession where-in he was; saying, that in his cause he doubted nothing else but that the modesty of the Romans should prejudice him, for fear lest they might be thought to be partial in the cause and respective to him. A King their ally and good friend, and in favour of him to give up their award against the common enemies both to him and them. The Commissioners and arbitrators would not infringe and alienate the right of possession, but left all as they found it, and referred the entire decision of the matter to the Senat of *Rome*.

Nothing was there done after this in *Liguria*: for first, the enemies were retired for safety into D their wilds and forests out of the way: and afterwards they called their army, and dip away every gun to their own villages and castles. The Consuls likewise were willing to break up and dismiss their forces: and thereupon sent to the LL. of the Senat to know their pleasure at that point; who advised the one of them to discharge his own regiments, and repair to *Rome*; for the election of *Magistrates* the next year: and the other, with his legions, to winter at *Pisa*. At tumour there ran, that the *Transalpine French* put their youth and serviceable men in arms: but it was not known what quarter of *Italy* this multitude thus levied, would invade. But the Consuls thus agreed together, that *Cn. Babius* should be present at the general assembly at *Rome*, for the election aforesaid, because *M. Babius* his brother lived to be Consul. Then was the assembly holden for the creation of Consuls, and elected there were, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *M. Babius Tampilus*. This done, the Pretors also were choien, namely, the two *Quintii Fabii*, the one *Maximus*, and the other *Titus Claudius Nero*. *Q. Petilius Spathinus*, *M. Pinarius Posca* and *L. Duronius*. When they were entered into their magistracy, the Provinces were by lot after this manner disposed. The *Ligurians* fell to the Consuls: as for the Pretors, *Q. Petilius* was Lord chief Justice for the citizens pleas, and *Q. Fabius Maximus* for the strangers: *Q. Fabius Buteo* had the government of *Gaul*, *T. Claudius Nero* of *Sicilia*, *M. Pinarius* of *Sardinia*, *L. Duronius* of *Apulia* together with the *Illyrians*; for that the *Tarentines* and *Brundisins* had given intelligence, that the sea-coasts were much troubled and annoyed by the robberies of pirates and men of war from beyond Sea: and the like complaints were made by the *Messinians*, of the *Ligurian* navy. For these causes order was given, and warrants were sent out to levy armies: that the Consuls should have four legions between them, containing in every one 5200 Roman footmen and 300 horse: also to enrol 15000 footmen and 800 horsemen of *Latine* allies. In the Provinces of *Spain* (both the one and the other) the old Pretors compassed still in their government, with the charge of whole armies which they had already: and for a supplement to reinforce and make up their broken companies, there were appointed 3000 foot and 300 horse of *Roman* citizens together with 6000 of the one and 300 of the other, from one of the *Latine* nation. All this while they forgot not their navy at Sea: and the Consuls had in charge to shoule for that purpose, two wardens called *Duumvirs*, who after they had out of the *Aegean* shipped into the Sea twenty ships, and set them afloat, should furnish them with mariners, and whole *Roman* citizens, such as had been slaves and were enfranchised: and that natural *Romans* free born, should only be Captains and have the conduct of the said vessels. These two *Duumvirs* so parted and ordered betwix them the defence of the maritime coasts, with ten ships apiece, that the Cape of *Minerva* should be as it were the middle point and mark between them: so as the one should guard that part on the right hand as far as to *Majilla*: and the other the left side even to *Barium*.

This year were seen at *Rome* and reported from forraign parts many uncouth and strange prodigies: in the Church-yards belonging to *Vulcan* and *Ceres*, it rained sheer blood: and the Bishops made relation, that the Spears [of *Mars*] stood and moved of their own accord. Also

Alto at *L. Marcius* the image of *Juno Sospita* shed tears. Moreover, the plague reigned to hot in the country villages market Towns and places of frequent resort, yet, and within the City of *Rome* that they were not able to furnish the funerals accordingly and inter the dead. The *LL.* of the Senat. being in great anguish and trouble, in regard of those fearful tokens and the loss of their people, ordained, That as well the Consul should kill greater beasts for sacrifice unto what Gods they thought good as also the Decemvirs should visit and peruse the propheticall books of *Sylla*. And by virtue of their decree there was publick supplication proclaimed at *Rome* for one whole day, at all the altars and shrines of the gods and goddesses. By their counsell also and direction both the Senat advised and the Comis also published throughout all *Italy* for three daies space, solemn litanies and devout holy-daies. The rage of this pestilence was to great, that whereas there passed an act by the Senate to enrol 8000 footmen and three hundred horse from out of the Latins (in regard that the Islanders of *Corfica* were revolted and the Iolians upon some within *Sardinia*) with which power *M. Reginus* the Pretor was to fall out into *Sardinia*: the Comis made report again unto them, that such numbers of people were dead already, and so many lay in that it was not possible to levy that proportion of fighting men. So the Pretor had commission to furnish out that defect of souldiers, with a supply which he was to receive of *Cn. Rabius* the Pro-consul, who then wintered at *Pisa*: and from them directly to take the seas and pass over into *Sardinia*.

* Leo de am-
bia.

L. Duranius the Pretor (unto whom the Province of *Apulia* was allotted) had a commission besides to make inquisition for the *Bacchanals*: for there remained yet some seeds of the same ceremonies, which began a ready the former year to sprout and bud forth. But *L. Pappus* the Pretor last before had entered into the enquiry and search of the matter. rather than affected ought and brought it to a final end: and therefore the *LL.* gave order to this new Pretor to unscrew this mischief in the spring and breeding thereof, before it gat more head and second time, and upon growth spread it there. Moreover the Consuls by the advice and authority of the Senat, preferred certain laws unto the people, as touching the inordinant and ambitious seeking after offices of government. After all this they brought into the Senat the fourteen embassages: and gave audience first to them that came from the *KK.* to wit *Emmetus*, *Ardo* (the Cappadocians) and *Pharnaces* of *Parthia*. But no other dispute and answer they had than this. That they would send unto the Delegates and commissioners to hear, decide, and determine their controversies. After them, the Ambassadors of the *Lacedemonians* came, and of the *Achaïans*, were admitted into the Senat house. The banished persons also were put in some good hope, that the Senat would write their letters to the *Achaïans* for their restitution. The *Achaïans* declared as touching the recovery of *Messene* and the pacification of all troubles there, with the great contentment of the *LL.* the Senat. There arrived moreover two Ambassadors from *Philip* King of the Macedonians, namely *Philetes* and *peribolus* no little that they had to the Senat, but least rather as spies to understand and learn somewhat as touching those points that *Perseus* had charged *Demetrius* with, and namely of certain speeches that he should have with the Romans, and especially with *T. Quinctius*, against his brother about succession in the Kingdom. These twain were chosen by the King as indifferent persons, and nothing affected either to the one brother or the other: howbeit they were the ministers, comforters, and compliers of *Perseus*. In his intended malicious plot against his brother, *Demetrius* (as one ignorant of all designments against him, but only of the wicked prank of *Perseus* which last brake out) at the first was neither in great hope, nor yet in utter despair to be reconciled unto his father. But afterwards, he had less confidence every day than other in the good affection of his father toward him, seeing his brother continually to burst into his ear many matters, and possess his head with tales against him. And therefore he looked circumpectly about him that he trode not awry and namely, that he let no words fall or did any thing that might be offensive and breed more jealousy: and above all, he wholly forbore conference and commerce with the Romans: in which sort that he would not have them to know him to write any letters unto him: knowing full well, that his fathers heart would be exasperated against him by his imputations and informations especially.

Philip because he would provide that his souldiers and men of action should not degenerate and wax worse through idleness and disuse of arms and that under one he might arise from himself all inspiration that he intended any war against the Romans, appointed the City *Sykia* for the *Arctogone* of his army and marched into the quarters of *Madira*. A great desire he had to mount the crest & top of the hill *Amus* be cause there was an opinion commonly received & which he had given credit unto that from thence a man might discover within one yeere & the *Penin* of *Adriatick* seas, the river ** Istro* also and the *Alpion* as he thought that the view of these places would stand him in no small stead in projecting & plotting the war against the Romans. When after diligent inquiry of them that knew those quarters well, as touching the ascent of that mountain, he had learned and found it clear and certain, that there was no way at all for to conduct an army thither and that a few men & those of the nimble and lightly appointed should find enough to do and exceeding much difficulty to pass the steep hills his younger son *Apollonius* whom he was resolved to have with him in that expedition: and because he would come to duce and m. His first difficulty was to find some familiar and private speech that he demanded of him, considering the great difficulty of the journey presented unto them, whether he were better to hold on the way still and follow his design or give over? But if I should go forward (qd. he) I cannot forget that which

* Istro mudi,
or. Ad me ar-
guate.
* Penin, mudi,
* Dardanis, Do-
nare.

be fell to *Antigonus* in the like case, who being upon a time much tossed at Sea in a boisterous tempest, and having with him in the same ship all those that were of his blood, is reported to have given this good advertisement and lesson to his children, that they should always remember, and also give their posterity warning, never to venture all their goods in one bottom, nor to engage themselves together with their whorlacre and off-spring in any peril and danger. Remembering therefore (qd. he) this good precept and counsel of his, I will not hazard both my sons at once in this present jeopardy which I see before mine eyes: but for almost, as I propose to take mine elder son with me, I will send my younger back into *Macedony*, for to uphold and maintain the hope of my posterity, and for the defence of my Kingdom in the mean while. *Demetrius* found him (straight, and wit well enough that he was sent away for no other intent but that he should not be present in council, when upon the view of those places abroad, he was to deliberate and consult in what coast lay the neerest and shortest way to the *Adriatick* Sea and to *Italy*, and what course they should pursue for the management of the war. But there was no remedy he must not only then obey his father, but also soothe him up and seem to approve and like well of that which he said, for fear lest it might be thought, that it went against his stomach to yield obedience unto him and to be held in more jealousy and suspicion than before. Howbeit, to the end that he might pass into *Macedony* with safety, *Didas* one of the Kings Deputies and *L. Governor* under him of *Pennis*, was commanded to accompany and conduct him with a mean guard and company. Now was this *Didas* one of those conspirators that had sworn the death of *Demetrius*, whom *Perseus* had made sure to his part, like as he had many other of his fathers friends, even since that men began to make no doubt, unto whom *Philip* in affection was inclined, and whom he meant to make the heir apparent of the crown. And at this very instant *Perseus* had charged him and given him instructions, by all obsequious services to insinuate and wind himself into most familiar talk, and to come to near within him, that he might draw from him all his secrets, & discover the very inward and hidden thoughts of his heart. Thus departed *Demetrius* attended with a train about him more dangerous to his person, than if he had travelled alone without any company. *Philip* first passed through *Medica*, and then forward over the dearely lying between *Medica* and *Edmonia* and at the seventh daies march was come as far as to the foot of the mountain. Where after he had rested and staid one day to make choice of those whom he minded to take up with him tomorrow after he set forth & put himself in his way. At the first the labour was not great, for they advanced the more wild and woody still they found every place; yea, and they met with many that had no passage at all. At length they were mounted to a pass or way so shadowed and dark, that for the trees standing so thick together, and their boughs plaited and interlaced one within another, scarcely or hardly could a man see the skie through them. But when they approached once the pitch and crest of the mountain, behold (a thing not lightly seen in other parts) they light upon to grofs and thick a mist, which overspread and covered all, that they had as much ado to march forward as they had travelled in the dark & mid-night. At last by the third daies end, they gauged the very top of the mountain. Now when they were come down from thence again, they made no less report thereof than the common opinion was that went of it: which I believe easily they did of purpose, because they would not be mocked and scorned for their foolish and vain voyage, rather than for that they could indeed within the same prospect and from one place view seas, mountains, and rivers, situate and distant so far asunder. Much moiled they were all, and foretold in this untoward way; but the King above the rest, for reason that he was farthest in age and unwieldy of body. Well, after he had done sacrifice there upon two altars consecrated to *Jupiter* and the Sun, he descended in two daies, whereas he had made three of it in ascending: and that which he feared most, was the cold nights, which there in the beginning of the dog-daies were like those of midwinter in other places. Many difficulties he wrestled and strove with during those daies, and being returned into his camp he found no better. Nothing was there but extreme want & penury, as being pitched in a place compassed about on every side with defarts and wildernesses. And therefore when he had staid there but one only day to rest and repose his men, whom he had taken with him in that journey, he hastened away, and in a running march, as if he had been routed out of the country of the *Dentcheles*. These *Dentcheles* were his own confederates, the Macedonians (such was their need and necessity) pillaged and spoiled their confines, no less as if they had been professed enemies. For first they waited & destroyed their hols, granges and farm houses, afterwards certain wicks and villages also, robbing and rifling as they went, to the great dishonor of the King: who could not chuse but hear the piteous complaints & moans of his subjects, crying to the Gods, Patrons of alliances, and calling upon his name for help, but could have no redress and remedy. When he was purveyed of corn from thence, and returned into the country *Medica* he began so to assail a City which they call *Perra*. Himself in person lay encamped in the avenue and ready way upon the plains, but he sent his son *Perseus* with a small company to beset the compass and give the assault from the higher places that commanded the Town. The Townsmen thus hard beset with terror on every side for the present yielded upon composition, and gave hostages: but after the army was retired, they forgetting their pledges, abandoned the City and fled for refuge into certain forts, fenced places, and high mountains. *Philip* having wearied his souldiers with all manner of travel to no effect, and withal entertained more jealousy and suspicion of his son *Demetrius*, by the lewd practise and false suggestions of *Didas* (the Governor

of *Paonia*) returned into *Macedony*. This *Didas* (as hath been said before) sent to conduct *Didas* home, abused the simplicity of the young *Gentleman*, who was nothing given to suspect, but seemed discontented and complained to him, as good cause he had for those things, were done in nature and blood unto him; he, I say, by flatterings, by soothing him up, and flustering him to be offended and grieved for his part at such hard usage, laid inares and guises, and set on him; and in conclusion, by his double diligence and offering his voluntary service, he made sure, pretending also to be true and fast unto him, yes, and to keep his counsel, he made him the very secrets of his heart. Now had *Demetrius* a purpose with himself to be revenged on the effeminate deignment of his, he was persuaded, that of a special grace and favour, he should have sent and offered unto him this *Didas* the Pretor of *Paonia* to be his helper and aid, through his Province he conceived some hope to pass and escape with security. This *Didas* pilot of his was both immediately disclosed to his brother *Perseus*, and also by him declared to his father. And first were letters herof brought unto him, while he lay at the siege of *Perseus* towards *Herodorus* (the principal friend that *Demetrius* had) was committed to ward and custody, order was taken to watch and observe *Demetrius*; that he should not slyly shew any unkind and close, without remembrance of any such matter. These occurrences above all others, caused the King to have a dolorous and heavy return into *Macedony*. These new accusations thus presented troubled him much; howbeit he thought good to expect the return of those whom he had sent to *Paonia* spies to hear all and find out the truth. In the anguish and agony of these cares and perplexities, when the King had continued certain months, in the end those Embassadors came home; who at first ere they set foot out of *Macedony*, had devised and framed before hand what report they would make from *Rome*. These messengers, to make up the full measure of all their wicked and devilish practices, delivered also into the Kings hand a false and forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit signet of *T. Quintus*. The said letter was indited to this tenor and effect. That *Quintus* should seem for his own excuse to say, that albeit young *Demetrius*, carried away with an insatiable desire to be King, had slipped a little, and treated with him about some such matter, yet would he do nothing to prejudice any one about *K. Philip*, neither would he be thought, or looked a horse give any ungodly and ungracious counsel. These letters struck it dead fore, and made the King believe, that all the former imputations fastened upon *Demetrius* were true and past all peradventure. Whereupon *Herodorus* presently was put to the rack and examined, but after he had endured so tolerable pains a long time, and confessed nothing, he died in the end under the torturous hands. *Perseus* accused *Demetrius* again before his father, for that he intended and provided to shew flight through *Paonia*. And there came forth certain to testify against him, saying, that he had corrupted, inveigled, and induced them to accompany him in that journey. But that which made most of all against him, was that some devised letter of *T. Quintus*. Howbeit there was no sign of sentence pronounced openly against him; to the end, that rather by some covert and cunningous practice, he might come to his death; and this, not for any fear that he had of him, but doubtless left some open punishment executed upon him, might reveal and discover his secret deignment, of making war upon the Romans.

Demetrius
murdered.

Philip himself taking his journey from *Thessalonica* to come to *Demetrius*, sent *Demetrius* into *Assemon*, a City in *Paonia*, and the same *Didas* still to accompany him; but *Didas* being addressed to *Amphipolis*, for to receive the hostages of the Thracians. Now it is reported, that when *Didas* took his leave of him and departed, the King gave him in charge to kill his son *Demetrius*. *Didas* then, either purposing indeed or making semblance to sacrifice, invited *Demetrius* to the celebration and feast thereof, whereupon he came from *Assemon* to *Heraclea*. And (as men say) at this supper he met with a cup of poison. He had no sooner drunk it, but immediately he felt that he was tipped; for within a while it began to work extremely, and for very dolorous pain, he was forced to rise from the Table and retire into his bed-chamber: where he piteously complained of the hard heart and cruelty of his father, of the murderous mind of the parricide his brother, and of the treacherous villany of *Didas*; and all this while endured deadly wrings and torments in his belly. But afterwards there were sent into the chamber, one *Thyphis* a Suberene, and *Alexander* of *Berthea*, who entwined his head and throat with the bed-cloaths, carpets and counterpoises of capistris, and held them so hard, that they throttled and smothered him, and in the end stopped his breath that he died. Thus was this poor innocent young man piteously made away; whose enemies one single kind of death could not content and satisfy, but needs they must kill and murder them twice.

While these things hapned in *Macedony*, *L. Emilius Paulus*, who continued still in government after his Consulship expired, marched with his army against the Ligurians Ingresses in the beginning of the spring. So soon as he was entered into the confines of his enemies country, and there encamped, there came Embassadors unto him under colour of seeking peace, but indeed only to escourt and spy. *Paulus* made them answer, That he could construe no accord with them, unless they yielded first: which they seemed not so much to refuse, but said, That they needed some time to persuade their nation unto it, being a rude and uncivil kind of people. And when they had ten daies truce allowed to effect this, they requested moreover, that the Roman soldiers might not pass over the next hills adjoining, either for service or forage, forasmuch as those lands were the only tilled and well measured grounds of their appertenance and territory. When they had obtained so much, they assembled all their forces on that side of the hills, from whence they

had overtopped the enemies, and suddenly with a mighty multitude charged upon the Roman camp, and assaulted all the avenues and gates thereof at once. With all forcible means they continued the assault in such sort, as the Romans had not so much as either time enough to set forth and shew their engines, or room sufficient to put their army in order of battle; but were compelled to leave their camp more by standing thick thronged together against the enemies in the very gates, than otherwise by hardy fighting. But about the going down of the sun, when the enemies were weary, *Paulus* dispatched two light horsemen with letters to *M. Babius* the Consul, as far as he could, that he should come away with all speed to succour him; being in time of truce besieged. *Paulus* had delivered up his army before to *M. Pannius*, the Pretor, as he went into *Sardinia*. He both certified the Senat by his letters, that *L. Emilius* was invaded by the Ligurians, and he wrote also to *M. C. Marcellus*, whose province was next adjoining, to bring off his forces (if he thought so good) out of *Gaul* in to *Liguria*, and deliver *L. Emilius* from siege. But this, these succours should have come all too late; for the Ligurians the very next day returned, and advanced against the camp. *Emilius*, albeit he not only knew that they would come, but also how he brought his power forth into the field and ranged them in array, yet he kept him self to the strength of his rampart, minding to hold off and not to fight, until *Babius* might with his army come from *Pisa*. Now the letters of *Babius* caused great fear at *Rome*; and to move the more, for that *Marcellus* being returned to the City, some few daies after he had made over his army unto *Emilius*, put them out of all hope, that the army which was in *France* could not possibly pass into *Liguria*, by reason of the war with the Istrians, who imposed the planting of the colony at *Aquilia*; against whom *Babius* was gone; and might not possibly retire from thence, now that the war was once begun. The only hope they had therefore of aiding *Emilius* was this, (and yet the same seemed to be with the latest, considering the urgent necessity of the time) to ease the Consul made halt to go into their provinces: which to do all the LL. of the Senat called aloud and earnestly unto them. But the Consuls denied hard to stir one foot before the levy of soldiers was fully finished; alleging that it was not their lackness, but the violence of the people, which caused it to be so late ere it were returned. Yet for all this, such was the general accord and consent of the Senat, that they could neither will nor could bar go forth of the City in their rich coats of arms, and by proclamation to assigne a certain day, upon which all the soldiers whom they had enrolled should shew at *Pisa*; and do mission they had to take up sickly soldiers, all the country over as they went, to press them forth presently and have them levy. Moreover, the Pretors, *Q. Petilius* and *Q. Fabius* were both of them commanded, the one, *Petilius*, to enrol in half two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and tender the military oath to all that were not above fiftie years old: and *Fabius*, to levy of the Latine allies fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horsemen. The two *Dumvirs* or Wardens for the navy and the ports were created, namely, *C. Matienus* and *C. Lucetius*, who were soon provided of ships ready rigged, trimmed and furnished to their hands. And *Matienus*, who had the charge of the coast upon the gulf of *Gaul*, was commanded to bring his fleet with all speed possible along, to the track of the Ligurians, if haply he might any way head *L. Emilius* and his army. *Emilius* after he perceived that no aid appeared from any place, supposing verily that the two horse men were intercepted and failed by the way, thought good to put off no longer, but alone with his own forces to trie the fortune of a fight. And thereupon before the enemies came (who now already began more coldly and heavily to assault them therefore) he put his men in battell array at the four gates of the camp, to the end that upon the signal given, they should at once from all parts fall forth. To the four extraordinary cohorts, he adjoined two other, under the conduct of *M. Valerius* a Lieutenant, and commanded them to break forth at the false postern gate called *Extravallinaria*: within the gate *Principalis* on the right hand, he embattelled the Hastate or javelins of the first legion, and the principes of the same legion in the rear guard to second them, commanded both by *M. Servilius* and *L. Sulpicius*, Kn marshals, or Tribunes military. The third legion he marshalled full against the other gate *Principis* on the left hand. This change only was here, for that the Principles were set in the front, and the Hastate behind in the tail of the legion. *Sex. Julius Caesar* and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, two military Tribunes had the leading of this legion. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Lieutenant, having the conduct of the right wing, was placed at the gate *Quintifera*. Two cohorts and the Triarii of two legions had commandment to stay behind for the defence of the camp. The General himself in person rode all about from gate to gate, exhorting and encouraging his men: using all the forcible means he possibly could devise, to provoke and whet the stomachs of his soldiers, and to give a point edge to their courage and colour: one while reproaching his enemies for their fallshood and treachery, who having craved peace and obtained truce: during the time of the said truce, against all law of nations were come to assault the camp: another while shewing and declaring unto them what shame and indignity it was for the Roman army to be besieged by the Ligurians, who more truly may be accounted thieves and robbers, than good for warlike enemies. If (quoth he) you should escape from hence, not by your own vertue and valour, but through the help and succour of others, with what face shall any of you be able to meet, I say, not those soldiers who have vanquished and defeated *Philip*, and subdued *Antiochus*, the mightiest King, and greatest commanders of our age: but even them who many a time have hunted and chased the very same Ligurians like brute beasts, over the wilds and forests as they fled, and hewed them in peeces in the end.

"That which the Spaniards, that which the Gauls, that which the Macedonians and Carthaginians dare not enterprise, namely, to approach and enter upon the rampier of the Roman camp; shall a Ligurian enemy adventure to do? shall he of his own accord presume to besiege and assail our camp, whom heretofore when we best all the blind bushes, by woods and thickets, to start him out, we had much ado to find, he lay to close and lurked so covertly? At these words the soldiers set up a consonant cry in token of applause, and answered him with general cheer, saying, there was no fault on their part, (seeing that no man had given them the signal to set forth and make a rally. For let him but once lay the word to sound the trumpet, he should see and find, that both Romans and Ligurians were the same still as before-time. Now the Ligurians kept two camps on the near side of the mountains affront the Roman leaguer, from whence (for the first daies so soon as the sun was up) they used to advance their engines, and march forward well armed, and ranked in battell array; but then they put no armor upon their backs, nor took weapon in hand, before they had filled their bellies well with meat and their heads with wine: they came forth (I say) dispersed and out of order; as who hoped and trusted assuredly, that the enemies would not march under their engines without their rampier. Against them (coming thus in disorder) the Romans issued forth at once, out of all the gates in one instant with a mighty shout, which not only they who were within the camp set up, but also the lances, callions, leaders, and other drudges that follow the camp redoubled. This was such an unlooked for occurrence to the Ligurians, that they were set in as great an affright therewith, as it they had been impetred & beset all about with invidious ambushments. For a small while there was some show of conflict, such as it was; but anon they took their heels and fled for life; but as they fled, they left their lives behind them in every place. Then the men of arms had the signal given to mount on horseback, to pursue them & not suffer one to escape alive & so in this fearful rout they were driven to take their camp for safety: but in the end were dizzied and turned out of it also. That day were slain of the Ligurians not so few as fifteen thousand, and 2000 taken prisoners. Within three daies after, the whole nation of the Ligurian Inguagues, yielded absolutely, and put in their hostages. A search was made for all the pilots and mariners, who had exercised piracy on the seas, and they were all laid up fast in prison. Sembrably C. Marius one of the Decemvirs or wardens of the navy met with two and thirty ships of that sort, belonging to men of war upon the coast of Liguria, and boarded them. To carry these news to Rome, and letters to the Senate, L. Lucius Cotta, and C. Sulpicius Cotta were to Rome: who also were to require that L. Scipio (whom his time was expired) might depart out of his province, and bring his soldiers from the Sines, with solemn procession besides was ordered in all churches and chappels, and at every house and altar for three daies space. The Pretors also were commanded, *Peritius*, to call and dismiss the legions of the City, and *Fabius*, to remit the Latine allies the levying and murthering of their soldiers. Also there was order given to the Pretor of the City, for to writ unto the Consuls and give them to understand, that he Senat thought it meet and reason, that the subary soldiers (who were enrolled in batt for the suddain tumult and alarm) should with all speed be licensed to depart.

The same year the colony of *Gravies* was planted in the territory of *Tuscan*, which in times past was conquered from the Tarquinians, and five acres of land was set out to every man. The Triumvirs who had the charge thereof to distribute these lands, were C. Calpurnius Piso, C. Claudius Pulcher, and C. Terentius Ibra. A yeer it was of note, in regard of the drought that hapned, and the death of corn and all other fruits of the earth. For recorded it is, that in six month space it never rained one drop.

The same year it fortun'd, that certain plow-men and labourers plowed and digged somewhat deep within the ground, in the lands of L. *Peritius* a secretary, (which lands lay under the hill *Janiculum*) there were found two coffers of stone, each of them about eight foot long and four foot broad, the lids and covers whereof were bound and lodered with lead. Both these chests had a superscription upon them in Greek and Latine letters to this effect, That in the one of them lay buried *Nama Pompeius* the son of *Pompe*, sometime King of *Rome*; and in the other, were belov'd the books of the said *Nama*. The owner of this ground opened these coffers by the advice and counsell of his friends: and that which carried the title and inscription of the Kings sepulture, was found empty, without any shew or token of the reliques of a mans body or any thing else, by reason the bones and all were rotten and consumed, in continuance of time after to many yeers past. In the other were found two fardels, wrapped within wax candles (or ear-cloths) containing either of them seven books: which were not only whole and sound, but also seemed very fresh and new. One eleven of them were written in Latin, as touching the Pontificall law: the other eleven in Greek, intituled, *The discipline or doctrine of Philosophy*, such as thole daies might afford. *Valerius Antias* faith moreover, That they were the books of *Pythagoras*: according to the common received opinion of *Nama*, that he was the disciple of *Pythagoras*: herein giving credit to a probable, resembling truth. These books were first read by thole friends of his who were present at the place where the chests were opened; but afterwards as they came into more mens hands to be read, it chanced that *Q. Peritius* the lord chief justice of the City, desirous to peruse thole books, borrowed them of L. *Peritius*, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, by reason that thole overcame *Quintus Peritius* had chosen the foretold *Nama* into the decury of the Scribes and secretaries. Who after he had read the titles with the immortals

and contents of every chapter, and finding thole most part of them, tending directly to abolish the state of the religion then established, said unto L. *Peritius*, that he purposed to burn thole books that first; before he did so, he would permit him to take what means he thought by order of his law: wherewith he would serve, his turn to recover the said books out of his hands, and good laye the thole have to take that course without his displeasure, or any breach of friendship between them. The Scribe or notary infore said, goeth to the Tribunes for their assistance, the Tribunes put the matter over to the Senate, before whom the Pretor said plainly, that he was ready to take his corporal oath, if it were to put to it, that thole books ought neither to be read nor kept. Whereupon the Senat judged, that for such a matter the only of the Pretors oath was sufficient, and that the thole (should be burned with all speed possible in the open place of assemblies called *Comitia* & that thirty awarded withall that they should be paid unto *Q. Peritius* the right owner of each among for the books, as the Pretor and the more part of the Tribunes of the Commons offered them worth. The Scribe would touch none of money, but his books were burnt in the field place before all the people in a light fire, made by the ordinary servants attending upon the officers.

The same summer there arose suddainly a great war in the higher Spain. The Celtiberians had gathered a power of five & thirty thousand men, a number more then lightly at any time before they had levied. Now was *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* lord Deputy of that province. He for his part, because he was advertised that the Celtiberians put their youth in arms, had raised and assembled a great side of the confederates, as he could, but nothing came he near to the entinie in numbers of soldiers. In the beginning of the Spring he led his army into *Capertania*, and encamped before the town *Eburac*, after he had planted a mean garrison within it. A few daies after the Celtiberians pitched their tents within two miles from thence, under a little hill. When the Roman Pretor perceived they were come, he sent his brother *Marcus Fulvius* with two companies of the best men of allies in espial, to view the enemies camp, willing him to approach as near to the trench and rampier as he could, and to see what course the camp took, but to forbear skirmish, and in any hand to retire, in case he perceived the Cavalry of their enemies made out against him. According to this direction, in did in every respect. And so for certain daies together, there was nothing done, but only these two companies of horsemen shewing fight, and afterwards retiring backe soon as the Cavalry of the enemies issued out of their camp. At length the Celtiberians who came forth and advanced forward withall their power, as well horse as foot, and having set them in readiness of battell, staid as it were in the midst between. The whole ground was a smooth and even plain, fit to join a battell in. There stood the Spaniards (I say) together their enemies: but the Roman Pretor kept his men within the rampier four daies together, and they likewise of the other side held the same place still in battell array. The Romans as that while staid on a foot. The Celtiberians then seeing the enemies refused fight, held the rest of the day quiet as within their camp: only the horsemen did forth; and they kept a *corps de guard*, to be in readiness if peradventure the enemies should be bold and come abroad. Both on the one side and other, they went out of the back side of their camp to purvey forage and fuel, and dispatched not one another. The Roman Pretor, supposing now that after to many daies rest, the enemies were bene in hand and hoped fully, that he would never begin first, commanded L. *Acilius* to take with him the left wing of the Cavalry, and six thousand of the provincial auxiliaries, not to fetch a compass about the hill which stood behind the enemies; and from thence to come as they heard a cry, to run down again and charge upon their camp. And because they might not be discovered, in the night time they departed. Flaccus the next morning by peep of day, sent out C. *Scipio* (a colonel of the allies) against the enemies camp, with the extraordinary horsemen of the left wing, whom when the Celtiberians beheld both approaching near toward them & also more in order then usually they had been, they put forth all their Cavalry at once out of the gates: *Scipio* gave the signal to the Infantry also to come a close, *Scipio* run, according to the direction, as he had heard the first noise and shout of the horsemen tamed the head of his horse and returned back full upon the camp: there with the enemies followed more freely a full the battell, and within a while the footmen also, making full account to be made of the Roman leaguer that day, and verily now were they put quite out of a mine. When *Flaccus* supposed that they were trained far enough from their camp, for succuring it, he issued forth at once in thole places, with his army arranged before in order of battell within, and caused them to let up a mighty cry, not only to annuit the soldiers to the combat, but also that their fellows behind the hill might hear it. Who made no stay, but presently ran down and set upon the enemies camp as they had in charge, where there were left in guard not above five hundred armed men. By reason therfore, that they within were so few, the enemies without so many, and also because they were so sudden and unlooked for, they were mightily terrified, and so in manner with one cry, without and resistance at all, their hold was forced and won. *Acilius* let on fire that part of the hill which might easily be seen of them that they were fighting in the plain. Now the Celtiberians which stood behind in the rearguard, were the first that discovered the flame; but afterwards it was kindled and went current through the main battell, that their camp were lost and all on a night. The enemies were greatly amazed, but the Romans much more animated. For now they might hear the shout of their fellows, having the upper hand, now might they see the smoke of their enemies burning with bright flames. The Celtiberians for a while stood in suspense, and

doubtfull what to do; but afterwards, perceiving they had no place of safety, upon their discretion they should fall to running away. They flew no other way but in fighting now, and they began to renew the skirmish, with more resolution than before. Directly they were encountered and charged in the midst of their battell by the first legion; but again the first and wing, where they saw theouldiers of their own nation ranged (who came to aid the Romans) they made head, and advanced their engines with more boldness and confidence. And truly that left wing of the Romans was at the point to have retreated; but that the second legion re-joined and scattered them, and withall they that were left within their intrenchments, were in the very midst and heart of the conflict; and *Asinius* from another post pushed on their backs. Down went the Celtiberians along time, and were set in pieces before them. As many as remained, made shift to flee and escape on all hands into every quarter. The Consul was sent out after them two waies in several bands; who also committed a great slaughter and execution. That day were slain of the enemies about 25000, 4800 taken prisoners, with fine hundred horse and above; besides 88 military engines gotten from them and carried away. A great victory this was, but not without bloodshed of the Romans part: for of two legions there stood some more than two hundred, but of Latine allies 830, of forreine aids, much about 2400 lost their lives in the field. The Pretor then retired with his victorious army into his own camp. *Asinius* was commanded to abide still in that of their enemies, which he had forced and won. The next morrow they fell to gather up the spoils of their enemies: and those who had born themselves valiantly in that service among the rest, were rewarded with gifts in a full and frequent assembly of the whole army. After this, when the hurt and maimed were brought back into the town, the legions were led through the country *Carpetania*, towards *Contrebia*. This City when it was once besieged sent the Celtiberians for succour; but they came not in time: nor for any slackness of their part, but because after they were departed from home, &c had entered on their journey, the foul waies hindered and staid them, which they were not able to pass for the continual rain that fell: over and besides, the waters were out and the rivers swelled to high, that possibly they could not come forward: whereupon the besieged inhabitants being in despair of help, their friends, rendered the town. *Flaccus* likewise was forced by the storm and tempestuous weather to put his army into the same City. Now the Celtiberians, who were on foot in their journey, and not aware that their friends had surrendered, at length having passed over the river (when the rain gave over and the weather took up) came to *Contrebia*; but seeing no camp without the walls, and supposing that it was either removed to the other side, or the enemies dilapidated and gone, they approached the town, and marched loofely and restlessly forward in disorder. The Romans sallied out upon them at two gates, fell upon them (disbanded as they were) and put them to the rout. But ere what hapned: that thing which hindered them that they could not make head, resist, and settle themselves to begin fight (namely, because they came not together in one entire band, nor yet by great companies at their colours) the same flood then in good stead to save many of their lives that fled. For they ran so scattering, and were so spread all over the plains, that in no place could the enemy meet with them in any number thick together, to compass them about on every side. Howbeit 2000 of them were killed, & above 5000 taken prisoners, besides 400 horse, 60 engines of war won from them. Those who after their struggling fight retired home ward, met with another troop of Celtiberians coming forward, unto whom they recounted the yielding up of *Contrebia* and their own misfortune: by which means they caused them to turn and goe back againe, who immediately flit away in their villages and forts. Then *Flaccus* departed from *Contrebia*, and conducted his legions through *Calahorra* writing and spoiling as he went: where he forced many castles until the greater part of this country was reduced under his obedience. These affairs passed in high *Spain* that year. As for the lower province, *Marius* the Pretor fought fortunately in certain battells against the *Pontals*.

The same year a Colony of Latins was planted in *Aquilina*, within the territory of the *Senis* and thither were conducted three thousand footmen, and every one of them were endowed with fifty acres of land. The Centurions besides had a hundred, and the horsemen a hundred and forty acres apiece given unto them. And the Commissioners for this conduct and distribution were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. In which year also two Temples were dedicated, the one to *Venus Erycina* near the gate *Collina* (which *L. Porcius Licinus* the son of *Lutius* dedicated, being a Duumvir deputed for that purpose, and had been vowed before by *L. Porcius* the Consul in the Ligurian war) the other to the goddess *Pax*, in the herb market: and of this chappell *M. Atilius Glabrio* the other Duumvir, had the dedication; where, he erected and set up in the honor of his father *Glabrio*, a gilt statue, which was the first gilt image that ever was made in *Italy*. This *Glabrio* the father was he, who had vowed to erect the said Temple that very day on which he fought the battell against *K. Antisthenes* at *Therompele*, and by warrant from the Senat, had bargained for the building thereof at a price. In those daies wherein these holy houses were consecrated, *L. Emilius Paulus* the Proconsul, triumphed over the Ligurians Irgures. He had born before him in these five and twenty golden *Corones*, and besides them there was no gold or silver else carried in that triumph. But many principal Ligurians, men of mark, whom he took captive, were led before his chair. He dealt among hisouldiers, 300 *Ales* apiece. The same of this triumph of his, was much more rewarded by

the occasion that the Ligurian Embassadors craved to have a perpetual peace with the Romans. Answering that their whole nation were resolved never to take arms again, but by commandment and licence of the people of *Rome*, *Q. Fulvius* the Pretor, returned this answer unto them by the licence of the Senat. That it was no news to hear this language from the Ligurians; but it stood them upon and was becoming rather, to carry a new mind, and the same agreeable to their speech; and therefore they should go to the Consuls, and do by them which they were enjoined; forasmuch as the Senat would believe none but the word only of the Consuls in the behalf of the Ligurians: as touching their true and sincere meaning to observe peace. Thus was peace concluded with the Ligurians: but there was a battell fought in *Corfica* with the Islanders there; in which *M. Plautius* the Pretor slew 2000 of them in the field: which defeat compelled them to give hostages, and besides 100000 pound weight of wax. From thence the army was conducted into *Sardinia*, where passed some fortune battles against the *Ilans*, a nation at this day not fully subdued: & appeared in this very year also were the hundred hostages rendered back again to the *Carthaginians*; with whom the people of *Rome* made and maintained peace, as well for their own part, as in the behalf of *K. Masinissa*, who at that time with an armed garison, held the possession of that territory which had been in question. The Consuls in their province sat still and had nothing to do. *M. Baebius* was sent for to *Rome*, against the general assembly for the election of magistrates; who created Consuls, *A. Posthumius Albinus* *Lucius* and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. After this, were created Pretors *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *P. Cornel. Mamercus*, *T. Manlius* *Mallianus*, *A. Hostilius Mancinus*, and *C. Marius*; and they all entered into their consularty upon the 15 day of *March*.

In the beginning of that year wherein *A. Posthumius Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso* were Consuls: *A. Posthumius* the Consul brought into the Senat those persons who were come from *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* out of the hither province of *Spain*; to wit *L. Minutius* his Lieutenant general, and the two colonels, *T. Manius* and *L. Maffalio*. These men after they had made report of two battles fortunately fought against the Celtiberians, of their country yielded and brought under their subjection; and that the term of government in that province was expired, and no more left to be done there; so as there was no need either of the ordinary money which was wont to be sent for soldiers pay, or of corn to be carried unto the army for that year: requested of the Senat first in regard of their happy success, to yield honor and praise to the immortal gods: and then that *Q. Fulvius* might depart and come his waies out of the province, and bring with him the army of his from thence, whose valiant service, both himself and also many Pretors before him had used: which (say they) was not only meet and convenient, but also requisite and needfull in manner to be done: forasmuch as theouldiers were so stiffnecked and obdurate, that it seemed impossible to hold them any longer in that province, but that they would be gone and depart without licence, if they were not dismissed: or else break out into some dangerous fire of a mutiny, if a man should go about to keep and hold them back by strong hand. The Senat gave order that *Liguria* should be the province for both Consuls: which done, the Pretors also cast lots for theirs. To *A. Hostilius* fell the civill jurisdiction over the citizens: and to *Minutius* over the forrainers. *P. Cornelius* had the government of *Sicily*: *C. Marius* of *Sardinia*. Unto *L. Posthumius* was allotted the farther part of *Spain*, and to *Tib. Sempronius* the hither. This *Sempronius* (because he was to succeed *Q. Fulvius*) fearing his province should be left naked and destitute of the oldouldiers, "I demand of you, *O L. Minutius*, since you bring word that there is no more trouble behind of that province, whether you think that the Celtiberians will continue fast in their allegiance for ever, so as that province may be protected and held in obedience without any army at all? And if you cannot undertake to a flure us of the faith and loyalty of these Barbarians: do advise us in any hand to maintain an army in those parts, whether you will give counsell to the Senat, for to send a supply into *Spain*, that they only should be called and discharged, who have served out their full years required by law, and so that new and rawouldiers be mingled with the rest of the old: or that the old legions should full and whole be removed out of the province, and new legions enrolled, and sent thither in their stead: considering that the small account that usually is made of such fresh and untrainedouldiers, were enough to induce and move even the more quiet and peaceable sort of Barbarians to rebel and make war again? Soon said it is, but not so easily done, to have made an end of all troubles in such a province, especially where the people are naturally inclined to war, and prone ever and anon to make insurrections. Some few Cities, as far as I can hear, and namely, those which be nearest unto theouldiers lying in winter garison, were by them held in awe and kept down, have yielded and are become subject: but they that were farther off, be in arms still and have weapons in hand. Which being so, I tell you (my LL) even now before hand, that I will perforce by my service to the Commonwealth, with the help of that army which is there already at this present, be in case *Flaccus* bring away those legions with him: I will chuse those quarters which are in peace, to winter in, and not hazard my young and newouldiers among them, to be pressed to the devotion and mercy of most fierce and warlike enemies. The Lieutenant answered to these demands in this manner, That neither himself nor any man else was able for his life, to divine and foretell what was in the heart of the Celtiberians now, and what they would mind and intend to do hereafter: and therefore he could not deny, but the better policy it was to lead an army among those Barbarians (peaceable though they seemed to be at this present) be-

"cause as yet they are inured to government, and cannot well skill of being subjects. But whether it be more expedient to employ new forces, as the old, it is for him to speak and sit down, who upon his knowledge can say, how loudly the Celtiberians will carry themselves in time of peace, and is withal assured, that the soldiers will hold them content and quiet, if they be detained any longer in the province. But if a man may conjecture and give a queſtie what they think in their heart, either by their grumbling words ſecretly one to another; or their ſpeeches uttered in the preſence and hearing of their General, when he maketh orations to them in publick manner: I tell you truly they have eyed out with open mouth, that either they will keep their General with them in the province, or home they will with him into Italy. This debate between the Pretor and the Lieutenant, was interrupted and broken off, by a new matter preſented before the Senat by the Conſuls, who thought it meet and reaſonable, that order ſhould be taken for their own furniture and ſettling forth with men, money, and munition to their provinces, before any thing were ſpoken or treat of as touching the Pretor's army. So, ordained it was, that the Conſul ſhould have their entire army of new ſouldiers, to wit, each of them two legions of Roman citizens with their cavalry, together with the ſmall and ſcattered number at all other places of Latine allies, namely, 15000 foot and 800 horſe. And with this power they had in charge to make war againſt the Ligurian Apuans. As for P. Cornelius and M. Baſilius, they continued ſtill in place of command: and were willing to hold their provinces, untill the Conſuls were thence come. Then they were commanded to diſcharge the army which they had, and to journey to Rome. After this, ſpeech there was concerning the army of Tib. Sempronius; and the Conſul had warrant to enroll over new legion, conſiſting of five thouſand and two hundred foot and 400 horſe: over and beſides, 1000 footmen, and 50 horſe of Roman citizens. Likewise the Latine nation was charged with a levy of 7000 foot and 300 horſe. With which army it was thought good, that Tib. Sempronius ſhould go into the higher province of Spain. As for Q. Fulvius, he was permitted to bring back with him (if he thought well thereof) all thoſe ſouldiers, as well Roman as allies, which had been tranſported over into Spain before the Conſulſhip of Sp. Poſthumus and Q. Marcius: and more then that (after a new ſupply was come) the ſurplusage in two legions above 1400 foot, and 600 horſe, and the over-plus of 12000 footmen of Latine, and fix hundred horſemen; and namely, thoſe whoſe valorous ſervice C. Fulvius had tried and found in two battles againſt the Celtiberians. Moreover, ſolemn proceſſions and thankſgiving were by authority ordained for his happy managing of the affairs of the Common-weal: & then the reſt of the Pretors were ſent into their provinces. Q. Fabius Buteo had his commiſſion renewed to govern Gallia. Thus it was agreed in the Senat, that there ſhould be eight legions maintained and kept in pay the year over and above the old army in Liguria, which was in good hope ſhortly to be diſmiſſed. Howbeit even thoſe forces (being no greater then they were) hardly could be made full and conſent by reaſon of the peſtilence which now three years had raged, and diſpeopled the City of Rome and all Italy. During which plague the Pretor T. Minutius, and not long after him, the Conſul C. Calpurnius died: with many other brave and famous perſons of each degree and quality. So, as at length theſe men began to hold this depopulation and calamity for a prodigious token and ſtrange wonder. Whereupon C. Servilius the Arch-biſhop was charged, to ſearch out means for to appeaſe the wrath and anger of the gods; and the Decemvirs likewiſe to perſuade the books of Sibylla: the Coſ, to vow certain preſents and oblations, to Jan Apollo, Eſculapius and Lady * Salus, and to ſet up their images garniſhed with gold: which he vowed and executed accordingly. The Decemvirs proclaimed ſupplications & prayers two daies together for the health of the people, throughout the City, and in all market towns and places of frequent resort and aſſembly. Above twelve years of age, wore chaplets & garlands of flours upon their heads; and bare branches of lawrel in their hands, whileſt they were at their prayers & devotion. Moreover, there was crept into mens heads a ſuſpicion that ſome devilish and wicked hand might be the cauſe of all this. Whereupon by an act of the Senat, a commiſſion was granted out unto C. Claudius the Pretor (who was ſubſtituted and choſen in the room of T. Minutius) to make ſearch and diligent inquiſition after all confeſſions of poiſon, & the practices thereof within the City, & for the compaſſion of two miles about it every way. In like manner, to C. Manius, for to ſit in the enquiry thereof before he croſſed over into his province of Sardinia) in all the mart-towns and places of aſſembly which were more then ten miles off from Rome. Of all others, the Conſul's death was moſt ſuſpected. For given out it was, that Quarta Heſperia his wife, had murdered him: but when he was ſeen once, that her own ſon Q. Fulvius Flaccus, was declared Conſul in place of his father in law and mother's husband, the death of Piſo the Conſul began to be more infamous and ſuſpicious a great deal then before. And witneſſes there came forth ready to depole, that after Minus and Piſo were pronounced Conſuls (in which election the ſaid Flaccus was rejected and ſuffered repulſe) his mother reproached him therewith, and laid it in his diſh, that this was the third time that he ſued for the Conſulſhip and gone without: adding moreover, and willing him to be ſo ready to ſtand for it again, for that he would work and bring it about, that within two months he ſhould be Conſul. Among other teſtimonies and depoſitions making for the cauſe and tending to the ſame: that ſpeech of hers alſo, taking effect too truly and to juſt within the time, was thought ſufficient to condemn Heſperia.

In the beginning of this ſpring, whileſt the levy of ſouldiers ſtaied the new Conſul at Rome, whileſt the death of the one and the chooſing of the other into their place, cauſed all thing there

to go more ſlowly forward; in the mean time P. Cornelius and M. Baſilius who had done nothing worthy of the remembrance during the Conſulſhip, led their armies againſt the Ligurian Apuans. Theſe Ligurians, who before the coming of the Conſuls had the province looked for no war, were ſuddenly at unawares, and to the number of 12000 of them yielded: whom Cornelius and Baſilius ſupplied upon ſhips had ſent with the Senat by letters to tranſport from the mountains, into plains and champaign country from their own homes; to the end they ſhould have no more hope of ſuccour, for otherwiſe they ſuppoſed the Ligurian war would never have an end. Now there was in the Samitis country a certain territory belonging in common to the people of Rome, which ſometimes had been in the tenure and poſſeſſion of the Taurians. In which place they began to plant the Ligurian Apuans; published an edict, That they ſhould defend down the mountains Aſidos, together with their wives and children, and bring away with them all that they had. But the Ligurians ſent their Embaſſadors oftentimes to intreat, that they might not be forced to abandon their domeſtick gods, the place of their nativity, and the ſepulchres of their ancestors; and therewith promiſed to deliver up their armor, and to put in hoſtages, being they could not prevail upon having ſtrength and power enough to wage war againſt the edict and proclamation. So there was tranſlated from thence at the publick charges of the City, to the number of four thouſand perſons free born, together with their wives and children: and unto them was allowance made of 150000 Seltences, toward the building of new houſes. And for to diſtribute and divide land among them, the ſame men (to wit, Cornelius and Baſilius) had commiſſion, who alſo removed them into thoſe parts. Howbeit at the request of theſe twain, there were Quinquagies or five commiſſioners aſſiſtants granted unto them by the Senat, by whoſe advice they might manage all. Theſe affairs being finiſhed, after they had brought with them to Rome their old army, they obtained of the Senat a grant to triumph. And ſo were the firſt that ever triumphed & made no war before. Only the enemies were led in their before their chariot; for nothing had they gained and won for to be carried or led in pomp; neither was there ought to be ſeen in their triumphs, which might be dealt and given among the ſouldiers.

The ſame year Fulvius Flaccus the Pretor in Spain, by occaſion that his ſucceſſor ſtaied long ere he came into the province, brought forth his army into the field out of his wintering camp, and began to waite and ſpoil the farther parts and territories of Celtiberia: from whence the inhabitants came not in to ſubmit and do their homage and fealty. By which deed of his, he rather provoked and angered the barbarous people, then terrified them: for when they had ſecretly gathered together certain forces and companies, they beſet and barred the paſſage Meduſianum, by which they were aſſured that the Roman army would paſſe. As L. Poſthumus Albinus was upon his journey into the nether province of Spain, Gracchus his colleague charged him to advertiſe Quintus Fulvius for to bring his army to Tarracen, for that he propoſed there to diſcharge his old ſouldiers to diſtribute the ſupply which he brought, & to range in order all his army by companies. Notice was given to Flaccus of the very day (which was neerer at hand) upon which his ſucceſſor would come. This new occurrent cauſed Flaccus to lay aſide thoſe enterpriſes which he intended, and inſtead to withdraw his forces out of Celtiberia. The barbarous people knowing not the cauſe hereof, but ſuppoſing that he had ſome inkling of their revolt, and how they had in ſecret taken arms, and that thereupon he was fore ſtaied, gauged and ſtopped the paſſage ſo much more frequently. Now ſo ſoon as the Roman army was entered into the paſſe one morning betimes at the break of day, the enemies aroſe ſuddenly at once out of two parts, and charged the Romans: which when Flaccus perceived, he gave commandment by the miniſtery of the Ceterions, that every man ſhould keep his place and ſtand his ground, to have his arms and weapons in readineſs; by which means he appeaſed the tumult and aſſright in his hoſt. Then after he had brought all his labouring beaſts with the baggage, unto one place, he embattelled and put in array all his bands and companies, partly by himſelf in perſon, and partly by his Lieutenants and colonels, according as the ground and the time required, ſhewing no ſign at all of fear, but putting in his own mind of the enemies, in theſe terms: "Ye have (quoth he) to do with thoſe that twice already yielded have yielded unto us, who are inured and practiſed ſtill in wickedneſs & perjury, not bettered in virtue and courage: thoſe (I ſay) who are like to make our return home horrible and glorious, which otherwiſe would have been obſcure and nothing memorable: ſo as we ſhall carry to Rome for a triumph, our ſwords all bloody and newly bathed in the green wounds and freſh miſſere of our enemies; and bear away the ſpoils of other bodies, all embowed and ſtill dropping with their blood. Time would not permit him to ſay any more, for now the enemies advanced forward, and the charge was already given in the utmoſt ſkirts of the army, and ſoon the main battels encountered and joyned conflict. The fight was hot and cruell alike in all parts, but the ſortune divers: for the Roman legions in the main battell fought valiantly, and the two wings of either hand did their devoir as bravely. The auxiliary ſtrangers had to deal with enemies armed in deed at all points like to themſelves, but better ſouldiers by odds then they were, in ſuch fort, as they were over-charged by them, and could not make good their ground. The Celtiberians perceiving they were not able to match the legions in ranged battell and cloſe hand-fight, caſt their companies into a pointed and coin-formed battalion, for to pierce perforce and enter upon their enemies in which manner of fight they are ſo ſtrong, that it is not poſſible to withſtand them, whereſoever they give their violent charge. And then the legions alſo were put in diſarray, and

and the whole main battle after a long, was disbanding and broken. Which disorder and fear-
full confusion when *Flaccus* perceived, he rode a gallop to the legion which of arms was best, and
he up to them) is there no help at all on any side, this army here he has directed wisely and
come to nought? Whereat they cryed on all hands to him, to give direction and speak only
the word what he would have done, so he should see how they would best themselves in the execution
of his commandment. "Marry (quoth he,) double your ranks, you that are the northernmost of the ene-
"legions, and run your bodies with full carrier against that, which is the front battail of the ene-
"gies, wherewith they press upon our men; and thus shall you proceed with the brave violence
of your bodies, if you disbande them and let them have full heads, and let their arms and legions
"among them: which we have reason to think, that the Romans many a time have done, and
"their great praise and honour. No longer said, but downe it was pluckt, were they thrust
their hostile heads; twice they ran through the midst of them to and fro, from one side to the other,
broke all their lances upon the enemy, overthrew them, and made foul work and slaughter
among them. When this pointed battail of the Cæliberians was once broken, (even as he had
and only hope they had;) then they began to fear and tremble, when were they at the point to
quit the fight, and to look about them which way to take their flight. The chief ordinarie Gen-
ery in the out-wings (seeing to brave a service performed by the Roman horsem) were
and incited by their valorous example, and of their own accord without attendance of any
commandment, charged upon their enemies, but disordered and in dismay already. Then the
Cæliberians ran away and fled on all hands. The Roman General, seeing them once thus
back and shew their big parts, vowed to build a chappell to *Fortuna equitum*, and to reward
in the honor of *Imp. Opt. Max.* The Cæliberians, thus disbanding and scattered in the
all over the length of the streight passage, were killed and cut in peeces. It is recorded that
that day seventeen thousand enemies, and were taken prisoners alive more then three thou-
sand, together with 27 field ensignes, and well near eleven hundred horses. For that day, the
victorious army lodged within no camp at all: yet not this victory to gleet, but it kept the
solle of some fouldiers: for of the Romans were slain four hundred seventy and two; of
namely of Latins 1019; and together with them, aid fouldiers three thousand. Thus the
having by this good hand recovered their ancient honor and glory, was conducted to *Tarentum*.
Tib. Sempronius the Pretor, (who was arrived two daies before) went out to meet *Fulvius* in
the way as he came, and shewed how he rejoiced on his behalf. For this good man, and
happy achieving the affairs of the commonweal, which done, they agreed together with
accord as touching the fouldiers, namely, whom to caule and send away, and whom to
still in service. Then *Fulvius* having shipped the fouldiers that were discharged, took his journey
Rome; and *Sempronius* conducted the legions into *Ciliciana*.

Both the Consuls led their forces into *Liguria*, and entered the countrey in two divers quarters.
Posthumius with the full legion and the third, beiet and invetled the two mountains, *Alpe* and
Suismonium, and so freighly he kept the narrow passes of those parts with his garrisons, that
he cut them off from all vicuals, and rained them with extreame scarcity and want of all things.
Fulvius with the second legion and the fourth, after he had assailed the Apuan *Liguria* from the
coast of *Pisa*, received submission and homage of as many of them as inhabited about the river
Macra; and when he had embarked upon seven thousand of them, he sent them over to *Nepes*,
coasting along the Tuscan sea. From whence they were brought into the Samniti countrey, and a
certain territory assigned them to inhabit amongst the rest of their countrymen. As for *Posthu-*
mus, he cut down the vineyards, and burnt the corn of the Ligurian mountayners, so long until
they were driven by all manner of calamities following war, to come in and submit, yet not
to deliver up their armor and weapons. From thence *Posthumius* departed and took the sea,
because he would visit the coasts of the Ligurian Inguanes and Intemelians. Now, before that
the Consuls came to the army which was appointed to meet at *Pisa*, it chanced *A. Posthumius* & *M.*
Fulvius Nobilior, the brother of *Q. Fulvius*, were the commanders, and had the conduct thereof.
This *Fulvius* was a Colonel of the second legion, who during the time of those months, wherein
by turn he had the command and charge thereof, dismissed that legion, having bound the Con-
tributors by an oath, that they should make payment back of their wage-mony well and truly to the
Quæstors in the chamber and treasury of *Rome*. Notice hereof being given to *A. Posthumius* at
Placentia, (for thither it hapned that he was gone) he rode after those called fouldiers, and pur-
sued them with a company of light horsemen. As many of them as he could overtake, after he
had checked and rebuked them for their fault, he brought to *Pisa*; of the rest he gave information
to the Consul. Who put the matter to question; and after it had been debated in council, an ad of
the Senat passed against the said *M. Fulvius*, that he should be confined and sent into *Spain* beyond
new *Carthage*. And letters he gave him to carry from the Consul to *P. Manlius* into the
forer province of *Spain*. As for the fouldiers, they were commanded to return again to their colours,
and for an ignominious disgrace of that legion, ordained it was, that for a full years pay they
should be content and take up with six months wages. And look what fouldiers repined not
to the army accordingly, the Consul had warrant and commission to make sale of him and all that
he had.

The same year *L. Dronius*, who was returned with ten ships to *Brundisium* from out of *Illy-*
rium (where he sat as Pretor the former year) leaving his ships there in the rode, came to *Rome* where

wherein discoursing of the acts by him done, he laid the whole fault of all the recovery and piracy
at (as upon) *Geminus* the King of the Illyrians, saying, that all the ships which had lien upon
the coast of the Adriatick sea, came out of his realm. For which he had sent Embassadors to com-
plain, but they could never find means to speak with the King about it. Now they were Em-
bassadors arrived at *Rome* from *Geminus*, who avouched, that when the Romans came for to par-
le with the King, he hapned to be sick in the most remote parts of his kingdom; and therefore *Gemi-*
nus the King and master requested the Senat, not to give credit to those false accusations and
forged slanders which his enemies had raised and informed against him. But *Dronius* alleged
moreover, that divers and sundry persons, as well citizens of *Rome* as Latine allies within his do-
minion, had received many wrongs: yea, and by report certain Roman citizens were slain and
deprived at *Corcyra*. Whereupon it was in council thought good that they should be brought to
Rome, and that *C. Claudius* the Pretor should have the hearing of the matter, before (each time no
answer would be given unto King *Geminus* or his Embassadors).

Among many others that the plague this year consumed, certain priests and prelats also died,
and namely, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, a bishop, in whole room was chosen *Q. Fabius Labeo*. Also *P.*
Manlius one of three Triumvirs for the celebration of the holy feasts. In whole stead *Q. Fulvius*
the son of *Marcius* was elected Triumvir. He was at that time very young, and not out of his em-
brodered *Prætoratus*. But as touching the King of sacrificers, who was to be chosen in place of *C.*
Cornelius Dolabella, there was debate between *C. Servilius* the Archibishop, and *Cornelius Do-*
labella one of the Duumvirs for the navy. For when the bishop would have had him to resign that
office, that he might consecrate and inaugurate him the King sacrificer, he refused to do so. For
which cause the bishop let a round fine on the Duumvir his head. Then *Dolabella* appealed to the
people; and before them it was to be tried, whether the said fine should be taken off or paid. Now
when most of the tribes called into the rails for to give their voices, advised the Duumvir to obey
the bishop, and awarded the fine to be pardoned and remitted, in case he would give over that
office which he had, beheld it lightened at the very instant from heaven, which is the only ominous
sign that interrupteth the assemblies of the people. Whereupon the Colledge of the bishops made
trophe of conscience to inaugurate *Dolabella*, but he contrived *P. Clodius Scævola*, who had
been sacred in the second place. In the end of the year *C. Servilius Geminus* likewise the Arch-
bishop himself departed this world, who also was one of thæten Decemvirs deputed for the holy
ceremonies. And *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was by the colledge of the bishops, elected bishop in his
room, but *M. Aemilius Lepidus* was created the forever Pontifex, notwithstanding many no-
ble persons made suit therfore. Likewise *Q. Martius Philip* a Decemvir for the holy mysteries,
who chosen in his place. Moreover, there deceased *Sp. Posthumius* an Augur. In whole stead *P.*
Scipio the son of *Africanius* was elected by the Augurs. The same year granted it was to the in-
habitants of *Coma*, at their own request and petition, that they might commonly speak Latine: as
also to the publick critics, to make portale of goods in the Latine tongue. The Senat gave thanks
to the Pits for the offer they made of lands, wherein to plant a Colony of Latins. And three Tri-
umvirs or Commissioners for that business were created, namely, *Q. Fabius Emericus*, *Marcius* and
Fabius, both named *Popilius*, and both surnamed *Lenax*. Letters were brought from *M. Manlius*
the Pretor (who having the government allotted unto him of *Sardinia*, had commission also
to expiate the practice of poisoning in all places, not within ten miles of the City of *Rome*) im-
porting that much, that he had condemned already 3000 persons, and that the informations and
preliments multiplied daily, by reason of new matters discovered still, and therefore either he
was to give over that inquisition, or to resign up his province *Sardinia*.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus returned out of *Spain* to *Rome* with great honour for his acts there atchiev-
ed. Who remaining yet without the City, because of his triumph, was created Consul with *L.*
Manius Acidinus, and within few daies after, rode triumphant into *Rome*, accompanied with
his soldiers, whom he had brought home with him. He carried in triumph a 150 * golden co-
mones. Moreover in gold 31 pound weight, besides 17300 peeces of coin in Oscan silver. He
died to his soldiers fifty Denarii peeces out of the booty and pillage which he had gotten. To
every Centurion he gave it double, and to the gentlemen of *Rome* that served on horseback, triple.
The like he did by the Latin allies, and to all in general he paid double wages. This year was the
law first proposed by *L. Julius* a Trib. of the Com. as touching the year of the age requit, and
need for to sue for any publick office, or to exercise the same. And hereupon it came, that the
whole race of that family was turnamed * *Annalis*. Many years after there were created four Pri-
ests according to the law *Febria*, which provided that there should be each other year four chosen.
And these were they who were first elected, namely, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Valerius Lavinius*,
and Alboth named *Muri*, and both surnamed *Scævola*.

Unto the Consuls *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* the government of the same provinces was or-
dained, that to those of the former years, with like numbers of horse and foot, as well citizens
as allies. In both provinces of *Spain*, *Tib. Sempronius* and *L. Posthumius* continued still to have the
command and conduct of the same armies which they had. And for to furnish them out, the Con-
suls were enjoined to enroll three thousand footmen, and three hundred horsemen of Roman
citizens five thousand and foot of Latin allies and four hundred horse. *P. Manlius Scævola* by lot had the
conduct jurisdiction within the City of *Rome*, and commission to enquire into the devilish art of
poisoning both within the City, and within the compass of ten miles. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*
was lord chief justice in forrain pleas and causes, *Q. Minius Scævola* was lord deputy of *Sicily*
and

Which were
sent unto him
from princes
and Cities, to
test his triumph
there were

called *Coma*
triumphant, &c.
herof cometh
the gold *Con-*
stabile five thousand
the law it
of fell called *Ann-*
nalia or *Ann-*

and C. Valerius in Sardinia. Q. Fulvius the Consul, before that he went in hand with any of his affairs of State, said he would both discharge himself and also the City of the duty to God and men, in performing the vows which he had made. He declared that on that very day when he fought his last battell with the Celtiberians, he had made a vow to exhibit games to the honour of that most mighty and gracious god *Jupiter*, and likewise to build a temple to *Fortuna Augustina*; and how thereto the Spaniards had contributed certain sums of money. So a decree passed, that the plaies should be set forth: and two *Duumvirs* chosen, to give order and direction to the celebration of the same temple. Likewise there was set down a certain sum of money to be distributed for the defraying of the charges: to wit, not exceeding that sum in the solemnity of the plaies, which was allowed unto *Fulvius Nobilior*, when he exhibited the like sports after the end of the *Numid* war. Item, that for these games he should not seek or lend for: garb and attire, neither do any thing, contrary to the Act of the Senat, which in the time of *L. Emilius* and *Cn. Domitius* Consuls was made as touching such palliages. This decree the Senat likewise, by consent of the superfluous and excessive expenses employed about the plaies of *T. Sempronius* the *Aedile*, which were very chargeable not only to *Italy* and the Latine allies, but also to foreign provinces. The winter this year was very sharp, by reason of snow, and all manner of tempestuous weather. The trees that were tender and subject to frost and cold, were all blasted and killed: besides the winter season continued much longer then ordinary in other years. And thereupon the solemnity of the Latine holidays were so troubled and disordered by a sudden and insupportable storm and tempest upon the hill [*Alva*] that by an ordinance of the Bishops, it was celebrated again the second time. The same tempest call down certain images in the Capitol, and disfigured many very many places with thunderbolts and flashes of lightning. It overthrew the temple of *Jupiter* in *Tarracina*, the white temple at *Capua*: Item, the gate there called *Rimana*, and the ornaments of the walls in divers places. Among these wondrous prodigies it was reported also from *Reate*, that an ale was foaled with three feet. For this cause the Decemvirs were commanded to go to the books of *Sibylla*: and out of that learning, they shewed to what gods honours should be made, & what number of beasts was to be killed. And because many places were with lightning defaced, they ordained that a solemn supplication should be holden one whole day in the temple of *Jupiter*. This done, the forelaid games and plaies which *Q. Fulvius* the Consul had vowed, were with great magnificence exhibited for ten daies together. After this followed the election of the Censors, wherein *M. Emilius Lepidus* the Arch-bishop, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who had triumphed over the *Stolians*, were created. Now between these two men there had been notorious enmity, oftentimes testified and shewed in many sharp and bitter debates, both the Senat, and also before the people. When this election was ended, the two Censors according to the ancient use and custome, sat upon their ivory chairs of estate in *Marble*, near the altar of *Mars*. To whom there soon repaired thither, the principal Senators, accompanied with a troop besides of citizens: and among the rest, *Q. Caelius* *Murellus* made a speech to this effect. My matters, you that are Censors, we have not forgotten that you ere-while were chosen by the universal body of the people of *Rome*, to be superintendents and wardens over us of our manners and behavior: and that it becometh us to be taught, admonished, & directed by you, and not by us. Howbeit we ought to tell and declare, what there is in you, that either is offensive to all good men, or at least will which they wish were amended. When we behold indeed you severally part, either you *O. M. Emilius*, or you *M. Fulvius*, we have not this day in the City of *Rome* any men, whom if we were called to a new solemnity for to pacify our voices again, we would prefer before you to this office and place of dignity. But when we see you both together, we cannot chide but much doubt and fear that ye are very badly matched and coupled companions in government: & that the common-weal shall not receive so much good by this. That ye please and like us all to well, as to sustain harm in this, that you dispute and dislike one another. These many years together, there hath been great heat-burning and much malice between you and the same must needs be grievous and hurtfull unto you selves: but now it is decreed that from this day forward, that rancor will be more prejudicial to us & the common-weal, then unto you. Upon what motives and cause we are thus fearful, much we could say: but that peradventure your irreconcilable anger is such, as hath inured and possessed wholly your spirits and minds already. These quarrels, jars, and grudges of yours, we all in general would request you heartily to end this day, and in this very temple wherein we are assembled: and since the people of *Rome* by their voices have conjoined you in one office, suffer you selves by us to be linked & reconciled in perfect agreement. With one mind and accord, with one heart & counsel chuse the Senat; review the Cavalry and Knights of *Rome*; number the citizens; suffice their goods; purge and cleanse the City: & finally, continue unto the solemnity of the temple with a sacrifice. And whereas in all your prayers well-well, ye shall cite this ordinary form of words: *That this thing, or that, may fall out in the end well and happily, so my self and my colleagues*. See that you with the same truly, sincerely and from the very heart, that whosoever we shall pray unto the gods for, we may believe and all the world see, that you desire the same to be effected indeed. *T. Tullius* & *Romulus* in this very City reigned together with great unity & concord, in the midst whereof even in the very market place, they had encountered and joined battell together as mortal enemies with their cruel armies. What? not enemies only have an end, but wars also. And many a time most venomous and spiteful foes become faithful allies,

The Oration
of *Murellus*,
to the Censors.

A Yes, and otherwhiles neer neighbors and fellow citizens. The Albans after their subversion and utter ruin of their City, were brought over to inhabit *Rome*. The Latins & Sabins both, were encodemized Romans. An old saying it is, and not so old as true, and for the truth become a common proverb, that enemies ought to be transitory and soon die, whereas friendship should continue & live for ever. At these words, there arose a confused bruit among them there assembled, in token of their content and approbation: and anon were heard the distinct voices of them all in general, craving and requesting of the Censors the same: which making one entire sound, brake off the speech of *Ad. Tullius*. Then *Emilius* among other matters complained, that *M. Fulvius* had twice put him besides the Consulship, which otherwise he was sure of. And *Fulvius* on the other side found himself grieved, that he evermore by *Emilius* had been provoked, and that he had waged law by stipulation against him to his dishonor and disgrace. Yet both of them made fair and shewed, that if the one were as willing as the other, they would relent and be over-ruled by so many honorable personages of the City. So, at the instant request of all them that were present, they took hands and thereby assured one another to forgive and forget all matters past, and truly to make an end of malice, and be perfect friends again: whereupon they were much commended by the whole assembly, and conducted by them into the Capitoll. Where the Senat approved and highly praised, as well the careful industry of the principal citizens, in effecting this so weighty matter, as also the good nature and flexibility of the two Censors. Who afterwards when they required to have a certain sum of money assigned unto them for to employ in the public edifices and other works of the City, were allowed by their decree, the full rent and revenues of one whole year.

C The same year *L. Posthumius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Pretors in *Spain* agreed to together that *Albanus* should make an expedition against the *Vaccii* through *Lusitania*, and to return from thence into *Celiberia*. But *Gracchus* went as far as the utmost quarter of *Celiberia*, for that in those parts there was the greater war. And still he forced the City *Munda*, which he surprised suddenly in the night at unawares. Then, after he had received hostages, and put a garison there, he went forward assailing forts and burning the villages, until he came to another City of exceeding strength, which the Celtiberians call *Cerrintha*: where, as he was about to approach the wall with his engines of battery, there came unto him orators out of the City, who like good plain men of the old world, made a speech unto him, nothing dissembling but that they would war and be revenged, if their strength and forces were sufficient. For they requested leave to pass to the Celtiberian camp, there to receive aid and succour: but if they could not speed, then they would confide: part by themselves what to do. Good leave they had of *Gracchus*: and some few daies after, they brought with them ten Orators more. About noone-tide it was of the day, and the first thing that they craved at the Pretor his hand was this, That he would make them to drink before they parted. When they had once quaffed and carrowied round, they called again for more: whereat, all that were present and stood about them, laughed heartily, to see them so rude and uncivil, and altogether without good manners. But afterwards, the eldest man of the company began in this wise: We are sent (quoth he) unto you from our nation, to know what assurance hath induced you to levy war against us? To this demand *Gracchus* answered, That because with the confidence that he had in a brave and valiant army: which (if they were so deficient) he would do them the favour to see, that they might be able to make more certain report to their countrymen upon their own knowledge. And with that, he commanded the colonels and high marshals, to put in arms and embattell all the bands and companies, as well foot as horse; and then armed as they were to charge one upon another in manner of a battell. These Embassadors as they had once seen this sight, were sent away: who went directly to the Celtiberians their neighbors, and frightened them for sending any succour to the City besieged. The townsmen within hung in vain at fire-lights in the night time aloft upon their towers, which was the signal agreed upon between them) and seeing themselves destitute of the only hope they had of aid, yielded by compulsion. So they were enjoined to make payment of four and twenty hundred thousand *Solennes*; and to deliver forty of their noblest gentlemen and best men of arms: not by way of hostages (for commanded they were to serve in the wars); and yet in truth, they stood for a piece of assurance for their fealty. From thence anon he marched to the City *Alva*, where the Celtiberians lay encamped and from whom of late the Embassadors aforelaid came: whom, for certain daies he provoked to fight, making small skirmishes; by sending out against their corps de guard his light-armed vanguarders, to the end that shuffling together every day more then other he might train them all forth of their camp at length. And when he perceived once that his design had taken effect, he commanded the captains of the auxiliary souldiers, that after some short skirmish, they should make semblant as if they were overcharged with numbers, and so at once turn their backs, and flee as fast as they could to their own camp: himself in the mean while got his men in battell array within the rampier at every gate. Long it was not, but he might see his own bands and companies retiring back on set purpose, and running away, and after them the barbarous enemies following as hard as they could in chase. Now had his army embattelled for the purpose, and ready to receive them: and therefore he made no longer stay then only to suffer his friends and allies to enter at liberty into the camp, but he set up a loud cry, and at one instant issued forth at all the gates. The enemies were not able to endure this unexpected charge: and so they that were come to assail the camp of others, could not so much as defend

send their own: for presently they were discomfited and put to flight; and within a while driven for very fear into their hold, and in the end turned out of it also. That day 9000 of the enemies left their carriages in the field: 320 were taken prisoners, together with 120 kites, & 750 dead ensigns. Of the Roman army, there died not above 100. Presently after this battle, *Gracchus* marched with his legions to wait and spoil the country of *Celiberia*: and so he made havoc in all places as he went, with driving booties, & with harrying & carrying all that ever he could come by: the Cities and States of the country, some submitted willingly of their own accord; others for constraint & fear received the yoke of subjection: so as in few daies space he became master of an 103 towns that yielded unto him. A mighty rich pillage he gat in this expedition. After this he marched back again towards the City *Alia* from whence he came, and began to besiege and assault the town. The inhabitants endured the first assault of the enemies, but afterwards seeing their town not only assailed by force of arms, but also shaken with engines and instruments of battery, diffulting the strength of the City, they retired all within their fortress: from whence also to the end, (having sent their Orators before-hand) they & all that ever they had, were at the devotion of the Romans. A great booty there was gotten, and many noble gentlemen taken prisoners amongst whom were two sons and one daughter of *Thurinus*. This *Thurinus* was a prince and great lord of those parts, and simply the mightiest potentat of all the Spaniards by many degrees, who being advertised of the hard hap and calamity fallen upon his children, sent unto *Gracchus* into the camp for a safe-conduct, and thither he came himself in person. And first he demanded, Whether he could grant unto him and his their lives? The Pretor answered, That they should live. Then he demanded again, if he might bear arms and serve under the Romans? and when *Gracchus* permitted that also; Then will I follow you (quoth he) against mine old friends and allies, since they disdain to respect & regard me. From this time forward he took part with the Romans: and in many journeys he bare himself loyally and valiantly in their wars, and much advanced the Roman State. After this, *Ergavica* (a noble, rich and mighty City) affrighted at the calamities of other neighbor towns and States about them, let the gates open for to receive the Romans. Some Authors have written, that their towns and Cities yielded not *bona fide* and in sincerity of heart: but that so soon as he had withdrawn the legions out of any quarter, suddenly from that part they revolted: also, that afterwards, he fought a cruell battle near the mountain *Canis* with the Celiberians, from the break of day until noon: in which conflict there were many slain both of the one side and the others: neither did the Romans any other great deed (as they suppose) at *Ergavica* that day to tellifie their victory, but kept the field, and challenged them out of their camp to fight. Moreover, that the next morrow all the day long, they gathered up the spoils of the dead: & on the third day strooke a second battle, which was greater than the other: & both at length, the Celiberians without all doubt lost the field clear; inasmuch as their camp was ransacked. Furthermore, that there died of the enemies that day 22000, and not so few as 300 taken prisoners, and well-near as many horse, besides the winning of 72 military ensigns: and for the war came to a final end, the Celiberians made peace indeed, continued fast and firm therein with all loyalty, and were not so fickle & unconstant as before. They write moreover, that the same summer *L. Posthumus* fought a brave battle with the *Asses* in the father province of *Spain*, where he put to the sword 35000 enemies, & forced their camp. But it soundeth more like a truth, that he came not timely enough into that province, for to perform any such exploits during that summer season.

The Censors made a review and new choice of Senators in good concord and faithful unity: for the president of the Senat was *cl. Julo*, *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the Censor himself, who also was the high priest or Arch-bishop. Three Senators were exiled and deprived their places: but *Lepidus* held some in, whom the colleague over-passed and left out. Of that portion of money, which out of the main allowance was divided between them, they caused these pillars following to be made. *Lepidus* for his part raised the great cauley or wharf at *Tarracina*, which was a piece of work nothing acceptable to the people, for that he had himself lands and possessions there of his own, and seemed to ease his privat expenses, under colour of doing a publick work with the Cities money. He built a Theatre, a store-house or a vane-scaffold near the temple of *Apollo*. He bargained with the Publicans or Undertakers for the polishing, blanching and whitening of the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, and likewise of the pillars about it. From these pillars he removed the Images and Statues, which seemed to have been unhandfomly set one against another, and out of all order. Likewise he took from thence, the targets and field-ensigns of all forts, that were there set up and fastned. But *M. Fulvius* put forth to making more works in number, & those of better and greater use; To wit, a peer, and certain main piles within the river *Tiberus*: upon which piles, cert. in years after *P. Scipio Africanus* and *L. Mummius* being Censors, took order for arches to be founded and erected. Item, a stately hall or palace behind the new shops of the Banquers. Item, a fish market, with others shops round about him, which he sold to particular persons. Item, a market place, and a porch or gallery without the gate *Tergemina*, and another behind the arsenal, and near the temple of *Hercules*. Item, near *Tyber*, and behind the church of the goddess *Hope*, he caused to be built the chappell of *Apollo* the Physitian. Now they had besides another flock of money in common, which they employed in taking order for water to be conveyed into the City, and certain vaults to be made. But this work was impeached by *M. Licinius Crassus*, who would not suffer the water to passe through his ground. Over and besides these (saie Censors, inflicted certain rents for postage, & pondage, & divers other imposts. Many chappells & public

pl. cells

A places in the tenure and occupation of privat persons, they took order to be reduced to the use of the people in common, and to be let open for all comers. They changed the order of giving voices, and caused to enroll the tribes according to sundry quarters and divisions, having regard withal of the degrees of men, of their trades, myteries and occupations. Altho the one of the Censors *M. Aemilius* tied unto the Senat, that allowance should be made unto him of money for the games and plaies at the dedication of the Temples of Queen *Juno* and *Diana*, which in the *Ligurian* war he had vowed eight years before; and assigned there was unto him twenty thousand Allies. So he dedicated both those Temples within the cirque or show-place of *Flaminius*. Also he exhibited Stage plaies three daies together after the dedication of the Temple of *Juno*, and two daies after the other of *Diana*: and every of those daies within the cirque *Flaminius*. The time Censor dedicated in *Mars* field a Chappell to the sea-gods, vowed by *L. Aemilius Regillus* eleven years before, in a navall battell at sea against the Captains of *K. Antiochus*. Over the gates of which Chappell there was fixed a table with this title, [For the appeasing and composing of a quarrel between two Kings, "the head," to subdue, "for to make peace." This conflict, when *L. Aemilius Regillus* the Praetor, the son of *M.* Under the charge, command, and government, happily fought, and conducted of him between Epheus, Samos, and Chios, the fleet of King Antiochus the second, thereupon the Kalends of February was vanquished, discomfited, broken, battered, and put to flight, thereupon the same day two and forty Gallies were taken, with all the mariners and servants within them. After which fight King Antiochus and his Realm, "... In consideration hereof vowed a Temple to the Sea-gods, assisting unto him in achieving the navall victory.] Another table likewise, with the very lame inscription, was set up and fastned over the gates of the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol. Within two daies after that the Censors had chosen a new Senat, *Q. Fulvius* the Cof, made an expedition against the *Ligurians*: and after he had passed with his army over wilds and mountains, where no tracks led them, through straits and passes of forrests, he fought a pitched battell with the enemies, and not only won the field, but also in one and the self-same day forced their camp. Whereupon three thousand and two hundred of the enemies, and all that quarter of *Liguria* yielded unto him. Then the Consul placed these that had surrendered, in the plains and champaign country, and planned garrisons upon the mountains. Letters hereof with great speed came to *Rome*: whereupon there were ordained processions for three daies. During which time of procession, the Pretors celebrated sacrifices, and killed forty greater beasts. But the other Consul *D. A. Manlius* did not exploit worth remembrance in *Liguria*. Three thousand Transalpine Frenchmen pulled over the *Alps* into *Italy*, in peaceable manner marching without any hostility or harm done, and requested of the Consul and the Senat a territory to inhabit, where they might remain quietly under the feignory of the Romans. But the Senat commanded them to avoid out of *Italy*: and gave the Consul *Q. Fulvius* in charge to make search and enquiry into this matter, yea, and to proceed against them who had been the captains and counsellors to periwade them to pass over the *Alps*.

This very year died *Philip* King of the Macedonians, worn away to nothing, partly, for age, and partly with grief of heart after the death of his son *Demetrius*. It befell that he kept his winter in *Demetrius*, tormented with anguish of mind for the loss and misis of his son, disquieted with remorse and repentance for his cruelty against him, which hung and pricked his guilty conscience. Besides, he saw his other son (who now was the undoubted heir apparent of the Crown, as well in his own opinion as in the conceit of others) how all men turned their eyes and courted to him: he considered withal, how his old age was despitied and forlorn; while some expected his death others did not so much as look for it; which was the greatest grief and trouble of all other. And together with him, there was *Antigonus* the son of *Echeateris*, bearing the name of his uncle *Antony* by the fathers side, who had been guardian to *Philip*. This *Antigonus* the elder had been a man of princely port and regal majesty; renowned also for a brave conflict and noble battell against the enemies of the Lacedaemonian. And him the Greeks for distinction sake from other KK. of that name, furnished *T. Tor* or his nephew or brothers son *I. Iay*. *Antigonus*, of all the honourable friends that *Philip* had, was the only man that continued fast and firm unto him without all corruption. But this his loyall fidelity and truth caused *Perseus* to be no friend of his, but rather the unworkmortal enemy that he had in the world. This said *Antigonus* forecalking in his spirit, in what dangerous terms he should stand, when the inheritance of the kingdom were devolved upon *Perseus* moaning his first time and opportunity: when he perceived that the Kings mind was troubled, and that now and then he fetched deep sighs for sorrow that his son was dead; one while would give ear only to the Kings words, otherwhiles also would find some talk and minister occasion to break in the self so rashly and unadvisedly committed. Oftentimes he followed and seconded him in his moans and complaints, and would be thought to lament with him for company. And (as *Trachetes* alwayes to give many signs and tokens of her self coming to light) he would encourage and help forward every small thing what he could, to the end that all might the sooner be disclosed and break forth. The chief ministers and instruments of this villanous fact, were *Apellus* and *Philotes*, who were the Embassadors sent to *Rome*, and had brought thither pernicious letters, under the name of *Fl. Minius*, which wrought the death of *Demetrius*. For commonly it was given out through all the Kings Court, that those were falsified letters, forged by his Secretary, and sealed with a counterfeit signet. But the thing being rather deeply suspected, than apparently detected, it chanced that *Antigonus* upon a time met with *Xyebus*, and laying hold upon him, arrested

* Guardian or Protector.

* This seemed to be the Secretary.

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arrested

arrested his body, and brought him into the Kings house; and when he had left him in the custody of certain persons he went himself directly to *Philip*. "It should seem to me, & if it please your grace (quoth he) by many words which I have observed, that you would perceive a great deal to know the whole truth as touching your two sons, and be relieved whether of them twain it was that laid wait to take away the life of the other. Now the only man of all those that can undo the knot and clear this doubt, is in your hands forth coming, and that is *Axybus*. Herewith he advised the King to call before him the said party, since that (as it fell out) he was already brought into the Court. Sent for he was and presented before the King; and being asked the question he denied every thing at the first; but with such inconsistency, as it appeared evidently, that upon some little fear of torture offered unto him, he would be ready to betray all for the very light of the tormentor and the scourges, he relented. Then he disclosed and shewed in order the whole proceeding and manner of this wicked practice and villany, how it was wrought as well as by the ambassadors as also by his own self their minister. Immediately there were some of purpose sent to apprehend the said ambassadors, And *Philotes* who was present in the way they surprised and took of a sudden for *Apelles* (who had been sent to pursue one *Chereas*) being advertised how that *Axybus* had bewrayed & told all, failed over into *Italy*. As concerning *Philotes*, there is no certainty known. Some report, that at the beginning he denied the matter stoutly; but after that *Axybus* was brought to his face and confronted him, he stood no longer in. Others say again, that being put to torture he endured the pains, and continued still in the denial. *Philip* sorrow and grief was by this means renewed and redoubled, reputing himself more unhappy in his sons, and his misery the greater, in that one of them was now dead and gone. *Perseus* being certified that all was discovered, took himself for a greater and mightier person, than to fear and think it needfull for him to flie upon it. And therefore he fought only to keep far enough out of the way, purposing to stand upon his guard all the while that his father lived, and avoid the burning fire (as it were) of his burning choler. *Philip* seeing that he could not possibly come by his person (so to execute justice, thought upon that which only remained to be done, and studied how *Perseus* besides impunity, should not be recompensed and rewarded also for that his wickedness. He called therefore *Antigonus* before him. unto whom he was bounden and beholden already, for bringing to light the unnatural murder committed upon *Demetrius* his son; and of whom he conceived this opinion, in regard of the fresh and late glory of his uncle. *Antigonus* that the Macedonians should have no cause to be ashamed or repent, if they had him for to be their King. And in this wise he brake with him: "Since my unhappy fortune is such (quoth he) O *Antigonus*, that I ought (contrary to all other fathers) to wish my self childless, I have a mind and purpose to make over unto you that kingdom, which I received at the hands of your uncle, whither he preterred and kept you, and augmented for my behoof during the time of my nourse, & wherein (whiles I was under his guardianship) he bare himself not only valiant, but also true and faithful unto me. No man I have but you, whom I can esteem worthy to wear the Crown; and if I knew of none at all, yet had I rather that both it and the Realm perished and were extinct, than ever that *Perseus* should enjoy it as the gerdon of his ungracious & devilish fact. I shall imagine yet that *Demetrius* is risen from death to life, I shall think that I have the fruition of him again if I leave you in this place, you, I say, the only man of all others that wept for the death of the poor innocent young man, and lamented for my unhappy error and unfortunate trespass. After this speech with *Antigonus*, he never ceased to entertain and grace him in the face of the world with all kind of honour that he could devise. For seeing that *Perseus* was in *Thrace*, *Philip* went in progress to every City of *Macedony*, and recommended *Antigonus* to all the Princes and States thereof. And without all doubt, if God had given him longer life but a little, he would have entailed him in full possession of the kingdom. Well, to return again unto *Demetrius*, where he wintered (as before is said) he departed from thence, and sojournd a long time in *Thessaly*. From thence after he was come to *Amphipolis*, he was surprised with a grievous malady. Howbeit, certain it was and very apparent that he was more sick in mind than body; and that ever and anon the remembrance and object, the apparition and ghost of his son, whom he called (innocent as he was) to be put to death, followed and haunted him so continually with care and grief, that he was out of all sleep, and could not lay his eyes together: yea, it drove him into raving, cursing, and execration of *Perseus* his other son; and so he ended his daies. But although *Philip* died somewhat with the soonest for *Antigonus*, yet he would have gone very near to have slept into his throne, if either the Kings death had immediately been divulged abroad, or that *Antigonus* had then been about the Court that he might have had intelligence thereof. For *Calpurnus* the Kings Physician, who had the cure of him, staid not untill the breath was fully out of the Kings body; but so soon as he perceived that his state was desperate, upon the first deadly signs that he observed, sent messengers post to *Perseus*, who were set of purpose in places convenient, according as it was compassed between them twain; so he concealed the Kings death from all them that were not of the household, until he was come. By which means *Perseus* surprised them all before they looked for him, or knew abroad that the King was departed; and thus he took the Crown upon him by policy, which he had purchased with mischief.

The death of *Philip* fell out very well to give some delay and respite, and to gather more forces for the waging of war: for the nation of the *Balkan* having been a long time solicited thereto, departed out of their own country, and with a great power as well of foot as horse, came on this

A side the river * *Ister*. Now there were arrived before to advertise the King hereof, *Antigonus* and *Cato*. This *Cato* was a nobleman among the *Balkanians*, And *Antigonus* was full against his will joyned in embassage & sent with *Cato* to raise the *Balkanians*. Howbeit, not far from *Amphipolis* they met with news (but very uncertain) of the Kings death: which occurrence troubled the whole court of their designs. For thus it was compassed, that *Philip* should give the *Balkanians* a safe passage through *Thrace* and find them victuals: to the effecting and performing whereof, he had entertained the peers and principall States of those quarters with presents, and allied them upon his fidelity, that the *Balkanians* should pass through their country peaceably without any harm-doing. Now his intent and full purpose was, to extinguish utterly the nation of the *Dardaniens*, and to plant the *Balkanians* in their country. Hereby he aimed at a twofold commodity: the one was this; that the *Dardaniens* (a people most malicious ever to the *Macedonians*, and who alwaies in time of troubles and adversities of the KK. took their vantage to annoy them) might be rooted out: the other, that the said *Balkanians* leaving their wives and children in *Dardania*, might be sent to wait and spoil *Italy*. Now were they to pass to the *Adriaticke* and so to *Italy* by the way of the *Scordicians* (for other way there was none to lead an army) and so forth would they thought he grant passage unto the *Balkanians*: for they differed not at all, either in language, or manners & fashions: and more than that, they were like enough to joyn with them in the expedition, seeing they went to the conquest and pillage of a most rich and wealthy nation. These designments were accommodated and fitted to what events forever should happen. For in case the *Balkanians* should happen to be defeated by the Romans and put all to the sword: yet this would be a comfort again; that the *Dardaniens* were confumed from the face of the earth, that he should meet with a booty of that which the *Balkanians* left behind them; and finally, bare the possession free and entire to himself of all *Dardania*. But in case their fortune were to have the upper hand, then whiles the Romans were averted from him and amused upon the war with the *Balkanians*, he should be able to recover whatsoever he had lost in *Greece*. These had been the designs projected by *K. Philip*. So they entred peaceably, and marched without hostility, under the word and promise of *Cato* & *Antigonus*. But shortly after that news came of the death of *Philip*: neither were the *Thracians* so tractable and easie to be dealt withall in commerce and traffick: nor the *Balkanians* could be content with that which they bought with their money, or be kept in order as they marched, but that they would break their ranks & turn out of the direct way. Hereupon they began to do wrong & injury on both sides one unto another, which encreasing daily more & more to outrages, kindled the fire of an open war. In the end, the *Thracians* were able to endure the violence & multitudes of these enemies, leaving their villages in the plains beneath, retired to an exceeding high mountain, called *Dymae*. To which place, when the *Balkanians* would have gone: behold notwithstanding they approached to the tops and ridge of the hills, they were surprised with a storm, much like to that wherewith the Gauls (as it is reported) perished at what time as they were a spoiling and pilling the Temple at *Delphi*. For they were not only drenched first with showers of rain pouring upon them, pelted afterwards with thick flocks of hailstones (struck with great cracks of thunder and blasted with gleams of lightning that dazzled their eye-sight; but also the lightning flashed fire upon them on every side, that it seemed they were charged and shot directly against their bodies: so as not only the common soldiers, but also the principall leaders and captains themselves were smitten down therewith and overthrowen. Whereupon when they were scattered & would have fled down the hill, from the exceeding steep rocks they tumbled down they knew not how with their heads forward. And albeit the *Thracians* pursued them thus scared and affrighted, yet they had nothing in their mouth, but that the gods forced them to run away, and that the sky fell upon them. Being thus dispirited with this tempestuous storm, and returned as it were out of a shipwreck into the camp from whence they set forth & most of them but half armed, they began to debate in council what to do. Hereupon arose some dissension among them: whiles part were of opinion to return back into their own country, and part advised to follow the way still and pierce forward into *Dardania*. About 30000 *Perseus* went through under the conduct of *Clodius*: the rest of the multitude returned the same way they came into the parts beyond * *Duminius*. *Perseus* being possessed of the kingdom, commanded *Antigonus* to be put to death: and whiles he was setting the States in order, and establishing himself in his own seat, he sent ambassadors to *Rome*, as well to renew the amity that his father had with the Romans, as also to request that he might be styled with the name of King by the Senate of *Rome*. And these were the affairs in *Macedony* that year.

* *Quadratus* the other Consul triumphed over the *Ligurians*; and known it was for certain, that this triumph was granted unto him more for favour, than for any great exploit of his that might deserve such honour. He carried in shew a mighty deal of the enemies arms: but little or none more all. Howbeit he dealt among his soldiers thirty Asses apiece: to every Centurie he gave twice as much, and to each Gentleman serving on horseback, the same threefold. There was nothing in this triumph more memorable and worthy the noting, than this, that as it fell out, he triumphed now the very same day that he had the year before upon his Pratorship. After his triumph, he published the general assembly for the election of Magistrates: whereto were created * *Coff. M. Annus Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Velle*. This done, when there had been three of the Prator elected a sudden tempest brake up and dissolved the assembly. The morrow after which was * four daies full before the Ides of *March*, the other three were chosen, namely, *Marcus Titinius* of *March*, *Curvius*, and *Antiquarius* of *March*.

Curios, Titus Claudius Nero, and T. Fonteius Capito. The Roman games were exhibited again the second time, by the two Adles of the Chair, *Cn. Servilius Capito*, and *Ap. Claudius Censor*, by occasion of certain prodigies that hapned: for there was an earthquake; and in the publick pavilions and tabernacles, where the sacred beds of the gods were solemnly spread, the heads of the gods which were laid in those beds, turned away of their own accord, and the wooll together with the other coverlets which were laid before *Jupiter* fell down. It was taken also for a prodigious wonder, that the mice and rats had gnawn and talted before of the olives upon the table, of *Jupiter*: for the satisfaction and expiation of which prodigies, nothing else was done, but the solemnizing of those games and plaies again, as is afore said.

The one and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the one and fortieth Book.

THe five in the Temple of Vesta went out. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus The Pro-Consul, overcame the Celtiberians, and received their submission, and for a memoriall of the worthy deeds by him achieved, he built a town in Spain called Gracchus. Posthumus Albinus the Pro-Consul, (whom the Poaceans and Lusitanians, and both of them triumphed, Antio. husshe son of King Antiochus, whom his father had given in host-age to the Romans, after the death of his brother Seleucus, who succeeded his father late deceased, was sent from Rome into the Realm of Syria. The Censors held a review, and numbering of the Citizens, and solemnly purged the City. There were enrolled in their books, of Roman Citizens 273244. Q. Voconius Saxa, a Tribune of the Commons, published a Law, That no man should make a woman to be his full heir, M. Cato was the man that perswaded and spoke for this Law, and his Oration is extant. Moreover, this book containeth the wars and exploits of many Captains against the Ligurians, Istrians, Sordanians, and Celtiberians; also the occasions and causes of the Macedonian war, which Pericles the son of Philip began: for he had sent an embassage to the Carthaginians, whereby gave audience unto in the night season. Other States also and Cities of Greece he followed. This Peloponnesus setting religion aside (for many stately and magnificent Temples he built in divers places, and namely, at Athens, at Jupiter Olympians; and at Antiochia, to Jup. Capitolinus) was otherwise a King of most boiste demourant and carrying.

The one and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

THe beginning of this book, and the greater part thereof immediately ensuing, is lost. *Imprimis*, As touching the disposition of the Provinces by lot, as well of Consuls as Prætors; and namely, how the government of Gaul fell to A. Manlius, and of Liguria to M. Junius; and how of the Provinces of M. Titinius was assigned to the latter Province of Spain, and T. Fonteius to the farther: Nero to Etruria, T. Eburus to Sardinia, Itepa, as concerning the first of Vesta, the exploits of T. G. acclius and L. Albinus in Bistia, and Portugal: the survey and taxing of the City of Rome divided by the Censors; the Law Voconia, as touching the inheritance of women, mentioned in Cicero in *S. Jugurthine de Civitate Dei*; and others: finally, of the sedition achieved by M. Junius about *Gracchus*. And thus it sheweth a prærupt and broken front as yet.

To have armed the same whil hein peace he had received of his father; and for that cause it is said. That he was passing well beloved of the youth and lusty gallants, who desired nothing more than to spoil and raie booties.

Now when the Consul was in deliberation with his counsellors, as touching war in *Istria*, some were of opinion, to proceed thereunto incontinently: before that the enemies could assemble their forces; others advised to consult first with the Senat: but their counsel importured, who were for speedy expedition. So the Consul dislodged from *Aquila*, and encamped near the Lake *Timavus*, which lieth hard by the sea. A thither came *Gaius Furius* (one of the navall Duumvirs) with ten ships: for two such Duumvirs or wardens had been choien, to make head against the Illyrian fleet: who with twenty ships in all, keeping the upper sea, were to guard the sea-coasts so, as they had *Ancora* (as it were) the middle center between: for L. Cornelius took the charge of all that lay on the right hand thereof as far as to *Tarentum*; and C. Furius of the left, unto *Aquila*. These ten vessels (1 say) were sent to the next port, against the marches of *Istria*, with other ships of burden fraught with store of victuals and provision. The Consul followed after with his legions, and pitched his camp five miles from the sea. And within a short time there was a good and frequent market kept in the port, from whence there was conveyed all manner of provision into the camp. And to the end that this might hold in more security, good guards were set about the camp

An on every side. Toward * *Istria* there was one standing frontier garrison, consisting of a cohort of * *Salavina*. Placentians, levied on a sudden, opposed and lodged between the sea and the camp. And to the end the same might serve for a guard to defend them that watered at the river, *M. Eburus* (a Colonel of the two legions) was commanded to adjoin two squadrons of fouldiers out of the second legion. T. and C. both *Alti*, (Colonels likewise) had led the third legion, by the way that goeth to *Aquila*, which should guard the forragers and jewellers. From which quarter about a mile distant was the camp of the French. And a certain petty King there was among them, one *Carmelus*; having the conduct of three thousand armed fouldiers, or somewhat more. So soon as the Romans were approached, the lake *Timavus* with their camp, the Illyrians set them down secretly in a close place behind a little hill; and from thence followed the Roman army as it marched, by crooks and crooked waies, eysing and lying for all advantages that might be presented: for intelligence they had of all that was done either at sea, or by land. And when they perceived upon a time the corps de guard before the campeable and weak, and that there was a great number of unarmed Merchants between the camp and the sea, without any defence at all either from land or water, they ran at once upon the forlaid guards, to wit, the Placentine cohort, and also the squadrons of the second legion. Now their enterprise at the beginning was covered and hidden by occasion of a morning mist, which at the first warmth of the sun brake and scattered away, and then began somewhat to appear through it: but the light was not yet clear and come to the full; by reason whereof everything (as commonly in such a case) shewed far bigger than it was. And thus at that time mightily deceived the Romans, causing the army of the enemies to seem the greater by many degrees. At which sight, the fouldiers of the one guard as well as the other being affrighted, fled into the camp with a great tumult and alarm, and there caused far more fear than they brought with them: for neither were they able to tell why they fled thus as they did, nor give a ready answer to those that asked them the question. Over and besides, a great noise they heard from the camp gates, as where there was no sufficient guard to sustain the first assault. Besides, their running thus in a throng together in the dark, while one tumbled upon another, made such a confusion, that they knew not whether the enemy was within the rampier or no. No other cry was heard but this: To sea, To sea. For by occasion that one fouldier at adventure began to cry that note, all the camp presently rung again therewith, from one end to the other. Whereupon at first, (as if they had been commanded to do so) to the sea they ran, some few armed but the most part without any armor or weapons: afterwards more, and consequently at last in manner all yea, and the Consul himself, seeing that he laboured in vain to reclaim them, backe fled, and could prevail neither by command nor authority, nor yet with prayers in the end: only M. Licinius Strabo (a Tribune or Colonel of the third legion, abandoned of his own legion) remained behind with three ensigns and no more. The Illyrians finding him alone (for no man else was seen in arms to make resistance) centred joyntly into the camp ran upon him (as he was embattailing his fouldiers and encouraging them in the quarter about the Prætor his lodging) surprised, and with numbers over-charged him. The skirmish and fight was more cruel, than for proportion of so few defendants; and not ended, before that the Tribune himself and those about him, were slain every man. The General his pavilion and all about it, was overthrowen: which

Even when the enemy had ransacked and rifled of all that was there, they went as far as the treasurers lodgings, the market place, and to the gate *Quintana*: where they found abundance of all things (as out ready for their hands, and within the treasurers pavilion the tables spread and covered with good viands and meat upon them. Then their chief Lord & Leader (the petty King afore said) made no more ado but fate him down, fell to his victuals and made good cheer; and anon all the rest following his example, did so likewise, and never once thought of arms, or of enemies; and lieto those who were not wont to fare so well and feed liberally, they greedily overcharged their bellies with wine and viands: but the Romans all the while stood in far other terms: They trembled, they went hastily to their business both on land and sea. Down went the shipmen and sailors with their tiits and booties; and look what provision of victuals or other things were left forth to sale upon the strand and shore, they harried and hurried a shipboard: the fouldiers all affrighted ran amain to the sea-side, for to be embarked. The mariners fearing lest their vessels should be overcharged, some put back the prels and withstood them for coming in, others shore off from the wharfs, and lanchd into the deep. Hereupon began a braul and broil, and from that they fell together by the ears, fouldiers and mariners, one with another: some were away with knocks and wounds, and others left their lives behind them; untill at length, by the Consul his commandment the fleet was retired far from the land. Which done, he began to set the armed and unarmed apart. And hardly were there (of so great a multitude) twelve hundreded found with armor about them, and very few horsemen that had brought their horses with them. All the rest were a confused and disordered company, resembling the rascall sort of camp-followers, as victuallers, launders, scullions, and lackies: who had been a ready booty to have preyed upon in case the enemies could have thought upon any fears of arms. Then at last came a messenger to recall the third legion and to surprise the guard of the Gauls: and with that, from all parts they began to return again toward their own camp, for to recover it, and wipe away and blot out the shameful stain and dishonour which they had received. The Colonels of the third legion commanded the fouldiers to throw down upon the ground their forrage and fewell, they charged the Centurions to set the elder and unwieldy fouldiers two and two upon the horses and labouring.

* By that gate was the market served, and it led directly to it.

labouring beasts which they had discharged of their load; and willed the horsemen to raise up behind them every one a young lusty footman; shewing what an honour it would be to the third legion, for to regain by their valour the camp, which had been lost by the cowardice and fear of those in the second: and easily (say they) may it be won again, if the Barbarians, while they are encumbered with the pillage, might be surprised at unawares, and be taken themselves like as they overtook others before. This exhortation was received with great alacrity and contentment of the soldiers. Aloft were the ensigns born and advanced apace, neither staid the port-ensigns one whit for the soldiers. Howbeit the Coh, and those companies which were brought from the sea, came first to the rampier. *L. Arua* a principall Centurion of the second legion, not only encouraged the soldiers, but made remonstrance unto them, That if the Ilians their victories, had ever meant to guard and keep the camp with the same force of arms by which they had won it, they would at the first have pursued the enemies to the sea, so soon as they had turned them out of their tents: and afterwards have set a good *corps de guard*, at leastwise before the rampier and the avenues thereof: but like enough it is (saith he) that with guzzling wine they were dead asleepe like beasts. And herewith he commanded *As Baculus* his own ensign-bearer, a man of approved valour and singular prowess, to advance his banner forward. *Mary*, that I shall (quoth he) kill soon, if you will follow me alone that the thing may be done more quickly. With that he forced his whole strength, and having flung the ensign over the trench into the camp, he was the first himself that entered at the campgate. On another part likewise *T.* and *C.* both *Alti*, and Colonels of the third legion, were come with their Cavalry: then presently followed those also whom they had horled two by two upon the labouring jades and wagons of carriage, and after them the Coh, with his whole army. But of the Ilians few were there (such as were not stark drunk) whose wits and memory served them to run away: the rest were dead asleepe indeed, and never awoke again. So the Romans recovered all their goods, save only the wine and victuals which was devoured and consumed. The Roman soldiers who were crazy and sick and had been knit in the camp, after they perceived their own fellows within the rampier, found their hands again caught up weapons, and made a great slaughter and execution. But above all others *C. Popilius*, furnished *Sabellus* a Gentleman and Cavalier of *Rome*, bare himself most bravely that day, who being left in the camp (because he was hurt and maimed in one of his feet) slew the greatest number of the enemies by far. Eight thousand Ilians fell upon the edge of the sword, and not one taken prisoner alive: for the choleric and despicable indignation of the soldiers was such, as they had no mind at all of prizes and booties. Howbeit, the Coh, of the Ilians, drunk as he was had no good fortune as to be taken from the very boord where he sat, and hastily mounted on horseback by his men, and so fled a way and escaped. Of the winners there perished in all two hundred thirty seven soldiers: and of them, more died in their morning flight than in the recovery of their camp. Now it chanced so, that *C.* and *L.* both named *Gaulus*, new Colonels and inhabitants of *Agintia*, as they came with victuals, had like to have tumbled ignorantly upon the camp, when it was taken & possessed by the Ilians. They being retired back in great haste to *Aquileia*, leaving their carriage behind them, let all on a fright & uproar not only at *Aquileia*, but also at *Rome* within few daies after: for thither was the rumour run, That not only the camp was forced by the enemies, and (which was true indeed) the Romans put to flight, but that all was lost, and thereby utterly defeated. Whereupon, as the manner was in all sudden tumults and alarms, writs went forth for musters and levies of soldiers extraordinarily, not in the City only but also throughout all *Italy*. Two legions of Roman Citizens were enrolled, and the Latine allies were commanded to let out 10000 foot with 300 horse. *M. Junius* the Coh, had commandment to pass over into *Greece*, and to levy of the Cities and States of that Province, as many as they were able to make and furnish. It was ordained withall, that *T. Claudius* the Prætor should make proclamation, that the soldiers of the fourth legion, and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, should meet together at *Pise*, and that in the absence of the Coh, he should defend that Province: also that *M. Titinius* the Prætor should appoint the *Rendezvous* at *Ariminum*: that the first legion and the like number of allies, as well foot as horse, should there assemble. Then *Nepos* took his journey, clad in his rich coat of arms, toward *Pise* his Province. And *Titinius* having to *Ariminum* *Cassius* a Colonel, to take the conduct of the legion there, took musters at *Rome*. *M. Junius* the Coh, passed out of *Liguria* into *Gaul*, and arrived at *Aquileia*, having levied aid-soldiers as he went of all the Cities of *Gaul* and the Colonies, to be in readinesse out of hand. There he was certified that the army was safe and found: whereupon he dispatched his letters to *Rome* to advertise them that they should not trouble themselves any more in this false alarm, and himself after he had discharged the Gauls of those aids which he had imposed upon them, went to his companion in government. Great was the joy at *Rome*, coming thus as it did unlooked for. The musters were laid aside, the soldiers discharged who were enrolled and had taken their military oath, and the army visited with the plague at *Ariminum* was dismissed and sent home. The Ilians albeit they were encamped with a great strength of armed men, not far from the Coh, his camp after they heard once that the Consul was come with a new army, disbanded and slipped every man away on all sides to their several Cities, and the Consuls retired with their legions to *Aquileia* there to winter.

When their troubles of *Isfria* were thus at length appeased, there went forth an act of the Senate, That the Coh, should agree between themselves, whether of them twain was to return to *Rome*

for

As for to hold the assembly for election of Magistrates, As what time as *A. Licinius Nervus*, and *C. Papirius Turdus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, in all their Orations to the people, inveighed bitterly against *M. Manlius* in his absence, and promulged a Law to this effect, That after the Ides of *March* (for the Coh, had their governments already prolonged for one whole year) he should continue no longer in place, so the end that so soon as he was out of his office, he might presently be called to his answer judicially. *Quintus Albius*, one of their Collegues, withold this bill by them propoied, and after much debate and contention prevailed so much, that it passed not.

About the same time *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Posthumius Albinus*, being returned out of *Spain* to *Rome*, had audience given them by the Prætor *M. Titinius* in the Temple of *Bellona*, that to discourse of the acts by them achieved, to demand their deserved honours, to the end that praise and thanksgiving also should be rendered to the immortal gods. Moreover, at the very same time intelligence was given by letters from *T. Eburnus* the Prætor, which his son brought and showed to the Senat, of great troubles in *Sardinia*: Namely, that the Ilians, joining unto them the strength of the *Batari*, had invaded the province (standing in peaceable terms: neither was he able to make head against them with so feeble an army as he had); the same wasted and consumed much with the pestilence. The same news related the Embassadors likewise of the Sardinians, making humble suit to the Senat, to relieve and succour their Cities at leastwise, for that their villages and country towns were already past help. This embassage, with all other matters concerning *Sardinia*, was put over to the new Magistrates: as pitiful an embassage also was presented unto them from the Lycians, who complained grievously of the Rhodians, unto whom they had been annexed and made subjects by *L. Cornelius Scipio*: Indeed, (say they) we lived sometime under the feignory of *K. Antiochus*, but that servitude of ours under the *K.*, compared to this present state and condition wherein we now are, seemeth unto us an excellent liberty: for not only are we now yoked and kept under public authority in generally, by taxes, levies, and impositions, but every one in particular endureth meer bondage and slavery. Our selves are abused, yea, and our wives and children suffer villanies before our eyes: upon our bodies, our backs and sides they work upon and discharge their humour of cruelty: in our good name (an indignity unreportable) we are detained, depraved, and defamed: yea openly in the face of the world, they cease not to commit outrages against us, even to usurp and extend their authority over us, and to try matters upon us with extremity: to the end that we Lycians might be put of all doubt, that there is no difference between us and slaves bought and sold for silver in open market. The Senat moved with these remonstrances by the Lycians, addressed their letters to the Rhodians to this effect, that it was no part of their meaning and intent, that the Lycians should be slaves to the Rhodians: or that any other born free, should be enthralled by any person: but their will was, that the Lycians should in such terms live under the government and protection of the Rhodians, that both States, the one as well as the other, might range and frame themselves like good associates under the Dominion and Empire of *Rome*.

After this followed two triumphs over *Spain*, one immediately upon another: first, *Sempronius Gracchus* over the Celtiberians: and the morrow after, *P. Posthumius Albinus* [over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards of those parts. *Tib. Gracchus* carried in the new 4000 pound weight of silver: and *Albinus* twenty thousand. Both of them divided amongst their soldiers twenty five Denarii apiece, to each Centurion the same double, and trebble to every horseman. Thus did they satisfy allies as well as by Romans.

It turned about that time, that *M. Junius* the Consul, came out of *Isfria* to *Rome*, by occasion of the election which was to be holden: and when the two Tribunes of the Commons, *Papirius* and *Licinius*, had in the presence of the Senat baited and wearied him with interrogatories, as touching the affairs passed in *Isfria*, they brought him forth also before the body of the people. To which questions, after that the Consul had answered, how he had not been above 21 daies in the Province: and as for the things that hapned in his absence, he knew no otherwise than they did, only by the common bruit and report: then they went on urging him still, and asking how it came to pass, that *A. Manlius* rather came not to *Rome*, to give account unto the State, why he passed out of *Gaul* (which was his allotted Province) into *Isfria*? and to shew, when it was that either the Senat decreed, or the people of *Rome* granted by their voices to interfere in the war? But haply it may be said (quod he) that albeit the war was undertaken only upon his own head alone: yet no doubt, executed it was right worthily with policy and valour. Nay, I wis, but for counterwailies and hard it is to say, whether it were begun more lawfully than managed inconsequently. Two entire *corps de guards* were on a sudden at unawares surprized by the Ilians: the Roman camp was forced & taken with all the strength of horse and foot that was therein: the Coh scattered with our arms, and the Coh, himself was the foremost man that ran away to the sea (beside the ships: and surely he should render an account of all these matters, when he is a private person again since that he should not do to being Coh. This storm past the general assembly for the Magistrates election was holden: wherein were created *Coff. C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. The next day following were the Prætors chosen: to wit, *P. Albius Tullus* the second time, *C. Quintus Iunius*, *C. Nummius C. Mummius*, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Valerius Levis*. The civil jurisdiction of the City fell to *Tullus*, the sortain to *Quintus*. The government of *Sicily* was allotted to *Nummius*: of *Sardinia* to *Mummius*. Howbeit, this Province by reason of the great war therein became the charge of the Coh, And by lot it fell to *Gracchus*: but

but *Istria* to *Claudius* his Collegue, *Gaul* was divided into two Provinces; whereof *Scipio* by lot obtained one, and *Levinus* the other.

Upon the Ides of *March*, on which day *Sempronius* and *Claudius* entered their Consulship, moved it was only in the Senat, as touching *Sardinia* and *Istria*, and the enemies to both those Provinces, who there had levied war. But the morrow after, the Embassadors of the Sardinians being referred over to the new Magistrates, and *L. Manlius Thermanus* who had been Lieutenant to the Consul *Manlius* in *Istria*, entered into the Senat-house. By them the Senat was informed how dangerous the wars were in those Provinces. Moved likewise were the Senators by the embassies of the Latine allies, who in the end were admitted into the Senat, after they had importuned the Censors and Consuls of the former year: the sum of their complaint was this, That their own Citizens being once enrolled at *Rome*, were most of them departed and removed thither to dwell: which if it might be suffered, within few reviews and cessings it would come to pass, that their Cities should be despoiled and desolat, their villages and fields desart and waste, and able to set out no fouldiers for the wars. Semblably the Samnites and Pelignians complained, that four thousand households were gone from them, and retired to *Fregelle*; and yet neither the one nation or the other, were set at a less proportion of fouldiers in all their levies. Two cautious means and devices there were brought up, whereby men changed thus their Cities at pleasure. The Law granted this indulgence to the allies of the Latine nation, as many as left issue of their race behind them in their house, that they should be reputed Citizens of *Rome*. By abusing this Law, much did injury to their allies, other wronged the people of *Rome*: for both they that were to leave such issue at home, gave their children as it were, in villenage to some Roman Citizen or other whom they liked of; with condition to manumit and make them free, that they might be Tribes or enfranchised Citizens, and they also who wanted issue to leave behind them, were held as Citizens of *Rome*. But in process of time without any of these colourable pretences of right, without regard of law and respect of issue, they crept in and had the benefit of the Bourgeoisie and freedom of *Rome*, by their transmigration thither to inhabit, by enrolment in the reviews. To meet with these practices, the embassadors craved a remedy for the time to come: as also that they would peremptorily command all their allies to repair again to their own Cities: with an expresse inhibition, that no man should receive any other to be his vassal and villain, and to tolerate him, with intention by that means to change the City wherein he lived: and that who so ever became Citizens of *Rome* after that manner, should not be counted for a Citizen. These petitions were granted by the Senat. Then were decrees passed for those provinces of *Istria* and *Sardinia* which were in arms, to wit, for the enrolling of two legions into *Sardinia*, having either of them five thousand and two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, besides twelve thousand footmen, and 600 horsemen of the Latine allies; and ten quinquiremes or gallees, with five banks of oars, in case the Generall would warp them out of the arsenal. The like numbers well of the Infantry as Cavalry, was assigned for *Istria*. The Consuls also were enjoined to send to *M. Titinius* in *Spain*, one legion with three hundred horse, besides 5000 footmen of allies, and 200 horsemen.

Before that the Consuls cast lots for their Provinces, certain prodigies were reported. Namely, that in the territory of *Cruentum*, there fell from heaven a stone in the lake of *Alas*: That in the territory of *Rome* there was an infant born like a very stump, without head, feet, or hands: and a snake or serpent seen four-footed. That in the market-place of *Capua*, many houses were smitten with thunderbolts and lightning. Also at *Puteoli* two ships were set on fire by lightning, and burnt. Whiles these prodigious wonders were by others related, there was seen a wolf also in the day time at *Rome*, which having entered at the gate *Collina*, after much coursing and hunting, with much ado and noise of them that followed the chace, escaped away from them all, and passed through the *Esquiline* gate. In regard of these strange tokens, the Coss. killed greater beasts for sacrifice: and for one whole day, a solemn supplication and prayers were made at all the shrines and altars of the gods. These sacrifices done and past, accordingly as it appeared, the Coss. cast lots for their provinces: and to *Claudius*, befall *Istria*, to *Sempronius*, *Sardinia*.

After this, *C. Claudius* published a Law by virtue of an ordinance of the Senat, in favour of allies; and proclaimed, That those allies, and namely, of the Latine nation, who either themselves or their ancestors, had been enrolled among the Latine allies, during the Censorship of *Manius Claudius*, and *Titus Quintus*, or any time afterwards, should make return every man into his own City, before the first day of *November* next ensuing. And *Lucius Mummius* the Praetor had in commission to enquire and search for those that returned not accordingly. To this Law and Edict above said of the Consul, an act also of the Senat was adjoynd, That the Dictator, Consul, Interregent, Censor, and Lord chief Justice in the Common Pleas for the time being, should endeavour and take order, that who so ever were manumit and made free, should take an oath, That he who manumit or enfranchised him, did it not with an intent, for to change the City wherein he was: and look who would not thus swear, him they thought not worthy to be manumit. But his charge and jurisdiction was afterwards committed to *C. Claudius* the Consul.

Whiles these affairs passed at *Rome*, *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius*, who had been Consuls the year before, having wintered in *Aguileia*, in the beginning of the Spring entered with an army into the frontiers of *Istria*. Where as they made waste and spoil far and near as they went, the

A. Ilians entered into a commotion and took arms, rather upon grief of heart and indignation to see their goods thus pillaged and ransacked, than for any assured hope they had of their insufficiency to make head against two armies. Having therefore raised a concourse of their able youth from all their Cities and States, they assembled in haste a sudden and tumultuary army, which at the first gave battell, and fought more in heat of courage, than with persistance of resolution. In conflict there were slain of them to the number of four thousand: the rest abandoned all war, and fled here and there into their Cities. From thence they sent embassadors first into the Roman camp to crave peace, and then the hostages which were demanded. After intelligence given at *Rome* of these news by the letters of the Pro-Consuls, *C. Claudius* the Consul fearing lest this occurrence might put him by the government of his Province and the conduct of the army, without solemn prayers and vows made, without his Lictors clad in their coats of arms, departed suddenly in great haste (all of the head) by night towards his Province, and made no man privy thereto, but only his Collegue. His voyage thither was not so rash and inconsiderate, but his carriage there was more foolish and undiscern: for being thither come, he assembled a general audience; where after he had very unseasonably reproached *Manlius* for his running away out of the camp, (to the great discontentment of the fouldiers, who were the first that fled): and with approbrious terms shaken up *M. Junius* also for taking part in this dishonour with his companion: in the end he commanded them both to avoid out of the Province. Whereupon the fouldiers made answer again and said, That they would then obey the Consuls commandment when (according to the ancient custom of their fore-fathers) he had made his solemn vows within the Capitol, and then taken his leave and departed out of the City, accompanied with his Lictors in their rich coats of arms, warlike. Hereat he was so far enraged with anger, that he called upon the treasures deputy belonging to *Manlius* for chains and gyves, and menaced to send *Junius* and *Manlius* both bound to *Rome*. But the deputy likewise made as little reckoning of the Consuls commandment: and the more animated he was to disobey the Consul, by reason that he was backed by the whole host round about him; who as they supported the cause of their Captains and Leaders, they hated the Consul at the heart. In conclusion, the Consul being laden and wearied with the contentious and railing behaviour of every one in particular, and with the hums and raves of the multitude in general (for they flunk not over and besides to mock him and make a laughing stock of him) he went his waies again to *Aguileia*, in the same ship wherein he came. D From thence he wrote unto his Collegue by an Edict, to charge those new fouldiers who were enrolled for *Istria*, to meet at *Aguileia*: to the end that no business should keep him at *Rome*, but that with all speed he might depart from the City in his coat of arms, and after he had conceived and pronounced his vows accordingly. His companion in office was well content, and did all these things requisite full willingly: and a short day was assigned for the assembling of the fouldiers at the *Rediculus* above named. But *Claudius* was at *Rome* well-near as soon as his letters; where, as his first coming, he made an Oration in the public audience of the people as touching the demeritor of *Manlius* and *Junius*: and having staid no longer than three daies at *Rome*, he set out with his Lictors formally in their coat-armour, when he had made his vows solemnly in the Capitol, and so departed into his Province again with as much celerity and haste (if not more) as he came into thence.

Some few daies before, *Junius* and *Manlius* began to assault by all forcible means the town *Nesimium*, into which the principal persons of the Ilians, and *Aspulo* their King, were retired. *Claudius*, with his two new legions, precluded himself before the town: and after he had discharged the old armies and their commanders, laid siege unto it, and intended to force it with maniles and engines of battery. The onse also of the river which ran along beside the walls, and not only encompassed the assailants but yielded water unto the besieged, he diverted into another new channell and bestowed many daies work thereabout. This mightily affrighted the barbarous people, to see how they were cut off from water. Howbeit they never thought of peace for all this, but fell in hand to kill their wives and children: and when they had so done (because they would prevent the view of their enemies, so horrible a sight and fearful spectacle) they massacred them upon the walls openly in their fight, and then threw them headlong down. Whiles the silly women and poor infants (amidst their piteous and lamentable cries) were thus cruelly murdered, the Roman fouldiers mounted over their walls and entered into the City. Their King when he once perceived (by the fearful outcries of those who fled) that the town was lost: for fear he should be taken alive, stabbed himself with his dagger to the heart. All the rest were either taken prisoners or killed. After this two other towns, *Mutila* and *Enneria*, were won by assault and rased. The pillage was greater than a man would have looked for in so poor a nation: which was bestowed every whit upon the fouldiers. Five thousand six hundred and two and thirty persons were sold out-right in port-sale under the sun. The Captains of this war were first scourged with rods and then hanged. Thus *Istria* by the ruin of three towns and the death of their King, was appeased: and all the Cities and States thereof from every quarter, came in with their hostages, made submission, and did fealty and homage to the Romans.

The Ilians war was no sooner ended but the Ligurians began to complot for to take arms and enter into rebellion. *T. Claudius* the Pro-Coss. (who the former year had been Praetor) was governor and commander at that time of *Pise* with a garrison of one legion. The Senat being advertised thereof by his letters, thought good to send the very same letters to *C. Claudius* (for the other Consul

Consul was already passed over into *Sardinia*: and withall, a decree was granted out of this effect, That considering he had performed his commission in *Africa*, so as there remained no more for him to do there, he should (if he thought it good) transport his army into *Liguria*. Moreover, upon the Consul his letters, wherein he wrote what exploits he had achieved in *Africa*, there was ordained a solemn procession for two daies together. Semblably, the other Consul *T. Sempronius*, managed his affairs as happily in *Sardinia*: he entered with an army into the country of the Sardinian Ilans. Great aids were come from the Balarans to relieve and succour those Ilans: with both these nations he fought a battell in pitched field. The enemies were discomfited and put to flight, turned out of their camp, and 12000 armed men slain. The morrow after, the Consul commanded all their armor and weapons to be gathered together and laid on an heap: and this he burned as a sacrifice to the honour of *Vulcan*. Which done, he retired with his victorious army into the allied Cities, there to pass the winter.

C. Claudius likewise, upon receipt of the letters of *T. Claudius*, and the commission directed from the Senat, marched with his legions out of *Africa* into *Liguria*: where, the enemies were come down into the plains, and lay encamped near the river *Scutenna*. In which place there was a battell fought: 15000 of them were put to the sword, and not so few as 7000 taken prisoners, either in the conflict, or within the Camp: for that also was forced and won: besides, 51 ensigns they lost. The Ligurians, as many as escaped the execution, fled on all sides to the mountains for refuge: and notwithstanding that the Consul spoiled and wasted their champaign country, there was not one man made shew of arms. Thus *Claudius* having in one year vanquished and subdued two nations, and in one Consulship (a rare felicity in any other man) reduced other two Provinces into quietness and peace, returned to *Rome*.

Certain prodigious and monstrous sights were that year reported, to wit, in the territory of *Craffnum*, a certain foul, called *Sangualis*, with her bill pierced into a sacred stone. In *Campan* a Beel spake: at *Syracusa* a bull that strayed out of the fields from the herd, leapt the brazen cow there in the City, and did his kind. In the territory of *Craffnum*, there was a supplication and procession holden one day long in the very place of the foresaid prodigious sign. In *Campan*, the beef or cow store laid, was put out to be kept and fed at the charges of the City. Last of all, the prodigy of *Syracusa*, was expiated by a purgatory sacrifice, by direction from the soothsayers to what gods, applications & sacrifice should be made. That year died *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Bishop, who had been Consul and Censor. In his stead *M. Marcellus* his son was consecrated Bishop. Likewise in the same year, there was a Colony of 3000 Citizens of *Rome* planted at *Luca*. The Triumvirs or the Commissioners who had the conduct and placing of them, were *P. Atilius*, *L. Egilius*, and *Cn. Sestius*: one and fifty acres of land and an half was let out for them apiece to occupy out of the territory late conquered from the Ligurians, and which had been sometime the possession of the Tuscans before it was holden by the Ligurians.

Then came the Consul *C. Claudius* to the City of *Rome*, where after he had discoursed before the Senat, as touching the prosperous execution of his affairs, as well in *Africa* as *Liguria*: & thereupon demanded a triumph, he soon obtained that honour: and during his Magistracy triumphed at once over those two nations. In which solemnity of his triumph, he carried in shew 307000 Deniers and 85702 Victoriats. He gave to every common [Roman] souldier fifteen Denarii apiece, a double proportion to the Centurions, and thrice as much to every horseman. But upon the allies he bestowed less by the one moiety than to natural Citizens: and therefore as they followed his chariots, they were silent and said never a word: a man that had seen them would have said they were malecontent.

During the time of this triumph, the Ligurians perceiving that not only the Consul his army was brought home to *Rome*, but the legions also at *Pisa* discharged by *T. Claudius*: thinking now all fear past and overblown, secretly leaved a power: and having passed over the crofs frontiers, by traversing the wies through the mountains, descended into the downs, and waited the demise of *Modena*: and by sudden assault surprised the very Colony. The news hereof was no sooner arrived at *Rome*, but the Senat commanded *C. Claudius* the Consul to hold the high Court for the solemn election, with all convenient speed: that so soon as new annual Magistrates were created, he might return into his Province, and perforce recover this Colony out of their hands. So according to the advice and ordinance of the Senat the said assembly was holden: wherein were elected Consul *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*, and *Q. Petilius Spathinus*. Then were the Prætors afterwards chosen, to wit, *M. Popilius Lenax*, *P. Licinius Craffus*, *M. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Papius M. so M. Alburnius*, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*. The Consul *C. Claudius* had his Patent leaved again for one year longer, to continue in command of the army, and government of the Province *Gallia*. And for fear lest the Ilurians likewise should follow the example of the Ligurians, he had commission to lend those allies of the Latine nation, whom he had brought out of his Province for to solemnize his triumph.

Upon that very day, on which the Consuls, *Cneus Cornelius* and *Quintus Petilius* entered their Magistracy, and sacrificed each of them an ox as the manner was, in the honour of *Jupiter*: in that beast which *Q. Petilius* caused to be slain, the liver was found headless. When he had reported this accident unto the Senat, he was enjoined to sacrifice another beef, for to appeale the wrath of the gods. Moved then it was in the Senat house as concerning the Provinces, and a decree passed, that both Consuls should be sent to *Pisa*, and against the Ligurians: but order was given, that

that whether of them had the charge of *Pisa* allotted unto him, he should (when the time came) repair to *Rome* against the election of yearly Magistrates. Moreover, there was another branch of this decree: that either of them should enroll two new legions, and three hundred horsemen and levy of the Latine allies ten thousand four apiece, and six hundred horse. And *T. Claudius* continued still in full command, untill such time as the Consul was arrived in his Province. Whiles these matters were thus debated and passed in the Council House, *Cn. Cornelius* was called forth by a bailiff or usher. And within a while after he was gone out of the Temple, he returned thither again with an heavy and dismaied countenance, and declared unto the L.L. of the Senat, that the liver of that ox which he also had killed for sacrifice, a beast of six years old and well liking, was consumed and come to nothing: and when he hardly beleived the Minister attending upon the sacrifice, who told him hereof, that himself caused the water to be poured forth of the pot where in the tripes and inwards were sodden, where he saw the rest of the tripes and entrails full and whole, but all the liver wasted away, after a wonderful and miraculous manner, not to be spoken. The L.L. were much terrified and amazed at this prodigious object: and the more perplexed were they, for that the other Consul likewise related unto them, how in regard that in his sacrifice the liver wanted an head, he had killed three oxen more, one after another and yet could not procure the favour and grace of the gods. Hereupon the Senat commanded him still to sacrifice these greater beasts, untill such time as he had his desire, and the gods were pleased again. Now it is said, that all the other gods were well enough contented, and their ire mitigated and appeased; only the goddess *Saturnus* could not be reconciled unto for all that ever he might do. Then the Consul, and Prætors committed the disposition of their Provinces to the arbitrement of the lot. *Pisa* fell to *Cornelius*, and *Liguria* to *Petilius*. As for the Prætors, *L. Papius M. so* was Lord chief justice by lot appointed, within the City of all Citizens pleas, and *M. Alburnius* had the jurisdiction over strangers. *M. Cornelius Scipio M. Ligenius* had the charge to govern the lower Spain, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*, Sicily. The two Prætors behind, requested earnestly that they might not be sent into their Provinces, and namely, *M. Popilius* into *Sardinia*: alleging, that *Gracchus* was able to quiet that island; and the rather, for that *T. Eburnius* the Prætor was by the Senat adjoined to him for assistance: neither was it good to interrupt courses begun, the continuity whereof is the most effectual means to exploit any great important affairs. For what with delivering up the sword by the old L. Deputy, and receiving it by the new successor (whom it were no more meet first to be trained up in knowledge of the State, than to be put to the managing of State matters) oftentimes the good opportunities of achieving brave enterprises pass by and are lost. This excuse of *Popilius* was held for good, and so approved. Then comes *P. Licinius Craffus*, and before his part made allegations why he might not go into his Province: namely, by occasion of the solemn sacrifice, that he was to give his attendance upon. Now the higher part of Spain was allotted unto him. But commanded was he either to go into his Province, or else to take oath in a frequent and full assembly of the people, that the solemn sacrifice (as he pretended) was nothing that hindered him, and nothing else. This order being first done and thus passed in the behalf of *P. Licinius*: then steps me up *M. Cornelius*, and required them to take an oath of him likewise, that he might not go into the nether Province of Spain: So both these Prætors were commanded according to one and the same form of oath. Whereupon *M. Titinius* and *T. Fonteius* were commanded to remain in quality and place of Pro. Consuls within Spain, and retain still the same authority and power of command: and order was granted, that for to supply their forces, there should be sent unto them three thousand Citizens of *Rome* with two hundred horse, and also five thousand Latine allies, and three hundred horsemen.

The solemnity of the Latine holidays began the 3rd day before the Nones of May: where, in, because at the sacrificing of one beast the Magistrate of *Lanuvium* in his prayer left out these words: *Populi Romani Quiritum*: and prayed not for the good estate of the people of *Rome*, and the Quiritis bred a scruple. The matter was moved in the Senat, and the Senat referred it over to the Colledge of the Bishops and Prelats of the Church. And they pronounced this award, That forasmuch as those Latine feasts were not solemnized as they ought, they should begin again anew: and that the Citizens of *Lanuvium*, by whose default they were thus to be renewed should be at the charges of all the beasts for sacrifice. Moreover, to breed more careful scrupulosity in mens minds, it fortune that *Cneus Cornelius* the Consul as he returned from that solemnity out of the Alban mountain fell down in a fit of Apoplexy: which turned into an *Hemiplegia* or dead palse all the one side of his body, and so he was conveyed to the bath and hot waters at *Cumes*: where by occasion that his disease grew upon him still, he departed this life: from whence he was brought to *Rome*, and there carried forth in all magnificence of funeral obsequies, and right honourably interred. He had been Bishop also as well as Consul. *Q. Petilius* the other Consul, being commanded to hold an assembly for the surrogation of a Colledge unto him, (so soon as possible) he might be warranted by the auspices and approbation of the sacred birds: and withall, to proclaim and publish the Latine feasts and holidays aforesaid: summoned the election against the 3rd day before the Nones of *Sextilis*: and the Latine solemnity, the third day likewise before the Ides of the same month.

Whiles mens minds were much possessed already with religion, and set upon their devotion, word was brought moreover of certain fearful prodigies: to wit, that at *Tusculum* there was a burning flame in the sky: that at *Gabers*, the Temple of *Apollo*, and many private mens

* *Plinius*,
the same that
Quintus,
i.e. half *Dona-*
mus. It had the
image of *Pi-*
des y flanked
upon it.

* *Halitus*.

* 5th of May.

* 3rd of August.
11 of August.

houses: likewise at *Graviscæ* the town wall and one of the gates were smitten with thunderbolts. For the procurator whereof, the LL. of the Senat ordained that the Bishops should give order according to their discretion.

Whiles the Consuls were thus staid, first both by their own scrupulous holiness, then one of them by the death of the other; and afterwards by occasion of the new election and the renewing of the Latine festival solemnity: *C. Claudius* in the mean time approached with his army to *Modena*, which the Ligurians the year before had won. He had not continued the siege full three daies, but he forced the Colony: and having thus recovered it from the enemies, he returned it again to the former inhabitants. Eight thousand Ligurians died there within the walls upon the sword: and immediately he dispatched his letters to *Rome*, wherein he not only declared the simple news, but glorified him and made his boast. That through his fortitude and fortune, both the Romans had not an enemy that durst then his head on this side the *Alps*; and that he had conquered so much land as might serve for to be divided by the poll, among many thousands. *Tib. Sempronius* likewise at the same time, fought many fortunate battles in *Sardinia*, and utterly ramed and subdued the Islanders: 15000 enemies he there slew: all the States of that nation which had revolted, were reduced to obedience under the people of *Rome*: the old tributaries had an imposition and exaction laid upon them of a double tribute, which they surely paid: the rest were put to a contribution of corn. After he had set the Province in quietness, and received out of the whole Island two hundred and thirty hostages, he sent certain Lieutenants as messengers to make report at *Rome* of all his proceedings: who also in his behalf should make suit unto the Senat. That in regard of the happy success in those exploits under the charge, conduct, and fortune of *Tib. Sempronius*, first, due honour, praise, and thanksgiving might be rendered to the immortal gods; and then, that himself might be allowed at his departure out of the Province, to bring away his army with him. The Senat gave audience to the messengers above said within the Temple of *Apollo*: and upon their relation ordained a general profection for two daies: commanding the Consuls to sacrifice 40 head of greater beasts: and withall, enjoyed *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Consul to continue that year with his army in that Province. Then the election which had been published against the third day before the Nones of *Septimber* for the substitution of one of the Consuls was the same day accomplished. And *Q. Petilius* the Cof, created for his Colleague, *M. Valerius Lavinius*, for to enter immediately into his Magistracy. This *Lavinus* had been a long time desirous to be employed in some Province or other: and fully it fell out for his longing desire, that when it came importing how the Ligurians rebelled and were gone out again in arms. So after he once heard the contents of these letters, he made no longer stay, but upon the very Nones of *Septimber* all goodly to be seen in his warriors coat of arms, he commanded the third legion (by occasion of this alarm) to go into *France*, to *C. Claudius* the Pro-Consul: also the Drummers or two wardens for the ports and navy, to go to sea, and with a fleet to make sail for *Pisa*, and from thence to coast about all *Liguria* and thus by hovering upon the seas, to terrify the enemies that way also. *Q. Petilius* likewise the Cof, had appointed a day for his army to meet in the same place. Moreover, *C. Claudius* the Pro-Consul, advertised of the Ligurians revolt, over and besides those forces which he had about him at *Parma*, levied in haste a strength of more soldiers: and to with his complete army approached the borders of the Ligurians. The enemies upon the arrival of *C. Claudius* by whose conduct they well remembered how late they had been discomfited and put to flight near the river *Scutenna*, minding to seek for defence rather by the strength of advantageous places than force of arms, against that power of his which to their cost they had before tried, seized the two hills, *Letur* and *Balsia*, about which they raised a mure also for their better safety. But such as lagged behind and quit the champaign plains and lower grounds with the helmet, were hurried and cut short, to the number of fifteen hundred. The rest kept within the mountains: who albeit they were in fear and danger of their own parts, yet forgot not their inbred cruelty: but ran upon the booties and prizes which they had taken at *Modena*, their poor prisoners whom they held captive, they pitiously mangled, and killed most villainously: as for the beasts in the Temples every where, they rather hacked, hewed, and cut in peeces butcher-like, than sacrificed in decent, seemly, and religious manner. Thus being satisfied with the blood and massacre of living creatures, they took all their breathless things they had, and reared and stuck them upon the walls; and namely, implements of all forces, made rather for use and necessity than ornament and show. *Q. Petilius* the Consul, for fear lest the war would be ended in his absence, dispatched his letters to *M. Claudius*, to haste away with his army into *France*, for he would attend his coming upon the plains called *Macri*. Upon the receipt of which letters, *Claudius* dislodged out of *Liguria*, and delivered unto the Consul his army at the said plains called *Macri*. Few daies after came *Cornelius Valerius* the other Consul thither also. There they divided their forces, and before they departed one from the other, they both together made a survey and review of their several armies. This done, they cast lots into what quarters they should either of them go, for that they held it not good policy to charge the enemy both of them joyfully in one part. Now certain it is, that *Valerius* received his lot according to the auspices, in that he was within the precinct of the Temple or prospect by the Augur assigned. But *Petilius* herein made default (as the Augurs pronounced afterwards) and namely, the error was herein, because he being himself without the compass afore said, had put the lot into the casket, which was carried afterwards within the circuit of the said Temple. This done, they went into divers quarters: *Petilius* encamped aforesaid that

* The third of August.

* 5. of August.

* L'Alpi del Pelgrin.

A bank and rising of the hill between *Balsia* and *Letur*, which by a continuall ridge uniteth and joyneth the one mountain to the other. There, as he was exhorting his souldiers in open audience, he let fall (by report) an ominous word, prefiging his own death never thinking of the ambiguity and double construction thereof, saying that he would that very day *capere Letum*. In two several places at once he began to mount up the hills. That regiment wherein he was himself advanced forward courageously: but the other was repulsed and beaten back by the enemies: whereupon the Consul rode full gallop to help that side which went down: and in very truth reclaimed his men he did from running away; but whiles without regard of his own person he kept before the enemies in the forefront, he chanced to be shot through with a dart, and so fell down dead in the place. The enemies were not aware of the Generals death: but some few of his own men who saw him fall, made halt (as knowing well that in it consisted now the main victory) to cover his body. So the rest of the multitude, as well cavalry as infantry, captainless as they were, disfiled the enemies and were masters of the mountains. Of Ligurians there were slain 3000: of the Roman army not above two and fifty. Now besides this evident issue and event, which fell out upon so heavy and deadly a prefige by the women aforesaid, the pulcrick also was heard to say, that all was not well in the auspices of the birds; neither was the Consul himself ignorant thereof.

This done at his (which I commonly interpret [Ole] *scipitum vocis fallax*) When a man calleth forth a word at a venture, and speaketh more truly than he is aware. For want of a proper term to express the Latine [*Omen*] all translators hitherto, French, Italian, and English, have been put to their trials, and helped themselves with [Prazege] Which in mine opinion is not appropriate to the thing, but common: as comprising other tokens; of birds, whether they be *augur* or *auspex*; of beasts inwards of lightning and the rest: or rather implying *equivocation*, the first denoting by those that are, and extending to the future; wing of the mind. Whereas in other words [Ole] is very significant, and in analogy equivalent to [*Quies*] I marked much the story, why it is thought either strange and new (seeing it is English, used no doubt commonly in times past, and at this day current in the North parts, where the people happily are more observant of such prodiges) rather than many other foreign words, brought into our language, and ranged under the English or why it should be condemned as abstruse and not pleasing to the ear, more than *foresay* or *ominare*, which commonly bewitcheth (a voice) and more properly in *Plato* (as *Baderus* hath well observed) is taken for [*Omen*] (i.e. as *foresay* or *ominare*), and amongst [*divines*] as *Euclitides* useth upon *Homer*, *Iliad*, l. From whence, who leeth not that [*Ole*] and [*Omen*] both are denoted? The word then being not barely born, but descended from the mother of all learning, the Greek tongue, and entranced in the illud time, out of Asia (howsoever it hath been confined into the North) would not be exiled clean, but rather reduced and retained to a free denizen, *quasi possiminius*.

C. Valerius having heard [The great clerks and deep divines, those also were profoundly seen in the common law, gave forth. That (seeing the two ordinary Consuls (*Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurrinus*) of that year, were both dead, the one by sickness, the other by the sword, it was not lawful for the other Consul (*C. Valerius* *Levinus*) subrogated in the place of the deceased, to hold the assembly general for the election of new Magistrates.]

On this side the Apennine were the Garuls, Lapirins, and Hercatians. Beyond the Apennine were the Brinnians. Against them that had pillaged and ransacked *Pisa* and *Luna*, *Q. Manius* made war within the compass of the River *Ardena*: and when he had brought them in subjection, he took from them their arms. For which exploits achieved in *France* and *Liguria*, under the conduct and happy fortune of the two Consuls, the Senat ordained that there should be published profection for three daies, and commanded to sacrifice forty greater beasts. And thus veily the triumphs wars of the French and the Ligurians, which arose in the beginning of the year, were in short time and without any great malice dissolved and appeased.

But now in lieu thereof great care was taken for the Macedonian war by occasion that *Perseus* bowed the seeds of debate and quarrel between the Dardanians and the Bastarnians. Besides, the Roman Embassadors who were sent into *Macedony*, to see in what terms things there stood, were now returned to *Rome*, and had brought word, that in *Dardania* they were up in arms. With them there came also from King *Perseus* certain Orators to make excuse in his behalf, and to clear him in the action, namely, that the Bastarnians neither were by him sent for nor entered into any execution by his motive. The Senat would neither acquit the King as unguilty, nor yet directly accuse him as culpable in that point. Only they required that he should be advertised and admonished, to be very well advised and careful to keep that League and accord inviolable, which he would seem to entertain with the Romans.

The Dardanians seeing that the *Bastarnæ* were so far off from departing out of their country (as they well hoped they would) that they endangered and endangered them still every day more than other, as bearing themselves bold upon the succours of the Thracians near neighbours, and the *Scordisci* thought it their best course in policy, to adventure upon some hardy enterprise, although it were rash and inconsiderate: whereupon they assembled all in arms, and from every quarter of their country shewed and advanced before the next Town, to the camp of the *Bastarnæ*. Winter time it was, a season of the year, which they made choice of, that the Thracians and the *Scordisci* might be retired home into their own countries: which when they were advertised of, and that there remained none but the *Bastarnæ* alone, they divided their forces in two parts: with the one, to march directly forward and openly to make head against them affront; with the other, to fetch a compass through by-ways and blind forrests, and so to charge upon their backs. But before they could wheel about the enemies camp, the battail was begun: wherein the Dardanians had the overthrow, and were driven to put themselves within their City, which was a most remote miles distant from the camp of the *Bastarnæ*. The conquerors followed the train of victory,

* *Capere Letum*, thus written with a capital L, signifies, To gain the hill *Letur*: but with the little L, which the ear cannot distinguish, To take his death. * *Valerius Maximus* reporting the same story, calleth

This within these marks [] the Latine copies have not, but is partly supplied out of *Præfix* in his 17 book.

of them, the hearts of some among us might be solicited and tempted to novelty and alteration: on we now are content to hear the King, although absent in person, preaching in some sort to us, yea, and more than that (God send us good luck) approve and applaud his Oration. And whereas the very wild beasts refuse (for the most part) the meat which is laid out for a bait to deceive and hunt them; yea, and have the wit to shun and avoid the same; we, blind beetles that we are, suffer our selves to be caught and fed with the vain appearance and colorable shew of a little kindness, and for hope to recover some poor slaves (a matter of small worth & reckoning) suffer our own freedom to be undermined, and in danger of subversion. For who teach not, that the overture is made, and the way laid open for entrance into confederacy with the King, only to violate and break out association with the Romans, wherein standeth all our weal and welfare? Unless some man peradventure will make a question, whether the Romans mult levy war against *Perseus*: & no doubt thereof now after *Philip* is dead, which in his life time was expected, and of his death only interrupted? Two sons y know full well, *K. Phil* had, *Demetrius* and *Perseus*: For nobleness of parentage by the mothers side, for virtue, for wit, for the love and affection of the Macedonians, *Demetrius* far surpassed his brother. But for that the father intended else & meant, that whether of his two sons he should have the crown after him for recompence he caused *Demetrius* to be murdered: for no other crime in the world that could be laid to his charge, save only that he was entered into amity with the Romans: but *Perseus* he made the King, whom he knew that the people of *Rome* judged more worthy to suffer punishment than to inherit a Kingdom. And this *Perseus*, what other thing hath he done else since his fathers decease but made preparation for war: First and foremost, he procured the Balamians, & the terror of all the world, for to invade *Dardanius*: who if they had letted there, *Greece* should have had more troublesome neighbors other than *Asia* hath of the Galatians. And albeit he was disappointed of this hope yet he gave not up to design and plot for arms; yea, if we will speak a truth he hath already begun the war, *Dolopia* he hath subdued by force of arms; & could not abide to hear that the determination of certain provinces which were debatable and litigious, should be referred to the award of the people of *Rome*. From thence having passed over the mountain *Orta*, that upon a sudden he might shew himself in the very centre of *Greece*, he ascended up to *Delphi*. And to what end, think ye, hath he taken this disordered voyage and unaccustomed expedition? After this he made his progress all over *Thessaly*: And what he announced and hurt more of them all, whom he hated in his heart? I fear me to much the more this manner of dealing, and that it is a bait to catch them withal. Then, forsooth, he sendeth his letters unto us, with a goodly shew of a bon-prent, and willet us to think evilitions how to prevent (from henceforth, that we never had need again of the like bounty of his. What is that, but to snail and repeal that edict of ours wherein the Macedonians are debarred from suing too with in *Peloponnesus* and to bring about, that we may have again the Kings Embassadors to come unto us, that we may entertain mutual hospitality between their Princes and ours? And anon alter, see the Macedonian armies yea, and the King also in person to cross from *Delphi* (for a small arm of the Sea lieth between) straight over into *Peloponnesus* and finally, that we hard and combine with the Macedonians, when they shall take arms against the Romans? As for me, this is mine advice, to make no new ordinance, but to let all alone in their entire order, as they now stand until such time as we are come to some certain terms. Whether we have cause to be afraid, or fear only our own shadows? If the league shall continue firm and sure between the Romans & the Macedonians, then may we have entrance out of friendship, of commerce and traffick with them. But for this present to think & consider hereof in my temple judgement is a nice and ticklish point & besides, out of season untimely and somewhat with the season. When he had thus said, *Arce* brother to *Xenocrates* the Pretor discoursed in this manner following. *Callicrates* (as he) hath caused both me and all of us besides, who are of contrary opinion to him, for to find the more difficultie in speaking our minds to the cause in question. For whiles in maintenance of the association which we have with the Romans, he saith that it is disturbed and troubled (albeit there be no man about either to disturb or trouble it) he hath wrought cunningly and contrived, that whosoever seemeth to gain say him may be thought to oppose and set himself against the Romans. In the first place, as if he had been a man, not converting here amongst us, but one come from the Senat of *Rome*, or some inward secretary and of the privy council to the KK. he knoweth forsooth and uttereth all that in great secrecy hath been done. Nay, he foretelleth like a wife man what would have ensued, in case *Philip* had lived longer: & namely, how it came about that *Perseus* thus inherited the crown: what the Macedonian designs are: and what the Romans intend to do. But we, who know neither for what cause, nor in what manner *Demetrius* came by his death, nor yet what *Philip* meant to have done if he had lived still, must accommodate & frame our counsel to those occurrences which have openly passed in the view of the world. We take knowledge, that *Perseus*, after he was invested in his throne and crowned King, repaired to the Roman Embassadors; and we know likewise that he was intreated by the people of *Rome* with the style of (King *Perseus*). We hear besides, that Roman Embassadors came to the King, and were by him well received and graciously entertained. If I have any judgement, these be all signs of peace and not of war: neither can the Romans take offence, if, as we followed them when they bare arms to we follow them now likewise, as the authors of peace. And verily I see no reason why we alone of all other Greeks, should make so mortal and inextinguishable war against

se vide, as some think.

Monte

The Oration of Arce.

the fealtie of *Macedony*. What! is it because we are so near unto the Macedonians, and by that vicinity exposed to all dangers from thence? or that we are the weakest of all the rell, and like to the Dolopians, whom *Perseus* of late hath subdued? Nay I wis, it is far otherwise and clean contrary. Sure enough we are for any harm they can do us, in regard either of our own forces (which the Gods of their goodnes have vouchsafed us) or of the distance of place so far remote. But for case we be as much subject as the Thessalians and Etolians: Say we are of no more credit and authority amongst the Romans (albeit we have been always their associates and friends) than the Etolians be, who were their open enemies both the other day: Then, what right, what privilege, and commerce, the Etolians, the Thessalians, the Epitrots, and in one word, all *Greece* besides, have and we with the Macedonians, we also may have and hold the same. How is it then, that we alone like cuffed and damned creatures, should thus practise to abandon the common law of men, and (as it were) renounce all human society. Be it, that *Philip* (when time was) did somewhat, and gave us just cause, armed as he was and ever warring upon us, to pass this decree and edict against him: what hath *Perseus* deserved? *Perseus* (I say) the new King, a harmless Prince that seeketh out no injury: nay, who is willing and seeketh by courteous and good turns to cancel and put out all former quarrels and enmities of his latter? why are we the only enemies that he hath in the world? And yet, I might full well, & only say that from the former Kings of *Macedony* we have received so great favors and benefits, that in regard thereof, we should put up and forgive the wrongs of *Philip* alone (if happily he have done us any) at least wile now after he is dead, and his head laid, indeed, at what time as the Roman fleet rid in the harbor of *Cenchrea*, and the Consul lay encamped with his army before *Elatis*. We far in counsel three daies together, debating and devising, Whether we should band with the Romans or side with *Philip*? And albeit the present fear of the Romans before our eyes, might have made us in our opinions to incline somewhat and lean toward them: yet there was something in it doublets, that it was so long ere we could resolve: and to say a truth, it was the ancient acquaintance and amity that we had with the Macedonians, and the great benefits which in old time we had received from their Kings. Why then he thinks, those self same regards should be of some force and efficacy to move us, if not to be their special and best friends, yet at least wile not to be their principal and greatest enemies. Let us not, *Callicrates*, make semblance and shew of that which we are not in hand with, and is no point of this present question. There is no motive made of a new society: there is no petition about to draw any capitulations of a new alliance, wherein we should rashly enwrap and entangle our selves, and be tied to any inconvenience. Only let there be a mutual commerce between us, and an alternative intercourse of yeelding and demanding right to and fro, as apertaineth to us not by interdicting and forbidding them to enter and traffick within our country, debar our selves likewise from all negotiation and dealing with them in their Kingdom: that by this means our slaves may have no place of retreat and refuge to flee unto. And what pretence is this to the Roman confederacy? Wherefore make we thus of a small thing and event, to decree a matter and suspitions? Wherefore raise we such troubles of nothing? Wherefore seek we to draw others into jealousy and hatred with the Romans, and all this to find means of hurting & flustering them? If there will be war, *Perseus* (ye may be sure) maketh no doubt, but that we altogether will follow the Romans: yet to long as the peace holdeth, let us cease and suspend we in some sort our malice and hatred for the while: if ended for ever may not be. When the same men who had consented to the Kings letters before, gave their accord now also to this propose, the chief and principal persons among them took great indignation and disdained that *Perseus* should need to demand and obtain that by a few lines in writing, which he deemed was not worth the sending an embassy. Whereupon the time was deferred and no date passed at this Session. Afterwards were Embassadors adressed unto them from the King, at what time as a Diet was holden in *Megalopolis*: but the side which was for the Romans, and feared to give them occasion of displeasure and offence, did what they could to debar them of access and entrance into the Council. And much about this time, by reason of these jars the Etolians grew enraged among themselves, and by discharging their mutual fury in killing one another, had like to have brought the state to a final ruin and desolation. But being weary thereof, they in the end as well of the one side as the other, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, and also laboured at home to have the quarrel taken up and to be made friends and reconciled together. Howbeit this was troubled by a new mischief that came between which also rubbed the former galls and fretted the old sores. For whereas certain Hypataens, exiled persons, and being of the faction of *Proxenus*, were promised liberty to return home again into their country, with safe conduct all granted by *Eupolemus* one of the chief & principall men of the City: so it was, that fourscore of their men, men of mark and quality (whom to meet upon the way as they returned, *Eupolemus* himself went out with the multitude) after they had been friendly received with courteous greetings, salutations, and shaking of hands, had no sooner entered within the gate of the City, but they were massacred notwithstanding they pleaded the sacred promise of protection, and called the Gods to witness, but all in vain. By this occasion the civil war between them waxed much hotter than before, and turned in the end to a sight fire. Now there arrived *C. Valerius*, *Levinus*, *Ap. Claudius*, *Pulcher*, *C. Memmius*, *M. Popilius*, and *L. Caninius*, as sent from the Senat of *Rome*. Before these commissioners, the Embassadors from both factions appeared at *Delphi*, and debated the matter with great earnestness and vehemency, where *Proxenus* seemed to have the better hand as well in right of the cause, as through his eloquent tongue

Proculus (1 say) who within few daies after, drank a cup of poison of his wives tempering, wherof he died: & he condemned therfore, departed into exile. The like madnes heayned the *Candians* also & distracted them with intestine disention, but upon the coming of *Q. Mucius*, the Lieutenant General, who was sent accompanied with a fleet of ten sail, to appeale their debates, they fell to some terms of peace and atonement. There had been a truce also before of six months, but afterwards the war flamed out much more terrible. The *Lycians*, likewise at the same time, were incited & plagued with war by the *Rhodiars*. But my meaning is not neither is it any part of my purpose, to describe the wars of forraign nations, nor to discusse the circumstances how to proceede for enough I have to do, & more than I can well discharge to write the acts only of the people of *Rome*.

The *Celiberians* in *Spain*, who being tamed by force of arms had submitted, *Ag. Agracius*, remained quiet all the time that *M. Titinius* the Pretor continued there in government. But immediately in the arrival of *Ap. Claudius* they revolted and began to shew themselves in open disention of rebellion, by giving a suddain assault upon the Roman camp. It was about the break of day, when the sentinels upon the rampier and *Corps de guard* about the gates, might discover enemies coming a far off and so they gave the alarm. *Ap. Claudius* having put out the signal of battail, & in few words exhorted his souldiers to fight and play the men led them forth at three gates at once. The *Celiberians* made head and opposed their forces as they issued forth. At the first the skirmish was equal on both parts: for that by reason of the streights of the passage, all the Romans could not fight: but after that one had put forward another, and followed till space, they were all at length gotten without the trench: so as they were able now to display their battailions & to confront their enemies from one point of their battail to the other wherewith before they were environed: and then they made lo terrible a fall upon them, that the *Celiberians* were not able to endure their violence. For before the second hour of the day they were all omitted: and 3000 of them either died in the place, or yielded their bodies prisoners: 32 military ensignes they looll, and were turned out of the camp the same day and here is an end of that war. For as many as escaped the conflict gat them home to their own towns & quietly afterwards bare the yoke of subjection.

That year were created Censors, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* & *A. Posthumius Albinus*: who made a review of Senators and chose new, For President of the Senat they elected *M. Emilius Lepidus* the Archbishop. Nine they put out of the Senat-house. The principal persons noted and disgraced, were these, *M. Corn. Mucianensis*, who two years before had been Pretor in *Spain*; *L. Corn. Scipio*, Pretor for the time being, and *L. Clodius* Justice of the common pleas, as well among citizens as aliens; and *L. Fulvius*, who was whole brother to the Censor himself, & as *V. Antius* reporteth, equal in degree of calling, and his fellow every way. The Consuls also after they had made their vows within the Capitol, went forth to their Provinces. The one of them, (to wit, *M. Emilius*) had in charge given him by the Senat to appeale the sedition of the *Padoans* in *Vence*, who as their Embassadors made report, by factious siding and part-taking, were all on a fire with civil war.

The Embassadors who were gone into *Aeolia* to pacify the like troubles, brought word back, That it was not possible to bridle and refrain the furious rage of that nation. But the coming of the Consul made all whole among the *Padoans* and cured the malady: who having nothing else to do in the province, returned to *Rome*.

These Censors were the first that caused the streets of *Rome* to be paved with hard flint and pebble stone within the City; and the high waies and causeys without to be raised with gravel: & the sides thereof to be wel banked and kept in reparations; also bridges to be made in divers places: a scaffold besides for the *Ediles* and Pretors to behold the games & plaies. Moreover the barriers in the race, from whence the horses begin to run, and the *Ouales* to mark and score up the number of courses. * * * Over and besides the gales, beyond * * * the iron gates and cages * * * and at the seats in the mount Albane for the Consuls. They took order besides all this for the paving with flint of the cliff or descent from the Capitol, and from the gallery or porch before the temple of *Serapis* looking toward the Capitol, unto the place called *Seneculum*, and the count *Hofitia* above it. Also the merchants Hall or burse without the gate *Tergemina* they paved with stone, and fenced it about with strong flakes and posts of wood. The gallery also *Emilia* they caused to be repaired: and made an ascent by stairs from the *Thyber* to the burse or merchants Hall aforesaid. Without the same gate also, they paved with pebble stone the gallery or walking place into the *Aecentine* * * * from the Temple of *Venus*. The same Censors bargained for the making of walls about *Calatia* and *Oxyrum*: and having made sale of some publick edifices there, they employed the money raised thereof in making of shops & stalls round about both the market places. The one of them, that is to say, *M. Fulvius*, (for *P. Posthumius* said plainly, that unless it were by vertue either of an act of the Senat, or grant of the people of *Rome*, he would put forth no works to be made with dispende of their money) agreed upon price for the building of a Temple to *Jupiter* at *Pisistrum* & at *Fuad*: also make a conduit, for water to be conveyed to *Pollentia* and at *Pisistrum* into a way to be paved, and *Sinistra* * * * In these colonies, he caused also a sink or vault to be made about them, to carry away all filthiness into the river: also the market place to be enclosed with porches, galleries, and shops; and three stately halls called *Iani*, with quartermen or four thoroughfares, and as many fronts. For these works one of the Consuls disbursed the money, and bargained with the Publicans and undertakers. In which regard, the inhabitants of those colonies above named, gave him great thanks. These Censors were likewise severe and precise in exercising their office for the redressing and reformation of mens manners: for many Gentlemen had their bottles of service taken from them, which were allowed them by the City.

A little before the years end, there was a solemn procession holden one whole day for the happy achievement of the affairs in *Spain*, under the conduct and good fortune of *Appius Claudius* the Pro-consul: and twenty head of great beasts were killed in sacrifice. And the morrow after they went in another procession with supplications, at the Temples of *Ceres*, *Liber*, and *Libera*: for that there was reported from the *Sabines* country, a mighty earthquake, which over-turned many houses.

After that *App. Claudius* was returned out of *Spain* to *Rome*, the Senat ordained, that he should enter the City with the pomp of an Ovation. And now approached the time for the election of new Consuls. Much ado there was and hard hold at this assembly, by reason of the multitude of competitors: but in the end, *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanus*, were elected Consuls: which done, the Pretors also were created, to wit, *Cn. Fabius Duxes*, *M. Matienus*, *C. Cicereus*, *M. Fur. Crassipes*, *A. Atilius Serranus*, & *C. Cluvius Saxula*, these three last held the second time. This business and solemnity finished, *Ap. Claudius* Censor entering with Ovation pomp into the City for his victory of the *Celiberians*, brought into the common treasury 10000 pound weight of silver, and 3000 of gold. *Cn. Cornelius* was consecrated the Flamin of *Jupiter*.

The same year there was set up a painted Table in the Temple of the goddess *Minerva* with this inscription, Under the conduct and happy government of *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, Consul the legion and army of the people of *Rome*, subdued *Sardinia*. In which Province, there were slain and taken prisoners 80000 enemies, which Gracchus (after he had managed the affairs of state most fortunately, delivered many captives out of bondage, and recovered the tributes and conquests to the Common-weal) brought home with him his army safe and sound, charged with an exceeding rich booty, and recovered the City of *Rome*, in a second triumph. In memorial of which exploits, he caused this table to be set up as a present in the honour of *Jupiter*.

Now this table contained the portraiture of the Island *Sardinia*, and the picture also and resemblance of sundry battails. Moreover, in this year were represented to the people certain patimes and shews of sword-players, wherof some were small and of no account: but one above the rest, exhibited by *T. Flaminius*, surpassed. And this he did in honour of his father deceased: with a dole of flesh among the people, a great publick feast besides, and stage-plays for four dayes together. But the principal matter in this festival solemnity was this, That in three daies space there fought at interance with unrebated swords, thre score and fourteen champions,

The two and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the two and fortieth Book.

Fulvius Flaccus the Censor uncovered the roof of the Church of *Juno Lacinia*, which was slated with marble, and also to cover a Temple which he had dedicated. But by an act of the Senat he was forced to besow the slates there again. *Eumenes* the King of *Asia* complained in the Senat, of *Pericles* King of *Macedony*. His injuries done to the people of *Rome* are here reported: for the which, defiance was sent, and war proclaimed against him. *P. Licinius Crassus* the Consul, unto whom the Province of *Macedony* was assigned, passed over thither, and in certain light expeditions, fought sundry battails with *Pericles* in Thessaly, all by horse-service, but with bad success. The Senat appointed a day of bearing between *Malania* and the *Carthaginians*, touching the territory in question. Embassadors were sent to the affected Cities and States, and to the confederate Kings, to request them to continue loyal and fall in friendship; reason that the *Rhodiars* stood in doubtful arms. The Censors took a review and numbered the citizens of *Rome*, wherein were enrolled in the subsidy book 257231. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate exploits against the Islanders of *Corfica* and the *Ligurians*.

The two and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

After that *L. Posthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lanus* the Consuls had before all other things propoled unto the Senat as touching the government of the Provinces & conduct of the armies, ordained it was, that *Liguria* should be the charge as well of the one of them as the other. Also that both of them should levy new legions, (and two a peece they were allowed to have) therewith to defend the said province and keep it in obedience. Besides 6000 footmen and 600 horse of Latine allies. Moreover to enrol 3000 foot, and 200 horsemen of Romans for a supply in *Spain*. Last of all, commanded they were to press 1500 footmen and 200 horse of Roman citizens: with which strength, that Pretor unto whom *Sardinia* fell, should pass over into *Corsica*, there to war, and *M. Atilius* the old Pretor, in mean time to see unto the government of *Sardinia*. This done, the Pretors went to call lost for their provinces. *A. Atilius* had the place of Lord chief justice within the City, and *C. Cluvius Saxula* the jurisdiction between

between citizens and forrainers. Unto Cn. Fabius Bute fell the Higher Spm; to M. Manlius the Lower. M. Furius Crassipes was to govern Sicity, and C. Cicerinus Sardinia.

[illegible]

In the beginning of this year, the Embassadors who had been sent into *Arsenia* and *Macedonia*, made report; that he might not come to the speech of *K. Petrus*, for that some said he was absent; others, that he was sick; and the one as false, as the other was untrue: Howbeit, they might evidently perceive and see, that preparation was made for war; and that he would delay no longer, but enter into arms. In like fort they related, that in *Arsenia* the civil dissention and sedition grew daily more and more, neither could the captains of these factious discords be repressed and held in awe by their countenance and authority.

in awe by their countenance and authority. As the City of *Rome* was *summed up* on the continual expectancy of the Macedonian war before any enterprise thereof begun, thought good it was and requisite, that order first should be taken for the expiation of prodigies, and the pacification of the Gods by way of humbly praises, such as were represented and delivered unto them out of the fatal books of *Sibylla*, For at *Lanuvium* were kept, as the common voice went, certain shows and resemblances of a mighty great navy. *Item*, At *Præneum* there grew black wool out of the earth. Also in the Venetian territory, near a Town called *Remens*, it rained fishes. Moreover, all the country *Pompinum* was overlaid with clouds of Locusts, and within the Land of *Galila*, there were seen certain fishes to leap from under the clots of earth, that were turned with the plow as it took flitch and made furrow. For the strange and fearful sights, the foresaid books were looked into and perused, and out of them the Decemvirs declared and pronounced both unto what Gods sacrifice should be offered, and what healts were to be slain thereto; moreover, that the one supplication should be holden, as propitiary for those prodigious tokens; as also the other, which the year before had been vowed for the health of the people, should now be performed, and holidays kept therefore. So the sacrifices were accomplished according to the order and form set down in writing by the Decemvirs.

were accomplished according to the order and form set down in writing by the *Excellency* *Q. Felicio*
 The very same year was the Church of *Junio Lacinia* uncovered upon this occasion: *Q. Felicio*
Flaccus the Cenfor was building of a temple to *Fortuna eques*, which he had vowed during the *N*
 war against the Celtiberians, when he was Lord *Protor* in Spain. His desire and earnest endeavor
 was to strain himself, that there might not be in *Rome* a temple of more late and magnificence than
 this. And supposing that it would be a great beauty and ornament unto it, in case the roof were
 covered with tiles of marble he went into the Britains country, and there he was so bold with the
 Church abbot of *Junio Lacinia*, as to untile the one half thereof, making full account, that so
 much would serve for to cover that temple which he was building. Boats and Barges he had ready
 for to receive and carry away the said tiles or slates, without being impeached or controlled
 for this sacrilege by the allies, whom he held in awe and terrified by his Cenforian authority. Now
 after the Cenfor was returned to *Rome*, who's marble slates were disbarbed out of the said
 vessels and conveyed to the temple, And albeit no words were made at *Rome* whence they came,
 yet oncealed it could not be. And thereupon rose much muttering in the Senate, and from all parts
 whereto they called hard upon the Consuls, to have the matter put to question and debated of. The
 Cenfor was sent for, who was no sooner entered into the Senate but both all in general, and every
 one in particular had a fling at him, and much more sharply reproached him to his face in these
 terms, that he could not be content to abuse and violate the most holy and sacred Church's holy
 parts, which neither *Pylorus* nor *Ambros* ever offered violence unto; and thus he uncovered it also in
 soul

with civil war. And when he saw that they contended and strove much to surpass one another in harsh courses and audacious; he would by his decree neither charge nor discharge the one party more than the other: but he requested them indifferently on both sides to abstain from war, to make an end of discord and dissension, and bury all that was past in perpetual oblivion. Whereupon they were reconciled: and this their atonement was ratified with the assurance of pledges interchangeably given: and accorded it was, they should meet at *Corinth*; there to bestow their hostages. From *Delphi* and that general diet of *Aetolia*, *Mythes* crossed the Seas into *Phrygia*, where he had appointed and published a solemn assembly and council of the *Achaean*. Wherein he highly praised and commended the whole nation, for observing so steadfastly their old decree, whereby they debarred and excluded the *Macedonian* Kings out of their confines, he declared evidently and presented to the view of all the world, what malice and hatred the *Romans* bare to *Perseus*. And that it might break out the sooner into open wars, King *Emmelus* came to *Rome*, and brought with him a note or abstract of all the preparations for the war, which with diligent search and enquiry into particulars, he had gathered.

Much about the same time, the five Embassadors sent unto *K. Perseus* for to see into the affairs of *Macedony* were commanded to take a voyage as far as *Alexandria*, for to renew the old amity with King *Ptolemaeus*. The names of them were these, *C. Valerius*, *Cn. Livinius*, *Cerco*, *Q. Balbus*, *Sulca*, *M. Cornelius Mamula*, and *M. Caelius Dentor*. And even then or not much after, there came Embassadors from King *Antiochus*: and the chief and principal person among them, one *Apollonius*, was admitted to come into the Senat, where he excused the King his matter for many good and just reasons, in that he had not sent his tribute & made payment so soon as he ought by the day appointed: but now (he said) that he had brought it all, to the end that the King should be to them beholden for nothing but the respite of time only. And besides, that they were come with a present of certain plate of gold, weighing 300 pound. That the King his petition was, That the society and friendship which had been contracted between his father and them, might be renewed also with him: promising, that if the people of *Rome* would impose any thing upon him to be done, which were meet to be laid upon a good and faithful ally, he would not fail in his devoir to perform all offices whatsoever. For why, the Senat had so well deserved of him, at what time as he sojournd in *Rome*, and lived courteously he found among the flour of the Roman young Gentlemen, that of all degrees and sorts of men, he was reputed and used more like a King indeed, than an hostage for the time. These Embassadors received a gracious answer: and withal, *A. Antius* the Pretor of the City was enjoined to renew the league with *Antiochus*, which had been concluded with his father. As for the tribute, the treasurers of the City received it: and the Censors took all the golden vessels aforesaid, who had the charge to bestow the same in what Temples they thought good. Unto the chief Embassador was sent a present in money, amounting to the sum of one 100000 *Aesses*: who also was allowed an house to lodge in at his pleasure of free cost: and all his charges were defrayed by the City, during the time that he made abode in *Italy*. The Embassadors who had been in *Syria*, gave this report of him, That he was a man in great favour and highly honoured with the King: and besides, singularly well affected to the people of *Rome*. Now concerning the affairs of the provinces for that year, thus much as followeth.

C. Cicerinus the Pretor fought in ranged battail with the enemies in *Corfica*, wherein 7000 of the Islanders were slain: and 1700 and better taken prisoners. In that conflict the Pretor had vowed to build the Chappel of *Juno Moneta*. After this was being granted to the Corsians at their own suit and seeking; but they were compelled two pay to hundred thousand weight of wax, *Cicerinus* having thus subdued *Corfica*, passed from thence over into *Sardinia*. A field also was fought in *Liguria*, within the territory of the Strelatens, near the Town *Crispulus*: for thither assembled a great army of the *Ligurians*. At first upon the arrival of *M. Popilius* the Consul they kept close within the walls: but afterwards seeing the *Romans* at the point to give assault and to lay battery to the walls, they issued forth of the gates and embattailed themselves. The Consul for his part followed not to come to hand-fight, the only thing he sought for in threatening to give assault. The conflict continued above 3 hours, and the hope of victory hung in equal balance: N which when the Cos perceived, namely, how the *Ligurian* ensigns removed not and gave no ground: he commanded his Cavalry to mount on horseback, and to charge with all their force and violence upon their enemies in three several places: many of these horsemen pierced quick through the midst of the battail, and passed so far, that they charged the enemies upon the back as they fought. Whereupon the *Ligurians* were much terrified and began to flee from all parts: very few retired back into the City, by reason that the horsemen made head against them that way most: besides, many of the *Ligurians* were left dead in the place; such as their resolute persistence in fight: killed also they were every where as they fled. Ten thousand (by report) fell upon the edge of the sword, above seven hundred taken prisoners in one place or other, and 82 military ensigns were carried away. And yet was not this victory without effusion of *Roman* blood: for there died of them not so few as three thousand soldiers, by reason that the foremost of both sides fought so manfully in the forefront, and while they would not give ground one to the other, were stricken down and slain without mercy. After this battail, the *Ligurians* rallied themselves into one place, out of all parts where they were scattered in the rout: and seeing that more of their men were lost than left behind (for in all they were not above ten thousand) they yielded simply without any composition: howbeit in good hope they were, that the Consul

A Consul would not deal worse by them nor in more rigorous manner than other Generals before him. But he disarmed them all, raised their Towns, sold their bodies & all that they had, and sent letters to the Senat of their exploits of his. Which when *A. Antius* the Pretor had read in the Senat, (for the other Consul *Posthumius* was absent, by occasion that he was employed in the survey and visiting of the Lands in *Campania*) they thought it a very hard and cruel course, that the Strelatens, who only of all the *Ligurians* had not born arms against the *Romans*, who were then assailed first, when as they began not of their own accord to make war, who also put themselves into the protection of the *Romans*, should be thus rigorously intreated, torn, dismembered and continued in most cruel manner: that so many thousands of frank condition, innocent persons, and imploring the mercy of the *Romans*, should be thus sold out-right, (a most dangerous example, that never hereafter any one will venture to submit himself again) and finally, that they should be distressed and carried away into all parts, to live in slavery under them, who having been sometimes professed enemies of the *Romans*, now enjoy peace and repose. In regard hereof, there passed an arrest or act of the Senat that *M. Popilius* the Consul should pay back the price unto the buyers, and restore the *Ligurians* to their former liberty: to take order also that their goods (as much as possibly might be recovered) should be rendered unto them: also that armour should be made in that nation with all speed possible, and that the Consul so soon as he had reestablished the *Ligurians* (upon their submission) in their former estate, should depart out of the Province: forasmuch as the honour of victory consisted not in exercising cruelty upon the poor and afflicted, but in vanquishing the obstinate. But the Consul as he bare himself proud and cruel against the *Ligurians*, so he shewed as great forwardness and disobedience to the Senat. And having sent away the legions to winter in *Pisa*, he returned to *Rome*, carrying a full and angry stomach against the LL. and as spiteful and malicious a mind to the Pretor: where immediately he assembled the Senat in the Temple of *Belona*, and rattled up the Pretor in broad and gross terms. For that he, whose part it had been to have moved the Senat for thanksgiving to the immortal Gods, in regard of the happy achievement of the wars, in stead thereof passed an act of the Senat against him and in favor of the enemies, for to put him by his victory and to give it away from him to the *Ligurians*; and finally being no better than a Pretor, would have had the Consul yielded in manner up into their hands. Whereupon he said that he would beseech as far as in his head: and withal, he required the LL. of the Senat to command and ordain, That the arrest devised against him might be reversed: and to give order, that the processions which in his absence they ought to have decreed (upon his letters sent of his good success) might now be holden: in consideration first of the honour due to the immortal Gods, and then respectively in some measure for his own desert. But after he was checked by some of the Senators to his face, and that in no milder terms than he had been rebuked in his absence, he went his waies into his Province again, and obtained neither the one fruit nor the other.

The other Consul *Posthumius* having spent the whole summer in surveying the Lands only, and never so much as seen his own Province, returned to *Rome* against the general assembly for election, and created Consuls *C. Popilius* and *Cn. Sicius*, and *C. Menmius*, the second *Crassus*, *M. Iunius Pennus*, *Sp. Lucretius*, *Sp. Cluvius*, and *C. Menmius*, the second time. In that year was holden a review of the City and the number taken of citizens, (when as *Quintus Flaccus* and *L. Posthumius Albinus* were Censors) wherein were found and enrolled of *Roman* citizens 269015. The number was somewhat the less, by reason that *L. Posthumius* the Consul had proclaimed in a publick audience, That no person of those Latine allies, who were to return into their own Cities (by virtue of an edict made when *C. Claudius* was Consul) should be enrolled into the subsidy book at *Rome*, but every man in his several City. This Censorship was administered with concord and unity, yea and to the good and profit of the common-weal. What Senators soever they depoted from their place and dignity, and so many Gentlemen of *Rome* as they took their Horses from, they made them all no better than contributors to pay all foot and hor, yea, and displaced them out of their tribes. And look whomsoever the one of them noted with disgrace and ignominy, he was not relieved nor allowed again by the other. This *Fulvius* dedicated the Temple of *Fortuna equestris*, now six years after he had vowed the same in a battail which he fought with the Celtiberians, at what time as he was Pro-consul in *Spain*: likewise he exhibited the stage-plays for four daies together, and one day in the cirque or show-place. *Corn. Lentulus* (a Decemvir for the holy rites and sacrifices) that year died: in whose room was substituted *A. Posthumius Albinus*. There were such mighty dights and clouds as it were of locusts, brought suddenly at once by a wind from the Sea into *Apulia*, that with their swarms they overspread all the fields far and near. For the riddance of which noisome vermine consuming the fruits of the earth, *Cn. Sicius*, Pretor elect, was sent with his full commission of command into *Apulia*: who assembled a mighty number of people for to gather them up, and employed much time thereabout.

In the beginning of the year ensuing, wherein *C. Popilius* and *P. Aelius* were Consuls, the remnant of the debates which arose the year before, was set on foot again. The LL. of the Senat would have had the matter propoed & debated again as touching the *Ligurians*, and the ordinance of the Senat in that behalf renewed. But as *Aelius* the one Consul put up a bill therof, so *Popilius* the other was an earnest suiter, & besought both his colleague & also the Senat in the behalf of his brother: may, he proceeded so far, that he gave the house to understand, in case they went about any such decree

The fortune of horse-fight.

decree prejudicial unto him, he would cross and revoke the same by which countenance of his he affrighted his colleagues; but the LL. were offended so much the more and stormed against both the Consuls, yea, and perished still in their enterprise. And therefore when it was debated in council as concerning the Provinces, albeit the Coll. made means to be sent into *Macedony* (because the war of *Perseus* was no nearer at hand) yet *Laguria* was assigned to both of them; for the LL. protested and said, That they would not pass a decree for the government of *Macedony*; and is the case of *Papilius* were p. compounded, and an act thereof entered. Afterwards when they demanded a warrant to enrol new armies, or at least leave to levy a supply for making up the old, both the one motion and the other was denied. The Pretors also, who required to have a supplement with them into Spain, had a nay; and namely, *M. Junius* into the hither province, and *P. Lucretius* into the further. As for *C. Licinius Crassus*, to him there fell by lot the jurisdiction within the City over citizens, and *C. Sestius* that over foreigners. *C. Memmius* was allotted to *Sicily*, and *Sp. Cicerio* to *Sardinia*. The Consuls for these causes being highly offended and angry with the Senat, called the Latine seats and holidays to be published against the very first day that possibly they might, with an intimation that they would go straight into their province, and not attend the managing of any affairs touching the State, but only that which directly pertained to their government.

The Oration
of *Emilius*.

Valerius Antias writeth, that in these Consuls year, *Attius* the brother of *K. Eumenius* came in embassy to *Rome*, to inform criminous matter against *Perseus*, and to give the particulars of the preparation that he made for war. But the Annals of many other writers (more worthy of credit than he) deliver unto us, that *K. Eumenius* presented himself in proper person: where he was received with such honors, as the people of *Rome* thought not only meet & agreeable for his deserts, but also fit and furable to their own favours and benefits, which they had in ample manner conferred and in great number heaped upon him. And then he had audience given him in the Senate, where he shewed the cause of his coming to *Rome* what it was, namely, " (besides a secret desire that he had to see those gods and men by whose grace favour he enjoyed so good estate, as better he durst not wish) because he gladly would advertise the Senat by word of mouth, to prevent and withstand the designs of *Perseus*. And beginning his speech with the plaudiments & enterprises of *Philip*, he recounted withal, how it cost his son *Demetrius* his life, for that he stood against the war with the Romans; moreover, how he had caused the whole nation of the *Balkanians* to quit their own country where they were born and bred, to the end that by they did he might pass over into *Italy*; but while (qd. he) these matters he projected and said in his head, his time was come, and arrested he was by death: but he left his Kingdom to him, whom he knew to be the most spiteful enemy that the Romans had. And therefore *Perseus*, having received this war (as a man would say) by way of inheritance left him by his father eye together with the crown and scepter, from the very first day of his reign, doth mightily enlarge, enlarge, and promote the same by all the means and devices that possibly he can, mightily and puissant he is besides in number of young, lusty, and able men for service, who during the time of long peace have sprung up and multiplied exceedingly. In wealth and riches a great potentate he is, and besides in his flourishing years and the best time of his age, which as it is accompanied with the very strength and vigor of his body, so his spirit and mind is inured and hardened with skillfull experience and long practise of martial fears. For from his very infancy nuzled hath he been in the field and camp, conversing ordinarily within the royal tent and pavilion of his father, acquainted with the wars, not only waged against neighbour nations, but also against the Romans; and that which more is, employed by his father in many and sundry expeditions and executions of service. But since that he himself entered upon the Kingdom, and swayed the regal scepter in his own hand, he hath explored & accomplished many things with marvellous facility and success, which his father *Philip* before him could never compass and effect, notwithstanding he had tried and assayed all means as well of open force as secret fraud, To augment this greatness of his, he hath purchased already that authority and reputation in the world, which others hadly in continuance of long time, and by many favors and ample benefits attain unto: and namely, throughout the States of *Greece* and *Asia*, all men reverence his majesty. For what good turns, for what pleasures done, for what bounty of his they should thus do and honour him so much, neither feel I, neither can I say for certainty; whether it happen by a special gift and fortune that he hath of his own, or that (which I am myself afraid to speak) it be the deep malice and hatred which he hath conceived against the Romans, which is the cause that he is of such countenance and so gracious among them. Nay, with the very Kings and Princes of other nations he is highly esteemed and of passing authority. The daughter of *Selucus* he hath taken to wife, without any suit of his own, but being earnestly wooed and requested thereunto. And to *Prusias* he hath given his own sister in marriage, after much seeking and instant intreaty. These two weddings were solemnized with the exceeding joy and innumerable presents of infinite embassages: and who should be present to celebrat the auspices and complements, yea, and give those pious benedictions, marriage, but the noblest and most renowned States that were? The *Breotian* nation had been much solicited by *Philip*, yet could never be induced to draw or open any covenants of accord and amity with him: but now there is to be seen a league engrossed, yea, and engraven in three several conspicuous places, the one in *Theraps*, the second at *Siderum*, within a most holy, sacred and renowned Temple, and the third at *Delphi*. What should I speak of the general Council of the *Achaeans*? wherein, had not the design been dashed by some there in place, who, injured and

alleged hard the signory and empire of the Romans, it would have gone very hard, but that he should have set forth even within *Achaia*. But contrariwise I assure you my due and deferred honors (unto whom it is hard to say, whether they be more bounden and obliged for private pleasures or public benefits) are either forlorn through reticible diftate and diligence, or else annulled and abolished of wilfull malice and hostile hatred. As for the *Aetolians*, who knoweth not, that in his civil broils, and seditions they fought to *Perseus* for to relieve and succour, and not to the Romans? Being thus upheld with societies and amities, he hath provided such furniture of his own, and made that preparation for war at home, as he needs none from abroad. Of himself he is thirty thousand strong in foot & 9000 in horse. For ten years he is stored with corn abroad, so as for that kind of purveyance he may spare his own territories, and also forbear his enemies. As for money in ready coin, he hath such abundance, that over and above the forces of natural *Macedonians*, he wudgeth 10000 mercenary soldiers, and hath wherewith to make pay for as many years, besides the yearly customs & profits that arise out of their Kings mines. Now for armour, he hath gathered together into his arsenals and armories, sufficient to furnish three such armies. What should I speak of the youth and serviceable men of war? Set the case that *Macedony* failed him and were not able to find enough; as *Thrace* is subject unto him, from whence he may serve his turn as out of his ever running fountain and living spring. The rest of his speech he knit up with an exhortation in this manner. " I relate not these things (qd. he) my self of *Rome*, as blown abroad and vented by headless heartsy and doubtful rumors; neither have I been so ready to believe them, as a man desirous that such criminous imputations should be verified upon my enemy, but as undoubted and certain reports upon my own knowledge, as if I had been sent by you of special purpose to be a spie; and declared that and no more, which I had seen with mine eyes and not otherwise. Neither would I have left mine own realm wherein (by your means and goodnes) in glorious and magnificent State I sit warm enough, to go (ail over) so large a sea as I have done and to carry vain rates and untruths to you, thereby to crack my credit with you for ever hereafter. But I tell you these chies of mine have seen the most renowned and noblest Cities of *Asia* and *Greece* discovering more and more from day to day; what they intend and what their meaning is: who if they be let alone and permitted to run on as they begun, would be engaged to far, as they might not possibly return again & save themselves by any repentance. Behold I have *Perseus* (I say) how he containeth not within the realm of *Macedony*, but one while seizeth upon this by force of arms, another while gaineth and getteth what by favour and good will, which with violence he could never have conquered. I perceived and considered well how unequal the match and condition is, whiles he upon you prevaileth, and you again perform to him security of peace. Although in my conceit, and so far as I could see into it, he made no more any preparation thereof, but was already upon action and execution. For he chased *Abdulus*, a confederate prince and friend of yours, lord of his Kingdom. And *Artaxerxes* the *Illyrian*, another of your associates and allies, he killed outright, because he found that he had written some letters unto us. As for *Everges* & *Callistratus*, both *Thebanes*, & two principal States of that City, for no other reason, but because in a Parliament of the *Balkanians*, they had spoken their mind against him too frankly, and avowed that they would repeat unto you what things had passed, he caused to be murdered. The *Bizantines* he persecuted against the order taken in the accord: upon *Dolopia* he levied war: *Thessaly* and *Doris* both he invaded and overrun with his army, to the end, that in some intestine and civil war, by the help of spoils he might afflict and plague the better. He shuffled all together, and made a very confusion of the State in *Thessaly* and *Perrhabia*, upon the hope and cancelling all bonds and coining out all debt books; that thus by a power and multitude of bankrupts, such as were over deeply engaged, and whom he had obliged and bound to himself, he might deprende and oppress the great men and principal personages. Having wrought these practices uncontrolled, whiles you sit still looking on and suffering all, he being you to let him do with *Greece*, what he list, making full account, that no man will put him on arms and make head against him, before he be passed over into *Italy*. How safe this may be to you, nay, how this can stand with credit, see you to that and be advised. For my self, I assure you, I thought it meer theme and very villany, that *Perseus* your enemy should enter into *Italy* to make war upon you, before that I your friend and ally, came to give your warning for to take heed and stand upon your guard. Now since I have in this matter performed my duty, done that office which I was bound upon necessity, and in some measure requit my self and discharged my bounden duty and obligation of fidelity; what remaineth behind for me to do, but to be your beadsman to all the gods & goddesses, so vouchsafe you that grace, that you may provide for your own Commonwealth, and also for us your friends and allies, who depend wholly upon you? In this last speech he came near unto the LL. of the Senat, but for the present no man might know any thing, but only that the K. had been in the Senat, so that were they all, & kept the council-house close shut with secrecy. But after the war was brought to end, then came abroad, both what the K. spake, and what answer was returned to him again. Some few daies after, the Senat bet to give audience unto the Embassadors of King *Perseus*: he having their minds and ears both, poisoned abroad by King *Eumenius*, all the defence that the *Roman* Embassadors made, and all the entreaty they used, was rejected. Besides, the stoutness of *Harpanax* (the principal person of the embassy) moved their patience and exasperated their bloods. For he said, that indeed the K. desire & endeavour was, to be credited and believed in his

Apology and defence, that he neither had said nor done any thing founding to hostility : many H
in case he perceived and saw, that they came upon him thus, and would needs pick quarrels and
give occasion of war, he would stand upon his guard, and defend himself with a resolute and ve-
hement course. For the hazard of the field was common, and the issue of war uncertain. Now,
all the Cities of Greece and Asia both, would rather then their lives have known what the Em-
bassadors of Persus, and what *Eumenes* had done in the Senat : for in regard of his coming, most
of the states (supposing verily that he would stir cooles and make some work) had sent their Em-
bassadors to Rome, pretending colourably other matters in semblance, but indeed to listen after
news : and among the rest, was the Embassy of the Rhodians, and the chief thereof was one
Satyrus, who made no question nor doubt, but that *Eumenes* had done their errand, and put their
City and Persus together in all their criminal matters laid to his charge. And therefore he made
all the means that possibly he could by the mediation of patrons, friends, and acquaintance, to de-
bate the matter with King *Eumenes* before the body of the Senat : which when he had obtained,
his tongue walked at large, and overbore him w. s. and too round with the King, in broad invectives
and imprecator terms : namely, that he had solicited and stirred up the nation of the Lycians a-
gainst the Rhodians, and was a heavier friend unto *Asia* then *Antiochus* had been. Which speech
of his, as it was plausible enough and pleasing to the States of *Asia* (for they likewise by this time
inclined to affect and favour *Persus*) so it was unsavoury altogether and odious to the Senat, and
nothing profitable to themselves and their City. But contrariwise, this banding and conspiracy
against *Eumenes*, was him the more grace and favor among the Romans, so as they did him all
they honour they could, gave him molt rich and costly presents, and endowed him with a carule
of estate, and a staffe or scepter, both of ivory.

After these embassages had their dispatch and were dismissed, *Harpalus* returned into Macedonia
in all speed and hast possible, relating unto the King, how he had left the Romans not preparing
as yet for war ; but so far out with him and so highly offended, that it appeared evidently it would
not be long ere they began. And *Persus* again for his part, besides that he looked for no other,
was well enough pleased therewith, presuming upon the flour and strength of his forces. But above
all other he unloosed *Eumenes* most : with whose blood he laid the first foundation of the war : for
he laboured one *Evander* a Candiot and captain under him of certain auxiliary soldiers, and
three Macedonians besides (whose service and ministry he had used in the like feats) to
murder the King. He gave them letters addressed to one *Praxo* an hostesse of his, a jolly dame in
Delphi, and of great credit and wealth among them. For assured he was, that *Eumenes* minded
to go up to *Delphi*, there to sacrifice unto *Apollin*. These traitors together with *Evander* set
forward ; and to execute this their designed enterprise, they looked all about and sought for nothing
but the opportunity of some place or other. Now, as men ascend from *Cirra* to the temple,
before they come to any place much peopled and frequented with houses, there stood a mound
or mud wall on the left hand of the path or way, rising somewhat higher than the foundations
ground-work ; along which wall there was passage for one by one and no more ; for on the right
hand the earth was broken down and fallen, and breach made of some a good depth. Behind the
mound aforesaid, these traitors had hidden themselves, and raised some steps like stairs ; to the end
that from above, as from the top of a wall, they might discharge their shot upon *K. Eumenes* as he
passed by. Before him there marched from the sea, at the first a sort of his friends and followers,
together with his guard intermingled one with another ; but afterwards as the way grew more
straight and narrow, the train waxed thinner. But when they were one come to the place where
they could not go but by one at once, *Panaleus* one of the States and princes of *Asia*, with
whom the King had begun some communication, entered first into the narrow path aforesaid :
whom the King had begun some communication, entered first into the narrow path aforesaid :
with that, the knives that lay in wait behind, rose up and tolled down two huge stones, wherof
the one smote the King upon the head, the other astonished his shoulder. And verily all the rest
of his friends and followers, seeing him fall with the blow, fled some one way, some another : only
Panaleus stood behind all, fearless to protect and guard the King. The murderous villainies might
have fetched a short compass about the wall, and soon run to the King to make sure work and dis-
patch him quiet by their insupposing they had done the deed already, fled to the pith of the mound
Panaleus, and made such halt, that when one of the companie hindred and staid their running,
because he dragged behind and could not keep pace and follow them hard at heels through those
steep and blind waies, they made no more ado but killed him out-right, for fear lest if he were ta-
ken, he should bewray and disclose the whole treason. The body of the King lay along on the
ground : and first his friends came running about him, then his guard and household servants. When
they reared him up, they found him stoned with the stroke and altogether senseless in a trance :
howbeit, by some heat remaining, and the beating of his heart, they perceived there was some
life, but little or no hope that he could escape and live. Some there were of his guard and
followers who had made pursuit after these murderers by their tracks : and when they had
held on their chase as far as unto the crest of *Panaleus*, wearying themselves to no purpose,
they gave over and returned as wile as they went. The Macedonians as they had begun an au-
dacious enterprise inconsiderately, so they left it undone as fearfully and without advice. Now by
this time was the King come again to himself. And the morrow after, his friends conveyed him
to his ships from thence to *Corinth* : & from *Corinth* along the freights *Isthmus* they brought their
vessels, & crossed over to *Aegina* : where his cure was carried to close & secret, without admitting any

A person to come unto him, that the rumor run into *Asia* how he was dead. And *Antiochus* his brother
(by your leave) gave good ear thereto, & believed the newes faster then was becoming brithly
love and unity. For he entered into such talk both with his brothers wife, and also with the prin-
cipal of the call, as if he had been the undoubted heir and assured inheritor of the crown. *Antiochus*
himself knew full well afterwards : who albeit he purpoed to dissemble the newes, and to get
it up as least wile with silence ; at their first encounter and meeting together, he could not hold, but
reproved and reproached his brother, for being so forward and over-hally to court and wooe his
wife. The fruit also was blown to Rome, and a report there was of the death of *K. Eumenes*.

About the same time *C. Valerius* was returned out of Greece : who had been sent thither as Em-
bassador to look into the state of the country ; to mark all and observe the plots and proceedings
of *Persus*. He reported all things suitable and agreeable to the intelligences given by King *Eume-
nes*, and withall, brought with him from *D. Iphi dome Proxus*, in whose house those villainous crys-
tall were lodged and harboured : also one *L. Raminus* a Brundisian, who informed inbreve
and gave evidence as followeth. This *Raminus* was one of the principall citizens of *Brundisium*,
and used to lodge and entertain in his house, not only of the Roman captains when they came to
town, but also the Embassadors of forreign nations, such as were of greatest name and principally
those that were sent from any Kings. By this means, acquainted he grew with *Persus*, albeit
they never had seen one another face. And being invited by the King his letters, wherein he was
promised great hope of some near and inward friendship above others, and consequently of great
preferences thereby, he made a journey unto him : Within a short time he was wound into very
familiar acquaintance with the King, and drawn into priv. conference and discourse of secrets.
Further, I wis, then himself was willing or liked of. For the King dealt with him, yea, and im-
ported him with infant. prayers and large behests of rich rewards, that forasmuch as the Roman
captains and Embassadors used to take his house for their Inne, he would cause as many of their
as he wist for, to be poisoned. Now forthat he knew it was a right difficult and dangerous
matter to come by such a poison and compass this project, especially if many were party and
privy to him : and besides, the even uncertainty, either in the effect of the drug it self to be strong,
quick and forcible enough to do the feat : or in the secret working thereof, lest it should be
found and spied ; he would therefore put into his hands such a poison, as neither in the giving,
nor after it was given, might be known by any sign whatsoever. *Raminus* hearing lest if he refused
& denied, he should be the first man to make assay and make experiment of the poison, promised to
do so, & then departed. But return to *Brundisium* he would not before he had spoken with *C. Fa-
bius*, the Embassador, who then sojourned (as he heard say) about *Chalcis*. First unto him he
revealed this plot, and by his commandment came along with him to Rome : where being
brought into the Senat, after audience given, he laid abroad in every point all that had passed. This
new matter, over and besides those which *Eumenes* had reported, was the cause that *Persus*
was the sooner taken for an enemy, and so declared : the rather because they saw him not only
about to make open war of a princely and roysall mind, but also to practise and execute the
kingdome of mischief, by way of covert brigandage, theivish stealth, and secret poison. The
managing of this war was put off and referred to the new Consuls : howbeit for the present ordain-
ed it was, that *C. Cicinius* the Pretor who had the jurisdiction between citizens and strangers,
should levy and enroll soldiers who being conducted to *Brundisium* should with all convenient
speed commit to sea, and sail over to *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, for toleiz upon the maritime Cities,
to the end that the Consul unto whom the Province of *Macedonia* should be allotted, might ar-
rive there with his vessels in safety, and let his forces on land with ease.

Eumenes, after he had been kept a long while at *Aegina*, during the time of his hard and dan-
gerous cure, so soon as ever he might go safely abroad, went to *Pergamum* ; where, over and be-
sides the old hatred settled in his breast, being pricked also with this fresh and bleeding villany
perpetrated by *Persus*, he prepared war with all his power to the uttermost : and thither repaired
unto him Embassadors from Rome, to tellifie their joy for his evasion and escape out of to near and
great a danger.

When the Macedonian war was delayed and put off for one year, and the rest of the Pretors
were already into their provinces, *M. Junius* and *Sp. Lucretius* (unto whom befell the govern-
ment of *Spain*) after that they had importuned and wearied the Senat, in suing so long for one
thing, obtained at the length a commission for a supply of soldiers to make up the army ; by
venue whereof they enrolled 3000 foot, and 500 horse for the legions ; and levied 5000 foot and
three hundred horse for the army of the allies. These forces were transported into *Spain* with the
new Pretors.

The same year, after that a great part of the Campain territory, which private persons here and
there held in occupation without regard of lawful title & tenure, was (upon diligent survey made
by *Publius* the Consul) recovered again for the publick use of the City of Rome ; *M. Lucre-
tius* a Tribune of the Com. preferred a law, that the Censors should let out to farm, the Campain
lands to tenants for yearly rent. A thing that had not been done for many years after the winning
of *Capua*, namely, that particular men should be so greedy as to encroach thus beyond their bounds
upon the common walt.

The Macedonian war being now concluded, but not as yet published and proclaimed, whiloe
the Senat was in doubtfull expectation what *K. K.* would friend them, & who would side with *Persus* ;

there came to *Rome* Embassadors from *Ariminum*, bringing with them the Kings son, a very child. The speech they made was to this purpose, that the King their master had sent him for to *Rome*, thereto have his education, to the end that living there brought up, might from his infancy be acquainted with their fashions, and converse with the people of *Rome*. His father & brother were them was, that they would vouchsafe to him not only the ordinary entertainment and protection that private persons afford to their guests, but also to take the charge of a public education, and as it were the guardianship of him. This embassy of the K. was well taken of the Senat & pleased them highly. Whereupon they ordained *Lucius Licinius* the Pretor, should sit out a mansion house with all the furniture, wherein the young prince and his train might keep their abode.

The Thracian Embassadors likewise presented themselves before the Senat, to debate their own controversies in their hearing, and withall desired their friendship and amity. They desired their suit, and besides there was sent unto them by way of present, the sum of 2000 Altas a piece. Glad were the LL. of the Senat that those States were received into their society, by reason *Thracia* lyeth hard on the back side of *Macedonia*; but to the end that they might have perfect intelligence and notice how all things went in *Asia* and the Islands, they sent thither *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Decimus* in embassy: whom they now commanded also to visit *Cerret* and *Rhodes*; and withall, both to renew the amity, and also to see and observe whether the hearts of those allies had been solicited and tempted by *C. Perseus*.

As the City was thus in doubtfull suspense and expectation of the event of this new war, behold in a tempest that rose in the night, a certain column or pillar garlanded and set out with the beak-heads of war ships (which had been erected in the Capitoll during the first publick war by *M. Aemilius* the Consul, who had for his companion in government *Serg. Fulvius*) was by a clap of thunder and lightning rent and cloven from the very base to the chapter. This was taken for a prodigious token, and report thereof was made to the Senat. The LL. gave order, that the Atruspices should be conferred with about it, and their advice taken: likewise they commanded the Decemvirs to look into their books of *Sibylla*. The Decemvirs for their part declared, that the City should be purged and hallowed, publick supplications and prayers made to the gods, and great heats killed for sacrifice, as well at *Rome* in the Capitoll, as in *Campania* near the promontory of *Munerva*. Also that with all convenient speed, there should be plaies solemnly exhibited for ten daies together, in the honour of most gracious *Jupiter*. All this was done with diligence accordingly: but the Atruspices aforesaid, made answer out of their learning, that this prodigy portended good and signified the advancement of their own territories: together with the destruction of their enemies; for that those beak heads which the storm overthrew, had been the spoils of ships won from the enemies. There hapned other occurrences besides to encrease the ferocious religion & devotion of men: for reported it was, how at *Sabinia* within the town, it rained blood threedayes together. Item, at *Calatia* an affe was bolt with three feet: and a bull together with five kine were stricken stark dead with one thunderbolt and flash of lightning: last of all at *Orimum* there was a shower of very earth and nothing else. In regard of these wonders also, sacrifices were celebrated, supplications made, and one day kept holiday and all shop-window shut.

Yet were not the Consuls departed into their provinces, because they neither would obey and condescend unto the Senat in proposing the matter as touching *Popilius* at the council-table, and the LL. were as resolute for their parts to let no decree passe, before that were done. The spite and heart-burning they bare against *M. Popilius*, grew the more by occasion of his own letters, wherein he wrote and gave them to understand, that being Proconsul, he had now a second time fought with the Statellats in *Liguria*, and put ten thousand of them to the sword, by reason of which hard courses and extremities of war, the other nations likewise of the *Ligurians* were entered into arms. At which news not only *Popilius* was blamed behind his back of making war against all law and equity upon them that had yielded, and thereby provoking those who before were quiet, to go out and put themselves in action of rebellion: but the Consuls also were checked to the faces in the Senat, because they let not forward to their charge and government. *M. Marcius Sermo* and *Quintus Marcius Scipio*, two Tribunes of the Commons, seeing the LL. of the Senat thus drawing all in a line, took heart unto them, and both menaced the Consuls to fine them, unless they made more halt unto their province: and also recited in the Senat a law which they had drawn and framed, and were upon the point to promulge, as touching the forsaide *Ligurians* who had submitted. The tenor whereof ran in this form, That what person soever of Statellat had yielded himself and was not restored to liberty and freedom before the calends of Sextilis next ensuing, the Senat upon their oath should ordaine one special commissioner to make inquisition by what means covin, and service he was in villenage and punish the party accordingly. Then by authority and approbation of the Senat they published this for a law. Now before that the Consuls took their journey, the Senat assembled in the Temple of *Bellona* in regard and favour of *C. Claudius* the Pretor of the former year. Where audience was given him: and after he had declared what exploits he had performed in *Cerretia*, thereupon demanded triumph: which when he could not obtain, he made no more ado, but rode triumphant in the Alban hill, for now it was taken up and grown for a custome to do so, and aske the authority and the State no leave.

The forsaide law propoed by the *Martii* the commons with a generall consent by their voices granted.

A question in the Senat, Whom they would have sit upon their inquisition according to the form of the said law. And the LL. ordained himself to be the inquisitor. Then at length and moreover, the Consuls put themselves in their way toward their province, and received the charge of the army from *M. Popilius*. This *Popilius* durst not yet return to *Rome*, for fear he should be called in question and put to his answer before that Pretor and supreme judge, who had required the advice of the Senat as touching that enquest framed and drawn of purpose against him: knowing full well how the Senat was not well affected to him, and the people much more maliciously bent and set against him. But the Tribunes of the Commons thought they would prevent and meet with this finching of his and absenting himself, by intimation of another act and law provided in that behalf, namely, that if he entered not into the City of *Rome* before the * Ides of November immediately following, it should be lawful for *C. Licinius* to proceed in judgment, and give sentence against him in his absence. This cord towed and haled him to *Rome* with a wittelle: and when he was returned and entered into the Senat, they were upon his top, and gave him such a welcome thither, as testified their displeasure and hard conceit of him. After he had been well bairied and shaken up among them, an act of Senat was entered in this wise, that so many of the *Liginians* as had not been enemies, after the time that *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Marcius* were Consuls, those the Pretors, *C. Licinius* and *Cn. Scinius*, should restore and establish in their former state of freedom; and that the Consul *C. Popilius* should let them out land to occupy and possess beyond the *Po*. By virtue of this arrest, many a too were set free and enfranchised, who being transported over the river *Po*, had land assigned unto them accordingly. Now *M. Popilius* upon the law *Martia* (promulged by the two *Martii*, Tribunes of the Com.) answered for himself judicially twice before *C. Licinius*. At the third time, the Pretor overcome with a respective grace and favour to the Consul, absent, and the earnest prayers of the whole name and house of the *Poppii*, adjourned the defendant to make appearance into the court upon the * Ides of March: on which day the new magistrates were to enter into their offices: and this he did, because himself by that time should be a private person again: & therefore not to sit upon the bench as judge to hear pleas and to determine. Thus the aforesaid act as touching the *Ligurians*, finely shifted and cunningly avoided, came to nothing.

At that time the Carthaginian Embassadors were at *Rome*, with *Gulussa*, the son of *M. Annibals*; between whom hard hold and much debating there was in the Senat. The Carthaginians complained, that over and besides the lands (about which there had been sent commissioners from *Rome* before time, to view the place and to enquire into the cause) *M. Annibals* within the last two years and by force and arms possessed himself of more then threecore and ten towns and castles within the Carthaginian dominion and territory, and an eagle matter was it for him also to do, who made reckoning of nothing, nor had regard of any person; whereas the Carthaginians were so tied and obliged by their capitulations to the good-accoring, that they held their peace: for, inhibited they were to bear arms, without their own country. And albeit they knew assuredly, that they should war within their own confines, if they disliced the Numidians of those peeces, yet feared they that one expels article of the accord, where they were debarred in plain terms to wage against the associates of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit the Carthaginians could no longer endure this pride, chumky, and avarice. Sent therefore they were unto the Senat as humble orators that it might please them to grant one of these three requests: to wit, That either they might debate with indifferent audience before them (being allies to both alike) as touching the right of the one and the other: or that they would permit the Carthaginians to defend themselves by just and lawful means, against unjust and ungodly force: or else finally (if partial favour laywed more with them then the truth of the cause) to let down at once what their pleasure was should be given away out of their own to *M. Annibals*. For they yet, would have some rage of their hands, and know what they gave; whereas he himself had no stay, nor would ever see to make an end, so unsatisfiable was his lust and appetite. But in case they might obtain none of these points, and that there could be found any fault or trespass of theirs, committed since the peace granted unto them by *Scipio*; then, that they rather then any other would chastise them. For rather they had to live in servitude under the signory of Romans with safety, then enjoy such a liberty as should be expoled to the injuries of *M. Annibals*. And better it were for them to perish and die once for all, then to live and languish under the yoke of a most cruel and bloody butcher. At which words the tears tickled down their cheeks, and down they fell at their feet. Lying thus prostrate upon the ground, as they moved pity and compassion to themselves, to they procured delight and merriment against the King. Then thought good it was to demand of *Gulussa*, what he had to answer as touching these matters? or else (if he had no rather himself) to declare before, for what cause and upon what occasion he was come to *Rome*. *Gulussa* made answer, that neither it was easier for him to deal in those points, whereof he had no commission from his father: nor for his father to give him any such charge, considering that the Carthaginians, shewed not unto him of whose benefits they would treat, nor yet made him so much as privy of their coming to *Rome*. This only was known, that there was a close council holden for certain nights, by the principal States of *Carthage* within the Temple of *Esculapinus*, from whence Embassadors were dispatched to *Rome*, with hidden messages. And this was the cause that his father had sent him to *Rome*, to detect the Senat not to give credit to the slanderous accusations that should be preferred against him by those that were common enemies as well to them as him; who hated him for no other cause but

The Senate, to the end that they might know out of hand, what captains and commanders the commonwealth was to employ, thought good to write unto the Cōf, that the one or other of them (who first might) should repair to *Rome* for the creation of new magistrates. And no great matter to speak of, as concerning the state, was that year done by the Cōf. But more expedient it was thought for the commonwealth, to suppress and appease the Ligurians, whose blood was up and ebbed against him, considering that the Macedonian war was in daily expectation.

Moreover, the Embassadors of *Iffe* gave occasion, that *Germanus* also King of *Hybernia* washed in jealousy: who at one time both complained of him, that now twice he had walked to their

Likewise those Ambassadors, whose commission was visit the associar Kings, returned out of *Africa*, and reported that in the said *Africa* they had communication with *Eumenes*, in *Syria* with *Antiochus*, and in *Alexandria* with *Prolemenus*: who all of them had been solicited by sundry embassies of *Perseus*, howbeit they perswaded firm and fast in their professed fealty, and promised to perform whatsoever the people of *Rome* would command them. Also that they went to the confederates, whom they found true and loiall enough, excepting the *Rhodians* only, whom they perceived to be flogging & wavering, as altogether infected & poisoned with the counsel of *Perseus*.

Now were the *Rhodian* Ambassadors consero answer those things which they knew were commonly bruited abroad touching their City: howbeit the Senat w^s not of mind to give them audience, before the new Consuls entered into their office. But they were all of advice to delay no longer the preparation for war. *C. Licinius* the Pretor had incharge, out of the old *Quinquevires* which were laid up in the docks and harbors, to repair as many as might serve at sea; to dig alle and prepare a fleet of 50 sail. But if he could not come to make up that full number, then to write unto his colleague *C. Memmius* in *Sicily*, for to repair, calk and trim those ships which were in *Sicily*, that with all speed possible they might be sent to *Brundisium*. The said Pretor *C. Licinius* was commanded to enroll of Roman citizens (and thole, Libertins, (such as of bondmen born, had been enfranchised) for mariners and sailors, as many as might serve 25 ships: and *Cn. Scipinius* had commission to levy as many of Latine allies for the like number of ships; also the Pretor was enjoined to charge the Latine allies with 8000 foot, and 400 horse. *A. Attilius Serranus*, who had been Pretor the year before, was chosen to receive these forces at *Brundisium*, and to conduct them over into *Macedony*: and *Cn. Scipinius* the Pretor was appointed to have the army in readines for to be transported. As for *C. Licinius* the Pretor, he by authority from the Senat, wrote to *C. Popilius* the Consul that he should command the second legion, which had been longt employed in *Liguria*, and consisted of the most experienced souldiers, together with four thousand footmen and two hundred horse of the Latine allies, to be ready at *Brundisium* upon the 1st of *February*. With this fleet of ships and forces of souldiers, *Cn. Scipinius* was commanded to keep *Macedony*, untill one were appointed to succeed him; and for this purpose his charge of command was continued for a year longer. All these directions of the Senat were put in execution with great diligence and expedition. Eight and forty *Quinqueremes* were laid aloft out of their docks: and *L. Porcius Licinius* was ordained to conduct them to *Brundisium*: the other 13 were sent out of *Sicily*. Three Ambassadors were dispatched into *Apulia* and *Calabria*, to wit, *Decimus*, *T. Inventius* and *M. Caecilius*, for to buy corn to serve the fleet and the army. Now when all things were provided and in readines, *C. Scipinius* the Pretor departed from the City in his warlike coat of arms, and arrived at *Brundisium*. About the end of the year *C. Popilius* the Consul returned to *Rome*, somewhat latter then the Senat had ordained; who was commanded to take the first time, and withall leave to create new magistrats, considering that so great a war approached to neer. And therefore when the Consuls discoursed in the temple of *Bellona* as touching his exploits in *Liguria*, the LL. of the Senat were nothing well pleased to hear him: but in stead thereof, they muttered every where, and asked him oftentimes, Why he had not restored to liberty those *Ligurians*, who were oppressed through the wicked proceedings of his father? The election of the Consuls was holden upon the twelfth day before the Calends of *March* according to the writs that went out: wherein were created Consuls, *Pub. Licinius Crassus* and *Caius Cassius Longinus*. The morrow following, the Pretors were elected, to wit, *Caius Sulpicius Galba*, *L. Furius Philus*, *L. Caninius Dives*, *C. Lucretius Gallus*, *C. Cninius Rebilus*, and *L. Villus Annalis*. To these Pretors the provinces were assigned in this manner: that two of them should sit as LL. chief justices in *Rome* for civil jurisdictions: three other to have the government of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*: so as the first only should remain not aloited to any place; for to be employed wheresoever the Senat would think good and ordaine. The Consuls elect

were commanded by the Senate, upon the solemn day when they were to enter into their magistracy, after they had sacrificed greater beasts, as it appertained, to pray in this form, that the gods would vouchsafe the war which the people of Rome intended now to enter upon. Consul thought well and came to happy issue. The same day the Senate decreed, that C. Popilius the Consul should set out plumes for ten daies together in the house of *Sup. Opt. Max.* and the offerings should be made at all the shrines and altars, it to be commonwealth continued for ten years in the same good estate as now it stood. And as the Senate ordained, the Consul vowed into the Capitol, that the said plumes should be exhibited, so long as were presented of as great value as it pleased them to let down. This vow was pronounced by the Consul in the presence of no fewer than 150 Senators, and according to that form of words which *Lepidus* the high-priest or sovereign Bishop indited. That year died certain Prelats of State, to wit, *L. L. Aemilius Pappus* one of the Decemvirs or superintendents over the holy rites, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* a Bishop, who the year before had been Censor. This man had a ill end. It fortuned that news came unto him of his two foot, who then served in the wars of *Thyrricum*, how they were departed out of this life, and the other lay sick of a grievous and dangerous malady. The sorrow for the one, and the fear for the other, happening to just at one time, brake his heart and oppressed his spirits: inasmuch as the next morning, when his servants entered betimes into his bed-chamber, they found him hanged by a cord, and strangled. It was thought abroad, that he had never been his own man, since he was Censor, and commonly it was spoken, that *Juno Lucina* in wrathful displeasure against him for spoiling her temple, bereft him of his right wits. In the room of *Aemilius*, *M. Valerius Malleus* was substituted. Decemvir a year and in head of *Fulvius* there was elected Archibishop, *Cicero Domitius* K. *Enobarbus*, who to say the truth was very young to be made a priest.

In the year wherein *P. Licinius* and *C. Cassius* were Consuls, not only the City of Rome, and the whole land of Italy, but all the Princes and States of Europe & Asia, were smitten respectively upon the war between the Macedonians and Romans. *Eumenes* (King of Asia) not only carried an old cankered malice against *Philip*, but also was pricked forward with new despite and anger upon a fresh occasion, in that by the wicked practice of *Perseus*, he had like to have been sacrificed at *Delphi*. *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, was resolved not to enter into arms, but attend the issue of the war. For he thought it not reason and seemly for him to take arms in the defence of the Romans against his wives brother; and this account was made, that if *Perseus* hapned to have the better, he might soon obtain pardon at his hands by the mediation of his sister. *Ariaranes* King of the Cappadocians, over and besides that he had promised aid to the Romans in his own name, ever since that he had linked in affinity to *Eumenes*, drew the same way which he went, and joyined with him in all his counsels both of war and peace. As for *Antiochus* [King of Syria] his teeth watered verily at the Kingdom of *Egypt*, as he, who do despise as well the childhood of the young King in his nonage, as the weakness and negligence of his guardians: and considering there was some controversy about the title of *Celestia*, he supposed that he should have good occasion to levy war, to manage all and exploit the same without emperment, while the Romans were busied in the Macedonian war; howbeit was well by his own Embassadors sent unto the Senat, as also unto theirs addressed unto him, he promised stoutly to be to them. *Ptolemy* [the young King of *Egypt*] being yet under age, was at the disposition of others: his tutors and protectors, as they prepared to wage war against *Antiochus* for the recovery of *Celestia* (so they promised the Romans withal to do their devoir in the Macedonian war: *Masaniissa* [King of the Numidians] was altogether for the Romans; he furnished them with coin, and intended to send his son *Mithogenes* with aids both of men and elephants in that service. Howbeit he to dispoled of his designs, as might serve his turn which way (soever the world went) for it the victory fell to the Romans, he ordered that his affairs should remain still in the same state, and better he was not to look for, because the Romans would not suffer any violence to be offered unto the Carthaginians; but in case the Romans went down and had the overthrow (who then protected the Carthaginians) then he made full reckoning of *Asiatic* to be his own. *Gentius* [King of *Thyrricum*] had so demeaned himself, that he was suspected of the Romans; yet was he not fully resolved which side to take unto; and it seemed he would joy to one or the other, more upon relation it took him in the head, than with any discretion or advice. *Cotys* the Thracian, King of the Odrisians, took part evidently with the Macedonians. In these terms (I say) stood the KK. as touching this present war. As for the free Cities and States besides, the common people every where (as at wales lightly it is seen) inclined to the worse part, and ran with the KK. as the Macedonians: but the principal persons and men of quality, a man might perceive affected diversly. Some went with the Romans all upon the head, inasmuch as they greatly empaired their authority in excessive favour to them: few of them were induced by the just and upright government of the Romans, but the most part were carried away with the strong conceit, that the more they employed themselves for them, the greater men they should be at home in their own Cities. Another sort there were of the Kings flattering favorites, who being deeply drenched in debt, and despite of bettering their fortune (at the present Rate held still) abandoned and gave themselves over to entertain all changes and innovations. And some there were besides, possessed with a vain humour of their own, because *Perseus* seemed to have more favour of the common people. A third sort there were (and those of the best and wisest of all other) who if it had lyen in their hands to de-

termine

they would have to be greater lord, wished to have been under the Romans rather than the KK. Many if they might have had their liberty to be masters simply of their fortune, by their good will they would not have had the one part advanced by the depression and subversion of the other: but that the forces and puissance of them both remaining entire and unfolded, peace thereby might be entertained; and so between them both, the state of the Cities should continue in the best case, while as the one part might ever protect the weaker side, from the injuries of the mightier. And when that stood affected thus, held them quiet & laid not a word; but being left themselves, beheld the behaviour and deportments of those that were the partakers and favourers of either side.

The Consuls that day wherein they entered their government, when they sacrificed according to the ordinance of the Senat) with greater beasts in all the temples and chapells, wherein (for a mid part of the year) the sacred beds and couches for the gods were prepared; and thereby had prayed by good tokens, that their prayers were acceptable to the immortal gods, made report unto the Senat, That their sacrifices were as they ought to be, as also their prayers, which they bestowed without touching the war. The *Bowell-priests* likewise by their learning declared, that if they went about any new enterprise, they should make speed; for why? all did prognosticate victory, triumph, and enlargement of their seignory. Whereupon the LL. of the Senat commanded the Consuls to propose to the people the first day of the general assembly of the Centuries in this manner: In the name of God, and in the welfare and happiness of the Commonwealth; whereas *Perseus* (son of *Philip* K. of Macedonia, against the accord and covenant concluded with his father first, and after his death renewed with him) hath levied war upon the allies of the people of Rome, wasteth their territories, seizeth their Cities, complecteth into his arms against the people of Rome, wasteth and hath provided armour, soldiers and a fleet: unless he make satisfaction, pleaseth justice war be enterprised and waged against him. This bill passed by all the suffrages of the people. Then was there an act of the Senat likewise entered, that the Consuls should either agree together, or else cast lots for the provinces of Italy and Macedonia; and look whose lot fell to Macedonia, he should persecute with fire and sword K. *Perseus*, and all that fed and faction which took his part, unless they made amends to the people of Rome. It was concluded also, that four legions should be newly enrolled, for either Consul (twain) with this preeminence and advantage to the province of Macedonia, that whereas to the legions of the other Consul (according to the ancient custom) there went but five thousand foot and two hundred horse apeece, there should be enrolled for Macedonia six thousand foot and three hundred horse equally to a legion. Also for the one of the Consuls in the army of the allies, the number was augmented, so as besides those six hundred horsemen which *Cn. Scipio* had conducted already, he should of those allies transport over into Macedonia, sixteen thousand footmen and eight hundred horse. As for Italy, twelve thousand footmen of allies and six hundred horse were thought sufficient. Moreover this prerogative had the Province of Macedonia, that for Centurions and soldiers the Consul might enroll of the elder sort whom he thought good as many as were not above fifty years of age. In choosing of Tribunes military and colonels, the old manner was this year changed, in regard of the Macedonian war; to wit, that the Consuls (by advice and authority of the Senat) should move the people, that the said Tribunes might not that year be elected by voices of the people, but that their elections should be referred to the judgment and discretion of the Consuls and Pretors. The charge of command was thus divided among the Pretors as followeth. The Pretor whose lot fell to go whether it pleased the Senat to send, was assigned to take his way to the fleet at *Brundisium*, and there to survey and revise the sea-servitors, and look how many he thought not meet for service, them to discharge, & to make up the number with chosen Liberties; and in any wise to order it so, that two third parts consisted of Roman natural citizens, and the other third of allies. Item, That provision of victuals for the navy and the army, should be brought out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. And the Pretors of those two provinces had in charge to exact a double tenth of the Sicilians and Sardinians, and this grain to be conveyed into Macedonia for the army. Now *Sicily* fell to *C. Caninius Rebulus*, *Sardinia* to *L. Furus Philus*, and Spain to *L. Canuleius*. *C. Sulpicius Galba* was L. chief justice for the citizens of Rome, and *L. Iunius Annius* for the strangers: but *C. Lucretius Gallus* his lot was to go where the Senat would employ him. Between the two Consuls there was some jar and wrangling, rather than any great debate about their province. *Cassius* for his part said, That he was by the right to war in Macedonia without any casting of lots for the matter, forasmuch as his colleague might not enter into it with him, and save his oath. For he being Pretor, had sworn solemnly in a frequent assembly of the people (because he would shift off and not go into his province) that he had occasion to celebrate sacrifices in a certain place and upon set daies, which could not be performed (as they might if he were at sea. And the same) as I take it cannot be well done during his absence now, that he is Consul no more then while he was Pretor. Howbeit, if the Senat be of opinion and judge, that more consideration is to be had to satisfy *Caius Licinius* his will now in the Consulship, then regard of the oath he took before in the Pretorship, yet will I notwithstanding accommodate myself to the pleasure of the Senat. The LL. were consulted with hereabout, who judge, that it were a proud part to deny him the government of a province, unto whom the people of Rome had granted the dignity of a Consulship, commanded the Consuls to cast lots. Thus Macedonia fell to *P. Licinius*, and Italy to *C. Cassius*. Then they put to lottery also the conduct

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and employment of the legions: whereby the first and third were to be transported into Macedonia, the second and fourth to remain in Italy. In the manner and choice of soldiers, the Consul went more simply and slightly to work by far, then customarily he used at other times. As for *Scipio*, he enrolled the elder sort also, as well as the younger, as centuries; and many of them were who voluntarily entered their names, because they saw how their brave well and grew rich, who had served either in the former Macedonian war, against *Antiochus* in Asia. Now when as the martial Colonels called forth the centuries by name one after another, and the principal first, there hapned to be three, and a twelfth century, by name one of them, who beforetime had been *Principulus*, had led in the chief and best place, and when they were cited, they called unto the Trib. of the Com. forth to be relieved by their lawful assistance. But two of that fellowship and society of Tribunes, namely, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Fulvius Marcellus*, referred them to the Consul, alledging, that by right, the knowledge of these matters pertaining to those who had plenary commission to take matters, and to manage the war-affairs. But all the rest of the Tribunes avowed that they would assume it into their own hands, and determine of that for which they were called unto as competent judges; yea, and the injuries were offered to their fellow-citizens, they would not fail but help and succour them. All this was debated in the Tribunes-court. Thither was *M. Popilius*, a Consular man, called to the hearing of this matter, and thither appeared the centuries and the Consul also. And when the Consul required that the case should be heard and decided in a general assembly, thereupon the people was summoned to meet in public together. In which solemn congregation *M. Popilius* who had been Consul two years before, spake in behalf of the centuries to this effect. "These martial men (quoth he) have accomplished their full time of service required by law; they carry about themselves as well spent and craze for age, as broken by continual travels; howbeit relate the same as them bodies as, but are ready to do their devoir unto the Commonwealth. This only they humbly crave and request, that they may not be assigned to bair places of command, then wherein they have been employed already when they bare arms. Then *P. Licinius* the Consul commanded, the act of the Senat to be openly read, wherein it was ordered first to levy war upon *Perseus*, the next to enroll as many as they could of the old experienced Centurions for that war, and last of all exempt none from soldiery but such only as were above fifty years of age. "After this he earnestly besought them in this new war to seek to Italy, and against a Prince so puissant, neither to hinder the Colonels in levying soldiers, nor forbid the Consul but that he might appoint to each man what place and degree was thought to stand most for the good of the Commonwealth. And in case there arose any doubt and difficulty in this business, to submit the decision thereof to the Senat. After that the Consul had delivered his mind, *Sp. Ligustinus* one of them who had appealed to the Tribunes of the Commons, requested both the Consul and the Tribunes to give him leave for to speak a few words unto the people: who having liberty granted with all their good wills, made a speech unto them in this wise. "My masters, you Quirites, I *Spurius Ligustinus* of the tribe *Crustumina*, am descended from the Sabins. My father left me an acre of land and all the cottage to it, wherein I was born, bred and brought up, and whereupon at this day I dwell. So soon as I was come to mans estate, my father gave me to wife my cousin german, his neece by the brother, who brought nothing with her former marriage good, but freedom of birth, honesty of life, and there with fruitfulness of womb, as much (I may say to you) as a rich man of some wealthy house may well maintain. Six sons God hath sent between us, and two daughters to them, both maidens marriageable. Four of our sons are men grown, and have put on mans robe; two are boies till in their *Præputia*, under seventeen years old. I myself was first to the wars, the year when *P. Sulpicius* and *C. Aurelius* were Consuls. In that army which passed over sea into Macedonia, I served in quality of a common soldier for the space of two years against King *Philip*. In the third year *T. Quinctius Flamininus*, in regard of my forwardnesse assigned me the tenth place of leading among the Hastati in the vanguard. 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Twice after this, I bare arms and served in Spain, once under *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, a second time under *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the Pretor. By *Flaccus* I was brought home among others, whom for their valour and prowesse he thought good to have in train for the honour of his triumph; and at the request and treaty of *T. Gracchus* I accompanied him into the Province. Where within few years I pace I had the leading of the first company of the Pilani or Tuirii in the rear-guard, four and thirty times have I been rewarded with presents at my General hands, in token of vertue and prowesse. Six civick coronets have I received: two and thirty years full have I followed the wars & more then fifty years old I am. Now if neither had served out all the years required by law,

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A law, nor might plead exemption and immunity by mine age, yet seeing I am able to shew four soldiers for one, my four sons [I say for my self alone] me thinks it were reason, O *P. Licinius*, that I were now freed and discharged. And all this I pray you take, as spoken for the benefit of my cause. Now as touching my person thus much, so long as any man who hath authority to enroll soldiers, shall judge me sufficient and able to bear arms, I will not go about to excuse and shift it off. And look what place the Colonels and Marshals shall suppose me worthy of, if it be in his good will and pleasure to assigne me unto it: but to perform that no one person in the whole army hurt me in valor, that shall be my own endeavor; like as no one of my captains, but those also who have served with me are able to tell thee, That never had I earned my self and performed as much. And you likewise my fellow soldiers, albeit you practise and keep in use the priviledge and benefit of appealing to the Tribunes, yet meet and reason it is, since in your youthfull daies ye never did ought in any place against the authority of the Senat and the Consuls, ye now also in your declining age be at the disposition of the Senat and the Consuls; yea, and to esteem all places worshipsfull, wherein you shall defend and maintain the Common weal. When he had thus said, the Consuls highly commended him, and from before the people brought him into the Senat. And there also by the advice and authority of the honorable boult, thanked he was, and the Marshal-Consuls, in regard of his vertue, appointed him to be the principall Centurion of the Pilani in the first legion. So the rest of the Centurions recommending their appeal to the Tribunes, yielded obedience in the muster and levy above said.

To the end that the Magistrats and great commanders might go more timely into their governments, the Latine feasts and holydaies were published to be holden upon the Calends of *June*. Which solemnity being finished, *C. Lucius* the Pretor took his journey to *Brundisium*, having first before all necessary furniture and provision for the fleet. Besides those armies which the Consuls levied, a commission was directed out to *C. Sulpicius* Gale the Pretor, to enroll four legions of Roman citizens, with the ordinary full proportion of infantry and cavalry, and to chuse out of the body of the Senat four Colonels to command them. Also to levy Latin allies, 5000 foot, and 1200 horse, and to take order that his army should be ready to go whithersoever the Senat thought good. *P. Licinius* the Cos. at his own instant request (that over and above the armed citizens and allies, he might have an addition of auxiliaries) obtained of Ligurians 2000 of Carthagers an uncertain number, namely, as many as the Candians upon request would lend. Moreover, certain Numidian horsemen and elephants: for which purpose *L. Posthumius Albinus*, *Q. Terentius Calles* and *C. Aburnius* were sent in embassy to *Masanius* and the Carthaginians. Semblably it was thought good to send three Embassadors into Crete, to wit, *A. Posthumius Albinus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Licinius Nero*.

At the very same time these levies Embassadors from King *Perseus*. But suffered they were not to enter into the City; considering that both the Senat had ordained, and the people assented already to make war upon their King and the Macedonians. So admitted they were into the Temple of *Bellona* before the Senat, where they delivered their message in this manner: That King *Perseus* marvelled why there were armies transported over into Macedonia? And if the Senat might be intreated so much, as to recall them home, the King would make satisfaction for the wrongs done unto their allies, in such sort as the Senat in their discretion would appoint. Now there was in the Senat-house at that time *Sp. Carvilius*, sent back for that very purpose out of Greece from *Ch. Sienius*. He made report and remembrance, how *Perseus* was forced by arms, and certain Cities of *Thessaly* won: with other exploits that King *Perseus* had either performed, or else was in hand to enterprise. To which challenges the Embassadors were commanded to make answer. But shortly were seen once to falter in their speech, saying they had no farther commission then that they had delivered already; they were willing to relate unto the King their matter, that *P. Licinius* the Consul would shortly be in Macedonia with an army, unto whom the King might address his Embassadors, if he minded to do as he said and to make amends. As for sending any more to *Perseus*, there was no need nor cause, forasmuch as they would not suffer any of them to pass through Italy. When they were dismissed with this short dispatch, *P. Licinius* the Consul had in charge, to command them to go out of Italy within 10 daies, and to send *Spurius Carvilius* for to guard them all the way to the sea-side until they were shipped. Their occurrences passed in Rome before the Consuls were gone into their provinces.

Now by this time *Cn. Sienius* (who ere that he left his magistracy, was sent before as far as to *Brundisium* to the fleet and the army) having put over into *Epirus* 5000 foot and 300 horse, was encompassed before *Nymphæum* in the territory of the Apollonians. From thence he sent certain colonels with 2000 soldiers, to seize the forts and castles of the Dæseretians and Illyrians, by occasion that they of their own accord made meanes and sent for garrisons, to the end they might be better guarded & secured from the violence and invasion of the Macedonians bordering upon their confines.

Some few daies after, *Q. Martius*, *A. Atilius*, *P. and Ser. both Cornelii* and *Levanti*, together with *L. Decimius*, who all had been sent in embassy into Greece, brought them to *Corcyra* one thousand footmen; where they both parted between themselves their several quarters whither they would go, and also their soldiers. *Decimius* was sent to *Genius* King of the *Illyrian*, with whom he would go, and saw him any waies coming on and inclined to entertain amity with the Romans; so found him and gave the assay, yea, and to draw him into the association of the Romans.

The two *Lemuli* were sent into *Cephalonia*, from thence to travel and cross over into *Epheſus*, and before winter to fetch about and compass the coast of the *Well-ſea*. *Marius* & *Attius* were assigned to visit *Epirus*, *Boeotia* and *Thessalia*. From thence they were enjoined to have an eye into *Baetia* and *Euboea*, and to sail into *Poloponnesus* where they appointed to meet with the *Lemuli*. But before that they departed from *Coryra*, letters were brought from *Pyrrhus*, wherein he demanded what reason the Romans had either to transport any force into *Greece*, or to seize upon the Cities; thought good it was to return him no answer by writing, but only by word of mouth thus much to lay unto the messenger that brought the letters, that the Romans did it for the defence and safeguard of the laid towns. The *Lemuli* as they rode their circuit visiting the Cities and towns of *Poloponnesus*, exhorting the States and commonalties thereof indifferently one as well as another, to aid the Romans at this present against *Pyrrhus*, with semblable courage and like fidelity as they had stood with them first in the war against *Philip*, and afterwards in that with *Antiochus*; might here in their publick assemblies much muttering and grumbling thereat. The *Achaens* (who from the very beginning of the Macedonian war had been together for the Romans, and during the war against *Philip*, enemies to the Macedonians) took it in disdain that they were reputed in the same rank with the *Messeni* and *Eleans*, and no better then they who had born arms against the people of *Rome*; for *Antiochus* their enemies and who but the other day, being enrolled into the commonalty and council of the *Achaens*, complained that they were delivered unto the victorious *Achaens*, as the recompence and gerdon of their conquest. *Marius* and *Attius* as they went up to *Gisana* a town of *Epirus*, ten miles from theſe, in a general Councell holden there of all the *Epirians*, had audience with great contentment of them all. Four hundred of their yong and able lusty men they sent into the *Oritians* country to lie in garriſon for defence of those Macedonians who by them were set at liberty. From thence, they held on their progress into *Ætolia*; and after they had joyned there some few daies (whiles a new Pretor was elected in the room of him that was deceased, and *Lyciscus* appointed the governor, a man known for certain to favour the Romans) they passed over into *Thessaly*. Thither repaired the Embassadors of the *Acermanians* and the banished persons of *Ætolia*. The *Acermanians* were enjoined to utter and declare before them what they had committed and done against the people of *Rome*, being inveigled and deceived by the promises of the two Kings *Philip* and *Antiochus* during the wars against the one and the other; since occasion was now presented unto them, for to make amends and save all that was amiss. Forſo upon their ill demerits towards the people of *Rome*, they had made trill and talked of their clemency, they might now by good defence prove their boundy another while. As for the *Boeotians*, they were reprov'd and upbraided for coming into association with *Pyrrhus*; and when they seemed to lay the whole fault upon *Imenius* captain of one of the two factions, and certain Cities and States which being of a different opinion were drawn to the side; Say ye so? (Quoth *Marius* again) and that shall soon appear, for we all permit every commonalty and City to answer apart and severally for themselves the best they can.

Now was the Diet of the *Thessalians* holden at *Larissa*; where, as the *Thessalians* took good occasion and found ample matter of thanksgiving, the Romans, for the liberty which by their goodness they had obtained: so as the Roman legats had as copious an argument to render them thanks, for that first in the war with *Philip*, and afterwards of *Antiochus*, they had been so mightily aided by the *Thessalian* nation. Thus by this mutual rehearsal of pleasures and good turns given and taken, the hearts of the multitude were enkindled with a fervent zeal to decree and ordain whatsoever it pleased the Romans to desire. After this councell was dissolved, there came Embassadors from *K. Perſeus* unto *Marius*, upon a speciall alliance of the privat friendship and hospitality which had passed between his father King *Philip*, and the laid *Marius*; [and his father.] These Embassadors began the speech with a commemoration of the laid familiar and inward acquaintance, requesting him to permit the *K.* for to have access unto him, and to come and join together. *Marius* answered, that he also had heard his father speak of the amity and mutual hospitality between him and *K. Philip*: in regard and remembrance of which near bond of familiarity he was the more willing to take upon him the charge of that embassy and communion. As to the party, he would not have deſpised it at all, if he might commodiously have wrought it: and now for this present he promised (so soon as he possibly could) to send his couriers before to advertise the King, that they might come to the river *Peneus*, whereas the passage lieth from *O-molium* over to *Dium*. And verily at that time, *Perſeus* was retired from *Dium* into the inland quarters of his realme, and had gathered some pretty gale of hope, in that *Marius* had given out, how for love of him he had undertaken this embassy. After some few daies they repaired to the place appointed, This King accompanied with a great train as well of his friends, as his courtiers and pensioners which guarded his person. The legats likewise were attended upon with no lesse a troop, by reason as well of many that followed them from *Larissa*, as also of divers embassadors from the States which assembled at *Larissa*, and were desirous to carry home with them certain news of the league, which they should bear. Every man had an inward desire sealed in his heart to see the manner of the meeting of this noble *K.* & these high commiſſioners from the sovereign State and mightiest people of the whole world. Being come to the interview one of another they stood still on either side of the river, which only parted them sunder. For a while they passed encounters between: whiles they made it strange on both parts, who should pass the river first, for the Macedonians stood somewhat upon the royal majesty of a King; & the Romans were as

reſpective

A reſpective to the reputation of the people of *Rome*, considering wichall, that *Perſeus* sought the means & made first motion for this parley. Whereupon, to end this controverſie, *Marius* call out a merry word, What needs all this (qd. he) let the younger come to the elder without more ado, and the son to the father: this he spake, for that himself also was surnamed *Philip*. The *K.* soon defended thereunto. But then arose another doubt and difference, namely, with what number he should pass over. The *K.* thought it meet & convenient to come with his whole train: but the legats would have had him either to bring over with him three perions, and no more: or else if he were minded to pass with so great a company, to put in hostages for assurance, that during the time of the parley no outrage should be committed. So *Perſeus* sent as pledges, *Il prius* & *Pan-tarchus*, the principal and most especial friends, that were about him, whom also he had employed in the embassy. Now were these hostages required, not to much for a gage & pawn of security, as that it might appear unto the allies there present, that the *K.* in meeting and communing with the Roman Commiſſioners, should not keep state comparable with him, but abate somewhat of the port and majesty which they carried. Their mutual greeting and salutation was nothing strange, as between enemies; but kind and amiable, as among familiar friends. Which done, they sat them down upon their chairs set ready for them. After they had thus siten a while in silence and said nothing, *Marius* began in this manner: "You expect (I suppose qd. he) that we should answer to your letters which you sent to *Coryra*, wherein you demand, Why we are come in embassy and commiſſion after this manner with armed soldiery, and plant garriſons as we do in every City? To which question of yours not to answer at all, I fear me you would take it to be pride in me; and again to answer a truth, I doubt it will be too harsh and unpleasant to your ears. But seeing that he who breaketh a covenant must be chastised either by word or sword, (like as I had rather that any other but my self should have commiſſion to make war upon you) so I will be bold (however it fall out) to speak rough and tart unto you as to my friend: and herein will I follow the manner of Physicians, who for the health of their patients, otherwhiles minister bitter medicines and apply thinking corrosives. Since time that you first attained unto the crown, the Senat thinketh you have done but one only thing of all that you ought to have done, namely, that you sent your embassadors to *Rome* for to renew the league; and yet they judge you had done better in not renewing it, than after it was renewed, to violate the same. Chaled you have out of the Realm * *Abryopolis*, a confederat and friend of the people of *Rome*. The murderers of *Arcturus* you have received and entertained, yea, and given the world thereby to understand, that you were well pleased (to say no worse) with his death: & killed they have a Prince most fast and faithfull to the Romans, of all others in *Ilyricum*. Thorough *Thessaly* and the territory of *Malis*, you have marched with an army against the tenor of the league, as far as to *Delphi*: and more than that, contrary unto the laid accord, sent you have aid and succour to the *Byzantins*. With our allies the *Boeotians*, you have entred into a secret association and bound the same with an oath, which by right you ought not to have done. Who it was that murdered the Theban embassadors *Eusebia* & *Callistius* who came directly from us, I had rather enquire than charge any man and declare. The civil wars in *Ætolia* the massacres of their Princes & States, unto whom may they be imputed in any likelihood, but to your people? As for the *Dolopians*, wasted they were by your self in person and by no other. It grieveth me and greech to my heart, to speak who it is that *K. Eumenes* challengeeth and burdeneth with this, That in his return from *Rome* into his own kingdom, he was like to have been killed as a beast for sacrifice; & that at *Delphi*, in a sacred and hallowed place, even before the altars. As for the secret practices which your host of *Brundisium* hath disclosed and set abroad, I know right well, that not only you have received letters thereof from *Rome*, but your own embassadors also have told you all by word of mouth. You might have soon avoided all this, and heard nothing thereof from me, if you would have forborn only to ask & demand: Wherefore our forces were transported over into *Macedony*, & why we sent garriſons into our confederat Cities? But since you would needs put out such a question, more pride it had been in us to have held our peace, than to utter the plain truth as we have done. Verily, for mine own part, in regard of the hospitality and friendly curtesies that have passed between your father and us, I favour you, and will gladly make the best of your cause: and would to God I had some good occasion ministred from your self, to solicit and further your suit before the Senat.

To these challenges and imputations, the *K.* framed his answer in this wise: "Content I am to appeale my cause before you, the parties appellants and judges both, which would be found (I King *Perſeus*, doubt not) good, if it were debated and handled in the presence of indifferent and equal arbiters. And first, as touching those matters which are objected against me, they are such as in part I wot not well, whether I may not glory in them, or at least wile not blush in the confessing and avowing thereof. As for the rest, as they are charged upon me in bare words, so plain words may serve flatly and simply to deny them. For say that this day I were subject unto your laws, and by them to have my triall, what can either that promoter of *Brundisium*, or *K. Eumenes* inform against me, but it will appear, that they accuse me not so much with matter of truth, as exhibit only slanderous and reproachfull terms? A like matter, I wis, it is, that neither *Eumenes* had any other enemy but me, (he, I say, who hath done such wrong and injury to so many both in common and also in particular;) nor I could find a fitter person to serve my turn in the execution of my projects but this *Romulus*, a fellow that I never had seen before, nor was ever like

The Oration of *Marius* *Philippi* to King *Perſeus*.

* The King of the *Sepsons*, *Arcturus* was *Bacchis* a *delphian*.

The answer of

"to see again hereafter, I must (if sooth) give account for the Thebans, who as it is well known, H
perished by shipwreck: as also for the murder of *Antistius*; and yet therein I am no deeper
charged than thus, that the murderers of him lived in exile & were shadowed within my realm.
Newly surely this hard conclusion and unreasonable condition I will not refuse to undergo, in case
you also will be content to take upon you and avow all those crimes and facts, for which they
(stand condemned, who as banished persons have fled either to *Rome* or into *Italy*; but in case
both you and all other nations will disavow that, I also will be one among the rest. And in good
faith, to speak uprightly, to what end should any man be banished from one country, if he may
not find a place in another, and be permitted there to live in exile? And yet (so soon as ever I
found by advertisement from you that they were within *Macedony*) for my part, made diligence
search until I had them, and then I commanded them to depart out of my kingdom, yea, and ex-
piously forbade them for ever letting foot again within my dominions. And thus much verily
concerning the criminal matters objected unto me as a defendant pleading at the bar. Now let
us argue and debate the rest, enforced and laid against me in quality of a King, namely, which
concern and touch the accord contracted between me and you. For if the words run in this sort
and are thus written in the forelaid covenants of accord, That I may not be suffered to defend
myself and my realm, no, not if any enemy of mine levy war against me: then I must confess
indeed, that the league I have broken, in that I stood upon my gnaid and defence by force of
arms against *Abruptus*, an affociat of the people of *Rome*. But if it were lawful for me to do so
by warrant of the accord, and allowed also by the law of nations, by force to repell force; what
should I else say, what could I else have done I pray you? When *Abruptus* had laid waste the
frontiers of my kingdom even as far as to *Amphipolis*, led into captivity many persons free-
born, carried away a mighty number of slaves, and driven before him many thousand head of
cattell; should I have sitten still and suffered him until he had come armed to *Pella*, even unto
my royal palace? But some man may haply say, You did well indeed and justly in making head
and pursuing him by force of arms, many vanquished he should not have been, neither ought he
to have suffered those calamities which follow men vanquished. Why if I have endured the for-
tune thereof, provoked as I was to war, how can he justly complain of talking the like, being him-
self the cause and first motive of all? I will not use the same manner of defence (O Romans) to
this, that by force of arms I have repressed the Dolopians: for if I have not done by their ac-
cord, but by their demerits, yet I am sure I have dealt by the virtue of the right I have over them be-
ing as they are of mine own kingdom, under my obeysance, and made subjects to my father even
by a decree of your own drawing. And yet, were I to render a reason of my proceedings against
them, I say, not unto you nor unto my allies, but even to those who like not of any cruel com-
mand so much as over bondslaves; I can be thought to have exercised more rigor against them,
than equity and reason would bear. For, *Euphrates*, whom I deputed governor over them, they
killed in such sort, that death is too good for them, and the least punishment of all others that
they have deserved. And as I marched forward in my progress from thence to visit the Cities of
Lavissa, *Antroon*, & *Pylleon*, I ascended up to *Delphi*, there for to sacrifice, to the end that I might
discharge my conscience & pay those vows which I had of long time owed. Now to aggravate
matter in this also against me, it is said moreover, that I was there with my army, and intended
(no doubt) for to seize Cities into my hands, and put garrisons into forreifes; for which at this
present I complain of you. Call the States and Cities of *Greece* together to a general assembly,
through which I passed. Let any one man come forth & make complaint of the least harm done
by any of my souldiers; then will I not refuse to be reputed for one who under pretence of di-
vine sacrifice, went about another thing. We sent indeed garrisons to the *Ætolians* and *Bizan-
tines*, yea, and with the *Boeotians* we contracted amity. But these things, in what sort & for what
purpose they were done, my ambassadors have not only declared, but also excused offences
before your Senat: where I found some Umpires to hear and decide my cause, although not so
indifferent and favourable to me, ward, as your self are. O *Martius*, my fathers old friend and fa-
miliar, For as yet *Eumenis* my accuser was not come to *Rome*, who by false suggestions, writing
at his pleasure every thing to the worst, to make all suspicious and odious unto you, went about
to make you believe that *Greece* could not possibly be restored to freedom, & enjoy the fruit
of your gracious benefit, so long as the kingdom of *Macedony* stood entire and upright. Well, the
world you shall see, will turn about; and anon one or other will be here, to make remembrance
and prove, That to no purpose *Antiochus* is removed and confined beyond the mountains of
Taurus; that *Eumenis* is become much more grievous and unupportable to all *Asiathan* An-
tiobus ever was: and that your allies cannot be at rest nor live in quiet, so long as he keepeth
his royal court in *Pergamus*, a Citadel (as it were) overlooking and commanding all the neigh-
bour Cities bordering thereupon. Right well I know, O *Q. Martius*, and you *A. Attilius*, that
whatsoever either you have objected against me, or I answered for my defence & purgation, is
such as the ears and affections are of the hearers: neither what I have done, nor what I have not
intention I have carried in mine actions will be so much regarded, as how you take every thing
either done or intended. Mine own conscience beareth me witness, that willingly I have not
faulted; now, if for want of knowledge and foresight I have been overseen and done somewhat
amiss it may be corrected and amended by this present chastisement. This I am sure, my trespass
is not incurable, neither have I committed ought that you should deem worthy to be punished

"by war & force of arms. And if ye do, then surely it is for ought, that there goeth this having a
broad thorough all nations of your clemency and gravity both. If I say for so slight occasions
which hardly are worth the complaint and the reasoning about, you be ready to enter into arms
and levy war upon your confederat Princes. *Martius* for that time accorded to his speech, and
moved him to address ambassadors to *Rome*, being of advice and opinion himself to try all means
of the very last point, and to let slip nothing whereof (some hope of good might arise. It remained
only to be debated in council, how ambassadors might pass in safety. And to this purpose, when
it was necessary for the King to request a furcase of arms, albeit *Martius* himself was willing and desirous
thereof (for that his drift was to nothing else by all this conference and parley, yet he seemed
to make a hard matter and difficulty of it, and to do a special favour and pleasure unto *Perseus* in
gratifying his petition. The truth was, the Romans yet were not ready nor thoroughly appointed at
this present for the war: they had neither army puissant enough, nor captains sufficient: where-
as *Perseus* (but that he was blinded in all his councils with a vain hope of peace) had all things
prepared and in readines, and might then have begun to wage war, as in the best and most opor-
tune season for himself, to the worst and unfittest of all other times for his enemies.

After this parley and the abstinence of war assured faithfully on both parts, the Roman Com-
missioners were appointed and resolved to go into *Boeotia*, where there was begun already some
trouble and commotion, by reason that certain States of the *Boeotians* were departed from the
society of the common Council, ever since it was reported back, how the Roman Legats made
answer that it should appear and be seen, what Cities they were indeed which took no pleasure
to have any affociation with the King. And first the ambassadors from *Choreates* afterwards, from
Thebes encountered them upon the way, who assured them that they were not present in that Di-
et and Council, where this affociation was concluded. To these embassages no answer for this
time was made, but willed they were only to give their attendance and follow them to *Chalcis*.

At *Thebes* great variance there was, which arose by occasion of another strife and debate. In
their solemn assembly for the election of the Prator of the *Boeotians*, that part which had the re-
pelling in revenge of that injury and disgrace, assembled the multitude and made a decree at *Thebes*.
That the *Boeotarches* should not be received within their Cities: in such sort, as like banished
men they resorted to *Thebes*: from whence (for received there they were incontinently without
any stay) being called again to *Thebes* upon better advisement and change of mind, they made
an ordinance, That if to the number of twelve private persons held any conventicle or publicke
meeting together, they should be condemned to exile. After this, *Ismenius* the new Prator, a no-
ble personage and of great puissance, by virtue of a decree adjudged them in their absence for to
lose their lives. To *Chalcis* they were fled, and from thence to the Romans at *Larissa* they went:
where they declared that *Ismenius* was the cause of their association with King *Perseus*. Upon that
forelaid difference, they grew to hot contention, yet ambassadors from both parts came to the
Romans, as well the banished persons and accusers of *Ismenius*, as also *Ismenius* himself. But so
soon as the Roman Legats were come to *Chalcis*, the States and heads of other Cities (who e-
very one by a speciall decree of their own had renounced affociation with King *Perseus*) joy-
ned with the Romans: whereat they took exceeding great contentment and joy. *Ismenius* thought
himself and reason that the *Boeotian* nation should be committed to the protection of the Ro-
mans. Whereupon arose a tumultuous fray, & but that he fled into the Tribunal of the Legats to
save himself; he had escaped narrowly from being killed by the said exiled persons, with the help
of their supporters and favorites.

Also the City of *Thebes*, which is the capital place of State within *Boeotia*, was in great trouble
and distress; whilst some drew to the King, others inclined to the Romans. Besides, there was a mul-
titude of *Coronians* and *Halartians* gathered together to maintain the ordinance and decree as
touching the association with the King. But such was the resolute persistence of the principall and
chief men, who shewed by the late calamities of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, how great the forces, and
how happy the fortune was of the Roman empire, that the same multitude relented, and being
overruled, passed a new decree, to reverse and cancel the former confederacy with the King: sent
those that were the motives and periwaders of contracting that amity to *Chalcis* for to satisfy
and content the Roman Legats: yea, & to conclude were of advice to recommend the City to the
Affiliat patronage of the said Commissioners. *Martius* & *Attilius* took great pleasure to hear the
Thebans sing this note, they persuaded with them severally apart, and gave them counsell to send
ambassadors to *Rome* for the renewing of this amity: but before all things they took order for the
restoring of the banished persons: as for the authors of the confederacy contracted with the King,
they by their own decree condemned. Having thus by this means inflicted and made frustrate the
Deceit of the *Boeotians* (the thing which above all they most desired) they took their journey to
Thessalonica, together with *Ser. Cornelius*, whom they had sent for to *Chalcis*. For their takes a
Council was holden at *Argos*, where they demanded nothing else of the *Achean* nation, but on-
ly to furnish them with 1000 souldiers. This garrison was sent to the defence of *Chalcis*, until
the Roman army were transported into *Greece*. *Martius* and *Attilius* having thus dispatched all
the affairs that they had to do in *Greece* in the beginning of winter returned to *Rome*.

When there was sent from thence about the same time an honourable embassage to the *Illes* in
Italy. These Ambassadors or Legats were three in number, to wit, *T. Claudius*, *P. Postumius*, and
M. Valerius. They in their circuit and visitation exhorted all their allies to take arms against *Perseus*.

for the Romans. And the mightier and more wealthy any City was, the more earnestly travelled they there; because the inferior States were like to frame and fort themselves suitable to the ample and authority of the greater and superior. Now of all others the Rhodians were reputed of most import and consequence every way, for that they were able not only to favour with their countenance, but also aid and maintain with their forces this war; and by the persuasion of *Hergellus* they had got together a fleet of forty sail. "This *Hergellus* their sovereign Magistrate (whom they call *Prytanis*) had by many reasons prevailed with the Rhodians to abandon the hope they had by entertaining the KK. (which they had found by often experience how vain it was) and to hold themselves to the society and alliance of the Romans, the first hold of all others at that time in the world, as well for strength of forces as truly assurance and fidelity. There is intended war by them (qd. he) against *Perseus*, and no doubt the Romans will require of us the same provision and furniture of ships and sea-forces, which they have seen in their war lately against *Antiochus*, and before that, against King *Philip*: and then you will be to seek, and forced in great haste to provide a fleet, when it were more time it should be let out and lent forth, unless ye begin betimes to repair and rig your ships, unless I say, you let in hand to furnish the same with sailors and mariners. And with so much more endeavour ought ye thus to do, that by your deed and effectual employment, you may refuse and disprove the false imputations wherewith *Eumenes* hath charged you. By these remonstrances induced they were, inasmuch as at the arrival of the Roman Legats aforesaid, they were able to shew unto them an armada of 40 ships ready rigged and well appointed, that they might know and see, they looked not for to be exhorted thereto. And this embassy was of great moment and importance also to gain the hearts of the States in *Asia*. Only *Dicimius* returned to *Rome* without any effect of his errand and commission, nay, he ran into ill name and obloquy, upon suspicion that he had received certain bribes of the Princes in *Ilyricum*.

Perseus upon the conference and communication had with the Romans, retired into *Macedon* and sent his Embassadors to *Rome*, to treat about the conditions of peace begun already with *Marius*: to other Embassadors also of his he gave his letters to carry to *Byzantium* and *Rhodus*: the tenor of which letters was one and the same directed to them all: namely, That he had communed with the Roman Legats, but he had fo placed and couched as well what he heard as what he spake, that it might seem he gave not one foot unto them, but gained the better hand in that dispute & debating with them. These Embassadors added moreover, and said unto the Rhodians, "That they hoped assuredly there would be a peace, for that they by the motion and advice of *Marius* and *Attilius* were added in embassy to *Rome*. Now if the Romans, say they, against the covenants of accord proceeded to levy war, then the Rhodians were to endeavour with all the credit and power they have, to reunite the peace again; but if with all their prayer and entreaty they might not prevail, then they were to look about and labour this one point, That the might and puissance of the whole world were not devolved into the hands of that one people. And as this imported and concerned all the rest, so the Rhodians especially, who sunguoned other States in dignity and wealth, both which should be obnoxious and embroiled, if there were regard and respect made of none but the Romans. The letters of the King and words of the Embassadors, were entertained with friendly audience, other effect they took none to change their settled minds: for upon the authority of the better part began also to carry the greater way. But this answer was returned to them, & that by way of decree, That the Rhodians wished peace with all their hearts: but if it should come to war, their King and Master was neither to expect, nor cry to exact any thing at their hands, to disjoyn the ancient amity which they held with the Romans, and which they had acquired by many and great dejects, as well in war as in peace. In their return *from Rhodus*, they went to the Cities of *Besnia*, and namely, to *Thesba*, *Corymba*, and *Haliartus*, from whom it seemed a thing extorted forcibly against their will, that they were disbanding from the King & gave to the Romans. The Thebans stood firm and immovable, although they were somewhat discontented with the Romans, both for condemning their chief and principal Citizens, and also for restoring the banished persons. But the Coroneans and *Haliartians* upon an intired and settled favour by kind an othe Kings, sent Embassadors into *Macedon*, requesting a garrison for their defence against the excessive pride of the Thebans. To this embassy the King thus answered. That a garrison he might not lend, by reason of the truce made with the Romans: howbeit, he advertised them to maintain and guard themselves against the injuries of the Thebans all that ever they could: but yet so, as they gave the Romans no cause to be their heavy friends, and so to proceed in rigour against them.

Marius and *Attilius* being come to *Rome*, made report of their embassy within the Capitol in such manner, as in nothing they gloried more, than in deluding and deceiving them by means of a cessation from arms, and a pretended hope of peace. For so well supplied was he and furnished with all provision for war, and they contrariwise to unprovided every way, that he might easily have possessed himself of all places of opportunity and advantage, before that they any could pass over into *Greece*. But now having this relief and time of the truce, as the King would come nothing better provided, so the Romans might begin the war, more fully furnished with all things convenient. Moreover, they related how they by their coming distracted and let a jaw in the general Council of the Boetians, so as by no means any more hereafter they can be joyed to the Macedonians by consent and accord. The greater part of the Senat approved this service of theirs

as theirs as performed with singular discretion and dexterity: But the old Senators and those that held in remembrance the ancient manner and custom of the Romans, said plainly, "That in all the course of that embassy, they could see no Roman practice and dealing at all. Our ambassadors (say they) were wont to war not by wait-laying and lesser ambushes, nor by skirmishes in the night-season, nor yet by false semblance of running away and sudden turning their face against unwares upon their unprovided enemies; neither sought they to glorify themselves by subtil flights more than by true virtue and valour: Their use and manner was, to intimate and publish wars before they made any: yea, and to denounce and proclaim the same; or otherwise also to assign and appoint the very place where they went to strike a battell. According to this plain and faithful dealing, they detected and disclosed unto *K. Pyrrhus* the Physician that would by pay have taken away his life: by the same they delivered bound unto the Faliskians the villainous traitor that would have betrayed the children of their K. These are the Roman fashions (say they) not to use the cunning casts and sly shifts of the Carthaginians, nor the crafty policies of the Grecians, who ever reputed it more glorious and honourable by fraud to compass, than by force to surpass the enemy. Indeed otherwhiles for the present time, more good is done and greater matters are effected by guile and policy, than by valour and virtue: but to say a ruth the course of that enemy is nor ever conquered, who is forced to confess, that he was vanquished not by cunning nor by venture, but in just and lawful war by main strength and close fight at handy grips. Thus spake the ancients, who had no great liking to the new-found devices of these politicians. Howbeit, that side of the Senat which made more reckoning of profit than of honesty, carried it away and imported so much, that not only the first embassy of *Marius* was approved, as well performed, but also himself was sent back again with certain Quinquagres, with a mandate also & commission to deal in the rest according as he should think to stand with the good of the Common-weal. They dispatched likewise *Ant. Attilius* to seize *Laurissa* in *Thessaly*: for fear lest in the term of truce were expired, *Perseus* should find a garrison there, and hold in his hand the capital City of *Thessaly*. The laid *Attilius* had a warrant to receive 2000 footmen of *Cn. Sicinius* for to effectuate that enterprise. Also *P. Lentulus* lately returned out of *Achaia* was allowed the conduct of 300 souldiers of the Italian nation, to the end that at *Thesba* he should endeavour to bring all *Besnia* under the obedience of the Romans. When all things were set in this forwardness, they went at a point and fully resolved to make war yet thought good it was to give audience unto the embassadors of *Perseus* in the Senat: who rehearsed and related in manner the reasons which were delivered by the King in the late conference and parley. Much ad they made and laboured hard, to acquit the King of the imputation laid to his charge for seeking the death of *Eumenes*; but with small probability of none at all: for the thing was too too apparent, to the end they fell to prayer and intreaty: howbeit, no ear was given unto them, with any such mind and heart, as could be either intruded or inclined. Instead thereof, warned straightly they were to depart immediately forth of the liberties of *Rome*, and within thirty daies out of *Italy*.

After this, *P. Licinius* the Obf. who was charged with the Province of *Spain*, had a commandment given him to assign unto the army the soonest day that he could, for to meet in one certain place. *Quintus* the Prator who had the conduct of the fleet, took his leave of the City with forty Quinquagres: for advised it was, that the rest of the ships which had been repaired, should be hid at home for to be employed otherwise about the City. And the Prator sent his brother *Lucius* before with one Galeace or Quinquagres & commission to receive of the allies that shipped with by covenant they were to find; and with them near the Island *Cephallenia*, to joyn with the rest of the armada: to wit, from the Rhogens one thirteenth gally, from the Locrians twain, from the Urits 4. With which he coasted along *Italy*, and having doubled the utmost point of *Calabria* within the Ionian sea, he arrived at *Dyrbachium*. There he found 19 galleons or barks of the Dyrbachians, 12 of the Illeians, and 54 belonging to *K. Gentius*: which he took all with him along, making semblance that he supposed they were provided of purpose for the service of the Romans: with this fleet by the third day he fell with the Isle *Corfu*; and so forward he made sail. And arrived at *Cephallenia*, *C. Lucretius* the Prator, having looked to sea from *Naples*, crossed the straits of *Sicily*, and on the fiftieth day cut over likewise to *Cephallenia*. Then the fleet from anchor, expecting as well the arrival of the land-forces, as also that the hulks and vessels of carriage which were scattered upon the seas from the rest of their company, might overtake them. It happened about this time, that *Pub. Licinius* the Col, having conceived and solemnly made his vows within the Capitol, departed in his coat of arms from the City. A solemnity at all times very much in done with much dignity and majesty: but especially with exceeding great pleasure and contentment of the beholders; when the Col, is accompanied with a stately train at his first setting forth, to encounter some great and famous enemy, renowned as well for virtue as quality and fortune: for at such a time men assemble and gather together, not only in regard of duty to acquit themselves of their devoir, but also upon a desire they have of the very thing and sight presented unto their eyes: namely, to see their captain to whose conduct and counsel they have committed the managing and defence of the Common-weal. Moreover, they took occasion thereby to think of the hazard of war, how adventurous is the event, and how doubtful the issue of battell in the field. They call to mind the alternative course of good fortune and bad, and namely, how by the blind ignorance or the unadvised rashness of leaders, many folks and overthrow have happened; and contrariwise by politick wisdom and hardy courage, great matters have been effected, and

happy victories achieved, And what mortal man is he that knoweth, of what kind and carriage of good or bad, how fortunate or unlucky the Col. is, whom they send forth to war: Whether he be like soon to be seen again in triumph with wife with his victorious army mounting to the Capitol unto those gods, of whom now he taketh his leave; or shall give occasion to the enemies in the same manner to rejoice? As for *Perseus* the K. against whom this expedition and journey is taken, a Prince he is, highly renowned both by the Macedonian nation (so famous for feats of arms), and also by his father *Philip*, who among other fortunate achievements of wars was enabled by his war against the Romans. Moreover, the very name of *Perseus* himself (since time that first the diadem was set upon his head) was in every mans mouth, and no talk considerably but of him and the expectation of this war. With these and such like cogitations (I say) a mighty number of men of all sorts and degrees attended and accompanied the Col. at his departure. With him I were sent two Colonels or knight-marshalts above the rest, who had been Col. namely, *C. Claudius* and *Q. Mutius*: also three brave and lusty young gallants, to wit, *P. Lentulus* and the two *Manlius*, both surnamed *Acinidius*, the one son to *M. Manlius*, and the other to *L. Manlius*. The Col. thus accompanied, first went to *Brundisium* to the army, and from thence passed the least to *Nymphæum* and so encamped in the territory of *Apollonia*.

* This *M. Manlius* seemeth to be plebeian genus: for that there passed an act long before, That no *Manlius Patricius* might be named *Marcius*: and that there were *Manlii* surnamed *gentis*, *Fabius*, *Priscus* that learned Antiquary hath well collected out of *Cicero* in 1. *Philip*.

Perseus some few daies before, upon the return of his ambassadors from *Rome*, who had clean put him out of all hope of peace, held a council: wherein for a good while the matter was debated with great variety of sundry opinions. Some were of mind that in case the Romans enjoyed them either to yield a tribute, or to forgo some of their lands: yea, if they imposed upon them some fine by way of amends and satisfaction: in brief, whatsoever else they let down and ordained to do and suffer all for to redeem their peace, and not to refuse any condition were it never so hard but to take heed and provide in any wise, that *Perseus* put not himself nor the realm upon the dangerous hazard of so great a jeopardy. For if he held still the main point and continued in quiet possession of his kingdom, in time and space much good might happen: by means whereof he should be able not only to lick himself whole and recover his losses, but also become hereafter dread and terrible even unto those of whom now he standeth in fear. But the greater part carried with them a more courageous spirit and gave advice accordingly. For they affirmed, That if *Perseus* parted with ought and yielded never so little, he must make account withal to quit the free-hold of his whole kingdom soon after. For it is neither money nor land (say they) that the Romans want: but this they they work well, That as all things else in the world, so especially great monarchies & empires are subject to many accidents and casualties: right well they know also, how they have quelled and braked the puissance of the Carthaginians, and for to yoke their necks and hold them down, have set up a mighty King to be their neighbour and to command them: yea, and that *Antiochus* and all his race is removed and chased beyond the mountain *Taurus*. There remaineth only now the realm of *Macedony*, which is both seated in a near region and also (if the fortune of the people of *Rome* should hap to fail) I seemeth able to give heart and courage to her Kings at this day, answerable to that of their noble progenitors in former times. And therefore whiles the State standeth entire and unfolded, *Perseus* ought to resolve, whether he had rather forgoing one thing after another, strip himself in the end of all his goods and lands, & so turned clean out of his kingdom, be driven to request at the Romans hand either *Samothracia* or some other such petty Isle, where, in quality of a private person he may survive his royall estate, and live to old age in base contempt and needy poverty: or else, to take arms in the defence and maintenance of his royall place and dignity, like a Prince of valour and courage: and either abide all hazards whatsoever the fortune of the field shall plunge him into: or after victory achieved deliver the whole world from the dominion and imperious seignory of the Romans. And no greater wonder and miracle is it to hunt the Romans out of *Greece*, than it was to chase *Annibal* out of *Italy*: neither see we in good faith (say they) how by any reason it can well stand, that he who resisted with all his might and main his own brother, that would have made himself K. against all right and law, should now to strangers and aliens render the possession thereof, which he came so well and truly by, and wherein he is so right fully invested? Finally, in war and peace whoever men make questions, disputing and arguing to and fro, yet this conclusion they all grant and agree upon, That as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to abandon and lose a kingdom without battell, so there is nothing more glorious and honourable than for the maintenance of Princely dignity and regal majesty to hazard all fortune whatsoever. This Council was holden at *Pella*, the ancient Palace wherein the Macedonian KK. kept their royall court. Why then (qd. he) on Gods name, since you are of that mind and resolution, let us take arms & to the field: whereupon he sent his letters into all parts to his gallants and captains, and assembled & drew all his forces to *Citium*, a town of *Macedony*. Himself in person after he had performed a magnificent sacrifice (like a K. for 100 head of beasts to the honour of *Minerva*, surnamed *Aleida*, he departed accompanied with a number of his courtiers, pensioners, and yeomen of the guard to *Citium*. To which place were gathered already all his forces, as well Macedonians as auxiliary strangers. He pitched his camp before the town and embattelled all his armed men in the plain. He was in all forty thousand strong: whereof one half well-near consisted of those whom they call Phalangians, and those were commanded by one *Hippias* of *Berythea*. Besides, there were two choice companies (for the flower of age and strength of body) selected out of the whole number of targettiers, called *Cetrarii*. This regiment,

A themselves called by the name of The legion: and the *Strata* was under the conduct of *Straton* and *Therapsius* both *Euboeians*. The rest of the targettiers to the number of three thousand or very near were led by *Antipholus* of *Edessa*. The *Promachians*, those also amounted to *Straton* (placed subject to the Thracians) and the *Agrians*, together with some inhabitants of *Thrace* in the country amongst them, amounted also to the number of three thousand. *Didas* of *Pessina* had levied and armed them, even the man that murdered young *Demetrius*. There were besides two thousand Frenchmen in arms under the leading of captain *Alephobolus*, whom *Heraclea* likewise of the *Sintians* country, there were three thousand Thracians, free men born, under a leader of their own. The like number well-near of *Cerebantes* followed their Commanders, *Saps* of *Phidarna*, and *Syllus* of *Gnosfa* also *Donides* the *Lacedemonian* had the charge of five hundred g out of *Greece*, but a mixt company they were of divers nations. This *Laonides* was said to have been of the blood royall, a banished person, condemned in a frequent assembly and Council of the *Acheans*, for certain letters which he sent to *Perseus*, and were intercepted. The *Ætians* and *Boeotians*, who in all made not above five hundred, were conducted by *Lycas* an *Achean*. Their auxiliaries or aid-fouldiers of so many natiues and nations mixt and blended together, grew it unto the number of 20000 armed men. As for the Cavalry, he had levied out of all *Macedony* 3000 horse or thereabout. *Corys* King of the *Odryians*, the son of *Sankles*, was thither come with 1000 chosen men of arms, and almost as many footmen. In sum, the whole army arose to the number of 39000 foot, and 4000 horsemen. And this was held for certain, that the like army was never raised by any King of *Macedony*, unless it were that again, with which *Alexander* the Great crossed over into *Asia*. Twenty years now and fix were come and gone, since time that peace was granted unto *Philip* at his own suit and request: during which space between, *Macedony* being in rest and quietnes, had brought forth a goodly fry of fresh youth: a great part whereof was of sufficient age to bear arms: and by the continual skirmishes which they maintained with the Thracians their neighbours, were rather whetted than weakened, and more enured than wearied: and, in one word, lived ever in practice of martiall tests: whereby it came to pass, that all things were preft and in readines for the war, which *Philip* first, and *Perseus* afterwards projected to wage against the Romans.

This army stirred and advanced a little, not in manner of a full march as to a present battell; but only for this that they would not be seen to have stood still in their arms: and thus armed as the fouldiers were, *Perseus* called them to an audience, intending to make an Oration unto them. Being mounted up to his Tribunal, he stood there with his two sons about him, one of either hand, whereof the elder (named *Philip*) he adopted to be his child, whereas indeed by nature he was his brother; but the younger (whom they called *Alexander*) was his own natural son. Then and there he exhorted his fouldiers to fight manfully, and laid before them what wrongs and injuries the people of *Rome* had done both to his father and also to himself. "As for my father (qd. he) forced he was by all kind of indignities to enter into arms and begin war again: but in the every preparation thereof, he was suddenly surprised and stricken with death. To my self, one time were ambassadors from them sent to treat of peace, and armed fouldiers also for to seize upon the Cities of *Greece*. Afterwards by a deceitful shew of a parley under colour of reconciliation and peace making, we were born in hand and drawn out a whole winter, to the end that they might gain time to prepare for war. And now is the Col. coming with two Roman legions, having either of them some 300 horse besides, and with a proportionable number (and that is the most) of allies, as well foot as horse. And say that the KK. both *Eumenes* & *Masaniassa* joyn with their aid, forces yet can they not amount above the number of 7000. Now that ye have heard what the strength is of the enemies, regard and compare your own army, namely, how far both in number, as also in goodness and quality of fouldiers, you surpass them: being your selves from your childhood and infancy warriors trained in practice of arms and warfare, wrought, and hardened in so many battels: whereas they be new & raw fouldiers taken up in haste, and enrolled now the first time against this present service. As for the auxiliaries of the Romans, what are they but *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, and *Numidians*? but we to let against them, have to aid us Thracians and Gauls, the most courageous nations under heaven. For harness and weapons, they have no other than such as every poor fouldier is able to provide for himself: but the Macedonians are furnished out of the Kings royall armory and arsenal with such armors of proof, as my father in many years caused to be made with great care, & to his no small expense. The Romans be far from their provisions, and the same exposed to all the casualties of the sea: but we besides the revenues and issues out of the mines of metal, have laid by both coin and corn sufficient to serve for ten years. The Macedonians have more and plenty in great abundance of all things necessary, & be provided as well by the gracious favour of the gods, as the careful diligence of a K. It remaineth now that ye carry that mind and courage with you, which your noble progenitors bare before you, those I say, who after they had conquered & subdued all *Europ*: passed into *Asia*, and by force of arms made way & discovered that part of the world that was never heard of before, and gave not over to win ground still and make more conquests, until they were barred by the red sea, & could find no more land to conquer. But now beleeve me, fortune hath denouced a trial by war, not for the purchase of the utmost bounds & marches of *India* but for our free hold and possession for our inheritance even of *Macedony*. These Romans, when they warred against my father, pretended a goodly title, & made a glorious way to the world, as though they

Or, Eumenes, according to Tomb, in Asia minor.

Perseus to his fouldiers.

"would

"would deliver Greece, and establish it in freedom: but now in open and plain terms they sought at Macedonia, intending to bring it into servitude: At the end there might be no K. near neighbor to the Roman signory, nor any nation renowned for martial prowess, permitted to bear arms and have weapons in hand. For these things and no less forced shall be to part with, and deliver up these proud I.L. together with King and kingdom in case ye successe war, and to do whatsoever they will command you. All the while that he delivered this speech, there might be heard secret exclamations oftentimes, sufficiently testifying the general assent of them all: but at these last words they lift up their voices and cried out aloud, part for anger, & indignation, meaning the enemy, part for courage and resolution, exhorting the King to be of good cheer, and take a good heart: inasmuch as he was constrained to give over, and make an end of his Oration: only he commanded them to be ready for the remove, & to put themselves in the journey against the enemy: for by this time advertised he was that the Romans were dislodged from *Nymphæum*. After this assembly was dismissed, he gave audience to the embassages from the States of *Macedony*: for some they were to make promise and offer both of money & grain to maintain this war, every one according to their ability. Thanked they were each one and released of all that charge, with this answer, that the Kings provision was sufficient. Only he commanded them to find wains and carts for carriages of the pieces of ordnance, the engines of battery, the darts, quarrels and other shew, whereof a mighty deal he had provided: and in sum, all the instruments & furniture of war. Then he set forward with his whole army marching toward *Eordea*, and near unto the lake which they call *Begariæ*, he encamped. The next morrow he advanced to *Elyssa* upon the river *Haliacmon*. After this, having passed over the mountains named *Cambunus* through a straight and narrow passage, he descended to those that inhabit *Acronus*, *Ephorus*, and *Doliche*, which quarter is called *Tripolia*. These three towns laid some while in insulence, by reason that they had given their hostages to the Larissians: but in the end, overcome with the fear presented before their eyes, were content to yield themselves into his hands. *Perseus* used gracious words to this people, making this account, that the Perrhæbians would do the like: & in very deed he entred upon the City (which surrendered at his first arrival) without any doubt or stay at all made by the inhabitants within. As for the town *Cyrtæ*, he assaid to batter it, and the first day he was repulsed in a sharp skirmish: for the very gates made by the townsmen that put on arms, drew to an head, and made resistance. But the morrow after, when he had assailed the City with all his forces, they submitted all to his mercy before night. The inhabitants of the next town to it, *Mylo*, presuming upon their fortifications, and standing upon this, That their City was impregnable, were so proud and lusty, that they could not be contented to shut the gates only against the King, but most rudely and malapertly spared not to cast out reproachfull taunts and gibing terms against his own person and the Macedonians. Which manner of dealing, as it envenomed the enemies and edged them, the rather to enforce and follow the assault, so it kindled themselves the more (upon despair of all pardon & mercy) to maintain and make good their place & stand more resolutely in their own defence. Whereupon for three daies together the town was assailed by one part, and defended by the other with mighty courage right valiantly. The Macedonians were so many in number, that by turns they relieved the assault without any difficulty, and entred one in the place of another. But the townsmen who evermore day and night guarded the walls, without any change & new supply, were not only overcharged with many wounds, but also wearied and enfeebled with continuall travell and want of sleep. The fourth day, when at one instant the scaling ladders were reared against the walls in every quarter, and the gate assailed with greater force and violence than before, the inhabitants being driven from the curtain and battlements, ran all to ward the gate, and made a sudden fall upon the enemies: which proceeding more upon inconsiderat and blind anger, than any true and assured confidence of their own strength, caused them (few in number and wearied) to be discomfited & put to flight by the enemies fresh and in heart, who entred pell-mell with them into the said gate standing wide open. Thus was this City taken and ranfacked. The bodies also of the free born persons, as many as remained after the bloody execution, were sold in market. *Perseus* after he had rased, ruined, and burned a great part of the town, dislodged and departed from thence to *N* *Phalanna*, and the next day following went onward, and marched to *Cyrtone*. But being advertised that *T. Minutius Rufus* and *Hippias* the Prætor of *Thessaly* were entred thither with a garrison, he passed besides the town, and never made offer of any assault. But he surprised *Elania* and *Gonnus*, by reason that the townsmen were stricken with exceeding fear upon his sudden arrival. These two towns are situate upon the very straight which leadeth to *Tempe*, but *Gonnus* especially. And therefore he left it guarded with a strong garrison both of foot and horse, as also fortified with a treble trench and sumpier. Himself in person went onward till to *Sycorium*, minding there to attend the coming of the enemy: and withall he commanded his army to forrage and purvey corn every way all over the territory of the enemies lying under him. For *Sycorium* is seated upon the hanging of an hill toward the very foot of the mountain *Ossa*, having upon the South side the plain champion of *Thessaly* under it, but behind on the back *Macedony* and *Magnefia*. Over and above these commodities, the place is very healthfull and plectuous of all good things, watered also with many quick and running springs round about.

The Roman Consul having his army on foot about that time marching toward *Thessaly*, at the first found good way and ready passage through *Epirus*: but afterwards, when he was passed over once into *Athamania*, he met with a rough country & rugged soil, & in manner insuperable.

As for as with exceeding great difficulty and by short journeys he had much ado to reach unto *Gomphi*. And if at that time, whilst his men and horses were encumbered and tairped, the King had made head in battell arranged, taking the vantage of time and place against him, leading as he did an host composed but of rude and untrained novices, the Romans themselves cannot deny, but it would have gone very hard with them, and a great overthrow they must needs have received in that conflict. But when they were come once to *Gomphi* without any skirmish, besides the joy which they conceived, for that they had escaped and overcome that dangerous passage, they began also to contemn their enemies, for that they knew not their own good, and were to ignorance of the opportunities which they had. The Consul after he had duly sacrificed (as it appertained) and distributed the allowance of corn among his souldiers, joyned there some few daies for the rest and repose both of man and beast: where, hearing that the Macedonians ranged and over-ran the country of *Thessaly*, waiting and spoiling the territory of the Roman allies, he led his souldiers now sufficiently refreshed unto *Larissa*. And having marched from thence within three miles of *Tripolia* (which they call *Seia*) he pitched his tents, and lodged upon the rivet *Peneus*.

At the same time *Enmenes* arrived by sea at *Chalcis*, together with two of his brethren, *Aratulus* and *Athenus*, leaving at *Pergamus* a third brother *Philisternus* for the defence of his Realm. From thence, accompanied with *Aratulus* and a power of four thousand foot and a thousand horse, he came to the Consul, and left at *Chalcis* two thousand footmen, commanded by *Athenus*. Thither also repaired other aids which came in to the Romans from all the States of Greece, but most of the particulars were so small as now they are grown out of remembrance. The Apollonians sent five hundred horsemen, and a hundred footmen. From the *Ætolians* there came a Cornet of horsemen, even the whole Cavalry that the said nation could make. Likewise all the Cavalry of the *Thedaliats*, which exceeded not the number of three hundred that served in the Roman camp, & quartered apart, The *Achaïans* sent one thousand men of their youth, armed for the most part after the Candior manner. And much about this time *C. Lucretius* also the Prætor, who had the conduct of the ships that anchored in the rode of *Cephalonia*, after he had given charge to *M. Lucius* his brother, to make sail with his fleet beyond the Cape of *Malea*, & to pals to *Chalcis*, himself went aboard upon a trireme galley, & sailed toward the gulph of *Corinth*, for to be seized first of the country of *Boeotia*, and to prevent all matters there. He made way but slowly, because of the infirmity and weakness of his body. *M. Lucretius* being arrived at *Chalcis*, and advertised that *P. Lentulus* lay against the City of *Haliartus*, sent a messenger commanding him in the name of the Prætor to raise the siege and dislodge from thence. The lieutenant notwithstanding he had learned that service with the help of the youth of that part of *Bœotia* which took part with the Romans retired from before the walls. The laying of the siege gave occasion of a new enterprise: for incontinently *M. Lucretius* besieged and invested *Haliartus* with his own sea-forces, to the number of 10000 fighting men, together with 2000 souldiers from *K. Enmenes*, whereof *Athenus* had the charge: and as they were now upon the point to give an assault, the Prætor came in unto them from *Cephæa*, and very near to that time, there arrived also at *Chalcis* certain ships from the allies, namely, two *Quinquereme* galleaces of *Carthage*, two trireme gallees from *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, four from *Chalcidæa*, as many from *Samos*, and five quadrireme gallees of *Rhodes*. All these vessels the Prætor brought back again to the allies, and called them of that charge, because there was no service to be performed in any place. *Q. Marcius* also came by sea to *Chalcis*, after he had won *Haliartus*, and assaulted *Larissa* called *Cremasæ*.

This was the State of *Boeotia*, when *Perseus* (as hath been said before) lay encamped at *Sycorium*, who after he had from every coast therabouts got together all the grain that he could come by, & certain companies to give the waste unto the territory of the Phœtians, supposing the Romans might be surprised, when they should be drawn far from their own camp to the succouring of their distressed associates. But perceiving that they stirred never the more for all that tumult: he sent among his souldiers all the prey, but only of men and women: now the booty of food most upon cattle, where with they made good cheer. After this, but near about one and the same time, the Col. & *K. Perseus* both debated in their council, how and where they should begin the war. *Perseus* had taken great heart and courage by occasion that the enemy suffered him to make such havoc and do his pleasure in the Phœtians territory. And therefore his resolution was to march directly against the Roman camp, without giving more time, and making any further delay. The Macedonian wife, for whose parts were of opinion, that all forlacking now would greatly prejudice the reputation among the confederates, who took it exceedingly to the heart, that they had not surprised the Phœtians. As they late consulting what to do, a now *Enmenes* and *Aratulus* both were present at this Council, there came a messenger in post hafe, with news that the enemy approached nearer at hand with a mighty army. Whereupon the Council brake up, and presently the army was gotten to arm. And advised it was in the mean while, that there should go forth 10000 men, and as many darters and foot out of *King Enmenes* his companies.

At the fourth hour of the day, being come within a mile and somewhat more of the Roman leaguer, commanded the ensigns of the footmen to stand, himself in person with the men of arms and light armed souldiers advanced forward, and so together with *King Perseus* and the Captains of the other auxiliaries, they two marched before. Now when they were within half a mile from the camp, they might discover the horsemen of their enemies. Two Cornets they were,

most part Gauls, under the conduct of *Cassianus*; besides the loose and light armed footmen, hope, to the number well-near of a hundred and fifty, and those were partly Mysians and partly Cretensians. Hereat the King made a stand not knowing well the number of the enemies; and anon out of the regiment that he had with him he drew two wings of Thracian horse, and as many Macedonians; likewise two Cohorts of Cretensian and as many Thracian footmen. Hieropus ensued a skirmish; but so far as they were marched even in number, and no account came in to relieve from the one part or the other, it ended likewise in doubtful balance of victory. Of *Emmenes* his part there died about thirty: in which number *Cassianus* the Commander of the Gauls was slain. So for that time *Perseus* retired his forces to *Symphium*; but the next morning the King marched with them again to the self-same place, and much about the forehead hour, certain carts and wains laden with water followed after: and by reason that for a dozen miles space, all the way was waterless, and full of dust withal, hardly bestead (as it should seem) they had been for very drought and thirst in case they had been charged and put to skirmish, at the time when they were first in fight. But considering that the Romans kept quiet, yea, and had reduced their *corps de guard* within their rampier, *Perseus* likewise retired with his forces into his camp. This did the enemies for certain daies together, hoping ever that the Roman Cavalry would charge upon the tail of the rearguard in their retreat: and when by that occasion the skirmish was once begun and that they had trained and drawn them far from their camp; then they might with ease wheresoever they were, turn upon them and make head, having the odds of them in horsemen and light armed fouldiers. But the King seeing this would not speed, encamped nearer unto the Romans, and fortified the compass of half a mile. From whence betimes in the morning by the break of day, after he had embattelled his infantry in the usual place, he led all his Cavalry and light-armed men toward the camp of his enemies. The Romans seeing a greater dust raised by more in number, and the same nearer than ordinary it had been, were mightily afraid within their camp. But at the first they would hardly believe the messenger that brought the news: for that continually all the former daies the enemy used not to be seen until the fourth hour of the day, and now the sun was but newly risen. Howbeit, afterwards (I say) when about their gates there were thick alarms given, and more and more running from thence, and that now there was no doubt at all of the matter, there grew an exceeding trouble & hurlyburly. The Marshals, Colonels, Captains, and Centurions, betook themselves into the quarter about the Prætors pavilion; and the fouldiers ran every man to his own tent. *Perseus* had embattelled his men less than half a mile from the rampier about a little hill which they call *Calicinus*. King *Corys* had the charge of the left wing, with althoſe of his own nation. The ranks of the cavalry Rood marshalled asunder one from the other: by reason that the light armed fouldiers were bestowed between. In the right wing were placed the Macedonian horsemen, and the Cretensians likewise intermingled among them. *Milon of Berrha* led these light armed fouldiers; but *Meno of Antigonis* commanded the horsemen, and the whole regiment of that part. Next to those wings the Cavalry of *K. Perseus* was ranged together with the selected aid-fouldiers of many and sundry nations: and the same were conducted by *Paracles of Antigonis*, and *Didas* the governor of *Peonia*. In the midst of all was the King himself: having about him a band called *Agema*, and certain cohorts of horsemen named [The sacred wings]. Before him he planted the lingers and darters, who both together amounted to the number of 400; and over them he appointed for to be their leader one *Ios of Thracian*, and *Timon* the Dolopian. In this manner as is before said, Rood the Kings force embattelled. The Col. having put his Infantry in order of battell, sent out his Cavalry likewise with the light armed companies, who were set in array before the camp. *C. Lucinius Vassus* the Consul's brother had the leading of the right point, with all the Italian horsemen and the footmen lightly appointed intermingled among them. *M. Valerius Lavinius* in the left, commanded the horsemen of the greek associates, together with the light armed fouldiers of the same nation. *Q. Mucius* conducted the battallion in the midst with certain extraordinary chosen men of arms. Before their Guidons, the horsemen of the Gauls stood in ordinance: and of the auxiliaries of *K. Emmenes*, 300 Cyprians and 400 Thessalian horse. Not far from thence were ranged, somewhat above the left point King *Emmenes* himself and his brother *Antabus*, with all their power were planted behind, even between the rearguard and the trench. Thus Rood both battels (thatch after this manner arranged: and having of either side a like strength in number of horsemen and light-armed; they encountered and charged one another; and then the conflict was begun by the bold hope of loose shot to wit the lingers and darters that went before. And first of all others the Thracians, being like wild and savage beasts, who had been long pent up within some grates and cages, with a mighty cry advanced forth and ran upon the Italian horsemen in the right wing: to the end that they might trouble and amaze them: being of the same nation, as well by nature as for long experience and practice of war. The footmen with their swords aimed upon the heads of their pikes: and one while they thought their hostles, and another while they ran them into their flanks. *Perseus* rode into the midst of the battell, and at the first he forced the Greeks to turn aside and give way; and when the enemy pressed more over head upon them behind, behold the Thessalian horsemen who were placed in the rearguard for succour, and stood somewhat apart and reversed from the left wing, who at first were beholders only of the fight (as keeping without the danger of the charge) afterwards Rood them in very good head-ven as they were at the point to go down & have the worse. For as they retired hastily without

breaking

A breaking their ranks, after that they once joyined with the aids of *Emmenes*, they both yielded the opportunity to their allies who were disbanded in the rout, to retire in safety within their ranks; and also eſſying their own vantage, when the enemies pursued not to thick in troops they adventured to put themselves forward beyond, and so staid many of those their allies whom they encountered and received in their flight. Neither durst the Kings men, being now all dispersed and dispersed here and there in following the chase, come to hand-fight and joyne battell with those, continuing so well in order as they did, and marching firm and strong together: whereas the matter had been dispatched and the war brought to a small end, in case the King who won the better in horse-fight, had never to little come in with help and succour. For as he encouraged his soldiers to fight, there came in place very fitly and in passing good time, the *Phalax*, which *Hippas* and *Leonatus* (because they would not be behind-hand in this hardy enterprise) brought of their own accord in great haste soon as ever they heard of the winning hand of the Cavalry. And as whether the *K.* was in doubtful suspense, between hope and fear of this so great an adventure, *Evaner* the Cretensian, whose service *Perseus* had used in the war laid for *K. Emmenes* at Delos, seeing that main battell marching heavily armed under their ensigns ran into the King and earnestly advertised him to take heed, lest that presuming too much and bearing himself over-confident of this good speed of his, he brought not unadvisedly the main chance of all his estate, into a needlesse and unnecessary hazard. For if (quoth he) you can be content with the happy fortune of this fair day and so rest, either you shall have the means to make an honourable peace, or else (if you had rather prosecute the war) to win exceeding many allies to bear arms with you in the field; who, no doubt, will follow the train of your good fortune. To this way Rood the Kings mind ever, and thither he soon inclined. Therefore having commended *Evaner* for his good advice, he commanded the ensigns to retire, and the footmen to return into the camp: likewise to sound the retreat unto the Guidons of the men of arms. In this battell 200 Roman horsemen that day lost their lives, and no fewer than 2000 footmen, and near upon 200 of the Cavalry were taken prisoners. Of the Kings side, there died not past 200 horsemen and forty of the other.

After that the victorious enemies were upon their return into the camp all were jocund & glad in general, but above the rest the Thracians shewed themselves in joy for this their victory, over insolent: for they returned singing full merrily, and carried the heads of their enemies fixed upon their spear-points. But the Romans were not only sad and heavy for this unfortunate journey, but fearful also lest the enemy should forthwith assail their camp. *Emmenes* gave counsell to dislodge and remove to the other side of the river *Peneus*, that it might serve them instead of a defence and bulwark, until such time as the amazed soldiers had recovered their spirits and taken heart again. The Col. was ashamed and abashed to bewray his fear; howbeit, over-ruled with reason, lest his army over the river in the dead time of the night, and encamped on the farther bank, *K. Perseus* the morrow after advanced forward to bid the enemies battell, perceiving they were lodged in safety beyond the river, he confessed that he had fainted indeed, for that he had not followed his victory the day before: but more over keen a good deal he was in lying still and taking repose that night: for without troubling any else of his own men he might have sent out the light armed fouldiers only to set upon the enemies as they passed over the river in haste and right, and so defeated a great part of their forces. Now the Romans shook off their fear for the present, considering they were encamped in a sure place: but among other damages, the blot especially of their honour and name grieved and troubled them. And as they fate in Council before the Consul, every man for his part laid all the blame upon the Aetolians, who first began to be afraid and run away; and whose example of fear the other allies of the Cities of Greece followed: for it was said, that five principal men of mark among the Aetolians, were seen and noted first of all other to have turned their backs. But the Thessalians were praised in a full assembly of the whole army; and their Captains for their virtue and valorous service were honoured with prebents. The spoils of the enemies were brought before King *Perseus*; out of which he bestowed freely upon some, brave and gorgeous armours; upon others goodly great horses; and finally, certain were rewarded with the prize of good prisoners. Targets there were above a thousand and five hundred, cuirasses and corsets not so few as a thousand; besides a far greater proportion of murrions, swords, and shot of all sorts. Great matters these were, considered in themselves; but much more amplified and set out by the King himself with a speech that he made in a frequent audience of his army assembled together, after this or the like manner, "You lee already by this (quoth he) what you may judge before-hand of the final issue of this war: discomfited ye have the better part of your enemies, to wit, the Roman Cavalry, wherein they took themselves to be invincible. For their horsemen are the very gallants and bravest of their youth; their Gentlemen of arms (I say) are the seminary and nurse-garden of their Senat. From them they chuse their Nobles and Peers to make Consuls of yea, and Generals of the field another day. And the spoils of these we have erewhiles divided among us. Neither is the victory less which ye have gained of the Infantry and legions, who although by night they made an escape from you, yet in chasing to pass over the river, they resembled a sort that had suffered shipwreck at sea, and in fearful haste for their lives have swum & overpassed the river every where with their bodies. Sooner shall we & with greater ease I trow, get over *Peneus*, to chase them thus already overcome, than they did making such haste for fear: and being once met on the other side, we shall out of hand

A strong
battallion of
footmen.

"hand assail their camp, which we might have forced and won this day, but that they took them
 "to their heels and fled. But if they will come to a field and try the quarrel by the sword point,
 "look ye for no other issue of the conflict with footmen, than was before of the other with
 "horsemen. These words, both the horsemen (who bare upon their own shoulders the spoils of
 "their enemies lying slain before their eyes in open view) heard with great pleasure and content-
 "ment, as measuring the hope of the future speed by the fortune passed; and also the footmen en-
 "flamed now with the glory of others (and namely those that were of the Macedonian Phalanx)
 "winced with all their hearts to have the like occasion offered unto them, wherein they might not
 "only shew their valiant service before the King, but also win semblable glory of their enemies. Thus
 "the assembly was dissolved, and the morrow after the King marched forward and encamped upon
Mopsus, which is an hill situate in the mid way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*. The Romans remo-
 "ved their camp into a place of more security, howbeit, not far from the bank of *Peneus*. Thither re-
 "paired *Macedonia* the Numidian, with 1000 horse and as many foot, besides 22 Elephants. Now
 "as *K. Perseus* during these daies, sat in Council what course to take as touching the main conduct
 "of his affairs, when his courage was now well abated and not so lusty for his late victory, some of
 "his friends were so hardy as to advise him to use this good fortune of his for the obtaining and
 "compassing of some honourable peace, rather than upon a vain hope to carry his head aloft, and
 "engage himself and his whole state into some hazard & jeopardy, out of which he should not be
 "able to recover and retire into safety. For to keep a mean and moderation in prosperity, and not
 "over-confidently to trust upon the present flattering fortune, is the part (say they) of a wise man in-
 "deed and truly happy. And therefore the best course is, to send certain men of purpose unto the
 "King, for to renew the league upon the same conditions, with which your father *Philip* had ac-
 "cepted peace heretofore of *T. Quintus* the conqueror. For neither (say they) can the war be taken
 "up with greater honour and reputation, than after so memorable a battell; nor ever will there be
 "presented more firm and assured hope of a peace to continue for ever, than upon this occasion,
 "which will work and mollifie the Romans as a man would have them, to come on and assent to
 "any accord, considering they are well tamed with the infortunity of this battell. But in case the
 "Romans upon an inbred peevishness and engrafted pertinacity of theirs, should not hear reason
 "but refuse an indifferent end, then both God and man shall be witness, as well of the moderation
 "of *Perseus*, as of their pride & insolent forwardness. The King was willing enough to give ear to this,
 "and indeed never misliked such discourses; and therefore the advice was approved by the chief
 "of the most part; whereupon embassadors were sent to the King, & in a frequent Council assem-
 "bled, had audience given them. Peace they demanded and promised that *Perseus* should pay unto
 "the Romans as great a tribute as *Philip* had covenanted for; and likewise quit the same Cities,
 "coasts, and territories, which *Philip* had given up and surrendered. To this effect spake the embas-
 "sadors; who being retired aside, the Romans debated in Council, and in the end *Rome* con-
 "sistently imported and had the upper hand: for in those daies the manner and use was, in time of ad-
 "versity to bear all out and set a good countenance, but in prosperity to hold an even hand and a
 "niggard governance. So agreed it was to return this answer, That peace might be granted with this
 "condition, That *K. Perseus* should permit full and free power to the Senat of *Rome*, for to dispose
 "both of his person and the kingdom of *Macedonia* at their good pleasure. When the Embassadors
 "had made relation hereof, this constant resolution and invincible persistence of the Romans made
 "them to wonder again, as being not acquainted with their manners and fashions: and most of
 "them forbore to make mention any more of peace, saying, That the Romans would be glad short-
 "ly to seek for that of their own accord, which now at this present they loathed & rejected when
 "it was offered. But *Perseus* mightily feared, that this arrogant spirit of theirs, proceeded from the
 "confidence they had in their own forces; inasmuch as he gave not over so, but assailed to tempt
 "the King, happily by augmenting the sum of money, he might buy peace at any price & reckoning
 "whatsoever. But seeing him nothing to come down, nor to alter one jot from the first answer, in
 "despair now of all peace, he returned to *Syeurium* from whence he came, purposing once again to
 "try the hazard of the field. Now the fame of this late flight of cavalry was flown over all *Greece*,
 "and discovered the minds and affections of men: for not only they that took part with the Ma-
 "cedonians rejoiced to hear this news, but also very many of them who were obliged and be-
 "holden unto the Romans for benefits and favours received at their hands, and some likewise who
 "had tasted of their violence and proud government. And this they did for no other reason at all,
 "but only upon a foolish and perverse affection, like to that wherewith the common people ordi-
 "narily is carried away in the beholding of disports and trial of masteries, even to favour eve-
 "more the weaker and him that taketh the foil.

At the same time *Lucretius* the Praetor had with most forcible means assailed the City of *Hat-
 turus* in *Baetia*: and albeit the besieged defendants within were relieved by no fortin aid, but
 "only the youth of the *Coronians* (who at the beginning of the siege entered the City) nor hoped
 "for any to come; yet they stood out and made resistance with courage of heart more than with
 "strength of hand: for they issued forth many times, and filled upon the fabrics and engines of the
 "enemy, yea & when the ram approached hard to the wall, they let fall thereupon a mighty weight
 "and counterpoise of lead and so depressed and drove it down to the ground. And if happily the en-
 "emies who ran with the ram against the wall, avoided the device of theirs, laid battery, and took
 "it in some other place; the townsmen within, raised presently with great speed another mine, piling

A piling up hastily the stones one upon another, which they found lying among the very ruins of the
 "breaches. The Consul seeing this manner of service by way of ordinance and battery, to become
 "slow and tedious, commanded to divideladders amongst every company, and purposed to inveig
 "the City round about with the *Eisalado*: supposing that the number which he had would be suf-
 "ficient to exploit this enterprise, because on that side whereas the Town is enclosed with a marsh,
 "it was too little (or rather impossible) to assault it. Himself in person presented 2000 elect sol-
 "diers before that part, whereas two curreurs, and all the wall between was beaten down and over-
 "thrown to the end that in the very instant, whilst he assailed to enter at the breach, his the town-
 "men should run all thither to repulse him, and in the mean while the walls void of defendants
 "might in some part or other be scaled and won. But they within desired themselves as lustily to
 "give him the repulse. For having piled in the very open breaches a mighty number of faggots
 "made of drifvine cuttings and such small brush, they stood ready with flaming firebrands and
 "burning links, threatening ever and anon to kindle the same and let all on fire, to the end that be-
 "ing defended from the enemy by the means of fire between, they might have time to oppose an in-
 "fer countermeasure against them. But by mischance this device and enterprise of theirs was em-
 "peached. For there poured down on a sudden such a mighty shower of rain that the faggot would
 "not easily take fire, and look what was set a burning, it soon was quenched again, fly which means
 "not only the passage was made open between the smoking faggots drawn apart one from another
 "here and there; but whilst they all intended wholly the defence of that one place, the walls were
 "taken at one instant by ladders reared up against many and sundry parts thereof. In the first heat
 "upon the winning of the City, old and young such as chanced to come in their way, without any
 "respect at all of age were put to the sword. The armed soldiers fled into the Castle, and the next
 "day being past hope to make good the place, they yielded and were all fold under the girdle in
 "portals, to them that would bid most, to the number of 2500 men or very near. The ornaments
 "and beauties of the City, as statues, images, painted tables and pictures, and whatsoever was found
 "in the pillage to bear a better price, was carried to shipboard, and the Town itself raised from the
 "very foundations, and laid even with the ground. From thence the army was conducted to *Thebes*:
 "which being won without any resistance he put into the hands of the blemished perions and those
 "that took part and sided with the Romans; but those of the contrary faction, such as favoured the
 "King and the Macedonians, he sold by whole families in open market to the best chapmen, having
 "performed these exploits in *Baetia*, he retired himself to the Sea side to his ships.

Whiles these affairs passed thus in *Baetia*, *Perseus* lodged for certain daies in a camp at *Syeurium*,
 "where being advertised, that the Romans made great haste to the corn new sown, he respected down,
 "and to carry it from all parts of the fields unto the leaguers, and that every soldier before his tent
 "cut and shored off the ears as they lay bound in sheaves, to the end they might thrash and drive
 "the cleaner corn, by which occasion they had made great heaps of straw throughout all parts
 "of the camp, he supposed it was an easy matter to set all their tents and pavilions on fire. Where-
 "upon he commanded to provide torches, links and balls made of tow besmeared with pitch and
 "urth; these provided and furnished, he set out at midnight, that by the dawning of the day, he might
 "put this device in execution without being defiered before. But ill came to nothing for the for-
 "tune of the *Emol corpus de guard* although they were surprised with this sudden coming, by their trouble and
 "affright awakened and raised all the rest, and immediately the alarm was given; so as at one instant
 "the soldiers were ready and well appointed at the gates, and upon the rampier bent and preit for
 "to defend the camp. *Perseus* likewise incontinently turned about with his ensigns, putting his far-
 "drels and carriage before, and then commanded the infantry to march after: himself with the ca-
 "valry and light armors staid behind to fortify and guard the rewer and supposing, as it fell out in-
 "deed, that the enemies would make after to charge upon the tail of the march. His light armed
 "soldiers had some short skirmishing especially with the forlorn hope and loose avant-couriers,
 "but the horse and footmen both, retired without any impeachment into the camp. Thus when all
 "the corn was cut down about those quarters, the Romans dislodged and removed into the terri-
 "tory of *Crannon*, which as yet was not endangered. Whiles they lay encamped in security and
 "mitting nothing (because the enemies were so far off, and by reason that the way between *Syeurium*
 "and *Crannon* was so difficult for want of water;) beheld all on a sudden early in the
 "morning by day light, the Kings cavalry and light armed soldiers shewed themselves upon the
 "hills that overlooked them from above, and put them into great trouble. Departed they were
 "from *Syeurium* at noon the day before, and had left the infantry behind about the break of day
 "upon the plain next thereto. For a while he stood upon those said hills, hoping that the Romans
 "might be strained forth to an horse-fight. But perceiving them not to stir at all, he sent one ori-
 "back to command the footmen to retire again to *Syeurium*, and himself in person followed
 "straight after. The Roman horsemen made after a pretty distance off, if happily they could spie any
 "ravage in one place or other to charge upon them, disband and straggle asunder. But when
 "they saw that in their dismarch they kept close together following their guidons and keeping their
 "ranks they also returned into the camp. After this, the King weary of making so long journies dis-
 "lodged and removed to *Mopsus*. The Romans for their part likewise having mowed down all
 "the corn of *Crannon* passed into the territory of *Phalaenum*. The King having intelligence by a
 "straggler revolt that the Romans were scattered all over the fields and reaping the standing corn,
 "without any guard of armed men, made a rode with 1000 horse, & 2000 Candiors & Thracians;
 "Kkkk who

who marching with as great hast as possibly they could, set upon the Romans at unawares all on provided; where he took a thousand carts or thereabouts, together with their teams, most of them laden, and upon 600 men besides. The guard and convoy of this booty into the camp he committed to the charge of 300 Cretanians. Himself having rallied his cavalry dispersed here and there busy in execution, and reunited withal the rest of the footmen led them to the next *corps de guard* or garrison of the enemies, supposing that with little ado they might be surprised and vanquished. *L. Pompeius* a Colonel had the command of them, who seeing his souldiers affrighted with this suddain coming of the enemies, retired with them to an hill neer at hand, for to defend himself by the vantage and strength of the place, considering that otherwise in number and forces he was too weak. Where after he had call his men into a ring, for to ward against the shot of arrows and darts by a roof and dence of targets couched close together over their heads: *Perseus* having environed the hill round about with armed men, commanded some to mount up and assay to win the place on all parts, if possibly they could; and then to fight close hand to hand: others he charged to lance their darts and shoot their shafts thick at them a far off. The Romans were beset with a double fear; for neither could they maintain skirmish and fight close together because of those who laboured to climb the hill: and say they had broke any ranks with excursions and outroides upon them, they were they exposed and lay open to the shot of arrows and darts. Most hurt they had by certain weapons called *Cestrophendone* (sling darts.) A new kind of dart this was and lately devised in the time of this very war. It had a sharp head of iron the length of two hands breadth, and the same set fast in a steel which was half a cubit long, and about the thickness of a mans finger: for to slide direct and straight, three leathers it had about it in man of a shaft: the sling from the middle part had two cords of an unequal size: now when as the sling swung in about, as it lay even poised in the greater capacity of the leather thong, out flew the dart and was driven with violence like a bullet. Many of the souldiers being very sore wounded as well with this weapon as all other sorts of shot, so as now for weariness they were scarce able to bear their own armour: the King was earnestly in hand with them to yeeld and submit, assuring them upon his faithful word their lives, yea, and otherwhiles promised them rewards and recompences. But there was not a man whose heart ended once thereto. Now as they stood thus stiff and resolute to die there shone upon them a little comfort and some hope of evasion beyond all their expectation. For certain of the forragers and corn purveyors, who happened to flee for refuge unto the camp, brought word unto the Consul, that the *corps de guard* aforesaid was besieged round: where upon being moved with the jeopardy wherin so many citizens stood (for about 900 they were, and all citizens of *Rome*) he went forth of the camp with the cavalry and light armed souldiers, and unto them joyned certain new succours of the Numidians as well horse as foot, together with the Elephants: and gave commandment to the martial Colonels, that the ensigns of the legions should follow after. Himself in person marched before toward the hill aforesaid, taking with him a certain number of skirmishers, for to strengthen the light armed auxiliaries. *Eumenes*, *Antalus*, and *Mageus* also the King of the Numidians, flanked the Col. on either side. When as the besieged Romans had a sight once of the foremost ensigns of their friends and fellows, they took comfort and courage again upon their former extreme despair. *Perseus*, who had purposed in the first place not to spend any long time in laying siege to this *corps de guard* but to content himself with the fortunate success which at a venture hapned, in that he had taken and slain some of the forragers: secondly (when he was in some fort entred into that action) to depart (whiles he had means thereof) without any damage received, as knowing that he had no strength, to speak of, about him: yet puffed up and carried as it were above the ground with the conceit of his late good hand, both staid in person to attend the enemies coming, and also sent out in all haile, for the [Macedonian] Phalans. Which coming later than the present necessity required (albeit in great haile they hurried) it tell out so, that they were to encounter (troubled and disordered as they were in running) their enemies that were well appointed and provided aforehand. And the Col. who had prevented them presently welcomed them with battail. At the first the Macedonians made resistance: but afterwards being in no respect equal unto the enemies after they had lost three hundred footmen with four and twenty of the most forward and bravest horsemen out of that corner which they call *Sacra* (amongst whom *Antimachus* also their leader died) they endeavoured to retire and be gone. But the way by which they were to pass, was more troublesome to speak of, than the skirmish and battail it self. The Phalans being sent unto by a messenger in haile, and conducted as hastily, encountered affront in a certain straight troop of prisoners, and likewise the waggons charged with corn. Who being led at to give way, thereupon arose a great trouble as well of the one part as the other: whiles no man took heed how to march in order: but the armed souldiers cast down and overthrow the heaps of fardage and baggage, for otherwise there could no way be made: and the draught-beasts being pricked and provoked forward, ragged and made foul work in the press and throng. Hardly and with much ado were they disengaged and rid of this confused and disordered company of captives, when they met with the King his company and the horsemen discomfited. In which place, the noise which they made crying unto the Phalans. Back again Back again made a fright among them as if there had been something ready to fall upon their heads: in such sort as if their enemies durst have entred into the straight and pursued farther after them, no doubt they had received a great overthrow. But the Consul contenting himself with a mean good hand, in that he had rescued and recovered his *corps de guard* from off the

A the hill, retired with his forces into the camp. Some write that there was a great battail fought that day, and how 8000 enemies were slain: and among them *Sepater* and *Antipater* two of the Kings Captains. Also that there were taken prisoners about 2400: and military ensignes 27 carried away. Neither was the victory easily gotten, but at blood, for not so few as 4200 were slain of the Consul his army, and five guidons of the left wing lost. This journey recomfited the Romans, but dined, and quailed *Perseus* in such sort, as after he had staid a few daies at *Apollonia*, expecting about entering the bodies of his dead souldiers, and lost a sufficient garrison at *Gomoni*, he retired his army into *Macedonia*, leaving also at *Philae* one of his own Captains named *Timolonus* with some small forces, whom he commanded to assay the *Magnesium* and the borders adjoynting. When he was come to *Pella*, he dismissed his army out of the field, and sent them to their wintering harbours, but himself together with King *Corys* went to *Thessalonica*.

Thither news came, that *Attalus* a petty King of the Thracians, and *Cornelius* a Captain under King *Eumenes*, had invaded the marches of *Corys*, and were masters of the country which they call *Mareum*. And therefore supposing that he must needs discharge *Corys* to look to the defence of his own realm, he bestowed rich presents upon him at his departure: and gave him 200 talents for six months wages of his cavalry, whereas at the beginning he purposed to be at the charge of a whole years pay.

The Consul after he heard that *Perseus* was gone, approached with his army neer to *Gomoni*, and there lodged: if haply he might force and gain that also. Situat it was over against *Tempe*, at the very mouth and gullet of the straight, and is the very frontier Town, yielding both a most assured Defence and strength to all *Macedonia*, and also a commodious passage for the Macedonians to enter into *Thessaly*. And being a place impregnable, as well for the natural site thereof, as the strong garrison therein placed, he gave over the enterprise. So turning and bending his way into *Parva Macedonia*, after he had forced *Mallas* at the first assault and put it to the ransom: and received *Triphylus* with the rest of *Perkhabia*, yeilded by composition, he returned to *Larissa*. And then having left *Eumenes* and *Antalus* home into their own country, and bestowed *Mageus* and the Numidians in diverse Cities of *Thessaly* neer at hand, to remain there for the winter time: and distributed part of his forces throughout all *Thessaly*, in such sort, that not only they had all commodious wintering, but also lived in stead of garrisons to the Cities. *Q. Mutius* his Lieutenant he sent with a regiment of 2000 men to guard *Ambracia* and keep it in obedience. All the confederats of the Greek Cities, save only the Achaeans he licensed to depart. With one part of his army he went into *Thessaly* in *Phthia*, where he rated down to the ground *Pileum* abandoned of the inhabitants. But *Antonus* he won with the good will of the Townsmen. Then afterward he approached beyond *Larissa* with his forces. The City was left desolate, for all the people were retired into the towns, the which he began to assault: and first the Kings garrison of Macedonians quit the place at whom the Townsmen being forsaken and left to themselves, submitted incontinently. Then he stood in doubt whether he should assail *Demetrias* first, or have an eye and look into the troubles and state of *Boeotia*. For the men of *Thebes*, being grievously molested and annoyed by those of *Graecia*, had sent for him into *Boeotia*: at whole prayers, thither he conducted his army: and besides, *Boeotia* was a country more commodious to winter in than *Magnesia*.

The three and fortieth Book

Of the Histories of T. Livius of Padua, from the Foundation of the City of Rome.

The Breviary of L. Florus upon the three and fortieth Book.

DiVERS Pretors were judicially condemned, for demeaning themselves with cruelty and avarice in the administration of their Provinces. *P. Licinius Crassus* the Pro-consul, won by force many Cities in Greece, and cruelly risted them. For which rigour of his, the captives whom he had sold under the standard in open market, were by an order directed out of the Senat, restored, returned to their former states. The Admirals of the Roman fleet committed many outrages and inhumanities against their allies. Besides, there are comprised in this book, the prosperous affairs of King *Perseus* in Thessaly, which he had, vanquished the Dardanians and subdued Illyricum, whereof *Septimus* was King. The troubles which began in Spain by means of *Olonicus*, were appeased by his death. *M. Emilius Lepidus*, was by the Senat created president of the Senat.

The three and fortieth Book of T. Livius.

THE same summer, wherein the Romans won the victory with horse-fight in *Thessaly*, the Lieutenant being sent into *Illyricum* from the Consul, compelled by force and arms two rich Towns to yeeld: unto which nevertheless he gave all their goods again, to the end that by an opinion of this clemency, he might win the hearts of the inhabitants of

Carinus, that strong City. But when he saw that he could not constrain them to tender, no more than force them by siege; because his soldiers should not seem to have been wearied for nothing in the besieging of two Towns, he fell to rifle and ransack that, which before he left untouched. The other Consul *C. Cassius* neither performed any memorable exploit in *Cambr*, which was his Province by lot; and having endeavoured to conduct his legions through *Syracusa* into *Adriaticum*, all his designment came to no effect at all. That the Consul was enticed upon this journey the Senat was certified: by the Embassadors of the *Aquileians*, who complained that their colony newly erected was feeble, and not as yet well secured among those fierce nations of *Illyrians* and *Allyrians*; and withal they made suit, that the Senat would provide and take order, that the said colony might be fortified: and when the question was put unto them: Whether they would be content that commission should be directed unto *C. Cassius* in that behalf? they answered, That *that said Cassius*, having assembled his army at the *Rendevous* in *Aquileia*, was departed through *Salavonia* into *Macedony*. This at first was thought incredible, and every man supposed verily, that he had been gone to levy war upon the *Carnians* haply or the *Illyrians*. The *Aquileians* were able to copy no farther, nor affirm more upon their knowledge than this. That allowance of coin was made for the soldiers to serve thirty daies, and that guides were sought and brought on, who knew the waies out of *Italy* into *Macedony*. Hereat the Senat (ye may be sure) took great misgiving and was highly displeased, that the Consul should be so hardy as presume to leave his own province for to pass into that which belonged to another, and to lead his army an unknown and new way, and the same dangerous, through strange and forraine countries, thereby to open passage as it were, for so many nations to come into *Italy*. Whereupon in a frequent assembly of the Senators, there passed a decree, That *C. Sulpicius* the Pretor should nominate three Embassadors out of the body of the Senat, forth depart out of the City that present day, to make all the hast they possibly could to overtake the Consul wheresoever he was, and to give him warning to levy no war against any nation without direct warrant from the Senat. And these Embassadors went, namely, *M. Cornelius Cetegus*, *M. F. Fulvius*, and *P. Martinus Rex*. The present fear as touching the Consul and the army, was the occasion that the care of fortifying *Aquileia* was deferred for that time.

After this, were the Embassadors of certain States in both Provinces of Spain admitted to come into the Senat: who complained of the covetousness and pride of the Roman Officers and Governors among them; humbly beseeching the Senat upon their knees, Not to suffer them (being allies and confederats) to be more shamefully pillaged and spoiled than the very enemies. Among other indignities for which they shewed themselves aggrieved, notorious it was, that the said Magistrats had taken bribes, yea, and used extortion in wringing money from them. Whereupon a commission was granted to *L. Canuleius* the Pretor (unto whom Spain by lot was fall) to ordain five judges or commissioners (and those out of the rank and degree of Senators) for every person of whom the Spaniards claimed to recover such monies; and likewise to permit the plaintiffs to take into them what Advocats and Counsel they would. Then, after those Embassadors were called again into the Senat, this decree and act of the Senat was read unto them, and willed they were to nominate their Advocats; who named four, to wit, *M. Porcius Cato*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* the son of *Cn. L. Aemilius Paulus*, the son of *Marcus*, and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*. And first they took commissioners to proceed against *M. Titinius*, who had been Pretor in the higher Province of Spain, when *Au. Manlius* and *M. Junius* were Consuls. Twice was the cause of the accused party adjourned to a farther time, but at the third session he was quit and found unguilty. Then arose a some variance and dissension between the Embassadors of those two Provinces, The States of this higher Spain, took for their patrons and Advocats, *M. Cato* and *Scipio*; they of the further and lower Spain, made choice of *L. Paulus*, and *Gallus Sulpicius*. They of high Spain convened before the delegate judges, *P. Furius Philus*; the other of the base Spain, *M. Matienus*. *Philus* had been *L. Deputy* there three years past, when *S. Posthumius* and *Q. Manius* were Consuls; but this *Matienus* two years before, during the Consulship of *L. Posthumius* and *M. Popilius*. Charged they were both of them with right grievous matters and imputations, and a farther day dragged of a final judgment: but when they were to answer judicially again, they made default, and for excuse it was alleged, that they were both out of the country; and so they departed into voluntary exile, *Furius* to *Transse*, and *Matienus* to *Tyber*. The voice went, that the patrons of the plaintiffs would not suffer them to follow procelss still against such noble and great personages: and the suspicion hereof was more pregnant, by reason that *Canuleius* the Pretor let this matter fall, and began to take matters and levy soldiers for the war; and so forth with directly went into the Province, to the end that no more men should be brought into question and troubled by these Spaniards. By this means, all former matters past were buried in silence and no more speech made of them: but for future time, the Senat took order and provided for the Spaniards so well, that they obtained animunity. That no Roman Magistrate should have power and authority to set the price upon any gain, nor force the Spaniards to sell the *Victims* at what rate he pleased to set down: also that there should be no commissioners appointed within their Towns for the gathering and receiving of the revenues and money issuing from thence. Besides, there came another embassy of a sort of people out of Spain, after a new and strange manner: for there were above four hundred persons, avouching themselves the children of Roman soldiers and Spanish women not joynt in wedlock: who appeared before the Senat and besought them, for

A to allow them a City to inhabit. Whereupon obtained it was, That they should erect their names and be matriculated before their Pretor *L. Canuleius*: And look whomsoever of them he affianced and made free, chose: they thought meet to be sent to *Clunia* near the Sea side, and there planted into that whole Cartaginians, who were willing thither to keep home and remain there, should be permitted as Colonizers and so enrolled, and to enjoy besides a portion of Lands assigned unto them. This was a Latine colony, and was called the Colony of the Libertines.

At the same time there came an Embassador out of *Africa*, *Gaius* the son of *Magnus*, and likewise the Cartaginians in embassy. *Gaius* was brought into the Senat, who desired what his father had sent him with against the *Maccedonians*, promising withal, that if it pleased them to impose more upon him, he would be ready to perform the like in remembrance of the benefits received from the people of *Rome*: finally he gave the LL. of the Senat a caveat by the way, to take heed that the *Cartaginians* deceived them not in the end: for that, resolved they were, and went in hand to prepare a great navy, under pretence of sending it to the Romans against the *Maccedonians*: which it is were once ready rigged and furnished, it was in their choice, then to make whom they would either friends or foes.

Being entered the camp, and siting with the heads aloft, they struck such a fear, that it immediately the army had come forward and advanced against them, the camp might have been won; and yet even then it was, they remained still, and some there were who gave their opinion, to send Embassadors to treat and with prayers to intercede for peace. Upon the news reported hereof, many Cities submitted and were surrendered, such as made excuse, and laid the fault upon the folly of two *Periodontis*, who had of their own accord offered themselves to be punished, obtained pardon of the Pretor. And then forthwith he went in expedition against other Cities: but finding them all ready to do whatsoever they were commanded, he parted quietly with his army through that country in peace, which but a while before was all up in arms and on a light fire. This lenity of the Pretor, which he used in taming and subduing this most fierce and proud nation without effusion of blood, was by so much more acceptable to the LL. of the Senat and the whole body of the people, as the Consul *Lucius* and the other Pretor *Lucius* had waited in *Greece* with greater cruelty and warfare. As for *Lucius*, the Tribunes of the Commons accused him daily in their ordinary Orations before the people for his absence: Now withal adding his excuse was alleged, that absent he was, and employed about the affairs of the State. But in those daies, no unknown words things done hard by, that even at that present he was at his farm within the territory of *Ambrona*, and busy in conveying a conduit of water out of the river *Corniciato* into *Amium*: the charges wherewith he defraided with the money raised out of the sale of prize taken from the enemies, some say that he bargained to have that piece of work effected, for the sum of a hundred and 3000 *Mils*. Moreover he embellished and adorned the Temple of *Castellus*, with the painted tables found in the pillage. The envy and ill will, the obloquy also and dishonor like to grow to *Lucius*; turned upon his successor *Hortensius*, by occasion of the Embassadors of *Ardery*, who impudently complained with tears before the Senat, that their Town was by *Hortensius* forced and ransacked: How the cause of this ruin and destruction of their City was no more but that, that being engaged by him to make payment of a hundred thousand Denarii, and allowance of fifty thousand Modii of wheat: they requested some respite of time, wherein they might address their Embassadors, as well to *Hortensius* the Consul as unto *Rome*, concerning this imposition. For scarcely were they come unto the said Consul, but they heard how their City was forced, the principal citizens thereof beheaded, and all the rest sold in port-sale under the garland. These were grievous indignities in the sight of the Senat, whereupon they passed the same ordinance in the behalf of the *Aberdites*, that the year before had been directed in the like case as touching the *Cornonians*; and commanded the Pretor *Q. Manilius* to publish the said decree before the public assembly of the people. In like manner two Commissioners were sent, namely, *C. Sempronius Blaesus*, and *S. Julius Caesar* for to re-establish the *Aberdites* in their freedom: who also had in charge to signify from them, both to the Consul *Hortensius*, and also to the Pretor *Hortensius*. That the Senat judged the hostility offered unto the *Aberdites* injurious, and the war unlawful, and therefore that all such as were brought into servitude, should be fought out and restored again to liberty.

At the same time presentation was made unto the Senat of certain complaints against *C. Cassius* who had been Consul the year before, and at that time was employed in quality of a Colonel-marshal together with *A. Hostilius* in *Macedony*. Likewise there arrived the Embassadors of *Cinebilas* a petty King of the Gauls. A brother of this having audience granted in the Senat made a speech, wherein he complained, that *C. Cassius* had given the walt to the lands and territories of the people inhabiting the *Alpi* who were their allies and confederats, and from thence had led away into captivity many thousand persons. And much at one instant there came the Embassadors of the *Carnians*, *Illyrians* and *Japides* with complaints against *Cassius*. That first he had enjoined them to furnish him with guides for to shew and direct him the best way to march with his army into *Macedony*, and so departed in peace from them, as if he had meant to war elsewhere: but afterwards out of the midway of his journey, he returned upon them and in hostile manner overran their frontiers, robbing, spoiling & burning whosoever he went and to this day they cannot devise and know the reason: wherefore the Consul should hold them for enemies and deal so cruelly by them. As well the Prince of the Gauls as aforesaid being absent, these Embassadors in place received

this answer, that as touching the outrages for which they shewed themselves grieved; the Senate neither knew thereof beforehand, than ever they were intended, nor yet approved of the same, since they were committed. But against all right and equity, it were so condemn unheard in his own defence, and albeit, such a personage as he is, namely, a man who had been Consul; considering also that his employment about the City, in the occasion of his absence, when *C. Calfius* once returned out of *Macedony*, then if they would try themselves and accuse him face to face, the Senate would hear the cause and take knowledge accordingly. Yes, and endeavour that they should be satisfied and contented. Moreover, though good it was, that these matters should not be dispatched only with this bare answer, but that the Embassadors also should be sent into the foresaid King beyond the Alps; and other three to the people above named, for so acquainted them with the resolution of the Lords of the Senate. And they gave order besides to send presents to each of the Embassadors to the value of two thousand Ases over and above, to the two Princes that were brethren, these gifts following, to wit, two chains of gold weighing after they were wrought five pound of gold; also five peeces of plate in silver, amounting to the weight of twenty pound; two hard horses with their riders and lackies likewise, horsemen, armour and their caissons; and liveries likewise for all those of their train, as well bond as free. These were the things sent unto them. But at their own request granted it was besides, that they might for their money buy each of them ten horses, and be allowed to transport them out of *Italy*. The Embassadors sent with the Gauls beyond the mountains, were *C. Lelius* and *M. Emilius Lepidus*: to the other nations *C. Sicius*, *P. Cornelius Blasio*, and *T. Memmius*.

* Rome a goddess.

Moreover, there met together in *Rome* at once, the Embassadors of many States both of *Greece* and *Afia*. And first the Athenians were brought into the Senate, who related, That they had sent unto the Consul *P. Licinius* and the Pretor *Q. Lucretius*, what shipping they had, and all the fighting men they were able to make; but seeing they had no use of them, they had raised a levy of a hundred thousand Modii of corn. Which albeit their land was but barren for tillage; and the very husbandmen themselves lived of forain corn brought in unto them, yet they had made means to do accordingly, because they would not seem to be wanting in any dutiful service; and willing they were yet, and prest to perform whatsoever they would require. The Milesians for their part said, That hitherto they had done nothing, marry they offered themselves to be ready to accomplish all that the Senate should command them toward this war. The Alabandians shewed, that they had built a Temple to the City of *Rome*, and ordained besides, that in the honour of that goddess there should be a solemnity of games and plaies exhibited every year. Also, that they had brought with them for a present, a crown of gold weighing fifty pound, to set it up in the Capitol as a gift and offering to *Jup. Opt. Max.* and withal, three hundred horsemen shields, which they were minded to bestow upon those unto whom it pleased them to appoint and command. Their petition was, that they might be permitted to offer their present in the Capitol, and there to sacrifice. The men of *Lampascus* came, with a golden crown weighing fourscore pound, protesting, That they had quick and abandoned *Perseus*, to loon as ever the Roman army was arrived in *Macedony*, notwithstanding they owed allegiance unto *Perseus*, and were homagers to his father *Philip* before him. In which consideration, as also for that they had performed their devoir to their full power to the Roman Generals, they requested no other favour, to be gratified withal, but to be received into the amity of the people of *Rome*; and in case there should be peace concluded with *Perseus*, that they might be excepted and exempted in the accord, for being reduced under his obedience. The rest of the Embassadors had a gracious answer returned unto them. As for the *Lampascens*, order was given to *Q. Maximus* the Pretor, to enter and enroll them in the number of allies. Every one of these Embassadors were rewarded with a present worth two thousand Ases. The Alabandians were appointed to carry back with them into *Macedony* their shields aforesaid, and to deliver them unto *A. Hostilius* the Consul. Over and besides, the Carthaginian Embassadors out of *Africa*, made relation that they had brought from thence ten hundred thousand Modii of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, which they had on shipboard at the sea-side, ready to carry the same wherever the Senat would appoint. This benevolence of theirs they accompanied with good words, saying, they knew well that this gift and recognisance of their duty, was inferior either to their own good will, or the demerits of the people of *Rome*. Howbeit many times heretofore they had shewed themselves to do the part of thankful, faithful, and trusty allies, in all things tending to the profit and good of both States. In like sort the Embassadors of *Masaniissa* promised the same proportion of corn, with 1200 horse, and twelve Elephants, assuring them in his name, to do whatsoever the Senate would impose and should be thought needful; and that with as free an heart as the benevolence offered of his own accord. Thanks being given both to the Carthaginians and also to the King, requested they were to transport over into *Macedony* to the Consul *A. Hostilius*, those things which they had promised. To the Embassadors were sent by way of presents, two thousand Ases apiece. The Cretensian Embassadors, related how they had sent into *Macedony* such a number of Archers, as the Consul *P. Licinius* had imposed upon them; and when they denied not upon the question asked, that there served more Archers of theirs under *Perseus* than with the Romans, this answer was made unto them: That if the Cretensians would well and truly and in good earnest prefer the friendship of the people of *Rome* before that of King *Perseus*, the Senat of *Rome* likewise would give them as certain and assured allies: in the mean while, they should

men to understand,

stand, that it was the will and pleasure of the Senat, that the Cretensians should with all speed possible call home all those souldiers whom they had in any garrison of King *Perseus*. The Caudious being diffimiled with this dispatch, then the Chalcidians were called in; and at the very first sight of them, it loon appeared upon what terms of necessity they were driven to send an embassage: when *Mecion* the chieftain among them, by occasion that he was lame with the gout in his feet, was brought into the Senat in a litter. In which extremity diseased as he was, there was no pleading of any excuse by his infirmity, nor craving pardon, since he was to go without, when he had almost. He began by way of preface and preamble, saying, He had nothing left alive but his tongue, for to deplore and bewail the calamities of his country: then he went forward, and first shewed what courtesies and good turns the State wherein he lived had performed to the Captains General and armies of the Romans, both of old, and also of late in the war against *Perseus*. After this, he declared what parts of pride, covetousness, and cruelty, first *C. Lucretius* a Roman Pretor had exercised upon his country-men, and afterwards what *L. Hortensius* practised, at that time above all others: also how the Chalcidians were resolved to endure all calamities, were they more grievous than those which they presently suffered, rather than they would yield to *Perseus*. And as for *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*, they knew full well, that it had been better and more for their safety to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into their City. For such as had excluded them forth, as namely, they of *Emathia*, *Amphipolis*, *Maronea*, and *Enus*, remain still entire and in good estate; but with us (say they) the Temples have been robbed of all their beautiful ornaments, and utterly spoiled by these railedgeders, *C. Lucretius* hath carried all away by water over to *Asinium*, and hath led away into bondage and captivity the persons free born, so as the goods and fortunes of the allies of the people of *Rome*, both have been and daily are pillaged and rifled. For according to the use and fashion brought up by *C. Lucretius*, *Hortensius* likewise househ his mariners as well in summer as winters, and our houses are full of a rabble of these sailors and sea-men, in such sort as our wives and children be forced to converse among such grooms as make no account at all what either they say or do. He upon thought good it was, to send for *Lucretius* into the Senat, that he might see his accuser, answer face to face, and purge himself of these challenges. But when he was come in place, he heard much more in presence, than had been spoken against him in his absence. Over and besides, there shewed themselves and joined together against him two other more stout adversaries and bitter accusers, to wit, *M. Lucretius Tulus* and *P. Aufidius*. And these two not only coured him before the Senat, but also having drawn him by force into the general assembly of the people, and charged him before them with many reproaches, took out their process also and arrested him to make his appearance and answer judicially at a day before the people. Then *Q. Manius* the Pretor, by order from the Senat, answered the Chalcidians in this manner: Whereas ye alledge and say, That ye have well deserved of the people of *Rome* both heretofore and also in this present war now in hand, the Senat knoweth all that to be true, and accepteth the same thankfully in the best part, as of right they ought. As touching your grievances and complaints for the few parts which *C. Lucretius* hath plaied, and which *L. Hortensius* still practiseth (both Pretors of *Rome*) the same neither have been nor are committed and done by the will and allowance of the people of *Rome*. For who would not judge so of it, that knoweth how they leyed war upon King *Perseus* and his father *Philip* before him, for to enfranchise *Greece* and set it at liberty; and not that their allies and friends should thus hardly be increased by their Magistrates and Governors sent from hence? Write therefore they would unto *L. Hortensius* the Pretor, to let him understand, that the Senat is not well pleased with these pranks of his which the Chalcidians complain of. Also if any free-born persons were become thrall and bound, that with all convenient speed he should take order to seek them up and restore them again to their former freedom. Last of all, that they deemed it meet and reason, that no sailor or mariner, but only the masters of ships should be lodged and entertained in your houses. And these were the contents of the letters written unto *Hortensius*, by commandment from the Senat. Unto the Embassadors were gifts sent, to every one as much as came to 2000 Ases. As for *Mecion*, he was allowed his Farainge in chariots at the charges of the City, and order given that he should with all ease ride in them to *Brundisium*. As for *C. Lucretius*, when the day of appearance was come, the Tribuns commended an action against him before the people, to be fined at a million of Ases. And in a general assembly and Session holden for this purpose, cast he was and condemned by the suffrages of all the tribes, evenly thirty five and no fewer.

In *Ligeria* no memorable exploit was that year performed: for neither the enemies entred into arms, nor the Consul led his legions into their country; and when he was assured of peace for that year, he discharged the souldiers of two Roman legions, within 60 daies after his first coming into the Province. As for the army of the Latine allies, he brought it early into the Cities of *Luna* and *Pisi*: there to winter: and then himself with the cavalry visited most of the Cities in the Province of *Gaul*.

In no place was there any war but in *Macedony*: howbeit they had in suspicion *Genius* and the King of the *Illyrians*. Therefore the Senat ordained to send from *Brundisium* eight ships ready rigged and fully furnished, unto the Lieutenant *C. Furius* at *Issa*, who was Governor of the land with the guard and strength of two Iffean Vessels: in which were put aboard and shipped 2000 souldiers, which *Q. Manius* the Pretor by a warrant directed out of the Senat, enrolled in the City of *Italy* which lieth opposite to *Illyriens*. In like manner the Consul *Hostilius* sent

Appius

Appius Claudius unto *Ilyricum* with four thousand footmen, for to defend the people in those parts: who not content with those forces of his own which he had brought with him thither, demanded here and there aids and succours of the allies, until he had put in arms eight thousand men of divers and sundry nations. And after he had made his progress through all that region he set him down and reſted at *Lichnidum* a City of the *Dassaretians*. Not far from thence there stood a frontier Town called *Hypane*, and for the most part ranged under the obedience of *Perseus*. There were within it one thousand citizens, and a small garrison of *Cresians* for their better safeguard and defence. From thence there came to *Claudius* secret conspirators, advertising him, that if he would approach nearer with his army, there would be some ready at hand to betray the Town into his hands: and worth the adventure it was: (say they) and would quit for all the pains: for able it was with pillage to enrich not himself and his friends only, but also all his followers. The hope of this cheat, fitting so well his covetous humour, so blinded his spirit and understanding, that he had not the sense to keep with him any one of those conspirators that came unto him, nor the wisdom to demand hostages for assurance of his enterprise which was to be accomplished by stealth and fraud, nor yet the foresight to send out scouts and spies, or so much reason and mother-wit as to require their oath and bond of faithful promise. Only at the day appointed he departed from *Lichnidum*, and within twelve miles of that City toward which he went, he was encamped. Then by night at the relief of the fourth watch, he removed and set forward, leaving behind him a regiment of a thousand, for the guard of the camp. At length, to the City they came, disordered in a long train, marching nothing close, but far asunder loosely, one from another and scattered, by reason that in the night season they went many of them out of the way. This negligence of theirs was the more, when they saw no man appearing upon the walls: but so soon as they were approached within a darts cast, the inhabitants issued forth at once out of 2 gates, and together with the shout of them that sallied forth, a mighty noise and outcry besides arose from the walls, women howling, yelling, and ringing brazen basins and bells on every hand: besides, the confused multitude of the base people and bond-slaves together, set up most hideous and dissonant cries. These manifold terrors presented from all parts, were the causes that the Romans could not abide and stand out the first tempest and violent storm, as it were, of their folly and charge. Down they went therefore and were slain more in flight than fight, and scarce 2000 men with the lieutenant himself, escaped and recovered the camp: for the longer way they had thither, the more means and opportunity had the enemies to chase and overtake a great number of them, weary upon the way. *Appius* stayed not so long in the camp, until he had sallied thence, that were distressed in the rout, (which had been the only way to have saved those that were trapped in the field) but immediately retired with the broken reliques of his army after this overthrow, to *Lichnidum*. This infelicity and such other like misfortunes hapning in *Macedony*, were made known at *Rome*, by occasion of *Sex. Dignus* a Colonel: who was returned home for to celebrate a solemn sacrifice. In regard whereof the LL. of the Senat fearing to receive some greater ignominy and dishonour, addressed Embassadors into *Macedony*, *M. Fulvius Flaccus* and *M. Caelinius Rebolus* to make a true report upon their knowledge how the world went there, Also that *A. Hostilius* the Consul should publish the assembly general for the election of Consuls, so as it might be holden in the month of *January*, and then repair himself with all convenient speed to the City. In the mean time, *M. Retius* the Pretor had in charge, by virtue of an edict, to call home into the City all Senators from every quarter of *Italy*, unless such as were absent about the affairs of the state: also to give straight warning to them who now were at *Rome*, not to absent themselves farther than five miles from the City. These things were done according to the advice of the Senat. So the grand assembly for the election of the Consuls, was holden the 28 day of *August*, wherein were created Consuls, *Q. Martius Philippus* the second time, and *Q. Servilius Capius*. Three dates after the Pretors also were chosen, namely, *Caius Decimius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *M. Sulpicius Gallus*, *Martius Figulus* Son, *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Fonteius Capito*. Unto these Pretors elect, besides the two charges within the City of civil jurisdiction, these four provinces and governments were assigned, to wit, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and the admiralty of the navy.

* Ad quatum calendar Septembris. I doubt, this for [Septembris] it should be [Februarius] and then is the 28 of January: which considering the precedent month and the subsequent circumstances, suiteth better to the story.

To the God of Bounds, *Terminus*. Solemnized it was toward the end of *February*, the last month of the year, as appeareth by *Ovid*. *Fasti*. Qui sequitur annum veteris fuit ultimus mens: Tu quoque (scilicet) *Terminus*, *Terminus*, *Terminus*.

At the very end of *February*, the Embassadors aforesaid returned out of *Macedony*: who recounted the acts achieved fortunately by *Perseus* the summer past, and in how great fear the allies of the people of *Rome* stood, after so many Cities reduced under the obedience of the King. Moreover, that the Consul his army was distressed of men, by reason that so many of them made friends to be discharged, and so for favour had their pass-ports and were dismissed: the fault here in, the Consul laid upon the military Tribunes or Colonels, and they again upon him. The LL. of the Senat perceived well that they made but light of the shameful loss received by the inconsiderate rashness of *Claudius*, in saying, That there were but very few soldiers lost of the Italian nation, and those for the most part taken up in haste and enrolled on a sudden. The Consuls elect so soon as they entered into their magistracy, were commanded to propound unto the Senat concerning the Province of *Macedony*, and to them were assigned the governments of *Italy* and *Macedony*. This year was leap-year, and the third day after the feast of *Terminus*, was the day isolated between, which hapned upon the calendar [of March.] Within the compass of that year certain Priests to wit, *L. Flaminius*, and two Pontiffs or Bishops, *L. Furius Philus* and *O. Livius Salinator*, departed this life. The college of these Pontiffs, elected *T. Manlius Torquatus* in stead of *Furius*, and *Marcus Servilius* in the room of *Livius*.

In the beginning of the year next following, after that the new Coss, *Q. Martius* and *Q. Servilius*, had moved in the Senat as touching their provinces, advised it was, That with all speed possible they should either agree between themselves, or else cast lots for the governments in *Italy* and in *Macedony*. And before that the lots determined this matter so doubtful and uncertain, to the end that nothing afterwards should be done for favour partially, thought good it was, to ordain before hand a competent and sufficient number of souldiers for the supplement of the armies in both Provinces: namely, for *Macedony* 6000 footmen of Romans, and as many of Latine allies: 250 horsemen Romans, and 300 allies: also to cast the old souldiers, so as in every Roman legion there should not be above 6000 foot and 300 horse. As for the other Consul, he was not gaged with any certain flint of Roman citizens, to be levied for the full accomplishment of his legions. Only this was determinately set down, That he should enrol two legions, and either of them to contain 3200 foot and 200 horse: but for footmen of Latins, he had a greater number allowed than his colleague: namely, 3000 foot and 600 horse. Moreover, commandment was given to enrol four legions more, to be led forth into the field, upon what need and occasion soever should fall out. The Marshal-Colonels of the army the Consuls might not be permitted to elect, but created they were by the people. The allies of the Latine nation were enjoined to set out seven thousand foot and a thousand horse. And this power was only to be in readines at an hours warning, for to be led forth as occasion should be offered. Their principal care was about *Macedony*. Ordained also it was, That for the service at Sea, there should be enrolled to serve the navy, of the Roman citizens (such as were libertins and newly enfranchised) out of all parts of *Italy* one thousand, and as many out of *Sicily*: And unto whether of the Consuls the Province of *Macedony* fell, he should give order for their transporting thither, to the armada wherefoever it was. For *Spain* there were three thousand Roman footmen and three hundred horsemen appointed to make up the deciated bands. There also, a certain number was set down for every legion, to wit, five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Moreover, that Consul whose lot was to govern in *Spain*, had commision to levy of the allies four thousand footmen, and three hundred horse.

I am not ignorant, that from the same prophane negligence and irreligion, whereby commonly men now adays are of belief, that the Gods portend and fore-signify nothing to come by signs and tokens: it proceeded also, That no prodigies which happen, should any more, either be published and reported abroad, or recorded in the annals and chronicles. Howbeit, for mine own part, in writing of these acts and monuments of ancient times, I know not how, but the thinks I say a mind, that is become (as it were) antique also: yea, and some scrupulous devotion ariseth in my spirit, which moveth me to account the things not unworthy to have place in my histories; which those false fathers and most prudent personages in old time thought meet to be considered of the State, yea, and to require publick expiation. Well, to proceed, from *Anagnum* were two fearful fights reported that year, namely, That burning and blazing flame was seen in the skies; and a cow known to speak, kept and nourished at the publick charges. At *Minerva* also much about those daies, the welkin seemed to be on a light fire. At *Rome* there fell a shower that rained stones. In the fottress at *Cumes* the image of *Apollo* wept three daies and three nights continually. In the City of *Rome*, two sextons or keepers of the Temples made report, the one, That in the Church of *Fornus* there was a Serpent crept by many men, crested with a mane: the other, That about the chapel of *Fortuna Primigenia*, which standeth upon the Capitol hill, there hapned two divers and different prodigious signs, namely, That in the Chapel-yard there sprung up a palm-tree: and all one day it rained blood. Two other strange things there were, whereof there was no regard nor account made: the first, because it chanced in a privat place; for *T. Martius Figulus* reported, That there grew up a palm or date-tree in his court-yard: the second, because it hapned in a forrain place for spoken it was, That at *Fregelle* in the house of *M. Atrius*, a lance or spear which he had bought for his son a souldier, burned in the day time for two hours space and more, yet so, as the fire consumed nothing thereof. In regard of those publick prodigies, the Decemvirs had recourse to the books of *Sibylla*: who out of them declared, That the Consuls should sacrifice forty head of greater beasts, and they shewed also to what Gods. They added moreover and gave advice to hold a publick procession, and that all the Magistrats at every shrine and upon every altar of the Gods should sacrifice greater beasts, and the people wear garlands and chaplets of flowers: All things were executed accordingly, as the Decemvirs suggested and directed.

After this, the assembly was published for the chusing of Cenors. In election there were lot this dignity of Cenorship, the very principal persons and of best note in all the City, *C. Valerius Lentulus*, *L. Posthumius Albinus*, *P. Mutius Scaevola*, *C. Junius Bruns*, *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. These two last rehearsed the people of *Rome* choise for Cenors, When as by occasion of the Macedonian war, a greater care was had about the taking of matters, than at other times before, the Consuls found much fault with the common people, and complained unto the Senat, that the young and able men for service being called, would not answer to their names. But *C. Sulpicius* and *M. Claudius* two Tribuns of the Commons, maintained the cause against them in the behalf of the Commons, saying, That it was no hard and difficult matter for Consuls to levy souldiers: many for corrupt, affectionate and popular Consuls, it was not so easy a thing, and namely, such as would be sure to enrol no souldiers against their wills. And to the end that the LL. of the Senate might know this to be a truth, they should see the Pretors (if the Senate were

* Cum principis gentis fuerit, when the was first born, *Pat. Marthianus*.

* The civil Pretors within the City were allowed but two Lictors, and the provincial abroad in foreign parts not above six apiece, whereupon Polybius calleth a Pretor *Centurio*, whereas each Consul had every where twelve.

(to content, and thought well thereof) whose power of command and authority of government was less than the Consuls, to go through with the matters without respect to them. So that charge was committed to the Pretors with the great ill will of the Senators, but need without blame backbiting and detraction of the Consuls. And the Consuls forsook what they would publish in the senate made at known, and protested in the full assembly of the people, that they would publish in the senate touching the review and estimate of every mans estate and honesty, that besides the ordinary oath of all citizens, they should swear to these points in this form following: Art thou thirty six and forty years of age? then by vertue of the edict made by the Consuls *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius*, come forth and shew thyselfe the musters so often as there shall be any levy taken: and what Consuls soever shall happen to be in place, thou shalt appear and be enrolled; in case thou wert not a prett soldier before. Moreover, because the voice went, that many soldiers in the Macedonian legions were absent from the army, and had obtained large passages without limitation of return, and that through the corruption and favour of the Generals; they published an edict as touching the soldiers enrolled for *Macedonia*, when *P. Aemilius* and *C. Popilius* were Consuls, or any time after. That as many of them as remained within *Italy*, after they were enrolled and registered first under their hands, should within thirty daies repair again to their colonies in the province: and whosoever of them were at the disposition of father or grandfire, their names should be presented and declared before them. Semblably, they would take knowledge of their causes who were clean dismissed and cast: and look whomsoever they judged to have obtained their discharge by any special grace and favour, before they had served out their full time by law required, they would command them to be enrolled soldiers again. By vertue of this edict of the Consuls as also by their letters sent out and divulged abroad in all incorporate Towns and places of resort for market and merchandise, there assembled together and came to *Rome* such a multitude of luty, yong, and able men; that their unusual and extraordinary number was chargeable and cumbersome to the City. Thus besides the former levy taken of those that were to be levied and employed in supply of the old armies, four legions more were enrolled by *C. Sulpicius* the Pretor, and within eleven daies the musters were accomplished and ended.

Then the Consuls cast lots for their provinces. For the Pretors had their governments allotted unto them before, and the sooner, by reason of the civil causes which required their jurisdictions. The one over the citizens was said to *C. Sulpicius*, the other over forrainers to *C. Decimius*. *M. Claudius Marcellus* obtained the regiment of *Spain*; *Serg. Cornelius Lentulus* of *Sicily*; *P. Fontius* of *Capua* ruled *Sardinia*; *C. Martius Equitulus* had the conduct of the Navy. And then, *Tiberius*, to *Q. Servilius* one of the Consuls fell the government of *Italy*, and to *Q. Martius* the other of *Macedonia*. This *Martius* so soon as the Latine laws were solemnized, departed toward his province immediately. After this, upon the motion of *Capit* to the Senat to know their pleasure, which two legions of the new he should conduct into *Gaul*? the LL. ordained, That the Pretors *C. Sulpicius* and *M. Claudius* should give unto the Consul, which it pleased them of those legions that they had enrolled. This he took to the heart, that he a Consul was thus subjected to the will of the Pretors; yet after the Senat was risen, he stood waiting at the Tribunal of the Pretors, and required them according to the order set down by the Senat to assign him his two legions. But the Pretors submitted the choice thereof to the Col. himself. This done, the Consuls took a review of the Senat and chose new Senators; said *M. Emilius Lepidus* was elected president of the Senat; and these were the third Senators that made choice of him consequently one after another. Seven were displaced and deposed from their Senators dignity. Now in taking the number of the peoples, and in assigning them, they compelled to return into *Macedonia* those who were departed from the army there: and by means of this assignment, they soon knew who were absent from their companies: they examined them for what causes they were discharged from soldiery; and who of licence they judged not to be grounded of good and sufficient reason those they forced to take the military oath again in this manner and form: According to the edict of *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Consuls, thou shalt well and truly swear, to return willingly and with all thine heart, into the province of *Macedonia*; and this shalt thou do thy power without fraud or covin. In making the review of them that served on horseback, their censures was executed with great rigour and extremity. They took from many their horses of service: upon which occasion having given offence to the whole estate of Knights and Gentlemen of *Rome*, they blew the coals and kindled the fire of ill-will and heart-burning against themselves: by a certain edict of theirs besides, whereby they intimated, That none of them who in time that *Q. Fulvius* and *An. Postumius* the Consuls had taken to farm the revenues, fruits and profits of the City; or undertaken at a price the publick works and provisions, should be so hardy as to present themselves to their speerest up, either to be farmers or undertakers, no, nor to be partners, or have any thing to do with those that were in such negotiation, commerce and bargain. The old Publicans and farmers had oftentimes complained hereof to the Senat: but when they could obtain no comfort from them; to moderate and abridge this infinite power of the Consuls, at length they met with a Tribune of the Commons, one *Rutilius*, to stand with them and defend their cause; a man who upon a particular and private quarrel of his own was offended and bare a grudge against the Consuls. And this was the occasion: They had commanded one of his late vassals and enfranchised retainers, to pull down a wall standing in the street *Sacra* over against a publick edifice; pretending that the said wall was built upon the City ground. The man a private person, called unto the

A the Tribuns for their lawful help and favour: but when as none of them all but only this *Rutilius* would meddle in the matter and interpose their helping hand, the Consuls sent to strain and take gages for to bind him to answer the cause, and before the body of the people intended an action against him, and let a grievous fine upon the head of that party aforesaid. By means I say of this debate begun upon such an occasion, when as the old publicans betook themselves for succour to this Tribune, presently there was a bill preferred and subscribed with the name of the said Tribune alone, in this form, That what publick revenues and profits of the State, *C. Claudius* and *T. Sempronius* had to farm let for a rent, or what publick works and provisions they had put out to be made and purchased at a price, the same leases and bargains should not stand for good but be cancelled, and new demises drawn and made. Also that it might be lawful for all men indifferently either to be farmers or undertakers of the premises. And the said Tribune assigned a day for a general assembly and session, to have this bill to be cast by the voices of the people. When the day was come, the Consuls advanced and put themselves forward to disswade and plead against the bill. So long as *Gracchus* spake, he was heard with patience and silence. But at *Claudius*, when he opened his mouth, they hissed and kept amuttering, so as he was forced by an aies made by the crier to procure audience: which being made, the Tribune found himself grieved and complained, that the people there assembled were withdrawn and called away from him, to the prejudice of his authority and honour, and with that flag out of the Capitol where this assembly was holden. The next day he kept a great coil and made a toulhir: first, he interdicted the goods of him, *C. Claudius* as condemned and accused, for that in letting a fine, and streining gages of him, who had appealed to a Tribune, and in not obeying and condescending to his opposition, he seemed to set light by his Tribunes authority, and prejudice his reputation. As for *C. Claudius*, he arrested him to answer at a day, for that he had withdrawn the assembly from him: may be protested that he would indite both the Consuls of treason or felony in the highest degree, and required of *Sulpicius* Pretor for the citizens, a day of assizes for their judicial trial. The Consuls refused not to have this matter put to an issue with all speed, and to be tried by the doom of the people. So the time for the hearing and determining of this heinous crime of majesty or treason aforesaid, was assigned the * daies immediately before the eight and seventh calends of *October*. Upon this, the Consuls incontinently ascended up into the Porch of *Liberty*: where after they had made sure and sealed the publick Registers and Records, shut up and locked all the offices upon the Chancery, and discharged for the time the publick Clerks and proto-Notaries attending upon that Court, they protested that they would norgo in hand with any publick affairs of state, before the sentence and judgment of the people were passed upon them. The day came, and *Claudius* first pleaded his own cause and spake for himself: and when of twelve Centuries that were of Gentlemen, eight had found the Cenfor guilty and cast him, yea, and many other centuries of the first *Classis*. Then presently, the principal persons of the City in the very sight of the people, changed their weed, laid away their rings, and went about from one to another in humble manner, to crave the commons to begood unto the Consuls. But that which most of all either flaid or reversed the definitive doom against him, was (by report) *Tib. Gracchus* himselfe the other Cenfor: for that when the commons cried from all parts, that there was *Gracchus* growing toward *Gracchus*, he was by expels words. That if his colleague were condemned, he would (without attending the judgment of the people as touching himselfe) accompany him into banishment. Howbeit the defendant and accused person, was driven to this neet point and hard exigent of extremity, that he came within eight centuries of being cast and condemned. Thus when *Claudius* was acquit, the Tribune said he would not trouble and molest *Gracchus*.

This year at the earnest suit of the Aquileian Embassadors unto the Senat, for to have the number of their colonies increased: a thousand and five hundred families (by vertue of a decree granted to the Senate) were enrolled: and for the conducting of them to *Aquileia*, were sent as *Triumvirs* or commissioners these three, to wit, *T. Annius Lælius*, *P. Decius Subulo*, and *M. Corn. Cethegus*. The same year *C. Popilius* and *Cn. Octavius* Embassadors, who had been sent into *Galatia* *Cethegus*, having first read and published at *Thebes* the areit and ordinance of the Senat, carried it thence throughout all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to this effect, That no person should contribute toward the wars, and put into the hands of the Roman Magistrats, more than that which the Senat had set down. This put them in good hope and assurance for the future time that they should be eased of those charges and expences; by which they were impoverished and wasted; whiles every one imposed upon them some taxation or other, and never gave them repose. In the Achæan general council holden at *Argos*, they had audience given them and were heard in grace: from whence leaving this most loyal and faithful nation in singular good hope of happy success for the time to come, they passed into *Ætolia*. There was as yet no sedition broken out there: but all were in jealousy and suspicion one of another, and full of natural accusations: in regard of which jars and troubles, the Embassadors only demanded hostages, and without regard of what jars and troubles, the Achæanians granted unto these Embassadors a Diet to be holden at *Tyrrhenum* of the States: some debated that there should be garriisons of divers factions. Some principal men of the where required that there should be garriisons received into their Cities, to bridle the willfull folly of those that inclined to the Macedonian nation: others gainst this counsell, and besought the contrary, for fear lest that peaceable and

* in ante 8 & 7
Calendas Octo-
bris, that is ju-
ne 23 and 24 of
September.

The same time *Perseus* knowing that the enemy approached, but yet ignorant which way he meant to come, determined to beset all passages with strong guards. Whereupon he sent ten thousand yong and lusty men lightly armed, to the pitch of the Cambanian hills (which the inhabitants themselves call *Volsuani*) under the conduct of captain *Ajlepiodorus*. But he commanded *Hippias* with a power of twelve thousand Macedonians to seize the streights of a certain for-
 tress upon the marsh *Astura*, and is called *Lapathia*. Him self in person accompanied with the rest of the forces, lodged him self near to *Diurn*: but afterwards seeming as if he were unprovided of counsel and void of sense and understanding, he with his light horsemen made roads and courses along the strand, one while toward *Heraclea*, and other whiles to *Phila*; and so backward again the same way to *Diurn*. In this mean time the Consul resolved fully to lead his army by that path where we said before that the army of King *Philip* encamped sometimes near a place called *Orolophus*. Howbeit he thought good to send out before four thousand armed men, for to prevent the enemies and be possessed first of the most commodious places of advantage: this regiment was commanded by *M. Claudius* and *Q. Marcius*, the Consul's son; and inconsequently all the forces in general followed after. But the way was so steep and difficult, rough, uneven and rugged, that in two dayes space, they which were sent before, albeit they were not charged with the carriage of any thing, had much ado to march fifteen miles: where they lodged, and the place which they made choice of was called the Tower *Eudoria*. From whence the morrow after they journeyed seven miles forward and seized a hill not far from the enemies camp: where they dispatched a courier back to the Consul, to give intelligence, that they were come near to the enemy, and led in a place of safety, commodious also for all purposes; and withall to advise him to make all possible speed after, for to overtake them and join together. This messenger encountered the Consul at the Meas *Astoria*, where he was greatly perplexed as well for the difficulty of the way which he was to enter himself, as also in regard of the danger of them whom in a few number he had sent before, even through the midst of the enemies corps de guard. Whereupon he took a better heart to himself; and having united all his forces, encamped upon the foreland hill which his men already held, on that side which (considering the nature of the ground) was most commodious. And there they might discover within the view of eye, not only the enemies camp distant from thence a little above a mile, but also the whole country as far as to *Diurn* and *Phila*, yea, and all the coast by reason that the high pitch and top of the mountain yielded a prospect far and neer round about. And this was it that let on fire the soldiers hearts, when they beheld the whole weight of the war, the Kings forces altogether, and the enemies country so neer unto them. In which spirit of cheerfulness, when they were earnest with the Consul, and exhorted him to advance directly against the enemies camp, they had but one day granted them to rest after their wearisome journey. So upon the third day the Consul leaving part of his forces to guard the camp, led the rest against the enemy. Now had *Hippias* been lately sent from the King to keep and guard the passage, who since the time that first he espied the Roman camp upon the hill, had prepared the minds of his men to a battle, and so encountered the army of the Consul and met it half way. The Romans advanced forth to fight, nimble appointed; and the enemies likewise were highly armed, and by reason thereof most fit and provided for to give the charge and begin skirmish. So soon as they sighted and encountered one another, presently they fell to lancing one of their darts on both sides. Many a wound was given and received of the one part as well as the other by their rash charging at random, and few of both sides were slain. Thus were their strokes whetted and edged against the morrow; and then had they skirmishes, and maintained fight with greater forces, and more deadly feud, if the ground would have served them to have displayed their battalions at large: but the top of the mountain was freight and aloft a sharp creck in form of a coin or wedge; and hardly afforded room enough for three ranks of armed men affront; and therefore when some few were in fight, all the rest and specially they that were heavily armed, stood as lookers on. As for the light armour of one part, they would run forth at the broken crags of the hill, and ever from the sides join battle with the like of the other part; yea, and find means to charge their enemies, were the place even or uneven, it skilled not whether. But after that more than that day, no were wounded then killed, the night at length parted the fray. The third day, the Roman General was to seek and wist not what to do; for neither could he stay any longer upon that hill, for want of all things; and retire back from thence it was not possible, without dishonour and danger both. Moreover, if he had retired, the enemy might press upon him from the upper ground with advantage. There remained therefore no other means to be taken that which was the audaciously enterprised, with as resolute & hardy persistence in execution; a thing that other whiles proveth well in the end, as if it proceeded from wit and deliberat counsel. And verily to this hard passage and difficult terms they were come, that if the Consul had been to deal with an enemy like to any of the Macedonian Kings in old time, he might soon have received a great foil and overthrow. But *K. Perseus* as he cooled and ranged with his cavalry upon the strand near *Diurn* (albeit for the space of 12 miles well-neer, he heard the cries and shouts of them that were in fight;) neither reinforced the companies by sending fresh soldiers in aid of the wearied, nor showing himself in person at the battle; (which had been a thing of assuredness of most importance) whereas the Roman General being above 60 years of age, corpulent besides, sunweld, performed himself right lustily all military services of a valiant warrior, persisting in that to the very end most bravely, which he had begun a and enterprised so boldly,

and having left *Popilius* for to guard the hill top, passed over places that had no tracks at all to direct them, by sending out before, certain men of purpose to scour and prepare to make a pass ge. As for *Aratius* and *M. Agrippa*, he commanded them both, with the auxiliary soldiers of their own nation to guard them that opened the way before. Then he putting before him in the march the horsemen with baggage, came behind with the legionary footmen in the rear guard. No tongue is able to expresse what a toil and painful labour they found in going down the hill, the lamper horses with their backs & carriages tumbled to down one with another in so much as when they had scarcely gone four miles forward, they wined in their hearts nothing more, then to return the way they came, if it had been possible. The elephants troubled the march as much in manner as the enemies could: for when they were come to a place where they could see no way, down they cast their riders and governors, laying them along on the earth, and with the horrible braying that they made, affrighted their horses especially, until such time as a device was found for their passage. They began first to make the head or entrance of the bridge at the very bow and edge of a steep downslope: this done, in the lower ground beneath, they tell in the right good strong and long polls of wood, two by two distant one from the other, while little more than the largeness of one of their beasts. Upon which rested fast joined [with ten oxen or mules] certain rafters like wall-plats 30 foot in length, and those being couched with planks, crossed over in form of a bridge, had earth and mould cast thereupon. A little way off beneath it, such another bridge was made; and so a third likewise, and many more consequently according as the craggy ground was broken and uneven. Now the elephant from the firm ground entered upon the first bridge afore said; but before he was gone as far as to the foot and end thereof, the polls above named were cut in two underneath; to the end that the bridge might fall, and in the earth feeling thereof the beast also gently slide, as it were, and he carried therewith as far as the head of the second bridge. Thus some of them slid and kept themselves standing upright on their feet, others fell upon their buttocks. Again, when they were come to the plain and level floor of another like hill bridge, by the fall of it in manner afore said they were driven unto a third bridge beneath it, until such time as they were come to a more plain and even valley. In this order the Romans could rid little more than seven miles that day. And the least part thereof went upright on their feet but were fain most what to tumble and roll over, and over with the armor and targets about them, and thus they got forward in all kind of pain and trouble, in such sort that he who induced them to this journey & conducted them therein, could not deny but the whole army (with a final power coming against them) might utterly have been defeated. By night they arrived at a pretty plain; but the place being enclosed on all sides, they had no space and room to view round about, whether it were dangerous or no. At length after much ado and beyond their expectation, they met with a firm piece of ground, whereas they might take free footing; and there they were forced the morrow following to attend in the hollow valley the coming of *Popilius* and the companies left with him: who also were exceedingly sore vexed and plagued with the roughness of the way, albeit the enemies troubled and affrighted them no whit at all. The third day after they had joined their forces together, they took their way through a pass, which the inhabitants call *Calapace*. The fourth day they passed over a place that had no more means to direct them, then the other before; but by use and experience there were grown more skillful: and better hope they had, for that the enemy in no place appeared, but approached neer to the sea. When they were come once down into the plains between *Heraclea* and *Lebebrus*, the footmen (whereof the greater part kept the hills) pitched their tents and took up the valley, and a good part of the plain wherein the horsemen should quarter. As the King was doing himself, it is said that word came, how the enemies were neer at hand: at which news he was so leared, that he leapt out of his lodging vessel, and in half got him out of the barge, crying aloud, that he was vanquished with-
 out drawing sword and stroke given: neither will he for fear which way to turn him, taking fan-
 cion of one of another, and commanding he knew not what, (sometime this and some-
 time that) in this perplexity he sent for *Ajlepiodorus* (one of his two elippical friends) out
 of the place where he lay in garrison, to go to *Pella* where all his money and treasure lay; and by
 this means opened all the avenues for the Romans to make war. Him self, after he had had in
 the great hall bestowed and piled up in his ships, all the gilded images at *Diurn*, to the end that the
 enemy should make no prize of them, caused with all speed possible to trundle up and to remove to
Phila; & hereby gave occasion, that the enterprize of the Consul which might have seemed rash-
 ness (in that he had engaged himself so far, that he could not possibly to retire again without leave
 of the enemy) proved in the end, no inconsiderate and unadvised designment. For now the Romans
 had the choice of two passages through which they might escape away, the one, by *Tempe* into
Thessaly, the other into *Macedonia*, by the way neer *Diurn* both which before were held by the
 Kings guards. So as if a resolute and fearless captain could have held out and endured but one ten
 dayes the first appearance and shew of terror that approached, the Romans could never have returned
 into *Thessaly* by *Tempe*, nor found way for convenience of provision & victuals to the place where
 they were. For *Tempe* is of itself a difficult passage, even without any force of arms to make
 it dangerous. And why besides the straight gullet five miles in length, yielding a very narrow way,
 the beasts to go charged with burden; the rocks of either hand, are so steep and upright, that
 no one beast is able to look down from them, but his eyes will dazzle, his brain turn, and his head
 be dizzy withall. Moreover, the sound and noise, yea, and the depth of the river *Peneus* running di-

rectly through the midst of the valley, encreased the fear so much the more. This place is perilous of its own nature, had been holden and guarded with the Kings' garrisons in four several & distant places. The one kept at the very first entrance, near to *Comus*; the second at *Candyl*, a fort impregnable; the third about *Lapathus*, which also they call *Charax*; and the fourth was placed even upon the very avenue it self about the midst of the valley, where it is at the freighth, and which may easily be defended with ten men, if there were no more. In this manner (1st) the passage being stopped up by *Tempe*, as well for portage of provisions thither as for return from thence, the Romans must perforce have retired again up to the same mountains from whence they were defended. But as they come down and were not discovered, to be now desired, they could not possibly have gained them again in open view, considering that the enemies had possessed the tops of the mountains; and no doubt the difficulty thereof besides, which they had tried already, would have cut off all hope of that adventure: so as, being waded thus far into this rash enterprise, there remaineth no means else for them, but to have passed through the midst of the enemies, at *Diium*, for to escape and passe into *Macedony*: an adventure no doubt, (if the gods had not bereft the King of his right wits) most difficult and dangerous unto them. For it being so, that from the foot of the mountain *Olympus* unto the sea, there is little above a mile space between: the one half whereof, is taken up with the mouth of the river *Baphrys*, which in this place, spreadeth very broad and large; and another part of the plain, either the temple of *Jupiter* or the town it self occupieth: the rest besides, being but a very small place; might have been enclosed and made fast against them with a little trench and rampier: besides which there was of stone ready at hand, and of timber out of the forest, that they might either have raised a wall, or framed turrets and such like fabricks in their way. But the King (whose spirit and understanding was blinded with sudden fear) foreseeing none of all these things, but, dismurmuring every sort of their garrisons, made open passage for the current of war, and fled himself to *Pydna*. The Consul perceiving that he had gotten great advantage and many hopes by the folly and negligence of his enemy, dispatched a courier back toward *Larissa* unto *Sp. Lucretius*; willing him to seize those forts into his hands about *Tempe*, which were abandoned by the enemy: and after he had sent *Popilius* before in person to discover all the passages about *Diium*, and perceived that the avenues were open in all parts, he marched forward himself, and the second journey came to *Diium*; where commanded to encamp under the very temple, to the end, that no violent outrage should be committed in that holy place. Himself in proper person entered into the City, which it was not great, so it was garnished with fair publick buildings, beautified with a number of goodly images, and paising well fortified besides: in so much as he could not well believe, the things of such importance were abandoned for nothing, but that there was some secret deceit and treachery lurking underneath. After he had staid there one full day, to espie and see that all coasts were clear, he dislodged and marched on: & supposing verily that he should be provided of sufficient store of grain, he advanced forward that very day to the river named *Agrus*. The morning after, he took possession of the City *Agass*, which the inhabitants willingly rendered unto him. And to win the hearts of all other Macedonians, (contenting himself only with hostages) he promised to leave their City clear without a garrison, and to permit them to live under their own laws without payment of any tribute. Being marched onward one daies journey from thence, he pitched down his tents fast upon the river *Agrus*: but feeling and finding still (the farther he went from *Thessaly*, more and more want of all things, he retired back to *Diium*; and then all men plainly & made no doubt, to what streights he should be driven in, case he had been clear sent out from *Thessaly*, considering that it was not late for him to remove far from thence, where he was

Perseus having rallied all his forces, and assembled his captains into one place, checked and rattled up the captains of the garrisons and guards aforesaid over the passages: but above all he rebuked *Aclepiodorus* & *Hippias* most, saying, that those two had betrayed unto the Romans the portage to *Macedony*: whereas indeed no man was more justly to be blamed, for that than his own self.

The Consul after he had discovered a far off from sea a fleet of Roman ships, conceived good hope that vessels were coming charged with provision of victuals (for now in his camp the want was great, and brought they were already to extrem want and scarcity.) But he was advertised by them who were entered within the harbor, that the hulks and ships of burden were left behind at *Magnesia*. Whereupon, being in great doubt what to do (so hard went all things, with him for the present, that he had work enough to wrestle with that only difficulty, without being farther encumbered with any impediment from the enemy) behold, in happy time, letters were brought unto him from *Sp. Lucretius*, importing thus much, That he was master of all the forts and holdes planted upon *Tempe* and round about *Phila*, where he had found great plenty of corn and other necessities. The Consul right joyous for these good tidings, let his army on foot from *Diium* to *Phila*, as well to strengthen the garrison there, as also to deal corn among his soldiers; which would have required a long time ere it could have been brought over to them at *Diium*.

That departure & journey of his was nothing well spoken of: for some gave out that the General retired from the enemy for very fear; because that if he had staid there still, he should have been forced to a battell: others said, that he had no skill in war, neither in those occurrences, which sometimes wheele turning about altered every day, offering one new thing or other, who when occasions and opportunities were presented unto him, let the same slip out of his hands, which ought after might not possibly be recovered again. And verily he had not so soon quite the possession of

of *Diium*, but he started and wakened the enemy, and put in his head now at length to regain those matters, which had been lost before through his own default. For hearing that the Consul was departed, he returned immediately to *Diium*: where he repaired what ever had been demolished and ruined by the Romans: the battlements of the walls, which were cast down he let up again in the right place; and in all parts fortified the mure and bulwarks of the City. Which done, he encamped five miles off on this side *Enipeus*, intending that the river it self (which is very hard to be passed over, should serve in stead of a rampier and trench of defence. This river runneth out of the vale from under the mountain *Olympus*, and in summer season is small and shallow, but in winter it rieth high and spreadeth broad by reason of rain: running also with a forcible current and stream, it surmounteth great rocks, and among those stony crags and shelves maketh many whirlpools: by occasion likewise, that from thence it carrieth away with it into the sea, store of earth, there are many gulfs of exceeding depth: and by reason that it hath eaten a hollow channel in the mids, the banks of each side are very high and steep upright. *Perseus*, supposing that by the means of this river, the enemies were debarred from all passage, purposed in his mind to hold off, and drive out the rest of the summer in that sort.

But the Consul in the mean while sent *Popilius* from *Philainto* *Heraclea* with 2000 armed fighting men. This *Heraclea* standeth about five miles from *Phila*, situate in the mid-way between *Diium* and *Tempe*, upon a rock that commendeth this river, *Popilius*, before that he caused his men to approach the walls, sent certain persons of purpose to persuade the magistrats and chief of the City, to make proof of the faithful protection and clemency of the people of *Rome*, rather then to trie their rigor in violence. But this motive and advice availed not, because they might discern the fires out of the kings camp near to *Enipeus*, whereupon both from the land and sea-side (for the fleet also being arrived anchored near the shore) as well by force of arms as by fabricks and engines of battery, they began to assail the town. Moreover, certain young and lusty Roman soldiers (making use now in war of exercise, which they had practised in the games *Circenses*) gat over the wall where it was lowest. The manner was in those daies (before this talk prodigality came up of filling the whole cirque or show-place with beasts set out of all countries) to devise and seek sundry sorts of publick lights & spectacles to behold; & not running one course with the chariot, and another on horseback, and so on end, to employ at both races the space of one full hour. Among others feats of activity exhibited, the masters and wardens of those exercises and games brought into the race commeth 60 (and otherwhiles more) lusty young men in arms well appointed. Their training in part represented a show and apparance of two armies encountering and encountering and charging one another, in part also the use and practise of a more gentle and elegant exercise then military profession, and coming nearer to the handling and managing of weapons after the order of sword-fencers. These young gallants, after they had performed other ordinary running courses, put themselves into a four-square squadron, with the bucklers or targets close conched and joined together over their heads, in this manner: they that were foremost in the front stood bold upright; the second rank stooped low somewhat lower under the other; the third course more then they; and so the fourth untill the hindmost kneeled upon their knees: and by this means they resembled a pavoiade rising up higher & higher, like the pent-house or roof of a dices. This done, two men well armed, fetching their run fifty foot or thereabout backward from thence, and seeming to desie and challenge one another, mounted the foremost pavoiade, ran from the nether end up to the top upon those targets so jointly united and set close, and thick together: and one while they set their countenance as though they would defend the sides and edges thereof, whereas in the mids they seemed to performed their devoir and maintain combat one with another, as upon firm and steady ground. Like for all the world to this, was there a pavoiade framed and brought close to that part of the wall: and when armed men were mounted upon it, they that stood upon the very ridge thereof, were as high full as the defendants which kept the walls who being once beaten back and turned down, two ensigns of soldiers gat over into the City. The only difference between this pavoiade and the other above described was this, that they only who stood in the front before and in the flanks, bare not their targets aloft above their own heads, because their sides and bodies should not be naked and exposed to hurt, but carried them before after the usual manner of fighting men in a battell. By which means, neither the arrows and darts discharged from the wall hurt them affront, nor the heat that light upon their targets took any hold, but glanced and slid down-ward from the top without doing any harm, like to rain water that shooteth from the ridge of an house, and runneth down the eaves. The Consul likewise, now that *Heraclea* was won, advanced forwards with his army thither, pretending, as though he marched toward *Diium*, and as after he had chased and driven the King from thence, he minded to passed forward also into *Phila*. But preparing now against winter, he commanded to make the waies fit and handsome, for the carriage of provision out of *Thessaly*, and to chuse out commodious places for garners: also to build certain houses, wherein they should brought the provision, might lie in covert and lodge commodiously. *Perseus* in the end having taken heart again and gathered his wits together, upon that late fright which had amazed his spirits, wished then withall his heart, that his commandments had not been obeyed, at what time as a fearful fit begave expresse charge to call the treasure into the sea at *Pella*, and to set on fire, the artell at *Thessalonica*. *Antiochus* being sent for to the same purpose to *Thessalonica* made no halt to execute his will, but rised out the time for the nonce, leaving the King

some respite to repent, as it fel out indeed. *Nicias* was not to provident and wel advised as *Pella*, in throwing away some part of the money which he there found: howbeit he thought himself such, as might in some sort be remedied and amended: for that, all the said treasure in manner was recovered by the means of certain dyvers that fished for it under water, and fetched it up from the bottom of the sea. But the King himself was so affamed of this foolish fear, that in a melancholly he commanded those poor dyvers to be secretly murdered, yea, and afterwards *Andronicus* and *Nicias* also: the end that no person should remain alive that was privy to that foolish commandment of his.

Amids these affairs, *C. Martins* having looked to sea from *Heraclea*, and with his fleet sailed to *Thessalonica*, landed his armed souldiers in divers places of the shore, and made wall in the territory all about: and when they made sallies out of the City and charged upon him, after some tumult skirmishes, he chased them back and beat them within the wals. So as at length he terrified the town it self: but not only they who ranged up and down here and there, unsolicitedly approached the wals, were wounded with shot discharged out of instruments of all sorts, planted upon the wals; but those also who were in the ships, were hurt with stones, weighted and levelled from engines a far off. Upon which occasion he commanded his souldiers to retire a shipboard, and leaving the siege of *Thessalonica*, they passed from thence to *Enia*, a City fifteen miles off, situate in a fertile soil full over against *Pydna*. When they had spoiled the territory lying to that City, they coasted along the shore and arrived at *Antigonis*. Where, being set a land, first they spoiled the country in every quarter, and brought good store of prizes to their ships: but afterwards, as they straggled out of order and disbanded, the Macedonians, as well footmen as horse, ran upon them, and chased them as they fled aspace to the sea side; in which rout they flew about 500 and took as many prisoners. And nothing else provoked the courage of the Romans (in regard as well of utter despair otherwise to save themselves, as of the indignity it fell, so to hazard their honour) but only the extreme necessity wherein they stood, having no means to recover their ships in safety. Whereupon they turned head, and renewed the fight upon the very sea strand. They also who were a shipboard, lured and helped them. In which conflict, two hundred Macedonians lost their lives, and as many were taken prisoners. From *Antigonis* the fleet weighed anchor, & made head toward the territory of *Pallene*, where the souldiers were set on shore to spoil the country. The territory appertained to the confines of the *Cassandreans*, the most fruitful tract of those parts which they had coasted and sailed by. There, King *Eumenes*, being departed from *Elea* with twenty war ships met with them. So likewise five other covert ships were sent from King *Prusias*. The Pretor seeing this good increase and addition of his forces, took a better heart unto him, even to belittle *Cassandrea*. This City was built by King *Cassandra*, in the very stright & gullet which joyneth the territory of *Pallene* with the rest of the Macedonian country, enclosed on the one side with the Toronian sea; and on the other with the Macedonian. For there lyeth out a bank or shelf like a tongue into the sea, upon which the City standeth, and beareth unto the deep, no less in compass and quantity than is the mountain *Asus*. It butteth full against *Algeesia*, with two promontories of unequal bigness; of which the greater is called *Pogadum*; the lesse *Cassistrum*. This town they began to assail in two divers parts. The Roman (Pretor) drew his fortifications to a place called *Chila*, opposing certain strong fortified stakes for to debar and shut up the way from the Macedonian sea to the Toronian. On the other side there is a bays or arm of the sea, from which quarter *Eumenes* gave the assaile. The most trouble and toil that the Romans found, was in damming and filling up the trench, which *Brutus* had cast against them a little before. And as the Pretor enquired where the breach was belovest, was shewn out of the trench so far off, because he could see no heaps thereof any where, there were shewed unto him certain vaults and arches within, which bewrayed a new wall not built to the thickness of the old, but with perpendicular work, laid with one course of brick and no more: Whereupon he resolved to pierce through the said wall, and so to make way into the City. The which he thought, to execute and perform without being discovered; in case he should be walled in another quarter, and by making a shout and alarm there, withdraw all the defendants of the City to the guard of that one place. There lay in garrison at *Cassandrea* (being a sufficient number of servicable young men of the City) eight hundred Agrians, and two thousand Penetils of *Scythians*, sent from thence by *Phrygians*; and both these nations are hardy warriors. At which time they descended the wals manfully, and the Romans endeavored with all their might to climb over, the which was the vaults and arches afore said were wrought and digged through in the turning of an hand, and gave entrance into the City. Now if they who brake in, had been armed as they were but pioneers (the town had been taken at that instant). But when as the souldiers heard news that the said work was finished, they suddenly set up a cheerful shout for joy, being ready some in one place and some in another to rush into the City. The enemies at the first wondered what the meaning should be of this sudden cry; but the captains of the garrison, *Pytho* and *Philippus* (who being once advertised that the town lay open, supposing that herein consisted the vengeance who could first prevent the other and give the charge, sallied forth with a strong band of Agrians and *Thyrians*; and while the Romans rallied themselves some from this place, and others from that, and were called together for to enter the City with banners displayed, they set upon them unready as they were, and nor ranged in any good order, put them to flight and chased them as far as to the trench, where they overbore them one upon another by heaps; 600 or very were there killed; and

* *Cassandrea*

A and in manner whom they could reach between the wals & the trench were sore hurt. The Pretor thus overtaken in his own enterprise, was not so hally to project any new designs, neither sped *Eumenes* any better, albeit at one time he assailed the City both by land & by sea. Whereupon they accorded both, to set strong guards, for to impeach the passage of all garriions out of *Macedony* thither and (since once force took no better effect) to assail the wals with fabricks & engines. As they were busie in preparation thereof, there arrived ten frigots of the Kings, sent from *Adesodun* with certain select auxiliary Gauls. These when they perceived their enemies ships riding at anchor, sailed in single range one after another, as close as possibly they could to the shore in the dark night, and so entered the City. The bruit that went of this new succour and garriion, forced as well the Romans as the King to give over the siege; so fetching a compass about the promontory, they B arrived before *Torone*. And when they began to lie against it, after they perceived once, there was a valiant company there to defend it, they abandoned their enterprise without effect, & sailed to *Demetrias*. Being approached thither, and seeing the wals full of armed men, they sailed by and anchored at *Isclos*: intending after they had spoiled the territory, to set upon *Demetrias*. Mean while, they Consul also, because he would not sit still doing nothing in the enemies country, sent *M. Popilius* with five thousand souldiers to give the assaile to the City *Melibeas*. Seated it is at the foot of the mountain *Ofsa*, on that side which looketh to *Thessaly*, and very fitly for the purpose commandeth *Demetrias*. The first arrivall of the enemies put the inhabitants of the place in great affright; but after they had recovered their spirits daunted with lo unexpected fear, they ran in arms to the gates, and up to the wals, where they doubt and suspected any place like to give entrance, and incontinently cut off all hope from the enemies, that it could possibly be forced at the first assaile. Whereupon they prepared to lay siege unto it, & began to make fabricks and engines to batter the wals. *Perseus* having intelligence, that in one instant both *Melibeas* was beleaguered by the Consul, and also that the fleet anchored before *Isclos*, to the intent that from thence he might go in hand to assail *Demetrias*: sent *Euphranor* one of his captains, with a chosen regiment of two thousand souldiers to *Melibeas*: with this charge and direction; That if he could raise the siege from *Melibeas* and force the Romans to depart, he should march C cheerly to *Demetrias*; & put himself within the town, before the Romans could remove from *Isclos* and advance before the City. The assailants of *Melibeas* discovering him with his forces all at once upon the higher places, quit their fabricks and engines in fearful hast, and let them all on fire; and thus they departed from before *Melibeas*. *Euphranor*, having levied the siege from the one City, forthwith led his army to *Demetrias*. And then the citizens assured themselves; that they could be able not only to defend the City against the siege, but also to save their territories from wals and spoil: and so they made sallies upon the foragers dispersed loosely here and there, not without drawing blood of their enemies. Howbeit the Pretor and the King rode about the wals, and viewed the situation of the town, if peradventure they could elope any one place which they were like to force, either with battery of engines or force of arms. The voice went, that by the means of *Cylos* the Cretanian, and *Antiochus* governor of *Demetrias* there was a treaty of peace and amity between *Philip* and *Eumenes*. But howsoever it was, this is certain, both *Eumenes* and the Pretor departed from *Demetrias*. As for *Eumenes*, he sailed to the Consul, and testified unto him the joy that he conceived for his life and prosperous entrance into *Macedony*; and from thence returned to *Pergamus* into his own realm. But *Martinus* *Fulgus* the Pretor, when he had sent part of his fleet into the harbor of *Scythians* there to winter, with the rest of his ships went to *Oenone* in *Bœotia*: supposing it a commodious City, from whence victuals and all provisions might be sent to the armies that abode either in *Macedony* or *Thessaly*. As touching *Eumenes*, sundry authors have written diversly. If a man should go by *Valerius Antius* and believe him, he reporteth, that neither the Pretor had any help from him by his navy, notwithstanding that oftentimes he had sent for him by his letters; nor took his leave of the Consul in good terms with favour, at what time as he was to depart into *Asia*, as being highly displeased, that he was not permitted to quarter with him in one of the same camps; inasmuch as he could not possibly be entreated by him, to leave behind that Cavalry of Gauls which he had brought thither with him. As for *Attalus* his brother, he remained still with the Consul (as *Valerius* saith) and continued sincere and faithful unto him without any change and alteration; yea, and performed right good service in all that war. During these wars in *Macedony*, there came Embassadors from beyond the Alps to Rome (sent from a pety King of the Gauls (*Balanor*) he had to name), but of what lineage he was descended it is not recorded) promising aid to the Macedonian war. Thanked they were from the Senat, and presents were sent unto them: to wit, a chain of gold weighing two pound; certain golden cups of four pound weight, a brave courier barbed and trapped, and an horsemans armor. After these Gauls were gone out of place, the Embassadors of *Pamphylia* brought with them into the Senat golden crown, valued at 20000 *Philip*-pieces of gold: their request was, that they might be permitted to set up the said present and oblation in the chappell of *Imp. Opi. Max.* and likewise to sacrifice within the Capitol. Their petition was granted: and when these Embassadors were desirous to renew the amity between them and the Romans, they received a gracious answer, and had of them a reward sent of two thousand Alises. Then the Embassadors of King *Prusias*, and anon after, others from the Rhodians had audience; who of one and the same argument discouraged diversly, for both tended to one thing, namely, a treaty for reconciliation of peace between the Roman, & *K. Perseus*. *Prusias* seemed to integrate rather than to demand; protracting that he had

had ever to that day stood with the Romans in that war; and willingly would friend them still to the very end thereof: but since that there came Embassadors unto him from *Perseus*, and that he dealt with him to make an end of the war between him and the Romans, and for that he promised them to be a mediator and intercessor for him to the Romans: therefore his request unto them was (if they could so find in their hearts) to stint their anger, & so they should move him in any service, as one that would acknowledge himself beholden unto them for a favor, in effecting this atonement and reconciliation. In this manner (I say) spake the K. his Embassadors. But the Rhodians contrarywise, in a proud humour of theirs, reckoned up a becloud of their demerits towards the people of *Rome*, attributing the greater part (believe me) of the victory of K. *Antiochus* to themselves: moreover they added and said, that when the Macedonians and Romans were at peace, they began to enter into league and amity with K. *Perseus*: which they had interrupted and discontinued against their will: not upon any defect or occasion given of his part, but only because it pleased the Romans to draw them into the association of the war. Three daies now already (say they) have we felt the smart of this war and lived by the loss: by reason that the seas are shut up from us, and our land is decayed and distressed for need and want, having lost our tollage and customs issuing from the seas, which we are not able to endure any longer, have addressed Embassadors to *Perseus* into *Macedony* to intamate unto him, that the Rhodians will and pleasure was, that he should grow to a comp. of union and beat peace with the Romans. Our selves also are sent to *Rome* to declare the same: and likewise to denounce, that whosoever shall impeach and hinder this course tending to pacification, the Rhodians will consider of them accordingly & bethink how they are to proceed against them. I am verily perswaded, that there is no man at this day, who can hear or read this, but his stomach will rise therewith indignation; grieve then thereby how the LL. of the Senat of *Rome* were affected and touched as then, at the hearing thereof. *Claudius* mine author saith that there was no answer at all given unto them. Only an arrest or decree of the Senat was read before them, importing thus much, that by order from the people of *Rome*, the Carians & Lycians were made free: and presently were letters dispatched to both nations to signify so much unto them. Which when the principal persons of the embassy once heard, even he, whose big and brave words a little before, the whole Senat-house was hardly able to contain, fell down flat before them in a swoon and extatic. Other Historians write, that this answer was returned, "That the people of *Rome* at the very beginning of this war, knew assuredly (by intelligence given from persons of right good credit) how the Rhodians had secretly plotted with *Perseus* against the state of *Rome*; and if there had been some doubt thereof before, yet the words of the Embassadors ere while delivered, made all clear and put it past peradventure: and no marvel, since that for the most part it falleth out, that such cautious practices, howsoever at the first they are covertly & cleanly carried, yet one time or other are betrayed and discovered. Let the Rhodians send their messengers over the world and spare not; let them make themselves judges to determine of war and peace at their pleasure: as for the Romans (they will) take arms in hand, and lay them down again at the will and appointment of the gods in heaven. We are well holpen upon now in deed, if we must have the gods no more to be witnesses of our accords, but the Rhodians forsooth. And must the Romans (I would not else) be ruled by them, and withdraw their forces out of *Macedony*? They will consider and advise themselves how to proceed against us! How shall we do then? What will the Rhodians will see to, well may they perhaps themselves know: but the people of *Rome* (that is certain) will consider indeed and resolve after that *Perseus* is vanquished (which they hope will not be long first) to recompence and requite every City and state according as they have deserved in the service of this war. As sharp as this answer was, yet they sent a reward to their Embassadors, to every one of them 2000 asses: but none would they receive.

After this, were the letters read of Q. *Marius* the Consul, containing thus much, namely, How he had passed over the freights of the forreist, and was come into *Macedony*, where he had provision of victuals which the Pretor had given order for out of other places to serve for winter: and besides had taken up of the Epirots twenty thousand Modii of wheat and ten thousand of barley, for which corn they should make money ready at *Rome* to content their Embassadors. Also that they must send from *Rome* soldiers livres and other apparel, and need he had besides of 200 horse or thereabout: especially of *Numidia*: for in those parts he had no plenty of any thing. Hereupon an act was granted out of the Senat. That all these things should be done according to the tenor of the Consul his letters. So C. *Salpustius* the Pretor bargained for the transporting over into *Macedony* of 600 fide catsacks and 2000 short coats & jackets together with horses: for to be disposed and distributed at the discretion of the Consul: and besides paid the Embassadors of the Epirots good money for their grain. He brought also into the Senat *Onesimus* the son of *Pytho* a noble personage of *Macedony*. This man was evermore of counsel with the K. perswading him to peace: and admonished him as his father *Philip* before him observed an order even to the time of death to read over twice a day from point to point the instrument of the accord & covenant between him and the Romans; so he also would take up that good custom and practise the same, if not to continually, yet at leastwise many a time and often. But when he could by no means (care him not) avert his mind from war, he began at first to withdraw and absent himself, alledging for his excuse one while this occasion, and otherwhiles that because he would not be present at the debating of those matters which he approved not: and in the end perceiving that

that he was had in some jealousy, & otherwhiles charged to be a traitor, he changed his allegiance revolted to the Rom. and served the Consul in right good stead. This *Onesimus* being brought into the Senat house, related all these premises: whereupon the Senat ordained, that he should be enrolled formally in the number of allies: also, that he should be provided of a lodging, and his ordinary expenses for the time allowed at the Cities charge. Moreover, 200 acres of land in the territory of *Tarentum*, which was consigned to the people of *Rome*, should be let out for him; and a messuage in *Tarentum* bought for his habitation. To see all this performed, C. *Decimus* the Pretor had in charge.

The Consuls upon the * thirteenth of December, took a survey of the number of citizens and an estimate of their goods, more strictly then aforesaid. Many were unknowned and had their B. horses taken from them; and P. *Rutilius* among the rest, who when he was Tribune of the Com. had been their accuser and called them to violently reckoning; degraded he was besides and displaced out of his own tribe, & made no better then a very labourer in the Cities works. Whereas the one moiety of the Cities renewes and profits for that year, was let by and allowed unto them by the treasurers (according to an ordinance of the Senat) *Tib. Sempronius* out of the money assigned unto him, purchased the house of P. *Africanus* on the back side of the old *Curia* next the image of *Fortunus*; the shops also wherein they sold wool and the other adjoining thereto, all to the use of the City. He caused likewise the stately palace to be built, which afterwards was called *Sempiterna Basilica*.

Now was the year come about and well near at an end, when by reason of the great care principally about the Macedonion war, men began to talk, whom they were to create for Consuls against the next year, to achieve and end the said war? Whereupon there passed a decree of the Senat, that Cn. *Servilius* with all speed possible, should make haste to *Rome* for to hold a general assembly of election. This decree *Salpustius* the Pretor within few daies after read to the Col. to the end that he should repair home into the City before the day prefixed. Whereupon both the Col. halted; & the said election was also furnished by the day appointed. Cost, these were created, L. *Amilius Paulus* the second time (even 14 years after his former Consulship) with C. *Lucius Crassus*. The day following were the Pretors also chosen, to wit, Cn. *Babius Tampilus*, L. *Ancius Gaius*, Cn. *Octavius*, P. *Fomcius Balbus*, Mar. *Ebnius Helva*, and C. *Papirius Carbo*. The careful regard of the Macedonion war caused every thing to be done with greater expedition. And therefore it was thought meet, that these new elect magistrats should cast lots out of hand for their provinces, that it might be known to whether Col. *Macedony*, and to which Pretor the conduct of the navy should fall; that thereupon they might presently consider and provide for all things requisite to the war, & requite the advice of the Senat as need required. Obtained it was when the Consuls were entered into their office, to solemnize the Latine festival holidays as soon as they might conveniently, without offence of the gods and breach of any religious order: that the Consul whole let his leggo into *Macedony*, were not detained behind upon any occasion. After these ordinances, *Livy* and *Macedony*, were nominated for the provinces of the two Consuls; and for the Pretors, the two civil jurisdictions within the City of *Rome*, the navy, *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*. In *Spain*, *Macedony* fell to *Amilius* the Consul, and *Italy* to *Lucius* the Pretor. Cn. *Babius* was lord chief justice of the pleas of citizens, and L. *Ancius* of aliens. And if the Senat thought good to send the navy any whither, Cn. *Octavius* had the charge thereof as L. admiral. P. *Fomcius* was appointed by lot L. Deputy of *Spain*, M. *Ebnius* of *Sicily*, and C. *Papirius* of *Sardinia*.

All men soon saw, that L. *Amilius* intended not to go coldly about the managing of that war; both for that he was not an ordinary man, but singular above all other, and also because that night and day he mused and studied upon nothing else, but that which was requisite and pertinent thereto. The first thing of all wherewith he went in hand was this, a request to the Senat for to dispatch certain elegant commissioners into *Macedony*, to visit the armies there and the armada; to make true report upon their certain knowledge, what was needful to be done for to supply the forces as well by land as sea; also to lie in espial & estimate as much as possibly they could, the King's power; moreover, what quarter of the province were taken by our men, and which the enemies kept; whether the Romans lay encamped till within the breach, or if they were past beyond the freights and come into the even ground; who continued truly allies, who were suspected, who hung in doubtful terms, as whose faith depended upon fortune: who seemed to be professed enemies: how great the provisions were of victuals, from whence they were conveyed by land: from what places transported by water: & lastly, what exploits had been done the summer past both by land and sea: supposing, that for a light given and certain intelligence delivered of these things, he might be sure y directed in the casting and laying of future plots & designs. So the Senat granted out a commission to Cn. *Servilius* the Col. for to send the delegates into *Macedony*, such as L. *Amilius* thought good of. Whereupon within two daies after, Cn. *Domitius Enobarbus* and A. *Lucius Nerva*, took their journey as legats and commissioners. News came in the latter end of this year, that it rained stones twice, namely in the territory of *Rome*, and likewise about *Fes*: and therefore a novendial sacrifice was celebrated. This year there died certain priests, namely, Pub. *Quintilius Varus*, a flamin of *Mars*, and M. *Claudius Marcellus* a Decemvir in whose room was substituted Cneus *Octavius*, and now noted it was, that the negligence and port of the people of *Rome* encreased, for that in the places called *Circensia* exhibited by Publius *Cornelius Scipio Naso*, and Publius *Lemulus* Ediles Curule, three score and

* Idibus Decembris.

* Parte Vitæ.

3 wild beasts out of *Africa* with 40 bears, & elephants, were baited to make sport to the people. When *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *P. Licinius* entered their Consulship upon the fifteenth of *March*, which was the beginning of the year following, the LL. of the *Senat* were in great expectancy, and especially what the Consul would propose unto them as touching the Macedonian war, which was his proper province. But *Paulus* said that he had nothing to propound and put to council, seeing that the Delegates aforesaid were not returned. And at *Brundisium* (quoth he) they now are, having twice in their voyage upon the sea been driven back by tempest and cast upon *Dyrbachium*. But to soon as I am once advertised and have perfect knowledge of those things that first are to be known, I will then consult; and that will be within very few days. Now to the end that nothing may stay and hinder his journey, he told them, that the even before the Ides of *April*, was appointed for the solemnity of the Latine festival holidays. And after sacrificiously performed [upon the Alban hills] the *Senat* should no sooner ordain, but he and *C. Officiarius* would set forth and put themselves on their way. As for *C. Licinius* his colleague, his charge should be in his absence to provide and fend all things requisite and needfull for this war. Mean while (quoth he) the embassies of forrain nations may have audience given. So when he had sacrificed as the manner was, before they took in hand the great affairs of State, the Embassadors of *Alexandria*, from King *Ptolemæus* and queen *Cleopatra*, were called in. Clad they were in poor array, the hair of their head long, their beards side and overgrown, and carrying in their hands branches of the Olive-tree, they entered into the *Set*; and fell grovelling and prostrat upon the floor. Their habit and apparel was not so simple and mournful, their look and countenance not so heavy and sorrowfull, but their speech was more piteous and lamentable. *Antiochus* now King of *Syria*, and who had sometime been hostage at *Rome* under a colourable pretence of honesty and equity to restore *Ptolemæus* the elder to his Kingdom, made hot war upon his younger brother, who then held *Alexandria*; and after a victory obtained in sea-fight near *Pelusium* had made a bridge of bally work upon the river *Nilus*, over which he transported his army, & now laid siege to *Alexandria*: so as by all likelyhood he would shortly by way of conquest be lord of a most rich and wealthy Kingdom. In which regard, these Embassadors made pitifull moan and grievous complaint, & beseeching within the *Senat*, of their aid and succour to that realm and those Kings, who were such friends to their feignory and dominion. For perceiving they were that the people of *Rome* had done so much for *Antiochus* in particular, & were of that account & authority with all other Kings and nations, that if they would but send their Embassadors to intimate thus much, that the *Senat* was not well pleased with waging war upon confederate Kings, he would presently raise his siege, depart from before the walls of *Alexandria*, and withdraw his army clean away into *Syria*. But if they protracted the time long and delayed thus to do, then should *Ptolemæus* and *Cleopatra* within a while be driven out of their realm, and forced to come to *Rome* with some shameful sort of dishonour to the people of *Rome*, in that they had not left their helping hand in that extremest danger of all their fortunes. The LL. of the *Senat* moved with compassion at the prayers of these Alexandrians, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimus*, and *A. Hostilius* as Embassadors to determine and make an end of the war between those two Princes. In commission they had first to go unto *Ptolemæus*, and then to *Antiochus*, and to let them in both understand, that unless they foretook and gave over arms, they would take him neither for friend nor confederate, whom it was long of that the war was not given over. So these three together with the Alexandrian Embassadors, took their leave within three daies & departed. Then the forsaide Delegates returned from out of *Macedony*, the last day of the festival games to *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, and not before they were welcome; for so looked for they were, had it not been evendie when they came, the Consuls would immediately have called the *Senat* together. But the morrow after the *Senat* sat, and those commissioners had audience given. Report they made first, that with more danger then profit ensuing, the army entered into *Macedony* over those passes and streights, where was no way nor pass: so that the King kept the country of *Pieria*, into which the Roman army was now advanced, and were so neer encompassed one to the other, that nothing but the river *Enipeus* between kept them asunder; that neither the *K*. made offer of battle nor the *Rom.* were of sufficient strength to challenge & force him to fight; moreover that the winter had overtaken them (a time unseasonable for warlike exploits) that the soldiers were muzzled and nourished in idleness, notwithstanding they had victuals to serve no longer then six daies; also, that by report the Macedonians were thirty thousand strong. Were it so that *Ap. Claudius* had a good and sufficient power about *Lychnidum*, he might be able to trouble the *K*. and put him to his trumps in a battle; but now both *Appius* and the garrison with him, are themselves in extremest jeopardy, unless with speed either a complete army be sent thither, or else they draw from thence where they are, into *Macedony*. Over and besides they related, how from the camp they went towards the fleet, where they heard say, that some of the sea-faring men and mariners were dead of sickness, others, and namely, those of *Sicily* above the rest, were gone home again to their own houses, inasmuch as there were not men enow to serve the ships; & those that remained, had neither their wages paid & money to put in their purse, nor liveries & apparel to hang on their backs. As for *Eumenes* & his fleet, they (like ships driven to a coast by force of wind and weather, without any other errand or cause else) were come and gone again, and it seemed the mind of that *K.* was not well settled and resolved. But as they reported all of *Eumenes* suspiciously & in doubtful terms, so they assured them of the singular fidelity & constancy of *Nisalus*

his brother: When these Legats had spoke, then said *L. Aemilius*, Let us debate now in council what is to be done as concerning the said war. So the *Senat* ordained, that for eight legions the Consul and the people should elect an equal number of martial Tribunes or Colonels; the one as many as the other; and that none should be created and advanced to that place for that year, but such as had born some honourable dignity: then, out of all those Tribunes thus elected, that *Ap. Claudius* should make choice for those two legions which were to go into *Macedony*; of whom he would himself: also, that after the solemnity of the Latine feasts performed, *L. Aemilius* the Consul, and *C. Officiarius* the Prator and Admistrall of the fleet, should depart into their Province. A third was joyed in commission with them, to wit, *L. Aemilius* the Prator and *L. Chief Justice* for *Stragete*, and preadined it was, that he should pass into *Illyricum* about *Lychnidum*, for to succeed *Ap. Claudius*: The charge of taking mules was put upon *C. Licinius* the Consul. He had commandment to enroll eleven thousand [foot] Citizens of *Rome*, and two hundred horsemen and to charge the Latine allies with a levy of seven thousand footmen, and four hundred horse. Also to send letters unto *C. Servilius*, who governed the Province of *Gaul*, to enroll six hundred men of arms. This army he had commandment to send with all convenient speed to his Colleague into *Macedony*, so as in that Province there should not be above two legions, and the time full and complete, containing six thousand foot, and three hundred horse apeece. As for the increase, as well of the Cavalry as Infantry, they should be disposed and belowed in sundry garrisons. And all such as were unfit for service, were to be casted and sent away. Moreover, the allies were put out to let and find 10000 foot, and 800 horse. And those were to serve in garrison under *Antiochus*, over and above the two legions (which he was commanded to lead into *Macedony*) consisting of 5200 foot, and 300 horsemen either of them. Also for the navy were enrolled 5000 mariners and rowers, *Licinius* the Col. was appointed to defend and keep in obedience his Province with two legions, and to take besides of allies ten thousand foot and six hundred horse.

After these ordinances of the *Senat* were accomplished, *L. Aemilius* the Col. went forth of the *Senat* house into the common place before the assembly of the people; where he made a speech unto them in this wise following: "Me thinks I perceive and see, my good friends and Citizens of *Rome*, that ye have shewed more apparent tokens of joy and gratulation in my behalf, for that the Province of *Macedony* is fallen to my lot; than either at the time that I was deputed and selected Col. of that day whereupon I first entered into government: & for no other reason in the world, but upon the opinion which you have conceived, that the Macedonian war, which hath so long continued, may be brought by my means to such an end as becometh the greatest & majesty of the people of *Rome*. And for mine own self I have good hope, that as the gods in favour have directed this fortilege, so they will be present and propitious unto me in performing the service. In these matters, I say, I am but carried partly with conceit and partly with hope. But this one thing I am assured of; yea, and I dare affirm and promise on my own head, that I will endeavour myself and employ all that is in me, that this your good opinion of me may not be vain conceived. As for all things necessary and requisite to this war, both the *Senat* hath ordained; & also, for that they have thought good I should depart immediately (for which my self am well pleased and contented, neither in me there shall be any delay) my Colleague *C. Licinius*, a singular man, and of great valour, will provide with as great care and diligence, as if himself had the full conduct of this war. For the effecting whereof, see that whatsoever I shall write either to the *Senat*, or to you, ye believe for true: as for running rumours which have no certain author, give no ear and belief thereto; neither feed them with your foolish credulity. For now I advise you, (a thing that I have observed to fall out ordinarily in this war) there is no man so fittest to little by the common bruits that are blazed abroad, but his spirit and courage may be thereby quailed and danted. In all meetings now, yea, and at every board (I would not else) ye shall have them, that in their table talk will lead your armies into *Macedony*: that know where they are to lodge and encamp; what commodious places are to be seized and kept with garrisons: at what time and through which pass the entry must be made into *Macedony*; where the garnes and storehouses for corn should be built and set; which way by land and sea both, the provisions of victuals ought to be brought; when the time serveth to encounter and fight with the enemy, and when to sit still and rest. Neither are they content to let down and pronounce, what is to be done for the better: but if ought hap to be managed otherwise than they have judged expedient, they are so bold as to controul the Col., yea, and ready to commence actions against him judicially. These are shrowd hindrances, I may tell you, to Warriors & men of action. For all men have not the gift of resolution and constancy to neglect the speech and talk of men, as sometimes *Fabius* had, who chose rather to have his authority & command diminished and impaired by the folly and vanity of lewd people, than with their favourable applause and good opinion to manage his affairs but untowardly. Yet take me not so, as if I were a man that would have no captains to be admonished and advised by others; my contrariwise, of this judgment I am, That he who worketh all by his self-will & followeth only his own head is self-willed and proud, and nothing sage & wise. What is then to be done? First, in mine opinion, Generals and Commanders of armies, are to be instructed by discreet and prudent men: by such as are skillful by profession in fears of arms and military science; by those that by long practice are thoroughly experienced: nay, more than that, they are to be taught and counselled by them, that are usually present and conversant in the execution of affairs, who daily fee the advantage of

The Opinion of *L. Aemilius* to the people of *Rome*.

"places, mark the proceeding of the enemies, and observe the opportunities of sittings: those (they) who as passengers in one ship are partakers of the same danger, if there be any land-shore, who is verily persuaded of himself, that he is able to direct me and give me any counsel (in) the conduct of this war which I have in charge) for the good of the Commonwealth, let him come forth, and not deny his helping hand to the weak publicke, and go along with me hither. *Macedony*. Furnish him I shall, with ship, with horse, with treasure, with conduct, money, and all things necessary for his voyage. If any be loath so to do, and had rather sit warm at home, preferring the ease and repose of the City before the travel and gain of warfare, let him not here be the land take upon him to play the pilot and steersman, & sea. Matter he shall find enough within the City to talk of, and seek no farther: let him hold him there & keep his babble and practise himself: to know he (whoever he is) that we will content our selves with our own council about us in the camp. And this oration ended, and the Latine festivals solemnized the day before the Calends of *March*, together with the sacrifices duly celebrated upon the Alban mount the *Col*, and the *Prætor Cn. Octavius* departed incontinently into *Macedony*. It is recorded in the Chronicles, that the *Col* was honoured with a greater frequency that accompanied him, than usually had been known: and that men prefaged in manner assuredly, the end of the Macedonian war: how the *Col* should have a speedy return, and obtain a brave and glorious triumph.

* The last of February.

During these occurrences in *Italy*, *Perseus* who (because he was to be at the charges of disbursing money) never thought of it, to go through with that which before he had begun, namely, to join unto him *Genius* King of the *Illyrians*: so soon as he perceived, that the Romans were entered the straits, and the war came now to this extremity of hazard: though good now to make that sure and put it off no longer. Whereas therefore he had covenanted & promised by his Ambassador *Hippas* three hundred talents of silver, with condition also, that for security hostages should be put in of both parties interchangeably: he sent *Pantaneus* one of his most trusty friends to dispatch and make an end of this affair. This *Pantaneus* met the *Illyrian King* at *Medon* in the Country of *Labeatis*: where he both took an oath of the Kings, and also received his hostages. *Genius* likewise sent his ambassador, named *Olympus*, to demand the semblable oath of *Perseus*, and require hostages accordingly: with him were certain persons sent, of purpose to receive the money, who also by the advice of the said *Pantaneus* were to go in embassy with the Macedonians to *Rhodes*: and the men hereto appointed were *Parmenio* and *Morus*. But they had in charge and commission after the oath taken, after hostages & money received, to go to *Rhodes*, & not before. *L. Gaius* hope they conceived that the *Rhodians* might be solicited and induced to take arms against the Romans, by using the name of these two Kings, at once: and this account they made, that if this State which carried the renown and honour above all others for sea-service, would once combine and band with them they should leave the Romans no hope at all, either on land or sea. When the *Illyrians* arrived, *Perseus* departed with all his Cavalry from before the river *Enipeus* where he was encamped, and encountered them near *Dium*. There were all the complements performed according to the covenants, in the light and midst of the Cavalry, whom the Kings of purpose would needs have to be present at this accord of association made between him and *Genius*, supposing that it would comfort & encourage them the more. So the hostages were given and taken in the presence of them all. They also who were to receive the money were sent to *Pella* where the Kings treasure lay: and those that should go to *Rhodes* with the *Illyrian* ambassadors had commandment to embark at *Thessalonica*. Now was *Metrodorus* there, lately come from *Rhodes* who assured them by the means of *Dyon* & *Polyaratus*, two principal personages of that City, that the *Rhodians* were preit and ready to war. Whereupon the said *Metrodorus* was appointed the chief in this embassy of *Macedonians* and *Illyrians* together. At the same time likewise was addressed and imparted both unto *Eumenes* & also unto *Antiochus*, such advice and counsel in common, as the present condition wherein their affairs stood, might minister & afford argument namely: That a free City and a King were two by nature, enemies that possibly could not fort together: That the people of *Rome* went in hand with them severally one after another: & that which was a greater indignity & unsupportable, used the force of Kings to overthrow the state of Kings. For by the aid of *Antiochus* he had brought his father *Philip* to ruin by the help likewise of *Eumenes*, & partly also of his father *Philip*. *Antiochus* was defeated; & even now against himself both *Eumenes* and *Perseus* were put in arms. If the kingdom of *Macedony* were once subverted, have at *Alex* next: which the Romans have in some part seized already for their own under a colour of enfranchizing Cities, & setting them free: & then they will not leave until they have *Syria* too. For now is *Perseus* preferred in honour before *Eumenes*; & *Antiochus* for all his conquest is chased & barred out of *Aegypt*, which ought to have been the recompence of the war by him entered & achieved. In these regards *Perseus* advertised each of them to consider & provide therefore either to force the Romans to make peace with him, or else to hold them for the common enemies of all Kings, in case they persisted still in so unjust a war. The commission that the ambassadors had to *Antiochus* was apt & open: but unto *Eumenes* an ambassador was sent under a pretence of ransomning certain captives: but praised they were under hand more secret compass which caused *Eumenes* even then to be suspected & odious unto the Romans, yea & charged afterward with more grievous matters, although untruly. For he was reputed little better than a traitor & a professed enemy to their state, whereas indeed both he & *Perseus* strove who could compass, surprize, & overtake one another better in fraud & avarice. Now there was one *Cydnus* a Cretan,

An inward & most secret friend to *Eumenes*: this man had continued still at *Amphipolis* with one *Chimarus* a countryman of his, who served under *Perseus* in the wars; and afterwards at *Dymmeis* conferred with another named *Meneceus*, also with a certain third person, called *Anagarchus* captain to *K. Perseus*, even unto the very walls of the forlaid City. Over and besides, in *rogon* with at this time was sent, had beforetime been employed in two several embassies to the said *Eumenes*. These secret communications and embassies were badly spoken of: but no man knew what was concluded between the two Kings. However, this the rate stood, *Eumenes* as he had no mind nor intention to war upon *Perseus*, (who was not dubious in his heart, that he should have the victory of the Romans; not so much for the old enmity which had been between both their fathers, as for the hateful quarrels kindred among themselves. For this concupiscence & emulation there was between these two Princes, that *Eumenes* could never abide to see *Perseus* to purchase to great wealth & so much honour, as he must needs acquire by the conquest of the Romanish law moreover, that *Perseus* from the first beginning of this war, fought by all means possible for peace: & the nearer he was to danger & damage, aimed thereat every day more than others, employing his whole study & care about nothing else. He perceived also that among the Romans, because the war grew to be longer than they hoped and looked for, as well their captains as the *Senat* were well enough content and very desirous to see an end once of so troublesome, hurtfully, and difficult a war. Knowing thus as he did, the mind and will of both parties, he inclined & framed to that which of it self as he thought might fall out, where the stronger was weary and the weaker in fear: and therein desired he to shew his double diligence, thereby to win a thank & purchase favour of both parts. For he entered into bargain with *Perseus* for a sum of money, one while not to aid the Romans either by land or sea: another whiles to be a means for peace and to treat with the Romans thereabout, and not to meddle at all in the war, but to sit still: he capitulated (I say) for 1500 talents; making semblance and shew, that for the assurance both of the one and the other, ready he was not only to swear, but also to put in good and sufficient hostages. *Perseus* was the willingest man in the world to set in hand with this, as being driven thereto by the exigent of fear: and presently without delay dealt with him as touching the hostages which were to be received: and in fine concluded it was, that they should upon their delivery and receipt be sent into *Crete*. But when they came thence to talk of the money afore said, he halted and stuck at that: and to say a truth, either of these two sums (between Princes of so great name and honour) was but a base and dishonest consideration: a thing much unfitting (I wis) the giver, and more the receiver. *Perseus* verily for his part, in hope to purchase peace with the Romans, was willing enough to be at the expence of so much money: marry, he said that he would make payment thereof when the thing was done and accomplished: & in the mean time lay it up safe for that purpose within the temple of *Samos* at *Tracia*. *Eumenes* again, considering that the said Island was an appurtenance to the dominion of *Perseus*, could not see but that it was all gone for, if he were and in *Pella*: and therefore was earnest to have part thereof in hand. Thus between them there was nothing but lying in the midst for the vantage, who could over-reach the other: & what was, gained in the end but infamy and discredit? As for *Perseus*, he not only let fall this design and lost this opportunity, (and that by his nigardice only) when by the means of *Eumenes* he might have had either his money paid enough, or peace for it, (which indeed he should have bought, if it had cost him the one half of his kingdom,) and being once received into grace & favour [of the people of *Rome*] he might have defamed and brought into obloquy and danger his concurrent, by charging him to have received a piece of money for a bribe, and so justly have let the Romans upon his top: but also the association with King *Genius* which now was at the point of a contract, was neglected: yea, and a mighty army of Gauls spread at that time all over *Illyricum* and presented unto him, was even then recalled and discharged by this pinching and saving of his money. For there came and offered their service ten thousand horsemen, and as many foot, and those to well practised and so good of foot, that they were able to hold out & keep pace with horses yea, and run by their sides: such (I say) as when the riders were unhorsed and slain, could vault & mount on the empty horse back ready to fight in their turns. These had bargained to have for pay every horseman ten *Philip* pieces [of gold] paid down aforehand, and a footman five, and their Captains a thousand. *Perseus* departed from his league lying near the river *Enipeus*, and with the one half of his own forces met these coming upon the way, and capied proclamation to be made in all towns and villages near the high waies. To made ready and bring abroad their provision of victuals, and see that there were plenty of corn, of wine, and cattel. Himself brought with him horses and trappings, and five thousanders caskets, to bestow as presents upon the chief of them, with some little sprinkling of gold to deal among a few of them, supposing that all the rest besides of common soldiers, might be drawn on and retained with bare hope. Thus he came to the City of *Alamania*, and encamped upon the bank of the river *Axius*. But the army of these Galatians were lodged about *Disphobis* in the country of *Medion*, and relied there expecting the payment of the money afore said, according to covenant. But *Perseus* sent unto them *Antigonus* one of his gallant and courtiers, to will and command the multitude of the army to dislodge and remove to *Bylaxora*, a place so called in *Pannonia*, and a good sort of their chieft to repair unto him. Now were there three score and fifteen miles from the river *Axius* and the Kings camp. And when *Antigonus* had delivered unto them this mandata as he had in charge, and added besides, with what cause and diligence the King had laid his provisions by the way of all things in great plenty for the army, and

* Philippen nummi, 12 assis
lower than less
than our farthings
raign 12 d. 10
or 3 denarii.

with what gifts of apparell, silver, and horses, he purposed to receive and enertain their Captains at their first coming unto him: as for that (say they) we shall take knowledge thereof when we are in presence personally: but now for this time, we demand, Whether ye have brought with you in ready coin according to bargain, that gold which is to be paid to the soldiers, as well horse as foot? And when he could make no answer thereto, but was yet *rogatus*, then the said *Clivdianus* their Prince, Go your waies then good men, and tell your King and Masters, that the Captains they may receive the gold, and hostages for their security, will not stir one foot forward, Relation being made hereof unto the King, he called his Council: and when it was known, that they all would advise him to do himself, who could skill better to keep his money together, than hold the royal estate of his Kingdom, began to enter into a discourse of a disloyalty and savage nature of these Gauls; making remembrance, how he had experience by the calamities and losses of many before him, that dangerous it was to receive so great a multitude of them within *Macedony*, for that the Gauls would be found worse neighbors than the Romans were in times. Five thousand horsemen are sufficient (said he) to do many well we may have good use of in wars, and need not be afraid of them for their number, but every man saw well enough that it was the wasting of such a number that he feared and nothing else. But when no man durst give him counsel, albeit he needed to ask the advice, *Antigonus* was sent again with a message unto the Gauls, that the King hoped in need of five thousand horsemen, and no more, as for all the rest, he weighed them then. When their Barbarians heard that, all the rest began to mutter and grumble, yea, and to take great scorn and indignation, that they were levied and departed out of their native country for nothing: but *Clavdianus* redeemed, Whether he would make present pay to those five thousand according to covenant, yea, or nay? but seeing that he was to seek, and made thence to avoid a direct answer, he let this deceitful messenger go his waies, and did no harm unto his person (as saying that *Antigonus* himself would scarcely have thought could possibly have been: And so after they had given the waste unto those parts of *Thracia* which lay near to their way, they returned back again to the river *Iffer*. Which power of men it had passed the Straights of *Parthia* into *Thessaly* against the Romans (although *Perseus* had not stirred at all, but sitten still at *Enipeus*) might not only have spoiled and laid bare the territory all about, and impeached the Romans for expecting any victuals there; but also destroyed the towns utterly, whilkes *Perseus* held the Romans play at *Enipeus* that they could not relieve and succour the Cities of their allies and confederates. Nay, the very Romans should have enough to do to look unto themselves, considering, that there was no tarrying for them, after that *Thessaly* was lost, which nourished and maintained their army: and pass forward they could not possibly, having the Macedonian camp to affront them. But *Perseus* by that deed, as he confirmed the hearts of the Romans, so he qualified not a little the courages of the Macedonians, who depended upon the hope and expectancy of it. As by the same miserable pinching of this he estranged also the heart of *K. Gentius* from him. For when as at *Pella* he had paid 300 talents unto those that were sent of purpose from *Gentius* to receive the same; well content he was that they should leave that money. Afterwards he sent unto *Pantiscus* ten talents, and commanded him to deliver the same to the King in person: as for the rest signed up with the seal of the Illyrians, he commanded his own men who had the convey thereof, in going with it to take small journeys, and when they were come to the utmost frontiers of *Macedony*, there to rest and attend the messengers from him. *Gentius*, after he had received as earnest that small portion of the whole sum afore said, being called upon continually by *Pantiscus* and set on to provoke the Romans by some hostility of their own, made no more ado, but committed to prison *M. Perperna* and *L. Petilius*, who chanced at that time to come unto him in embassy. Which when *Perseus* once heard, he had enough and thought verily that *Gentius* had done that, whereby of necessity he must be forced to wage war with the Romans; and thereupon sent out presently to call those back who had the carriage of the fore said talents; as if he had studied and sought for nothing more, than to relieve as great a booty as possibly he could, for the Romans to enjoy, after that they had vanquished and subdued him, *Eropan* returned likewise from *Eumenius*, and with not what he had contrived secretly between them. That their treaty was about certain captives, yet themselves had given forth abroad, and likewise *Eumenius* advertised the Council so much, for avoiding of all suspicion.

Perseus after the return of *Eropan* from *Troiti Eumenius* was much dismayed and cast down. Whereupon, he sent *Antenor* & *Callippus* (admirals of his navy) to *Tenedos* with forty pinnaces, unto which number five Gallions were adjoined: who from that Coast dispersing themselves all about the Islands *Cyclades*, might wait and guard the lighters and hoies charged with corn, as they sailed to *Macedony*. These ships were put to sea at *Chalcedonia*, and first they fell with the havens that lie under the foot of the mountain *Arthos* and from thence sailed to *Tenedos* with pleasure in calm sea: where finding certain Rhodian open ships riding in the harbour, they spake courteously to *Eudamius* their Admiral, and let them alone without any hurt at all done unto them. But afterwards upon knowledge, that fifty hulks of theirs on another side were shut up and pent in by the war-ships of *K. Eumenius* (which rid in the mouth of the haven, and were commanded by *Damius*) he turned about in all haste, & dispersed the enemies ships with a sudden terror, that he put them in, & sent the said hulks & vessels of burden into *Macedony*, with a convoy of ten brigantines to wait them over, with this charge, That after they had conducted them past all danger into place of safety, they should return again to *Tenedos*. After nine daies they retired toward the fleet anchoring then

in the roade of *Sigamm*. From whence they crossed over to *Sabota*, an Island lying between *Euboea* and *Attica*. It fortune that the morrow after the fleet was arrived at *Sabota*, five and thirty ships, which they call *Hippogae* (serving for the transporting of horses) which came from *Elia*, having aboard certain horsemen of *Gaul* and their horses, made head toward *Phana*, a Cape or promontory of the Chians, from whence they might cut over into *Macedony*. And there were sent from *Eumenius* to *Antalus*, *Antenor* being advertised by a signal given him from a watch-tower, that those ships were discovered under sail in the open sea, looted from *Sabota*; and between the Cape of *Erythraea* and *Chios*, where the sea is most narrow, he encountered them. The admirals of *K. Eumenius* thought nothing less, than that any fleet of Macedonians were abroad in those seas; but imagined one while they were Romans, otherwhilkes, that it was *Antalus* of some sent back from *Attica*; who from out of the Roman camp were sailing toward *Perseus*. But as they approached nearer, they took knowledge by the form and fashion of their pinnaces, who they were, by their high rowing also and making head lull against them they were out of all doubt that their enemies were at hand. Then were they mightily afraid as having no hope to resist and withstand them, considering the ships were unwelldly and unhandsome, and the Gauls besides could hardly brook the very sea without any other trouble. Some of them therefore, who were nearest to the firm land, saved themselves by swimming to *Erythraea*; others set up their sails, and being cast upon the Island *Chios*, forsook their horses, and ran as fast as they could for refuge to the City. But the barks discharged their armed souldiers nearer to the City in a more commodious place for landing, where the Macedonians overtook the Gauls and slew them: some in the way as they fled, others before the very gate of the City, being kept out and excluded from thence: for the Chians not knowing either who fled or who pursued, had shut their gates upon them. Nine hundred Gallio Greeks, of every near lost their lives and were hewn in peeces, and 280 taken alive. As for the horses, part perished in the sea after the ships were split and broken, and the Macedonians haulted and cut the strings of their gambrels of as many of them as they found upon the shore. Twenty of the best and fairest horses, together with the pinnaces, *Antenor* commanded that those ten barks which he had sent before, should transport to *Thessalonica*, and return again with all speed to the fleet for that he would expect their coming at *Phana*. The fleet staid about three daies under the City side, but afterwards went forward to *Phana*; and when the reinforcements afore said were returned sooner than they looked for, they set up sail in the Aegean sea for *Delos*.

In this while the Roman Embassadors, *C. Popilius*, *C. Decimius*, and *C. Hostilius*, departed from *Chalcis* and arrived with three Quinquageme gallees at *Delos*, where they found forty Macedonian pinnaces, and five royal Quinquageme gallees of *K. Eumenius*. The holiness of the Temple and Island wherein it stood afforded security to them all, so as there was no hurt done nor violence offered from one to another. And therefore, as well Romans as Macedonians, and besides the sailors and mariners of *K. Eumenius* conversed together, intermingled one with another in the Temple, and the religious devotion of the place yielded them truce and licence of hospitality.

Antenor the admiral of *K. Perseus*, when he was advertised from the watch and sentinell, that certain ships of burden were seen a far off in the sea, fell sick & made after them himself with part of his pinnaces, and part of them he bestowed in wait among the *Cyclades*, and laying those that he directed their course toward *Macedony*, he either drowned or spoiled them all: *Popilius* did the best he could, and *Eumenius* with his ships likewise, to save some; but the Macedonians, who sailed by night with two or three pinnaces at the most, deceived them and were not discovered.

Much about this time the Macedonian and Illyrian Embassadors came together to *Rhodes*, who carried the greater authority and credit with the Rhodians, by reason not only of the coming of their brigantines, which sailed to and fro ranging over the Aegean sea, and among the *Cyclades*, but also by the conjunction and association of the two *K. Perseus* and *Gentius*, together with a rumor that ran of the Gauls, who were coming with a great number, as well of horse as foot. And now both *Dion* and *Polyarchus*, who took part with *Perseus*, took more courage and heart unto them: by whose means there was not only a gracious answer returned to the Kings, but also produced openly it was, that by their authority they would make an end of the war: in regard whereof, the Kings also for their parts were to be disposed and well willing to accept of peace.

Now was it the prime of the spring, when as the new generals were attired into their Provinces: *Aemilius* the Consul into *Macedony*; *Othavins* to the navy at *Oreum*; and *Anticius* into *Illyria*, whose commission was to levy war against *Gentius*. This *Gentius* was the son of *Pleaurus* King of the Illyrians, and *Euridica* was his mother: two brethren he had, so wit, *Plator* of the whole blood by father and mother both, and *Aravantius* only by the mothers side. This half brother he left suspected, by reason of his base parentage from the father: but as for *Plator* he murdered, together with two especial friends of his *Eutivius* and *Epicadus* (brave men of action) to the end, that he might reign in more safety and security. The voice goeth that he carried an envious eye to that brother of his, for that he had espoused *Erika* the daughter of *Homulus* the Prince of the *Dardaniens*: as if by this marriage he meant to make himself strong and combine with the *Dardanian* nation: and the more likelihood this carried with it after he married the damoelle indeed. When he had made away *Plator*, and rid himself of the fear that he might have of his brother, he began to molest and oppress his own natural subjects: and as he was by nature given to violence, so that indisposition of his he set on fire with untimely drinking of wine. But as we laid before, being moved and incited to war against the Romans, he assembled all his forces together

* Note that the Gauls, Chalcidians, and Gallio Greeks be all one, in this book: although they term them by several names.

unto *Lissus*, to the number of 15000 armed men, and sent his brother thence with 1000 foot and 50 horse against the *Cavians*, for to subdue that nation either by force or fear, whilst himself led his army five miles against the City *Antiochia* from *Lissus*. Now were the *Bullians* confederates allies of the Romans; and therefore when they were first followed by the *Medians* to yield, they relieved rather to endure a siege than do so. As for *Caracanthus* he was peaceably and friendly received at his first coming into *Durium*, a town of the *Cavians*; but *Caracanthus* another City, made the gates fast against him; and as he gave the waste to the territory about it, some of his soldiers straggling here and there, were by the peasants and villagers killed, who came forth and made head against them.

And now by this time *Appius Claudius* having taken with him, over and above his own army, the auxiliaries of the *Bullians*, *Apolloniates*, and *Dyrhachians*, dislodged out of the place where he had wintered, and encamped near the river *Gemissus*. For hearing of the alliance made between *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and incensed besides with the outrage committed upon the Roman ambassadors, whom *Gentius* put in prison, he resolved certainly to war upon him. *Anticus* the Prator being at that time at *Apollonia*, and advertised in what terms the affairs stood in *Illyricum*, dispatched letters beforehand to *Appius*, willing him to attend at *Gemissus* for his coming; and so within three daies after came himself to the camp there; and to shole aids, which he had of his own, he took with him two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, drawn out of the youth and flower of the *Partins*. Of the *Infantry* *Epicadus* had the conduct, and *Agathus* commanded the Cavalry. With this power he prepared to go into *Illyricum*, principally for to levy the siege before *Reffania*; but this design projected by him, was empeached by a bruit that was blown of certain pinnaces which waited and spoiled the sea-coasts. A fleet they were together of eighty sail, sent from *Gentius* by the indignation of *Pantacutus*, to forrage the territories of *Apollonia* and *Dyrhachium*. Then the fleet

Which being furnished, they submitted also and yielded themselves. And so consequently other Cities of that country one after another did the semblable; and the inclination & disposition of mens minds that way, was much set forward by the clemency and justice of the Roman Prator which he used towards all. Then they marched to *Scedra*, the capital place and seat-town of the war: not only for that *Gentius* had seized upon it for his own self, as the chief strength and fortrels of all his realm, but also because it was the strongest peece of all the *Lebeates* nation, and very difficult for access. Enclosed it is with two rivers: to wit, *Chaulala* which runneth along the East side of the City, and *Barbanus* on the West, arising out of the marsh *Lebeatis*. These two rivers joyn in one, and are discharged together into the great river *Otiundus*: which springing from the mountain *Scedrus*, and increased still with the confluence of many other waters and rivulets, falleth at length into the *Adriatick* sea. This *Scedrus* is the highest hill by odds of all other in those quarters: on the east it hath *Dardania* under it, on the South *Macedony* and *Illyricum* on the West. Albeit, this town was strongly fortified, by the natural site of the place, and defended by the whole nation of the *Illyrians* and the King himself in person: yet the Roman Prator (encouraged with the good success he had at the first, and supposing the fortune of the totall war would be answerable to so happy beginnings, and that a sudden terror also would serve him in much stead and prevail) approached the walls of the town with his army ready embattelled, and displayed his banners against it. Now if they had shut their gates, and defended their walls and turrets over the gates, with armed guards bestowed accordingly, surely they had repulled the Romans from the walls, and defeated them of their enterprize clean; but they issued forth of the gate, and in the plain and even ground gave battell with more animosity and courage than they maintained it with persistence. For being discomfited and driven back, and in the chafe huddled by heaps together as they fled, after 200 & above were slain in the very straight entrance of the gate, they put the rest within in such a fright, that *Gentius* incontinently sent unto the Prator as *Orators*, *Tentius* and *Bellus*, the principal persons of that nation to treat and intreat for a surcease of arms, that in the mean while he might debate in counsell and be advised as touching the main estate of his affairs. And when for this purpose he had obtained a grant for three daies, and the Romans lay encamped from the City half a mile; *Gentius* took a barge, and sailing along the river *Barbanus*, passed into the lake or mear of the *Lebeates*, as if he had sought some secret by-place to consult in. But as it appeared afterwards, he was moved upon a certain vain hope of his brother *Caracanthus* his coming, who was said to be near at hand accompanied with many thousands of fighting men, whom he had levied and brought out of that quarter into which he was sent. But when this rumour was over-blown & vanished to nothing, down the river he went again with the stream the third day after in the same vessel to *Scedra*, and sent courriers before him to the Prator, requesting leave to parley & commune with him; which being granted, he entered into the camp. First, he began his speech with accusing and condemning his own folly in the end his last refuge was to pour out prayers and shed tears: and so humbling himself at the Prator his feet, he submitted to his devotion. The Prator at the first had him take a good heart unto him and be of good cheer, and invited him to supper: and so he returned to his own people into the City, where he was honorably feasted that day by the Prator. But afterwards he was delivered to the guard and keeping of *C. Calfius*, a martiall Colonel: and thus received he of *K. Perseus* only ten talents, a mean reward and hardly sufficient to consent a simple word-plat; to engage himself into a world of danger, and being a *K.* as he was, to fall into this extreme calamity and misery. *Anticus* having entered upon *Scedra*, first before all other things, took order

as that the two Embassadors aforesaid, *Perseus* and *Perpernia* should be sought out and brought unto him: whom after he had restored to their plucking estate and reputation, he sent *Perpernia* presently to appease the friends and kinsfolk of the King: who took his way directly to *Medus*, a City of the *Lebeates*, and brought with him into the camp at *Scedra* *Elleuda* the Kings wife, with her two sons *Scardilus* and *Pleumans*, together with *Caracanthus* the *K.* his brother. Thus *Anticus* having ended the *Illyrian* war within the compass of thirty daies, sent *Perpernia* to Rome with tidings of this victory: and within few daies *Gentius* himself after him together with his mother, his wife and children, his brother, and other *L.* of the *Illyrians*. This was the only war achieved and brought to an end, before they heard at Rome that it was begun.

During the management of these affairs, *Perseus* also was in great fear and affright, by reason of the coming of *L. Enepilus* a new Consul (who as the voice went, matched against him with great menaces) together with *Octavius* the Prator. Neither was he less terrified with the Roman navy and the danger of the sea-coasts. *Emmenus* and *Athenagoras* had the keeping and command of *Thrace* with a small garrison of two thousand targettiers. Thither he sent Captain *Androsius* also, with commandment to encamp close to the very harbor where the ships lay in rode. Unto *Anticus* he sent one thousand horsemen under the leading of *Antigonus*, to guard the sea-coast, to the end that whatev part soever they heard the enemies ships were arrived, they might incontinently advance to the succour of the peasants and country people. Five thousand *Macedonians* were likewise sent to lie in garrison at *Pythium* and *Petra*, under the conduct of *Hippias*, *Theagenus* and *Midon*. After these were departed, he went in hand to fortifie the bank of the river *Enepilus*: because it was passable over the very channell on dry foot, And to the end that all the multitude should be employed hetherabout, the very women were compelled out of the towns adjoining, to bring victuals into the camp. The soldiers were commanded from out of the woods near by

Finally, the water-bearers in leather bits of bottles, were commanded to follow him to the sea, which was a quarter of a mile off: and thenceupon they flood to dig pits, some in one place, and some in another, a pretty distance asunder. The exceeding high hills all about put him in good hope (& the rather because they sent out from them no rivers to be seen in open view) that they contained within them some hidden springs, the veins whereof draining into the sea, were intermingled with the sea-water. They had scarcely sunk through the uppermost course of sand above, when they might see small fountains to boil up, at the first troubled, but afterwards they began to yield finer and clear water in great abundance; by a speciall gift (as it were) of the gods above. And even this occurrence also increased the name and reputation of the Captain with his soldiers. Then after he had commanded his men to make ready their armour, himself with the martiall Tribunes and the principall forme of ranks, marched to recognise and view the passages; and to see where the armed men might defend with ease, and where they might with least trouble mount up the bank on the farther side. When he had taken a sufficient survey hereof, he forecalt & gave direction aforehand, for all things to be done in the army in good order without trouble and tumultuous noise, even at the very beck and commandment of their leaders. For when a thing to be effected is pronounced to at all once, it falleth out that every man is not within the hearing; and so receiving an uncertain signal and commandment, some put more of their own head to that which was commanded, and others do less again for it: and so there arise from all parts dissention cries, and by this means the enemies know sooner whereabout they go, than many of themselves. Therefore to avoid this confusion, he ordained that every martiall Colonel should give a secret watch-word to the principall Centurion of the legion, and round him in his ear what he would have done: then he and so forth every one should deliver unto each Centurion as he is next in rank and place, what was to be executed: whether it were that the commandment was to be carried from the front of the army to the tail, or from the rearguard behind to the vanguard before. He brought up a new order and custom, forbidding the watchmen to carry with them any targets to their sentinels: for that the watchman went not out to fight, whereby he needed any armour, but to keep watch: that when he descried the enemies coming, he might retrace himself, and raise others to take arms. Item, he ordained that the helmetters or morioners should stand upon their feet, having their shields upright before them: and when they were weary to lean and bear upon their javelins, and resting their head upon the edge of their shields, so to take a nap and sleep: to the end that their glittering armour might be discovered afar off by the enemy, whereas himself could not see far before him. The manner also of warding in the day time, and of the corps de guard he altered clean. For whereas they were wont to stand all the day long armed, and the horsemen holding their horses bridled; it fell out so that in summer daies when ordinarily the sun is extreme and scorching hot, both horse and man became weary and languished again with abiding so many hours in the heat, and oftentimes the enemies being fresh, although they were but few in number, set upon them and put them to trouble and hazard enough. Hereupon he commanded that the morning guard should break up at noon, and others succeed in their places for to ward in the afternoon. By this means the enemy fresh and in heart could never overtake them weary and so charge upon them. When he had pronounced in a publick assembly gathered together that his will was, that these orders should be observed accordingly, he delivered unto them a speech, much resembling the former Oration which he used before to the people within the City of Rome. Namely, "That the Generall of an army ought only to foresee and provide for all that is meet to be done, sometime by himself, otherwhiles with those whom he hath joyned assistants

He speaks
of L. Enepilus
myself.

"time will come when you will be of that mind, of which I am now. Taught I am by experience
 "of many adventures and actualities in war, to know when it is good time to fight, and when it is
 "better to forbear and fulfill. For this present needful it is and beneficial (as I said) as we do now
 "arranged in order of battle) to tell you what motives they be, that induce me to think it better
 "to be quiet, and not to stir this day: another time demands the reasons thereof; and I cannot
 "red I advise you, with the authority and credit of an old warrior and experienced Captain. The
 "young man was blank and said not a word: perwaded he was doubting what the Consul's
 "impediments to stay the battle, which to himself appeared not. *Phalaris*, who thus perceived that
 "the camp was set and quartered out, & the carriages belovied according to order, of the three
 "guard the *Triarii* then afterwards the *Prætor*, while the *Ala* of the *Prætor* kept their standing
 "still in the vanguard (happily the enemies should offer battle), at the last he withdrew them al-
 "together, beginning first at the right point, taking by little and little the soldiers from it, every one
 "after another. By this means were the footmen had away without any trouble and tumult, and the
 "horsemen together with the light armoured opposed against the enemy in the front and head of the
 "main battell before the enemies: neither was the Cavalry called back from their stations where-
 "in they were placed, until the forefront of the rampier and trench was fully finished. The *K*, like-
 "wise, who without any refusal of battle had stood ready that day to fight, contenting himself with
 "this, that he knew the day thereof was occasioned by the enemy, led his companies back into his
 "camp. After the Romans were encamped and well fortified, *C. Sulpicius Galba*, a martial Colonel
 "of the second legion, who had been *Prætor* the year before by permission of the Consul called
 "the soldiers to a general audience, and before them all declared and pronounced, that the next night
 "following there would be seen an eclipse of the moon, from the second hour of the night until
 "the fourth: and this he did, because no man should wonder (he said, as if it were a prodigious token,
 "Alto he made demonstration unto them, that it might be well fore-known and fore-told,
 "because it is a thing coming at certain times by the ordinary course of nature). For like as they
 "nothing marvelled at the rising and going down both of sun and moon at set hours, nor to see
 "the moon sometimes shine bright out at the full, otherwhiles in the waning light only with the
 "small tips of her horns: even so they ought not to make a wonder and miraculous matter of it,
 "that the should be dark, when as her body is hidden by the shadow of the earth. Thus the moon
 "was eclipsed at the hour before prognosticated, a night before the *even* of the *Ides* of *September*.
 "by occasion whereof, the Roman soldiers held *Gallus* for a deeply learned sage, and a
 "divine Philosopher: but contrariwise, the Macedonians were troubled with the sight thereof, as
 "a heavy prodigy, portending and presaging the ruin of that realm and the utter destruction of
 "the whole nation. And surely the howling and yelling which they made in their camp all the while,
 "until the moon recovered her full light, again, was a very prognostication and prediction of no
 "less. The morrow after both the armies were in hot and greedy of fight, that both *K* and *C*:
 "were blamed by some of their own soldiers, for that they went out on the field the day before,
 "and struck not battle. As for the *K*, he had his excuse and defence ready, not only because the ene-
 "my refused the fight, but in open view of all men, and so retired his forces into his camp; but also
 "in that he had pitched and ranged his engines in such a place, unto which the Macedonians could
 "called *Phalanx*, could not advance, considering that with the small loss, disadvantage of the ground,
 "there is no use at all thereof. The Consul, for his part, as the day before he seemed to have premeditated
 "and lost the opportunity of a combat, yea, and to have given the enemy advantage to depart in
 "the night-season (if he had so list), so now also he trifled out the time, making semblance of sacrifice,
 "whereas the signal of battle at the point of day was put forth for the soldiers to enter into
 "the field. Well at the last, when the sacrifice was duly performed, about the third hour of the day,
 "he assembled his Council about him; where, some there were, that thought he prolonged the
 "time on purpose, with his discourses and unreasonable consultations, and spent that opportunity
 "after, which should be employed better in fight and execution of some worthy exploit. Howbeit,
 "after some speeches passed, the Consul made an Oration unto his soldiers in this wise: *Pub. Nafus*
 "qd. he a right valiant young gentleman, of all those that advised to give battle yesterday, was
 "the only man that uttered his mind, and acquainted me with his counsel; yet afterwards, even
 "he held his peace and kept silence, in such sort, as he seemed to change his opinion, and to be of
 "my mind in the end. Some others there be, that have taken a several course by themselves, and
 "thought it better to carp at their General behind his back, than to admonish him to his face. As
 "for me, I will not think much nor make it daunt, to render a reason both to you. *O. P. Nafus*
 "& to them also who have thought the same that you did, although they carried it more secret-
 "ly, why I made such stay and delayed battle. For, so far off am I of suspecting for our yesterday's
 "repulse, that I am of this belief rather, how by this means and policy alone I saved the whole ar-
 "my. And because none of you may think that I have taken such a petty, and hold that opinion
 "of mine without just cause, let him consider & discourse together with me (if he think it good)
 "what advantages the enemies had, & how many things made against us. First and foremost, how
 "far they surpass us in number, assured I am that none of you either was ignorant before, or
 "could chide but observe and mark yesterday, seeing their army how it was thrust and thronged
 "together. And of that small number which we were, the fourth part of our fighting men was left
 "behind to guard the carriages, & we yet wot that we set not the most cowards to the keeping of
 "our baggage. But suppose we had been all there together. How then? think we, I pray you, that

The Oration
 of *C. Sulpicius*
 unto his army

"we have not enough of it, even out of this very camp wherein we have rested the whole night.
 "So go either this day or to-morrow at the farthest, with the leave and power of the gods, into
 "the field, if you shall so think good? Skillful it is not indeed, and is all one, to bid a soldier
 "take arms, whom neither the travel of this daies journey, nor toil of laborious work hath
 "tained and wearied, but is at quiet, yea and fresh within his tent, & to bring him forth into
 "the field for a battle lusty and strong, full of bodily vigour of heart? or to offer and expose unto
 "the enemy who is hearty and fresh, who hath taken his rest and ease, & hath brought with him
 "to a fight, his strength entire and whole, not soiled or spent upon any occasion: to present, I say,
 "unto such an enemy, a soldier tired out with long journey upon the way, wearied with carry-
 "ing his burden all molen to sweat and dropping therewith, his throat scorched for thirst, his
 "face and eyes full of dust, and all his body roared against the noon-sun? how tell me, by the
 "oath to the gods, what is he that being in this so good a plight, were he the vilest beast and
 "coward otherwise in a country, could not foil and beat out of the field the hardiest and most val-
 "iant man that is? Moreover, what should I say how material & important this also was that our
 "enemies had marshalled their battalions with great leisure after long time of rest, that they had
 "repaired and refreshed their own strength, & stood ranged every man orderly in his own rank,
 "whereas we were at one instant both hastily to embattle and let our men in array, yea, and also
 "to fall to skirmish pell mell without all order? But may some men say, True it is, our battel in-
 "deed we should have had much out of square and shuffled in great confusion: yet our camp was
 "well fortified: we had forecast and provided for good watering, the passage thereto was good
 "and safe by reason of strong guards placed every way: & all coasts were cleared about us by our
 "epials. Nay, I wis, but contrariwise, nothing (to say truly) was ours, but the bare & naked plain
 "field where we were to fight. Your ancestors in times past, esteemed a camp fortified with tan-
 "piers and trenches, as good as a port and harbor of sure refuge, for an army against all char-
 "ges and misfortunes whatsoever: from thence to issue forth, & thither to retire for safety, after they
 "had been tossed and beaten with the tempest of a battle. And therefore when it was empaled
 "round about with good defences, they had a care also to re-enforce & strengthen it with strong
 "guards: so much as he that hath lost his camp & is turned out of it, is ever holden for vanqui-
 "shed, notwithstanding he won the day & had the better in the field. The hold of a camp serveth
 "for a place of retreat to the conqueror: & of refuge to the conquered. How many armies could
 "I reckon, which having sped but badly in the battle, were driven to take their leaguers: yet after-
 "wards seeing their time, and spying their vantage otherwhiles fallen forth, & in the turning of
 "an hand repulsed and discomfited the enemy for all his former victory? This feat and retreat of
 "soldiers in time of war, resembleth as a man would say, another native country of theirs: the
 "rampier serveth instead of walls, the tent and pavilion is to every soldier his house and home.
 "And should we have fought indeed like vagabonds without any place of mansion wherunto we
 "might betake our selves after victory? But against these difficulties and emplacements of giving
 "battle, this one thing is objected: How and if the enemy (say some) had gone his waies last night
 "between: what a foul deal of trouble & sorrow should we have endured again in pursuing him
 "as far as to the heart, nay, to the farthest frontiers of Macedonia? But I for my part verily hold this
 "for certain, that if he had ever meant to have started from hence, he would never have said thus
 "here as he hath done, nor brought his forces out into the field. For how much more ease was it
 "for him to depart & be gone when we were farther off, than now when we are ready to tread
 "upon his heels, and go over his back? Surely he could not possibly have given us the slip, but we
 "should have been aware of his dislodging either by day or night. But, say he had gone his waies,
 "what could we have withered more at the gods hands, than to let upon the back part of the ene-
 "mies in the open plain ground, departing in disarray disbanded one from another, as they aban-
 "doning their fort and strong hold, and whose camp situate most sure upon an exceeding high and
 "steep bank of a river, fortified also with a rampier, and many a fence and turret besides, we gave
 "the venture to assault? Lo, what the causes were, why the battle was put off from yesterday to
 "this present. For I must tell you, I am as willing my self to try the fortune of a field as any other:
 "and to that end (because the adventures to the enemy over the river *Enipeus* were stopped up a-
 "gainst us) I have found a new way through another pass and straight, by dislodging the guards of
 "the enemies there left: and never will I give over until I have defeated him quite, and brought
 "this war to an end. After this oration all kept silence, partly for that many of them were won to
 "his opinion: and partly, because they feared to find fault to no purpose & so to give offence, when
 "thing howsoever once past, cannot be recalled and amended. But that day neither, was there
 "battel fought, for any great desire that the Consul or King had thereto. The King wished it not:
 "because he was now to charge his enemies, not weary of their way as the day before, nor trou-
 "bled about their embattling in such sort & hardly at the last brought into order. The Consul a-
 "gain had no great stomach thereto, for that his camp newly pitched, was provided neither of fire-
 "well nor forage brought in and laid up already: and for the purveyance thereof, out of the villa-
 "ges and fields near at hand, many of the soldiers were gone abroad forth of the camp. And thus
 "when neither of the Generals were willing thereto, mere chance and fortune (which is more po-
 "werfull than all the counsel and policy of man) made means and gave occasion of a battle. There
 "was a river not very great, near to the enemies camp, whereto both Romans and Macedoni-
 "ans watered: and on either bank side certain guards kept their stations for the safety and security

as well of the one part as the other. Two Cohorts there were for the Romans of Macedonians and Peloponnesians, footmen: two troops or companies besides of Samothracians, all commanded by *M. Sergius Sylva* a lieutenant. Over and besides, another flying company of footmen quartered before the camp, containing three cohorts, namely, of Erimian, Vettine, and Cemonian footmen together with two troops of Placentine and Esernian horsemen, all conducted by *Publius Cestius*. Now when all was well and quiet about the river, and no side provoked or challenged the other, it happened that a sumpter horse of the Romans about the fourth hour of the day brake from the hands of those that had the tending and keeping of him, took the river, and made toward the bank of the farther side: & when three foldiers followed after, cross the water almost knee-deep to catch him, the Thracians began to train the jade from the middle of the river to their bank side but after one of them was slain, the Romans recovered the dead again & retired to their own guard. Now there was a strong corps de guard of 800 Thracians upon the bank, which the enemies knew, from whence some few at first, taking it to the heart that a contrivance of theirs should thus be killed before their face, travelled over the river in pursuit of those that had slain him; afterwards more and more, and in the end all followed after, and together with that guard.

Leadeh to the battell. Men were moved with a reverence of the majesty of his place, as he was *L. General*; also with respect of the honour and glory of the man otherwise, and above all, with the regard of his age: for that being about threecore years old he had undergone the offices and parts of young men in the adventures of greatest travell and danger. That void space which was between the light targetters, called *Cetrari*, and the thick battailions named Phalanges, the legion took up clean, and broke within the battell of the enemies. Behind the *Cetrari* was this legion, and had in front them the Pavoiers called *Agrippides*, with repellent or thrusting shields, *L. Arriani*, who had been Consul belotetime, was commanded to lead against the battailion of other Pavoiers called *Leucopid* with white shields. And that was the main battell of the enemies. Against the right flank, from which quarter the skirmish first began about the river, the Elephants were conducted together with a wing of confederate horsemen, and from thence began the Macedonians to fly. For like as many new devices and inventions of men, carry some shew in appearance of words when they are first spoken of: but come to practice and try them once, and not to argue and dispute how they should be put in execution, they vanish away without effect and prove just nothing: even so at that time, the Elephants bare a name only in the battell, without any use and service at all. That violence of the Elephants (such as it was) the Latine allies seconded immediately, and forced the left flank to retire. Then the second legion was put forth, and in the midle entered upon the Phalanx and put it to flight; neither was there any caule of victory more evident than this, namely, that many skirmishes there were in divers places, which at the first troubled the Phalanx, and afterwards discomfited it. True it is that to abide the force thereof it is impossible, so long as it keepeth close united together & putteth forth their sharp pointed pikes bent thick touched together breast-high: but if a man by charging the same here and there, force them once to turn about those pikes, which for their length and heavy weight are unwieldy and hard to guide, they soon are intangled and catch one within another untowardly: but in case it fall out so that there be any tumult made either afank or behind, then there cometh a general trouble and confusion of all, as if they all at once came tumbling down: like as it hapned then, when as against the Romans, who assailed them by troops in sundry parts, they were driven to break their battailion into many pieces, as it were, and so to make head & affront the enemy. But the Romans espied where there was a breach made and lance left between, and there they would infiltrate, and wind in with their ranks and files: who, if they had runnup from the front of the Phalanx close ranged altogether with their whole battailion, they had enwrapped and entangled themselves within their pikes (which in the beginning of the conflict hapned to the Peloponnesians) as they unadvisedly dealt with the targetters, called *Cetrari*, and had never been able to sustain that battailion united thick and closed together. But as there was a cruel slaughter committed upon the companies of the infantry in every place, save only those that flung away their weapons and fled: so the foldiers of the Cavalry departed in manner late and loud out of the conflict. *F. K. himself* was the first man that fled: and now by this time was escaped beyond *Pedia*, and with his cornets of horsemen which they call *Sacred* made halle to *Pella*. Anon after followed *Coffant*, and the Cavalry of the Odyssians; consequently, other troops and companies of Macedonian horsemen departed and kept their arraires in broken: for that the Phalanx or battailion of the footmen between which kept the conquerors occupied in execution, put them quite out of remembrance to pursue the men of arms. A long time continued the massacre of this Phalanx afank, & behind. In the end, they who escaped the hands of the enemies & fled without weapons to the sea; some took the water, and stretching forth their hands to them that were aboard in the ships, most humbly besought them for to save their lives: and when they saw the small pinnaces and cockboats making apace on all hands toward them from the ships, they imagining that their coming was to catch them for their prisoners rather than to kill them outright, waded farther into the water, yea, and some swimm'd forward: but when they saw they were by them of the boats slain in all hostile manner like enemies, as many as could, swam back again to land: where they met with a fouler mischief, and were worse plagued than before: for the Elephants (driven by their governors to the shore) trode them under foot and crushed their guts out. All men generally agreed in this point, *That never at any one field, were so many Macedonians defeated and killed by the Romans: for 20000 men*

were there slain, and to the number of 6000 (who fled to *Pydna* out of the battail) came alive into the enemies hands; 3000 besides were taken prisoners, as they fled scattering and disbanded here and there. Of the victors, there died not above an hundred, and the more part by way of Pe-
 lignians; but a greater number somewhat, were hurt and wounded. And if the battail had begun sooner, that the winners might have had day enough to follow the chase upon their enemies, as their forces had been utterly defeated and deavoured by the sword; but now the night coming upon them, as it covered and shadowed the enemies that fled, so it caused the Romans not to be so hotly and forward in pursuit; considering they were not acquainted with the coasts of the country. *Perseus* fled to the forest *Pieria* by the port road way, with a great number of horsemen and his royal train about him. So soon as he was entered the forest where the way divided into hindry and divers parts, seeing that the night approached, he turned out of the high beaven way with very few of his most loyal and faithful friends. The horsemen being thus abandoned and left destitute of their leader, slip some one way and some another home into their own Cities: certain of them (but very few) recovered *Pella* before *Perseus* himself, because they rode a direct and ready way. The *K*. was much troubled and vexed until midnight almost, what with fear and what with difficulty to find out the way. When he was come to *Pella*, *Enlius* the Governour thereof, and the Kings pages, were ready attendant at the court to wait upon him and do him service: but contrary-wise, of all those friends who escaped safe out of the battail and chanced by variable adventures to come into *Pella*, there would not one come at him, notwithstanding they were oftentimes sent for. Three only bare him company in that flight of his, to wit, *Evander* of *Cyete*, *Nicomach* a Boeotian, and *Archidamus* the *Ætolian*. Fearing therefore lest they who refused to come unto him, would soon after enterprife some greater matter against him; with those three he fled still forward, about the fourth watch of the night. After him there followed upon 500 *Cæcetanians*. Toward *Amphipolis* he went; but he departed in the night from *Pella*, making all he hath he could to pass over the river *Axius* before day-light, supposing that the Romans would give over the chase there, by reason of the difficult and dangerous foord.

The Consul being returned into the camp with victory, because he should not have the victory of fingers and palm, he was greatly disquieted and troubled about his younger son, as that son was *Paulus*, furnished also afterwards *Africanus*, because he called the City of Carthage: the name of the son was of the Consul *Paulus*, and the adopted nephew or grand child of *Africanus* was at that time 17 years of age, and (which augmented the sorrow of the father) while he lay in that time the enemies upon the spot, was carried by the prefect contrary way, in such sort, it was late ere he returned: and then the Consul having recovered him again safe and found, felt the joy of it to great a victory, and not before.

When the bruit and news of this battail was arrived at *Amphipolis*, and that the dames and wives of the City ran flocking into the Temple of *Diana*, whom they call *Taurapolis*, to beseech and call for her aid, *Diadora* the chief Governor of the City, fearing the Thracians (who were tooke in garriton) left in that tumult and garboil, they would spoile and rife the City: secretly labouring a fellow on set purpose in guile and shew of a letter-carrier, and received from him letters in the midst of the market place; wherein it was written, That the Roman fleet was arrived in *Emathia*, and that the centurios all about were pitifully waled by them; and therefore the rulers and capitans of *Emathia* requested him to send a garriton to succour them against these foragers. When he had read these chunterie letters, he exhorted the Thracians to undertake this expedition and to go into *Emathia* for to guard the coasts thereof: giving them to understand, that considering the Romans were loonly stragling and scattered about the fields and villages, they might make a full havock and laughter of them, and besides raise and bring away with them a great booty: withall he forger not to elevate himself as he could, the fame of the forsaide unhappy field fought, saying, That if all had been true, there would have been messengers coming thit once after another, with their flight, to bring fresh tidings all thitof. Under this pretence he sent away the Thracians; and so soon as he saw they were passed over the river *Strymon*, he contently he shut the gates. The third day after the battail fought, came *Perseus* to *Amphipolis*, and from thence he sent *Orators* to *Paulus* with an herald of peace, Mean-while *Hippias*, *Midon*, and *Pantacrus* the Kings principal friends, went themselves to the Consul, and surrendered unto the Romans *Berribad* whicher they had retired and fled immediately out of the field. Other Cities also stricken with fear, one after another, prepared to do the like.

And after another, prepared to do the like. The Consul, after he had sent to Rome with tidings and letters of this victory, *Q. Fabius* his own son, together with *L. Lentulus* and *Q. Metellus*, gave the spoils of the enemies army thus lying dead about, unto his captives; but the Romans he allowed the booty of all the territory round about, with condition, that they should not be absent from the camp more than two nights. Then, he received nearer unto the sea, and lodged about *Pydna*, *Bistia*, *Bordia* (as is before said) yielded, then *Thracians* and *Pellians*; and consequently, all *Macedony* wel-neer within two daies was surrendered. But the *Pydneans* who were next unto him, as yet were behind with fending their Embassadors: the reason was, for that the confused confidence thither of many nations, and the disordered multitude, at that that fled out of the field, and were all met there together, hindered the counsel and comfort of the whole City: so as the gates were not only shut, but also mured up. Now were *Mitridates* and *Pompeius* faine to parle under the walls with *Salon*, who lay there with a garrison; by whose means the whole troop and multitude of armed men was sent away, the City rendred up, and the pillage given to the souldiers.

once published, they all immediately revolted to the Romans, and stirred their names with C. P. P. H. *himinus*, a martial colonel. Likewise *Ion of Thessalonica*, delivered into the hands of *Othobius* the young infants of the King, and not one of them all was left with *Perseus*, but *Philip* his eldest son: and then he yielded both himself and that son into the hands of *Othobius*, crying out upon fortune, and blaming the Gods in whose Temple they were, for that he received no aid and succour from them, notwithstanding he humbly craved and besought the same. Then commandment was given, that he should be embarked in the admirals ship: and thither also was brought aboard all the money that remained, and then forthwith the fleet retired to *Amphipolis*: from whence *Othobius* sent the King to the camp unto the consul, but first he had dispatched his letters to give him knowledge, that he was sure enough under his hand; and that he was at the point to be brought unto him. *Pamphus*, reputing this for a second victory, (as it was no less indeed to be esteemed) presently upon the receipt of the message, killed beasts for sacrifice: and when he had called his Council about him, and read the letters of the Pretor before them, he sent *Q. Aelius Thersites* to meet the King, upon the way, and commanded the rest in good frequency to remain in his capital pavillion, and give attendance upon him. Never was there seen before, so great a multitude to run out to see any solemn fight or pageant. In their fathers daies King *Syphax* was taken prisoner and brought into the Roman camp: who besides that there was no comparison between him and *Perseus*, either in regard of his own name or the renown of his nation, was then also but an necessary as it were to the Punick war, like as *Geminus* now to the Macedonian. *Perseus* was the very head of this war, neither was it the fame of his father and grandfire only (whom he neerly touched in birth and blood) that made him renowned, but the resplendent glory of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, who brought the sovereign empire and monarchy of the whole world to the Macedonian nation. Well, *Perseus* entered the camp arrayed in a black cloak, without any one of his own train to accompany him, who partaking his misery, might cause more compassion to be had of him. The affluence of the people was so great who went out to see him, that for the very price he could not march forward, until such time as the consul sent his sergeants and his sister to void the thronging of the multitude, and make way for him to go to the consul his pavillion. The consul arose, and (giving commandment to the rest for to sit still) advanced forward a little, and caught up his hand to the King as he entered into the pavillion; and when he bowed and debased himself to his very feet, he took him up again and would not suffer him once to touch his knees, but led him into the tent and caused him to sit down right over-against those whom he called thither to counsel. The first question that he demanded of him was this: "What wrong he had sustained at the hands of the people of *Rome*, that he should be constrained to enterprise and begin the war against them with so malicious a mind as he did, and so to hazard himself, his whole state and Kingdom, in such extremity of danger? And when every man attended what answer he would make, he staid a good while without utterance of one word, casting his eyes willy upon the ground, and shedding tears withal. Then spake the consul again: If you had been but a young (qd. he) when you came to the crown, I would verily for my part marvel the less, that you should be so ignorant as not to know how important it was, to have the people of *Rome* either for a friend or an enemy: but now, since you both had your hand in that war which your father waged against us and also could not chuse but remember the peace afterwards made with them, and which we observed most faithfully, What policy was it for you to entertain war rather than peace, with them, whose force you had tried in war and whose fidelity you had found in peace? When as he would yet make no answer at all either to question or accusation, the consul went on and said: "Well, howsoever these things are thus fallen out: and come to pass, be it through the error and frailty of man by adventure of fortune and hard hap, or fatal necessity of the destinies, he of good cheer yet, and take a mans heart unto you: the gracious clemency and mercy of the people of *Rome*, well known and proved in the misfortunes of many Princes and States, afforded unto you not only hope, but certain assurance of safety. Thus much spake he to *Perseus* in the Greek tongue: then, turning to his own assistants and company about him, he directed his speech to them in Latine as followeth. "A notable example and rare mirror you see (qd. he) of the changeable variety of this world: to you I speak especially, my masters here that are steeple and youthful gallants in the heat of your young blood. And therefore let no man in time of his prosperity, carry himself proud and violent against another, nor yet confidently to trust upon the present state wherein he is, for who knoweth what may hap once yet before midnight? But him alone will I hold for a man of valour indeed, whose heart neither the gentle gale of this fawning and flattering world is able to louse aloft, nor yet the blustering blasts of frowning fortune cast down or dash upon the rocks. After the consul was risen and departed, he committed the charge and custody of keeping the King to *Quintus Aelius*. But forth day *Perseus* was not only invited courteously to sup with the consul, but respected also in all kind of honor, as possibly might be done unto him in that state and condition of his.

After this the army was divided here and there into garrisons for the winter time. The greatest part thereof was received into *Amphipolis*, and the other cities neer adjoining entertained the rest. This was the end of the war between *Perseus* and the Romans, which had endured four years one after another continually: and here an end withal of the most flourishing Kingdom of the greatest part of *Europe* and of all *Asia*. *Perseus* was counted the twentieth King after *Carausius*, who was the first that reigned there. This *Perseus* began his reign that year wherein *Q. Fulvius* and

and *L. Manlius* were Consuls. In the time of *M. Junius* and *A. Manlius* Consuls of *Rome*, the Senat entitled and honoured him with the name of King, and eleven years his reign continued. The name of these Macedonians was very obscure and basile, until the daies of *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*. From that time and by his means it began to grow and wax great: howbeit, contained it was within the compass and precincts of *Europe*, comprehending all *Greece*, and part of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*. Afterwards it spread into *Asia*, and in thirteen years space, during the reign of *Alexander*, it subdued and brought under subjection, first all those parts whereunto the empire of the Persians extended, which was an infinite dominion in circuit: afterwards it reached to *Arabia* and *Indu*, even to the end of the earth, bounding and confining all about upon the red sea. At that time was the monarchy and name of the Macedonians the greatest in the whole world, but upon the death of *Alexander*, distracted it was and divided into many and sundry Kingdoms. And whilst each one endeavoured & strove by force to draw unto him more and more puissance, they dissembled and rent the whole: & so from the height of pitch of prosperity, brought it down to a most base and low condition, after it had continued in good estate a hundred and fifty years; When the bruit of the Romans victory was blazed and blown as far as to *Asia*. *Antenor* who with a fleet of barks and pinnaces rid in the harbour of *Pharos*, sailed from thence to *Cassandrea*. *C. Popilius*, who was in *Delos* to guard and wait those ships which were bound for Macedonia, after he heard say that the war in Macedonia was brought to an end, and the enemies vessels removed out of their rode, dismissed also for his part the Athenian ships, intending to go forward in his voyage for *Egypt*, to accomplish that embassy which he had taken in hand: to the end that he might encounter *Antiochus*, before he approached the walls of *Alexandria*. As these Embassadors coasted along the river of *Asis*, and were arrived at *Loryma* (a port somewhat more than twenty miles distant from *Rhodes*, and situate just over against the city) the principal States of *Rhodes*, met him in the way (for now by this title was the fame of this victory flown so far) requesting him to let sail thither and thence to land: for that it concerned their city much in fame and reputation, yea, and was expedient for their good and safety, that they should be made acquainted with all that either had been done or was now in hand at *Rhodes*, and so to make report thereof at *Rome* upon their own knowledge, and not as things were voiced by the common bruit. They refused a long time, but in the end they were so importuned, that content they were to sail a little farther, and spend some small time for to gratify and benefit a city associat unto them. When they were come to *Rhodes*, the same principal citizens aforesaid urged them instantly with much prayer and entreaty to come into their general assembly of the people. The arrival of those Embassadors rather augmented than empaired the fear of the city. For *Popilius* made rehearsal there in open audience, of all which had been done or spoken (founding any way to hostility) either in particular or in general by them, during the late war. And being as he was a grim fir, tough and fierce by nature, he aggravated all that he spake, with his sour visage and sharp language, like an accuser at the bar: in such manner as they might well conjecture and guesse, how the whole body of the Senate stood affected unto him, by the bitterness of one only Senator, who otherwise for himself had no occasion of particular ill will and malice against the city. But the speech of *Decimius* was more temperate, who said, that the blame of those imputations for the most part which were objected by *Popilius*, was not to be laid upon the people, but upon a few persons, who had solicited and stirred the multitude: for those having their tongue at hire, and using to speak for gain, had made decrees full of flattery to please the King, and sent such embassages, as the Rhodians at all times were no less ashamed than repented of. All which practices of theirs no doubt would fall upon their heads who were faulty, in case the people had the government and rule in their own hands. Audience he had with great assent and applause: not more for elevating the fault and trespass of the common people, than for laying the weight upon those that were the authors culpable. And therefore when the chieft men among them made answer to the Romans, their words, who went about to excuse and save in some sort as well as they could the articles objected by *Popilius*, were not so well taken, as their speech who accorded to *Decimius*, in delivering the guilty persons and offenders to be punished according to their demerits. Whereupon there passed presently a decree, That all those who might be convicted of any deed done or word spoken in favour of *Perseus* against the Romans, should be condemned and have sentence to lose their heads. Some of these persons were departed out of the city upon the coming of the Romans, others laid violent hands upon themselves. These Embassadors or delegats having sojournd no longer than five daies at *Rhodes*, departed and made sail for *Alexandria*. And notwithstanding their absence, the execution of judicial proceeding was no less holily followed at *Rhodes*, according to the decree made in their presence. For the moderation and gentle carriage of *Decimius* was the very cause that they persisted resolute, and gave not over until they had gone through with it, and dispatched all.

Whilst these affairs were thus managed, *Antiochus* after he had assaid in vain to force the walls of *Alexandria*, was departed from before the city, & having possessed himself of all *Egypt* besides, and left the elder *Ptolemus* at *Memphis*, (for whose behoof he pretended by his own forces to reconquer the Kingdom, to the end that soon after the conquest obtained, he might set upon him, likewise) withdrew his army away into *Syria*. *Ptolemus* for his part was nothing ignorant of his designment and intention, making full account, that whilst he kept his younger brother affrighted with the fear of siege, by the help of his sister he might be received into *Alexandria*: considering withal, that his brothers friends were not opposed against him, first he sent unto his sister, after.

* For Pelusium
is called Cle-
via Egypti, as
Ortelius no-
teth out of
Suidas.

* Pharnaces.

* Nabiz.
* Carabiz.

* p. l. di
Mon. in ore.

afterwards to his brother and his friends, and never gave over to write and send, before he had concluded and established a peace with them. The thing that made him to suspect *Antiochus* was this, for that when he had made over all the rest of *Egypt* unto him, he left yet a strong garison behind at *Pelusium*: and well he knew, that he held still the frontier Towns as the very keys of *Egypt*: to the end that he might with an army enter and invade again, whenever he would. And thus he conceived of it, that this would be the issue of the civil and domestical war between brethren. That the victor wearied with war, should not be able to make head against *Antiochus*. These things wisely forecaft and seen by the elder brother, were received with assent of the younger, and those that were assitant about him: and the sister between stood in very good stead, not by her good advice and counsel only, but also by her effectual prayers. And therefore by a general accord of all, a peace was concluded, and the elder *Ptolemus* received into *Alexandria*, without any gain- saying or resistance at all so much as of the very multitude: notwithstanding that during the war they were much decayed and weakened (not only by the siege, but also after it was raised and the army gone from *Alexandria*) for want of all things, by reason that no provisions were brought thither from out of *Egypt*. Now, where as *Antiochus* should have taken great contentment and rejoiced much for this, in case he had brought his forces into *Egypt* for to restore *Ptolemus* into his own estate (which was the goodly pretence and colourable shew that he made to all the States of *Asia* and *Greece*, when he received their embassages, or sent forth his letters into all parts) it fell out, that he was to highly offended and displeased hereat, that he went in hand and prepared to make war now against them both much more eagerly and with greater malice than before against one alone. Presently he rigged and sent out his navy at sea to *Cyprus*; himself in person at the beginning of the spring minding to invade *Egypt* marched forward with his army as far as into *Cale-Syria*. The Embassadors of *Ptolemus* encountered him in his journey about *Rhinocelura*, and gave him thanks in behalf of their King, and matters, for that by his means he had recovered the inheritance of his fathers Kingdom: requesting withal to maintain that benefit and good deed of his; to declare rather by word of mouth what he would have done, than deal by sword in hand and force of arms, and not of friend and ally to become a mortal enemy. His answer was, that he would neither call back his fleet nor withdraw his army upon any condition, unless he quit unto his use as well the whole Isle of *Cyprus*, as the City ** Pelusium*, together with the territory about the mouth of *Nilus*, called ** Pelusiaceum Offium*. And therewith he set him down a day before which he expected to receive his answer as touching the accomplishment of the said conditions. After the day prefixed for the truce was past, as they failed in the mouth of *Nilus* near *Pelusium*, the states along the deserts of *Arabia* yielded. Then, being received of them, that inhabit about *Memphis*, and the rest of the Egyptians, partly with favor and good will and partly for fear and constraint: by small journeys he descended toward *Alexandria*. When he was passed over the river at *Leontine* (a place about 4 miles distant from *Alexandria*) the Roman Embassadors met him upon the way. After greetings and salutations at their first coming, he put forth his right hand to *Popilius*: but he delivered unto him a scroll written, and willed him before he did any thing else to read that script. After he had read the writing through he answered that he would devise with his friends and consider what was best to be done. But *Popilius* according to his ordinary blunder manner of speech which he had by nature made a circle about the King with the rod that he had in his hand, and withal, "Make me an answer (qd. he) I advise you such as I may report to the Senate, before you pass the compass of this circle. The King assented at this so rude and violent a commandment, after he had staied and paused a while: I will be content (qd. he) to do whatsoever the Senat shall ordain. Then and not before, *Popilius* gave the King his hand as to a friend and ally. Afterwards when *Antiochus* was departed out of *Egypt* by the day prefixed, the said Embass. or delegates having by their authority established concord also between the two brethren (who as yet were not thoroughly agreed) some of them failed to *Cyprus*, and from thence they sent away the fleet of *Antiochus*, which already had given an overthrow in battail to the Egyptian ships. This was a noble embassage and much renowned among those nations, for that thereby *Egypt* was undoubtedly taken from *Antiochus*, who was as good as possessed thereof already, and the inheritance of the Kingdom restored again to the race of *Ptolemus*.

Of the two Consuls that year, like as the one was famous in his place by this notable victory, so the other was little or nothing spoken of, by reason he had not matter of any great exploit to be employed in. And first of all when he was assigned a certain day for the legions to meet, he entered into the temple without the lucky approbation of the auspices. And when the Augurs were moved and their advice required therein, they declared, that there was an error committed in the appointment of the said day. In his voiage for *France* he kept his standing leaguer for the summer time about the mountains *Sicimina* and *Popinus* near the plains called ** Macri*. And afterwards he wintred about the same places with the allies of the Latine nation. For, the Roman legions, because the day was not rightly appointed for the assembly of the forces at the *Rendevous*, remained behind at *Rome*. Also the Pretors, save only *C. Pappus*, *Carbo*, unto whose lot *Sardinia* was fall, went forth into their Provinces: and him the LL. of the Senate had ordained to attend upon his civil jurisdiction at *Rome* between citizens and foreigners. *Popilius*, likewise, that embassage which was sent to *Antiochus* returned to *Rome*: where he made relation that the controversies between the two Kings were decided & the army of *Antiochus* retired out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. After this, came the Embass. also of the Kings themselves. Those of *Antiochus* made report that the King their

inalter esteemed more of the peace approved by the Senat, than of any victory whatsoever: and obeyed the orders set down by the Roman Embassadors, no less than the very messengers coming with commandments directly from the Gods: and finally they testified their own contentment, and wished them great joy of their victory obtained, saying that the King himself would have been with all his power at the achieving thereof, in case he had been enjoined to perform any service: The Embassadors of *Ptolemus* in the name jointly of their King and of *Cleopatra*, rendered thanks unto them, acknowledging themselves more bound & beholden to the Senat and people of *Rome*, than to their own parents, yea & more than to the immortal Gods for by their good means they were still delivered from the most lamentable miseries of a siege, and had recovered their fathers Kingdom, which they were at the point to have lost for ever. The Senat returned this answer again, that whereas *Antiochus* had been ruled by the Embassadors, thereby he did well and as it becomed him, and in so doing he highly contented and pleased the Senat and people of *Rome*. Again, *Ptolemus* and *Cleopatra* the King and Queen of *Egypt*, had found any goodneels and commodity by them, the Senat was very glad thereto and rejoiced thereat and would endeavour and work it so, that they might be persuaded that the greatest assurance and safeguard of their realm rested at all times most in the faithful protection of the people of *Rome*. This said, the Pretor *C. Pappus* had in charge to see that presents and gifts were sent to these Embassadors according to the ancient custome. Then were letters brought out of *Macedony* to redouble the joy of the victory, importing that *Perseus* was sure enough in the hands of the Consul.

When those Embassadors were dismissed and gone, much debate and argument there was between the Embassadors of the Pisans and Lunenies. They of *Pisec* complained that they were diseized & driven out of their territory by the Roman coloners: contrarywise those of *Luna* plainly averted, that the Land in controversy had been set out and assigned for them by the Triumvirs. The Senat hereupon sent five men as commissioners to make inquiry into the limits of the said territory and to determine accordingly, and those were *Q. Fabius Buteo*, *P. Cornelius Blafio*, *T. Sempronius Mancus*, *L. Navinus Balbus*, and *C. Apulcius Saturninus*. There came likewise a solemn embassage sent in common from *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and *Antiochus*, all three brethren, to notify the joy and contentment which they took for the Romans victory. Moreover, *L. Manlius* the treasurer was ready at *Puteoli* to receive and welcome *Masgaba* the son of *K. Masinissa*, as he should disembark and set on land: for sent he was of purpose with money to meet him upon the way, to conduct him aloft and bring him to *Rome* at the cities charges. He was no sooner come, but immediately audience was given him in the Senat. "This young Prince (pake in such sort, as the things which of themselves were acceptable enough indeed, he graced and made more worthy of acceptance by his good words. He rehearsed what forces of foot and horie both, how many Elephants, what quantity of corn for that four years space (during the war) his father had sent over into *Macedony*. But two things there were for which he was dismaied and could not chule but blush: the one, that the Senat by their Embass. had made request unto him; and not commanded rather to furnish them with necessaries for the war: the other, that they had sent him money to pay for their corn. For *Masgaba* was not forgetful, but bare well in mind, that he held his Kingdom as he had conquered for him, afterwards augmented and amplified many waies unto him by the people of *Rome*: and for his own part, he could contege himself with the life and occupation thereof, as a tenant in fee-farm: acknowledging the propriety and possession thereof to be in them, who as Lords of the fee scoffed him therein. Good reason therefore and meet it was that they also should be hold with their own to take and not to aske to have and not to crave, much less then to buy the commodities & fruits issuing out of the lands by them demised, given & granted. As for *Masgaba*, sufficed he was, and evermore would felt contented with that overplus which the people of *Rome* might leave and spare for him. Thus much (qd. he) I had in charge and commission from my fathers own mouth: when I departed and took my leave of him: but afterwards certain horsemen riding post overtook me, to let me understand that *Macedony* was subdued, and to charge me, that after I had signified our joy in your behalf, I should shew unto the Senat, that my father took such contentment therein, that he would gladly come to *Rome*, to offer sacrifice and render thanks to *Iuppiter*, *Mars* in the Capitol: which to do he requested leave of the Senat, (so he might stand with their good liking, and be no trouble unto them. The Prince received this answer from the Senat: That his father *Masgaba* did as becomed a good man and thankful person, for so doing giving such a grace and honor over & above, to benefit of duty required; moreover, that the people of *Rome* acknowledged how they had received great help at his hands in the victory of the people of *Rome*, yea, and afterwards according to equity and justice had born himself right worthily in all sorts of devours and duties during the wars of three Kings one after another. Neither was it any marvel at all that he rejected at the victory of the people of *Rome*, being a King, who had engaged, hazarded and entangled all his own fortunes and the whole estate of his Kingdom with the Roman affairs. As for rendering thanks to the Gods for the victory of the people of *Rome*, let him do that himself in his own house at home; for it should suffice, that his sons for him performed that duty at *Rome*. That he, and his father both had sufficiently for their parts testified their joy. As for *Masgaba* in proper person to leave his realm and depart over ** Africa*: over and besides that it was in no wise profitable to himself, the Senat deemed it not expedient for the weal-publick of the people of *Rome*. *Masgaba* further more requested, that

that *Hanno* the son of *Amilcar* should be least hostage in place of another Carthaginian (whose name is not known) but the *Senat* answered, That they thought it not meet to demand hostages at the pleasure of *Masaniſſa*. The treasurer was commanded by order from the *Senat*, to buy certain presents for to bestow upon this young Prince, namely, as much plate as might sate one of an hundred pound weight of silver: also to accompany him as far as *Pisaudi* to defray all his charges during his abode within *Italy*; and to hire two ships for to transport and conduct him & his prince by train into *Africa*. To all his returns as well bond as free, there was allowance made of apparel.

Not long after, were letters brought as concerning *Miffagenus* the second son of *Masaniſſa* who after that *Paulus* had vanquished *Perseus*, was sent home by the said *Paulus* into *Africa* with his Cavalry: but as he sailed, was driven (sick as he was) upon *Brundisium* with three ships only, for that the rest of the fleet was dispersed in the *Adriatick* Sea. *Stertinus* the treasurer was sent to him at *Brundisium*, with the like gifts as were bestowed upon his brother at *Rome*, and a charge to see to his lodging.

By virtue of an act granted out of the *Senat*, the *Libertini* [the sons of freed men] were enrolled into the four tribes of the City, all save those who had a son above five years old; with express commandment, That when they were to be enrolled at the review next ensuing their goods also should be valued, and they accordingly entered into the subsidy books; namely, That as many of them as possessed any manor or manors in the country, esteemed better worth than 30000 *Sesterces*, should be enrolled and assessed. This ordinance being thus observed, *Claudius* denied flatly, that the *Censor* had authority to take from any particular person, and much less from a whole state and degree of men, the right and liberty of inheritance, without the warrant and ordinance of the people: for say, that he have power to take a man out of his tribe, (which is nothing else but to command him to change his tribe) it followeth not then, that he may dispossess and displace him out of all the 35 tribes, which is as much as to strike him out of the number of citizens, and deprive him quite of his freedom and bourgeoisie: and is not (I say) to limit and set down in what rank he shall be enrolled, but to exclude him full and wholly out of all enrolment.

This dispute and debate passed between them; untill at last they grew to this point, that of the four City tribes, they should cast lots openly in the Hall and Cloister of *Liberty* for one tribe, in which all they should be registred and comprised, who had been villains sometimes and were then freed. Now this lot fell to the tribe *Exquilina*. Then *Tib. Gracchus* pronounced, That ordained it was to enrol in it all the *Libertini*. Great honour and reputation with the *Senat* gained the *Censors* by this act: *Sempronius* likewise won much thanks therefore; because he had persisted constantly in that good enterprise so well commended: and *Claudius* went not without his due thank, for that he was no hindrance to this proceeding. In this review and survey taken by the *Censors*, more *Senators* were removed and put out of the council, yea, and more *Centurians* commanded to sell their horses of service, than by other *Censors* in former time. And all those by both of them jointly were not only displaced out of their tribes, and made no better than *Strangers* (i. to lose their voice) but also to pay all taxes whatsoever to the utmost. And look who was noted and disgraced by the one, had no relief nor hope to recover his credit and place by the other. Now when these *Censors* demanded, That according to a custom and order, they might be allowed a years space and two months of stop in the reparations of the public edifices, which they were maintained wind-tight and water-tight; as also to see whether they who had undertaken to finish certain works at a price, had performed their bargain accordingly: *Cn. Tremellus* a Tribune interposed himself and denied this demand, for aeger that he was not chosen had taken into the *Senat*. The same year *C. Ceregrinus* dedicated a chapel in the *Albaine* mount, which he had vowed five years before. Also that year was *L. Posthumius Albinus* entailed a Plaine of *Mars*.

The *Consuls Q. Elius* and *M. Junius* propounded in the *Senate*, as touching the government of their Provinces: and the *LL.* ordained, That *Spain* should be divided again into two Provinces, which had been united in one during the *Macedonian* war: also that the same *L. Paulus* and *L. Anicius* should defend and keep in obedience as before, *Macedony* and *Illyricum*, untill such time as they by the advice of certain deputed commissioners, had both composed all matters and affairs disordered and troubled by the wars: and also reformed the estate of that realm, by introducing it into a new form. The Provinces assigned unto the *Consuls* were *Pisand* and *Gaul*, and they had the command of two legions of footmen, and four hundred horsemen apiece. The *Pretors* had their lots for government as followeth: The civil jurisdiction over citizens fell to *Q. Cassius*, and over strangers to *M. Juvencius*. *Talon*: *Tib. Claudius Nero* was *L. deputy of Sicily*, *Cn. Fulvius* of the better *Spain*, and *C. Licinius Nerva* of the farther: last of all, *A. Manlius Terentius* was appointed to the government of *Africa*: but into his province he could not go, by occasion that he was detained at home by virtue of an act of the *Senat*, to make inquiry into certain felonious and capital crimes. After this, consultation there was in the *Senat* as touching the prodigies which were reported. The chapel of the *Penates* (protectors of the City) in *Pala* was smitten with thunder and lightning. Also in the Town *Minervium*, two gates and a good part of the wall fell like harm. At *Arminia* had rained earth, and in *Laonivius* there appeared in the sky a burning flame. Moreover, *M. Valerius* a citizen of *Rome* gave knowledge, that in *Celutis* within the publick territory of that City, for the space of three dayes and two nights together, blood gushed out in his chimney hearth where he kept fire: and for this strange sight above all the rest, the *Decemvirs* were commanded to have recourse unto the books of *Sibylla*: who pro-

* This hath respect to some other act, which is not extant.

A proclaimed a publick supplication of the people for one day, and sacrificed fifty goats in the common market place of the City. Also in regard of the other prodigies, a supplication was holden another day, and men did their devotions at every altar of the Gods: greater beasts were killed for sacrifices, and the City was solemnly cleansed and purged. This done, as touching the honor of the immortal Gods, the *Senat* ordained, that sofar as such as the two Kings *Perseus* & *Centius* their enemies were overcome, and now at the devotion of the people of *Rome*, together with *Macedony* and *Illyricum*, *Q. Cassius* and *M. Juvencius* the *Pretors* should give order as great oblation to be offered unto the Gods at every shrine and altar, as had been heretofore (when *App. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were *Consuls*) for the defeat of King *Antiochus*. Then they ordained certain delegats, by whose advice *L. Paulus* and *L. Anicius* the two *Generals*, might let all affairs in order, namely, ten into *Macedony*, and five into *Illyricum*. For *Macedony* were nominated *A. Posthumius Lucius* and *C. Claudius*, (who both had been *Censors*) *C. Licinius Crassus*, late companion to *Paulus* in the *Consulship*, and who at that present had the government of *Gaul* continued him. To these delegats above-named, men of Consular dignity all by their callings, were adjoined in commission *Cn. Domitius Enobarbus*, *Ser. Cornelius Sylla*, *L. Junius*, *C. Antistius Labo*, *T. Naevius Tergintius*, and *Aulus Terentius Varro*. For *Illyricum* were these named, *P. Elius* *Light*, one that had been *Consul*, *C. Cicereius* and *Cn. Babius Tamphilus* (this *Babius* had been *Pretor* but the former year, and *Cicereius* many years past) *P. Terentius Terevianus*, and *P. Manilius*. Then the *Consuls* being advertised by the *LL.* of the *Senat*, that (sofar as such as one of them must succeed *C. Licinius* in *Gaul*, who was nominated one of the delegats) they should part their Provinces between them either by accord and agreement, or by lot make choice of the fortune of lottery. So *Pisae* fell to *M. Junius* (but before he went into his province, he had in charge to bring into the *Senat*, those embassies which from all parts were come to *Rome* for to declare their joy in the behalf of the people of *Rome*) and *Gaul* to *Q. Elius*.

Albeit such perfections were sent, as by whose large counsel good hope there was, that the chief commanders of the *Roman* armies would pass no decree unbefitting either the clemency or Majesty of the people of *Rome*, yet debated it was in the *Senat* about the sum and principal points of all their counsels and designs: to the end that the said *Legats* might carry unto the *Generals* all things plotted already and begun to their hands at home in the City. In the first place ordained it was, that the *Macedonians* and *Illyrians* remain free and enjoy their liberties, that all nations of the earth might see, that the draft of the *Roman* armies and forces was not to bring free states into servitude, but contrarywise to reduce those that were in bondage to liberty, to the end that those nations which now enjoyed freedom, might be secured under their safeguard and protection both of surety and perpetuity, and such as lived in subjection under the Kings, might both for the present time find their government more mild and righteous, for that respect which the Kings have of the people of *Rome*; and also, if it fortune hereafter, that there should be war between the people of *Rome* and their Kings, they might be assured that the issue of those wars would bring victory to the *Romans*, and procure liberty to themselves. Also agreed it was that there should be no more farming out of the metal mines in *Macedony*, albeit they yielded a great revenue; nor yet of publick lands and possessions in the country: for possible it was not that these matters should be practised and followed without publicans; and where those intermeddle & have ought to do, then it must needs follow, that either the publick right and prerogative of the State be annulled, or the liberty of allies come to nothing. Neither were the *Macedonians* themselves able to twidle the same: for look where the ministers and managers of any thing see a booty presented before their eyes, there, occasions of sedition and contention will never be wanting. Moreover, concluded it was, that there should be no common and general counsel of the whole nation, for that left at any time the low vulgar people having by the *Senat* liberty granted unto them tending unto a good and wholesome moderation and equality of the State, should abuse the same and draw it into a malicious and pestilent licentiousness. But they thought it good policy to divide *Macedony* into four quarters and comities, that each one might have their several counsel: likewise it was supposed to stand with good reason and equity, that they should pay the onemoney of that tribute which they were wont to yield unto their Kings. Semblable commission and like directions, they had for *Illyricum*. As for all other matters, referred they were to the managing of their affairs, the *Legats* according to the occurrences presented unto them in the managing of their affairs.

Among many and sundry Embassadors of Kings, nations, and states, *Antistius* the brother of *K. Juvencius* most of all others amused mens minds, and drew their eyes upon him: for by them who had born affairs together with him in that war, welcomed he was much more heartily, and received with greater courtesy than if *Emmenes* the King himself had come. Two occasions there were outwardly pretended, and those carrying a good show of honesty and credit, which brought him to *Rome*: the one, a gratulation or testimony of joy (as meet it was) for that victory, wherein himself had helped hand; the other, a complaint of French tumultuous wars and the bloody hostility of *Adelpius* their King, by which means his brothers Kingdom was in great jeopardy. But thereby another thing hidden underneath, namely, an inward and secret hope that he conceived of honors and rewards from the *Senat*, which hardly he could seem to aim & reach unto, without some kindness and violence offered to brotherly duty and affection. For some there were even of the *Romans* also, who did him no good, but gave him bad counsel, drew in his appetite with fair hopes,

hopes, and set him a longing, feeding him with these and such like conceits; That in Rome this was the opinion entertained of *Attalus* and *Eumenes*, as if the one of them were a friend fast and sure to the Romans; the other an ally, found and faithful neither to the Romans nor yet to *Perseus*; and therefore hard it were to set down and say, Whether of the twain would be more easily obtained at the Senate's hands, namely, a suit made in his own name for his prebendment, or a demand of some hard course against his brother: so bent were all men in general to grant any thing to *Attalus*, and to deny every thing to *Eumenes*. *Attalus* (as the sequel and proof shewed) was pliant to those persons whose desires reach at all that hope promitteth, had not the sage admonition of one friend come between to bridle his affections, ravished and transported so as they were with the amiable aspect and fawning flattery of his own good fortune. He had about him at that time one *Siratus* a Physician, sent by *Eumenes* (who rested not secure of his brothers loyalty) to Rome, of purpose for to lie in espial and observe all that *Attalus* did and to advise him faithfully, if he saw him tread awry and practise ought against his duty and allegiance. When he came unto him, he found his ears already possessed, and his spirit tempted and solicited beforehand: howbeit taking his times and waiting opportunities, he went roundly to work and stuck so it close, until he had set all up again which was at the point to run on end and fall to the ground. He alleged and laid these remonstrances before his eyes, saying, "That Kingdoms have grown mighty, some by one means, some by others: but as for theirs, being but newly erected, & grounded upon no strength of ancient foundations, it stood upright only by the mutual concord of him and his brethren, in that one of them beareth the name and title of King, wearing the diadem and crown alone upon his head, but in effect all three brethren be KK. As for you *Attalus* (qd. he) you are the eldest brother have one, who is it that reputeth you for less than a King, not only for that he seeth you so mighty at this present, but also the next heir apparent, and without all doubt like shortly to reign indeed; considering the feeble body and crazy age of *Eumenes*, who hath besides, no issue of children to succeed him in the royal throne? (as yet he took no knowledge of him that reigned afterwards.) What need then is there to use violence, and to force that which of its own accord will shortly be devolved upon you & fall into your hands? Moreover, a new tempest and storm is risen of French wars, threatening peril unto the realm, which it will be hard for you Princes to withstand, agree as well as you can in all brotherly love, unity and concord. But if for a war abroad, there should arise a domestic and civil dissension between you at home, what remedy then but utter ruin and destruction? Neither shall you *Attalus* purchase any good, but this, first, to prevent that your brother be not King, and then so diabolic and disappoint your self, that near and assured hope you have to be KK. But say, that to preserve a Kingdom for a brother, and to wrest a Kingdom from a brother, were honorable and glorious deeds both the one and the other; yet surely of the twain, to have saved a Kingdom delivereth greater commendation and praise, in that it forth to well with piety and kindness. And certainly, seeing the other is a cruel and detestable part, even next neighbor to parricide, what struple and doubt remaineth now which needeth any farther deliberation? For tell me, I beseech you, is it one parcel of the Kingdom that you reach at, or shoot you at the whole? If you aim at a part only, then upon the dismembering and distraction of your piñance, you shall be both twain much weakened and exposed to the danger of all injuries; if you would have all, what shall become of your brother? Would you wish him being your eldest, to live a private person? or so far fleet in years as he is, a banished man; and namely, with those infirmities of body which he carrieth about him? or would you command to take his life away and rid him out of this world at once? Now truly to say nothing of the unhappy and miserable issue of such graceless and wicked brethren delivered unto us in fained fables, you see what a goodly fair end *Perseus* is come unto, who being in the Temple of *Samothracia*, was constrained lying prostrate upon the ground to prostitute himself at the feet of the enemy his conqueror, the crown and diadem which he came unjustly by, even with the unnatural murder of his own brother: as if the Gods in heaven had been there present, to require due punishment for his horrible fact. To conclude, they also themselves, who in friendly love and affection to you, but in rancor and hatred to your brother *Eumenes*, have upon these designs into your head, and prick you on to execute the same: even they. They will praise your kindness, your piety and constancy, in case you persevere true and trusty to your brother; to the very end. These and such like important persuasions prevailed with *Attalus* and ferred deeply in his mind. Therefore being admitted into the Senate, after he had wished joy unto them, and protested his own for the late victory, he laid abroad and declared his own demerits and good service in that war, the favors also (such as they were) done by his brother, and last of all, the revolt of the Gauls lately broken out with great troubles and commotions. His petition to the Senate was, for to send their Embassadors unto them, by whose countenance and authority they might be reclaimed, and to lay arms at de. Having declared this message which concerned the profit in general of the realm; he made a special suit for himself, and demanded to have *Eumenes* and *Myrrina* given unto him. And thus, when he had put them besides their hope, who thought verily, that after he had accused his brother, he would have required the kingdom to be divided between him & dismembered, he departed out of the Council-house. Seldom had been known at any time before any man whatsoever, King or subject, to have had the like audience with so great favour and applause of all men, as he: received and entertained he was right honourably with gifts & presents of all sorts whiles he was at Rome, and with the like they accompanied him at his departure.

Among

Among many Embassies of *Asia* and *Greece*, the Rhodian Embassadors were most marked and looked upon throughout all the City: for whereas at first they were all trim and goodly to be seen in their white and bright apparel, as decent it was for them that would seem to congratulate for the victory (for if they had worn black or been poorly arrayed, it might have been contrived, that they mourned for the misfortune and calamity of *Perseus*) after that *M. Junius* the Consul brake with the LL. of the Senat (and all that while the said Embassadors stood without in the common place *Comitium*) to consider and advise, whether they would allow lodging, presents, and give audience in the Senat unto them: they resolved and were of opinion to oblige no rights nor customs of hospitality with them. Then went the Consul out of the Senat: unto whom when the Rhodians said that they were come to rejoice in their behalf for the late victory, and withal to answer in the name of their City to certain crimes where-with they were charged, requesting that they might speak before the Senat and be heard with indifference: the Consul pronounced aloud unto them, That the custom indeed of the Romans was to entertain their allies and friends graciously, and among other matters of courtesy and hospitality which they afforded unto them, to grant them also a day of hearing in the Senat: but the Rhodians had not demeaned themselves during the war, in such sort, as to be reckoned in the number of lovers and associates. At the hearing of these words they cast themselves all prostrate on the ground, beseeching the Consul and all those that were present, not to suffer that false imputations of late furnished should against a free people, prejudice the Rhodians more, than their good deeds of old (whereof themselves were sufficient witnesses) stand them in Read. And presently after they had put on simple apparel and mourning weeds, they went about from house to house visiting the principal persons of the City humbly beseeching them with tears, to hear their cause before they were condemned. *M. Junius* (who the Pretor or chief justice for the pleas between citizens and strangers, was the only agent that provoked and incited the people against the Rhodians: nay, he had promulgated and published a bill to this effect, That war might be denounced against the Rhodians; also, that out of the Magistrats for that year they would make choice of some one to be sent as Admiral with a Fleet for the managing of that war: hoping that himself should be the man. But this action and proceeding of his was crossed by *M. Antonius* and *M. Pomponius*, two Tribuns of the commons. Cret and besides, the Pretor, to say a truth, had broken this matter after a new and strange fashion, and to the evil example of future times, in that he preferred a bill unto the people of his own head alone, without asking the advice of the Senat, or making the Consuls acquainted therewith: and that in this manner and form. Pleaseth it you, and is it your will, that war be proclaimed against the Rhodians? whereas alwaies before-time, in question of war, the Senates advice was first taken, and then the thing was proposed unto the people. Likewise the Tribuns of the commons for their part, did more than they might, and aching not warrantable by any precedent, for it was a custom and tradition observed ever of old, that no person should interpose his negative to cross any bill, before that privat men in particular had their course and turn granted, both to periwade or dissuade the same: by which means many a time it fell out, that even they who never protested nor meant to oppose themselves, being moved and induced by the reasons of those that stood up to disswade, and perceiving also by them the inconveniences of such a bill, would step between and baffle all: yea, and contrarywise such as came of purpose to cross and nip the same being convinced by the authority and born down by the important arguments alledged by those that enforced the said bill, would desist and surcease. Thus the Pretors and Tribuns strove much who should do every thing more unseasonably than others. The Tribuns impeached and laid the halities of the Pretor, interposing their negative before the time, and delaying the matter until the coming of the L. General.

"Whether we have transgressed and offended yea, or no, that yet remaineth doubtful: but sure we are of this, that we suffer all punishments and shameful ignominies already that can be devised. Heretofore, when the Carthaginians were vanquished, when *Philip*, when *Antiochus* was overthrown, we came to Rome: from our publick lodging provided for us at the charges of the City, we presented our selves, (my LL.) into your Council-house, to testify our great contentment for your conquests: from the Council-house we went directly to the capitol, carrying with us presents and oblations to the honor of your gods. But now we the same Rhodians are come unto your Senat clothed in this poor habit and array, as you see, from out of a base hostelry and common inn, where hardly we could have lodging for our money: being commended in manner of enemies to make our abode without the City walls: we Rhodians (I say) whom but lately ye feasted with the grant of two Provinces, *Lycia* and *Caria*, and whom ye graced with a kind of honors, and enriched with all manner of gifts and rewards. You ordain as we hear say that the Macedonians and Illyrians should live free, notwithstanding they were in servitude before they levied war against you. Neither speak we this in envy & repine for any mans welfare and good estate: nay, we acknowledge therein the rare clemency of the people of Rome: and will yet then make the Rhodians of friends, enemies, who during this war did no more but sit and meddle with neither part: Now surely ye Romans are the men that pretend and give out ordinarily, that you are wars have good success and speed well, because they be just and righteous: neither do you long so much in the event and issue thereof, whereby ye are revengers and conquerors, as for the beginning and first enterprises in that ye undertake them not without good cause. The beseeching of *Messana* in *Sicily* by the Carthaginians, was the cause that the people of Rome reported them.

O o o

enemies.

"enemies. The affailing of *Atheny* by *Philip* his intent and purpose to bring *Greece* into servitude, H
 "his relieving of *Annibal* with men and money, caused him likewise to be holden for their ene-
 "my. Thus *Antiochus* brought upon his own head the *Roman* war, for that he being solicited
 "by the *Ætolians* your enemies came willingly out of *Asia*, and with a fleet sailed over to *Greece*:
 "and when he had seized upon *Demetrius*, *Chalcis*, and the treights of *Thermopylae*, went about
 "to dispossess you of the empire. And last of all, *Perseus* by levying arms against your allies, by
 "killing some of their petty kings and princes, by murdering other chief persons of sundry nati-
 "ons and cities, gave you just occasion to make war upon him. But what colourable cause can
 "there be pretended of our calamity, if needs we must likewise perish? All this while I
 "make no difference between our cities safe and that of *Polyaratus* and *Dion* our citizens, even
 "those persons whom we have brought to deliver into your hand. For suppose that the cause
 "were all one, and that we *Rhodiens* were all faulty and culpable alike, what might that crime be
 "for which we are touched in this war? We favoured *Perseus* and that side (you will say) and
 "like as in the war of *Antiochus* and *Philip*, we stood with you against those kings, & now we
 "took part with the *Kings* against you. Was that all? Well, in what sort we are wont to aid our affo-
 "ciates, and how lustily to enterprize wars, do but ask of *C. Livius* and *L. Ennius* *Ætolians*, the
 "Admirals of your fleets in *Asia*. Your ships never fought at sea without us; yet we were our Ar-
 "madore alone fought a battail once before *Samos*, and a second time in *Pamphylia* against *Antiochus*.
 "And lastly, which victory there achieved was unto us by so much more honorable and glorious,
 "for that after we had in an unfortunate fight near *Samos* lost many of our ships, and very whole
 "and stout of our youth we nothing terrified and dismayed with so great an overthrow, did turn
 "again to make head, yea, and were so hardy as to encounter the *Kings* royal navy coming out of
 "Smyra. And all this have I related not by way of boast & to glorify our selves, for we are not now
 "in case to stand upon those terms; but to give you a tale by the way and put you in mind in what
 "manner the *Rhodiens* have used evermore to succour their confederates. And for the better proof
 "thereof, after the defeat of *Philip* and *Antiochus* we received at your hands right great rewards
 "& recompence for our service. In case the fortune of *Perseus* had been so happy as yours is at this
 "present, I praised be the Gods for their grace and goodness & thanked be your own valour (withal)
 "and we had come into *Macedony* to the King upon his victory to require & demand rewards,
 "what could we allege therefore? Might we say that he had bin maintained by our money, or relie-
 "ved with our corn, with land forces, or strength at sea? Was there any place by us kept and held
 "with a garrison for his use? were we able to tell where we fought, either under the conduct of his
 "Captains, or upon our own leading and direction? If haply he should demand in what quarters
 "our soldiers kept, in what coast our ships lay in guard for his defence, what could we answer?
 "Peradventure we might plead our cause & excuse our selves in the presence of him, supposed con-
 "queror, like as we now do before you here in place. For by sending our Embassadors to and fro
 "unto you as well as to him about a treaty of peace, this is all the good we have got, that in stead
 "of winning the love & favor of both parts, we incur the heavy displeasure of the one; being thus
 "charged with crimes and wrapped in dangers. And yet my good *LL.* and honorable Senators of
 "*Rome*, *Perseus* might truly object that to us, which you in no wise can, namely, that we in the be-
 "ginning of the war sent Embassadors to you making promise in our name of whatsoever was
 "needful thereunto: also that we would be ready at all affairs to furnish you with ships strongly
 "fitted and with our youth well appointed, like as in the wars aforesaid. That we performed not
 "these promises of ours, you only were the let and hindrance, who (whatsoever the cause was)
 "refused our offered service & rejected all our succours. We then, neither have we attempted ought
 "as enemies, nor failed in the duty of good friends and allies: but impeached have we been by
 "you for effecting that which we intended. How now? may some man say: Hath there been no-
 "thing done or said in your City (O ye *Rhodiens*) that you wish unfaid or undone, & whereto
 "the people of *Rome* may justly take exceptions and be offended with you for it? Undertake to
 "justify and make good whatsoever hath been done, I will not; neither have I to lose wit I troi
 "but never I will the publick cause of the whole state, from the privat offences committed by par-
 "ticular persons: for no City is there under the sun, but may otherwhiles have lewd and naughty
 "citizens some or other, and evermore a rude and fottish multitude. I have heard say, that even
 "amongst you here at *Rome*, some have fought to advance and let themselves aloft by currying fa-
 "vor and flattering the common people; and that the time was, when the commons role and de-
 "parted from among you (so as the rule of the common-weal and people of *Rome* was out of your
 "hands, as in a very Anarchy. If such a thing as this might chance in this your City (so well qual-
 "ified & ordered as it is) how can any man make a wonder, that among us there have been some;
 "who (affecting and seeking for the amity and friendship of the *K.*) might haply corrupt and se-
 "duce our commons with their naughty counsel? And yet when all is said, they prevailed no more
 "than thus, that we sat still and failed in doing our devoir to you: for I will not over-pass in this
 "place the greatest and most grievous crime of all other wherewith our City is charged during
 "this war, and that is this. At one and the same time we sent Embass, both to you and *Perseus* ab-
 "out a peace. This designment so untoward and unlucky as it was, a furious and brainick orator
 "and agent of ours (as afterwards we understood) handled as foolishly: who (as it is for certain
 "known) framed his language in that manner, as if he had been *C. Popilius* the *Roman* Embassador,
 "whom ye sent to the two *KK.* *Antiochus* and *Ptolemæus*, to warn them both to lay down arms &
 "surcease

"surcease war. But that behaviour of his, (call it what you will, either pride or folly) was no worse
 "before you than it was to *K. Perseus*. Every City hath their conditions and qualities by them-
 "selves, like as particular and several persons: and flemably it is in whole nations, some are teily
 "and choleric, bold and audacious; others again be fearful and timorous: some are given to wine
 "and drunkenness, others to women and wantonness. The people of *Atheny* (by report) are too
 "hally, hot, and forward to enterprize any thing, even beyond their power. The *Lacedæmonians*
 "again, be as slow and backward, calling many doubts & difficulties to enper upon the very things
 "which they are assured of. I cannot deny, but that all the country of *Asia* in general breedeth
 "many a mad brain and vain spirit: and I will not say, but that our people jolly fellows of their
 "tongue and can speak big, for that we seem (among other cities and states bordering upon us)
 "to excel and surpass; and that no so much in the confidence we have of our own forces, as for the
 "honorable regard ye have had of us and the great testimonies and judgments ye have given out
 "of us. But that foolish embassage of ours even then at the very time had punishment sufficient
 "being sent away (as it was) with so heavy an answer of yours; and if we were not then disgraced
 "and shamed enough, now surely this present embassage is humble and pitiful were able to make
 "full satisfaction for a more insolent embassage than it was. All pride and arrogancy of words espe-
 "cially choleric persons indeed hate, wife men deride, and humely from an inferior to his bet-
 "ter, but no man ever judged it a mortal sin and worthy of death: many here was all in danger,
 "half haply the *Rhodiens* might seem thereby to despise the *Romans*. How then be there not some
 "also that cannot rule their tongue, but will be railing & uttering blasphemous words against the
 "Gods: yet we never heard of any that have been therefore smitten dead with a thunderbolt.
 "What remaineth then for us wherein we should purge and clear our selves, if we neither can be
 "charged in fact with hostility; and if our embass, hath used some proud and presumptuous words
 "more than became him, which deserve not the total ruin of our City but some sharp checks and
 "hard rebukes on both sides of our ears? But hear (my good *LL.*) that in your ordinary talk a-
 "mong your selves when ye are together, we are censured for our inward affection only & secret
 "thoughts, and condemned no less than for some deed, namely, That in heart we favoured the *K.*
 "and wished him rather than you to obtain the victory; and therefore they deem us worthy to be
 "persecuted with fire and sword. Some there be again of you, who think verily that thus indeed
 "we stood affected, howbeit they would not have us for it to be warred upon as enemies; for that
 "it standeth not with the custom or law of any City in the world, that if a man with a mischief
 "to his enemy, he should be straightwaies condemned therefore to die, so long as he hath not en-
 "tered into any action tending thereto. And verily these men we have to thank, who free & quit
 "us yet from punishment, although they clear us not of guilt: howbeit this sentence we pass a-
 "gainst our own selves. That if it can be proved, that we were all of us so minded and disposed in
 "affection as we are burdened, (for content we are that all go under one heart and hand, will and
 "deed, without distinction) then let us all be punished for it and feel the smart. But if of the great
 "men and chief among us, some affected you & others the King: we require not, that for the love
 "of us who sided with you, the Kings supplicants should fare the better and escape clear; but we re-
 "quest and beseech rather, that for their sakes we perish not and be quit undone. And certainly,
 "your own selves are not worse affected and more let against them than our very City is: which
 "they knowing well enough, most of them either fled away, or else killed themselves: others of
 "them (such as we have condemned and passed judgment against) shall be at your censure (my
 "good *LL.*) to do with them what you will. All the rest of us *Rhodiens*, as thanks we have merited now
 "in this war, so we have deserved as little punishment. Lay the over-deal and imputation of our
 "former good deeds and demerits to this want of duty now, and let the heap of the one make up
 "the scant measure of the other. With three Kings of late years ye have maintained war: let not
 "our slackness and sitting still in this one, endamage and hurt us more, than our devoir and em-
 "ployment in the other twain may seem to satisfy and countervail. Set *Philip*, *Antiochus* and *Per-
 seus*, for three verdicts and sentences as it were passed upon us: two of them acquit us clear; the
 "third is doubtful whether it will go against us or no. Indeed if they themselves were to sit upon
 "us, we should no doubt be cast and condemned; but you (my good *LL.*) that are our competent
 "judges determine now at once, Whether there shall be a City of *Rhodes* remaining upon the face
 "of the earth, or be razed utterly & destroyed from the very foundation for ever for you are not
 "to debate in council about making war upon us: which we you may begin and go in hand with
 "at your pleasure; but follow and manage you never shall, because there is not a *Rhodian* that will
 "take arms and come into the field against you. Will you not be pacified but persist still in your
 "choler and anger? then will we crave at your hands some respite of time, whiles we may go home
 "and report there how we have sped in this lamentable embassage of ours. And then, all of us in
 "*Rhodes* frank-born and of free condition every one, I say, man and woman with all our wealth
 "and substance will embark our selves, forsake we will our privat houses and publick edifices; and
 "to *Rome* straight will we all come: and when we have laid on heaps here in your common hall,
 "and at the porch and entire of your council-house, whatsoever gold and silver we have either
 "in privat possie or common chist; commit we will to your devotion and mercy our own persons,
 "together with the bodies of our wives and children; and never will we go further but even here
 "in this place will we suffer and abide that which we have to undergo and endure. Let our City
 "then be sacked, rifled and burned, so it be far enough out of our eye that we see it not. The *Rho-*
 "mans

"mans may (if it please them) judge the Rhodians enemies: yet you will give us leave to pass in
 "some sort a doom of our own. That we in our consciences never condemned our selves for such,
 "nor ever will enter in any hostile action against you, come what will, even the utmost extremity
 "that can be suffered. After their oration in this manner uttered, they fell down again all prostrate,
 "and as humble suppliant petitions put forth and shook their branches of the olive, until at length
 "they were raised up on their feet, and so departed out of the Senat, Then began the LL. wishing to
 "give their opinions and pass their sentences of them. The heaviest enemies and most maliciously
 "bent against the Rhodians, were those, who had conducted the war of Macedonia, as Consuls, Pre-
 "tors, or Licentiates; but *M. Porcius Cato* was their only patron that stood to them and supported
 "their cause right earnestly: a man otherwise by nature severe and severe, but as then he shewed him-
 "self a mild and gracious Senator. I will not infer here the lively portraiture and resemblance
 "of that copious and eloquent person, by relating the flowing speech which he then delivered: his
 "oration is extant in writing, and contained in the fifth book of his *Origines*. In fine, the Rhodians
 "received such an answer, as they neither were concluded enemies, nor yet remained in the same
 "and quality of friends. The principal persons of this their embassy, were *Philocrates* and *As-
 "medes*. Ordered it was & agreed between them, That *Philocrates* with some of his fellows should
 "report this answer at Rhodes: and that *Asmedes* (with the rest) should stay behind at Rome, to
 "to know what was practised and done there, and give intelligence thereof accordingly to their
 "citizens at home. For that present, the LL. of the Senat gave them in charge, to remove their Cap-
 "tains and Governors by a certain day out of *Lycia* and *Caria*. These news related at Rhodes, im-
 "porting matter (in it self considered) of grief & heaviness, turned into joy, in regard that they were
 "eased from the fear of a greater mischief, for they doubted sore that they should have had hot war.
 "And therefore presently they ordained for the Romans a crown amounting to the value of 20000
 "pieces of gold, and with this present they sent *Theodatus* the Admiral of their navy in embassy.
 "A will and desire they had to make fair suit to the Romans for association: but so as no act and ordi-
 "nance of the people should be entered therof, nor any instrument engrossed as touching it. And
 "this they did, to avoid the greater shame and ignominy of repulse, if haply they mislaid of their
 "purpose, and could not obtain. The Admiral alone had this privilege, and was permitted to treat
 "of that matter, without any bill at all either published or enacted by the people. For in so many
 "years before they had continued in amity with the Romans in such sort, as they never linked and
 "tied themselves unto them by any formal deed and covenant upon record, and that for no other
 "reason in the world, but because they would neither cut the strings off from all hope of their aid,
 "if haply any of them might stand in such need, nor disable themselves of the possibility they had to
 "reap some fruit & receive good of their bounty and prosperity. But surely at this time (me thinks)
 "they ought to have fought sadly and in good earnest for their liberty, not to much for safety
 "and security against others (for none they feared at all but only the Romans) as to be rid of the suspi-
 "cion and jealousy which the Romans had of them. About the same time the Caunians also revol-
 "led from them, and they of *Mylissa* took certain Towns of the Euronessians. Now were the
 "hearts of these Rhodians within the City not so much broken or abated, but they saw well en-
 "ough that if the Romans took from them *Lycia* and *Caria* all the rest would either by way of re-
 "volt put themselves in liberty and shake off the yoke of their subjection, or else be surprised and
 "seized by the neighbour nations bordering upon them: and that then they should be pent up and
 "shut within the compass of a small Isle and the strands of a barren soil, not able to nourish and
 "maintain the inhabitants of so great and populous a City. Therefore with all speed they dispatched
 "and sent forth their youth, and not only forced the Caunians (notwithstanding they had joined
 "unto them the aid of the Cybirs) to their obedience, but also in battle near *Orthesia* overcome
 "the *Mylaeans* and *Alabandians*: who having dispossessed the Euronessians of their province, ad-
 "vanced jointly with their united armies against them.

"While these affairs thus passed there, while some occurrents fell out in *Afacedora*, and others
 "likewise at Rome, *L. Anicius* having subdued King *Gentius* (as is before said) and brought him under
 "his own hand, placed a garrison in *Scodra*, the Kings royal seat, and appointed *Gabinus* the Cap-
 "tain thereof: but in *Rhizon* and *Olcinia*, two commodious Cities of great importance, he ordained
 "*C. Licinius* the Governor. Having thus made over the rule of *Illyricum* unto these twain, himself
 "with the rest of the army went into *Epirus*. Where the Town *Phoenia* was the first that yielded
 "unto him, and the whole multitude of the people came forth to meet him with their intiles in
 "token of submission. After he had put a garrison in this place also he passed over into the country
 "of *Molossis*, where he received the surrender of all the Towns thereof, excepting *Passaron*, *Tegmon*,
 "*Phylacum*, and *Horreum*. And then he led his army first against *Passaron*. The principal men and
 "rulers of that City were *Antinous* and *Theodorus*, men of mark and name, as well for their valour
 "as for their wit, as the hatred they carried to the Romans: the only persons who had counselled
 "and perwaded the whole nation to revolt from the Romans. These two having guilty consciences
 "within them for their private treasons, and being past all hope of finding any grace and pardon, shut
 "the gates of the City, to the end that they might perish with the overthrow of all, and be over-
 "whelmed with the total ruin of their own country: and therewith they exhorted the multitude to
 "prefer present death before servitude and slavery. No man durst open his mouth to contra-
 "dict these so great and mighty persons. At length a certain noble young Gentleman, named also
 "*Theodorus*, with whom the greater dread from the Romans abroad prevailed more, and overcame
 "the

"the fear of the rulers at home. "What will you my masters (said he) and fellow citizens, what rage
 "and madness haunter you to coward and interests the whole City in the fault and folly of their
 "two persons? Certainly, I have often heard of men that for their country have willingly lost
 "their lives, but to think it meet, that their country should perish for them, these are the first
 "that ever were known. Why rather open we not our gates and submit our selves to their empire,
 "into which the whole world besides is subject. As for these words the multitude followed
 "him toward the gates, which when *Antinous* & *Theodorus* saw they made no more ado, but brake
 "up the first corps de guard of the enemies which they came unto, and exposing their bodies to the
 "swords point, were soon killed, and the Town was yielded into the hands of the Romans. *Tegmon*
 "also, upon the like wilful obstinacy of Prince *Cephala*, had shut their gates, but after that he was
 "slain, the Town was taken by surrender. And neither *Phylacum* nor *Horreum* would abide the assault.
 "Having thus quieted *Epirus*, and bestowed his forces by garrisons in diverse commodious Towns
 "for the winter time, he returned into *Illyricum*: where he held a general Assembly at *Scodra*, to
 "which he had summoned the principal States of the whole nation, and whither also there were ar-
 "rived five delegates from Rome. And there in this frequent and solemn session he pronounced from
 "the Tribunal seat, by the advice of the counsel assistant unto him. That the Senate and people of
 "Rome ordained the *Illyrians* to live free and enjoy liberty, and that himself would withdraw the
 "garrisons out of their Towns, Fortresses and Castles. As for the *Licenses*, *Taulantians*, *Tiruntians* in
 "the Dissartians country, *Rhizonians* and *Olcianians* (for that whiles *Gentius* his fortune stood up-
 "right, they had ranged with the Romans) he declared them not only free, but also exempt and pri-
 "vileged from all tributes. The *Dorians* also, for leaving *Charynium*, and passing with their ar-
 "mies to side with the Romans, he endowed with the like immunity. They of *Scodra*, *Dassaria*, and
 "*Sedopia*, with the rest of the *Illyrians*, were to pay the one moiety of the tribute which they had
 "yielded to the King. After this he divided *Illyricum* into three cantons: the one of them he made
 "of those before named: the second, all the *Labeates*: and the third, of the *Agravanites*, *Rhexonites*,
 "*Olcinians*, and those that bound and border upon them. Having let down this order in *Illyricum*,
 "he returned to *Passaron* a City in *Epirus*, there to lie for the winter time.

"While these things happened in *Illyricum*, *Pasulus* before the coming of the ten Legats, sent *Q.*
 "*Maximus* his son (who was now lately returned from Rome) to the sacrifice of *Aganion* and *A-*
 "*gasse*. The quarrel against *Agasse*, was for that they having delivered the Town once to *Martius*
 "the Consul, and therewith of their own accord craved the alliance of the people of Rome, revolted
 "notwithstanding afterwards to *Persus*. As for the *Aganians*, they had committed a late and trea-
 "cherous revolt: for giving no credit to the lame that was voiced of the Romans victory, they cruelly had
 "killed certain Roman soldiers, who were entered into their City. Moreover, he sent *L. Publius*
 "likewise to ransack in hostile manner the City of the *Enians*, for that they had persecuted in arms
 "more fifty than the other neighbour Cities. Now was it about that season of the year which men
 "call Autumn: in the beginning whereof, so soon as he had determined to ride a circuit and visit all
 "Greece round, and to see those places whereof there went to great a name, and which were more
 "renowned by hear-fay than known by sight of eye: he left *C. Sulpicius Gallus* for the command
 "and guard of the camp, & set forward in his progress, accompanied with no great train. And being guard-
 "ed of the one hand with his own son *Scipio*, and on the other, with *Archonius* the brother of King
 "*Eumenes*, he passed through *Thessaly*, toward the famous Oracle at *Delphos*. Where, after he had
 "sacrificed to *Apollo*, he destined and appointed those Columns & Pillars (which were begun in
 "the porch of that Temple, and whereupon the Statues of King *Persus* should have been erected) for to
 "sustain and bear the Statues of himself with the title Victorious, He visited also the temples of *J.*
 "*Trophan* in *Lebadia*: where, after he had seen the mouth of that peakish cave into which they use
 "to defend that would have the benefit of the Oracle, and know the will of the Gods: after sacrifi-
 "ce also done to *Jupiter* and *Hercules*, whose temple there is to be seen, he went down to *Chalcis*,
 "to behold the frith of *Enripus*: and that Island which in times past was united & joined to the firm
 "continent by a bridge. From *Chalcis* he crossed over to *Aulis* three miles distant from thence, a por-
 "t comble for the rode famous time there of *Agamemnon* fleet, consisting of a thousand sail. Being
 "there, he went to the Temple of *Diana*, where that King of Kings (*Agamemnon*) offered his own
 "daughter in sacrifice upon her altar, to have a prosperous voyage for his fleet intending to sail to
 "*Troy*. After this, he came to *Oropus*, a Town in *Attica*, where *Amphicla* the Prophet is worshipped
 "as a God. There, was to be seen an ancient Temple, most pleasant to behold for the goodly
 "Fountains and Rivers round about it. Then went he forward to *Athens*, a City likewise for anti-
 "quity of fame much spoken of, and highly renowned time out of mind: wherein were many mo-
 "numents also, worth the seeing: namely, the citadel, the havens, the walls that reach from the City
 "to *Pyram*, the aretials made by great Captains and Commanders, the images of the Gods, and of
 "men likewise, for rare & excellent: as well for the artificial workmanship, as the matter whereof they
 "were made. When he had sacrificed within the City to *Minerva* the goddess, and patroness of the
 "City, he kept on his journey, and the next day following arrived at *Corinth*. A fair & beauti-
 "full City this was in those daies, before it was destroyed, the fortels there and the *Isthmus* were
 "things of especial mark and worth the sight: for the said fortels notwithstanding it was moated
 "up to an exceeding height above all, yet it sit full of fountains; and the *Isthmus* by a narrow ridge
 "of land divideth two seas near together, the one lying East, and the other West. From thence he
 "went to *Sicyon* and *Argos*, two noble Cities, and so forward to *Epidaurum*, nothing in wealth, com-
 "parable

to give them summons was this, that amongst the Kings records and rolls they had found the excess of the principal Statesmen of other nations; but of the Achæans there appeared no writings at all under their hands, and therefore the imputations charged upon them were both void and false.

After the Achæans were dismissed, the nation of the Acarnanians was cited and called into place: as for them, there was no change nor alteration; only *Leucus* was exempt from doing so, in respect to the high court and general assembly of the Acarnanians. As they followed the summons full number and further, making enquiry who either in public or private had taken part with the King, they extended their commission as far as into *Afia*, and from *Larbi* to demolish and raze *Marissa* a City in the Isle *Leibos*, and to translate the inhabitants thereof to *Milthymia*: the pretence was, for that they had given harbor in their haven to the provisions of *Antioch* the King's Admiral, at what time as he hovered and ranged about *Leibos* with his pinnaces. Two there were that lost their heads, men of quality and great worth, to wit, *Andronikus* the son of *Andronikus*, for that he followed his father and bare arms against the people of *Rome*; and *Nemus* the ban by whose advice and persuasion they had conspired a society with *Perseus*.

After this conquest of foreign causes interposed, and coming between the assembly of the Macedonians was called again: wherein as touching the state of *Macedony*, pronounced and published it was, That there should be certain Senators chosen, whom they call *Synedrivi*, by whose counsel the common-weal should be managed and governed. After this, were the names read of the principal Macedonians, whom he appointed (together with their children as many as were above fifteen years of age) to go before into *Italy*. This at first was thought to be an hard and cruel course, but soon it appeared to the multitude of the Macedonians that it was all done for their liberty. For nominated there were the Kings friends and gallants of his court, the commanders of armies, the Admirals of the fleets, and the Captains of the garrisons, who were wont to serve the King basely, but to over-rule others proudly and imperiously: some exceeding rich and wealthy others depending above the proportion of their revenues and living: all faring at their table, and arrayed in apparel like Kings, not one carying with him the civil mind of a good citizen, nor one that could abide to be of laws, or of equal liberty. At these therefore, who had been employed in any ministry or service about the King even they also who had been used in the least embassages that were had commandment to depart out of *Macedony* and to go into *Italy*: and look who obeyed not this edict, were threatened with death. Unto *Macedony* he gave laws, with such diligent care and good regard, as if he had reckoned them not for enemies vanquished, but for allies of good desert: such laws (I say) as the very practise and trial of long time (the only corrector of all statutes) was not able upon that experience, to check and control.

After these serious affairs were finished, he exhibited with great furniture and preparation, a solemnity of game and sport at *Amphipolis*, whil he long before he had intended, and for the intention whereof he had both sent out his messengers to the States of *Afia* and to the KK, and also himself in his circuit and visitation of the Grecian Cities, had given warning to the great men and principal citizens. And thither repaired out of all parts of the world, a number of cunning, dextrous, and artificial actors, that made profession of such plaies and pastimes; besides a sort of wrestlers, hampians, and brave horses of the best kind and breed. Also divers embassages with their beasts for sacrifices, and whatsoever else was usually done of custom, at the great and solemn games in *Greece*. Thus it came to pass, that men admired not only his magnificence, but his wisdom also in exhibiting these shows and fights, wherein the Romans at that time were altogether rude and ignorant. Moreover, he ceased and banketed the Embass, in the same sumptuous manner and respective consideration. And this (by report) was an apophthegm and common saying of his, That none could make feasts and set forth plaies better than he who had the skill to win a field. Having represented these solemnities of all sorts, and bestowed all the brazen shields on his spoils; all other armor and weapons of sundry kinds, he piled upon a mighty heap, and after his prayers made to *Mars*, *Minerva*, *Lucina* and other Gods and Goddesses, unto whom of right and duty appertained to consecrate and dedicate the spoils of enemies; himself the General with his own hands put under a burning torch, and kind ed the fire, and after him all the martial-colonels standing round about, cast every man his fire-brand, and set all a burning. This was a thing noted in that great assembly of *Europe* & *Afia*, where there was such a confluence of people from all parts, as well to testify their joy in his behalf as to see the shows and sports: in that meeting, I say of great armies of sea-servitors and land-souldiers, there was that plenty of all things and cheapness of victuals, that *Amphipolis* the General, of that exceeding store and abundance, gave much away freely to privat persons, to cities and nations, not only for their present use, but also to carry home with them into their countries. And this multitude there assembled took not more pleasure either in beholding the stage-plaies acted, or seeing them practise feats of bodily strength and activity, or the running of horses in the race, as in viewing the Macedonian booty and pillage laid all abroad to be seen: namely, of Statues, and painted tables, of rich cloth of stiffe, of vessels in gold, in silver, in copper, and ivory, most curiously wrought in that royal seat of King of *Pella*, not only to serve for a present shew and no more (like those that the Kings Palace of *Alexandria* was replenished with) but also for continual and everlasting use. These were all embarked, and committed to the charge of *Cn. Octavius* to be transported to *Rome*. *Paulus* after he had given the Embassadors a gracious and courteous farewell, passed over the River *Strymon*, and lodged within a mile east of *Amphipolis*. From thence he dislodged and journeyed until he came on the fifth day as far as *Pella*,

38 Cities there
of this
name.

Pella. And passing by the City, he abode two daies at a place which they call *Speleum*, and then he sent *P. Nasica*, and *Q. Maximus* his own son with part of the forces in an expedition, to give the wait unto those Illyrians, who had succoured *Perseus* in his wars, but he commanded them to meet him at *Oricum*. Himself marching toward *Epirus*, at the fifteenth remove arrived at *Passaron*. Not far from thence lay *Anicium* encamped: unto whom he dispatched his letters, to the end that he should not be troubled at those designs which were to be put in execution, signifying therein, that the Senat granted to the army the pillage of all the Cities of *Epirus*, which had revolted unto *Perseus*: which done, he bestowed certain Centurions, and sent them into all the Towns with instructions, to give out that his coming was to withdraw all the garrisons from thence, with an intent that the Epirots should enjoy their freedom as well as the Macedonians; & so he summoned out of every City ten of the chief to repair unto him. And when he had charged & commanded them to bring abroad into the market place all the gold and silver which they had, he sent out certain cohorts and companies of souldiers to every of the said Cities: they who were assigned for the places farther remote went before them which were appointed to the nearer; and this was ordered so, that upon the same day they should enter into them all at once. Now the Colonels and Centurions had their errand delivered them what to do. In the morning, betimes all the gold and silver was brought forth according accordingly, and that at the fourth hour of the day a signal was given to the souldiers to follow to ransack and rife the Cities. Wherein they found great store of pillage, that every horiman had for his part 400 Denarii, and the footmen 200 apiece, and a hundred and fifty thousand pils were led away into captivity. Then the walls were rased of the said Cities thus spoiled, and those were to the number of seventy. All the booty and prizes were sold, and out of that mass of money were the souldiers paid. From thence *Paulus* went down to the Sea side, unto *Oricum*. But the souldiers minds were nothing so well satisfied, as he supposed they had been, for discontented mightily they were and angry, that they had no share at all in the Kings pillage and treasure, as if they had made no war in *Macedony*. At *Oricum* he found those forces which he had sent under the conduct of *S. Nasica* and *Maximus* his sons: there he shipped his whole army, and sailed over into *Italy*. In like manner a few daies after, *Anicium*, when the session and general meeting of the other Epirots and Acarnanians was ended, having given commandment, that their principal persons should follow him into *Italy* (the knowledge and deciding of whole causes he reserved and referred thither) himself attended the ships which the army had used in *Macedony*, and passed over likewise into *Italy*.

At what time as these affairs were thus managed in *Macedony* and *Epirus*, the Embassadors who had been sent with *Attalus* to end the war between the Gauls and King *Eumenes*, arrived in *Afia*. A surcease of arms for the winter time, was agreed upon between both parties, during which cessation the Gauls departed home, and *Eumenes* was retired to *Pergamus* there to winter, where also he lay grievously sick; the spring was no sooner come, but the Gauls began to stir and look abroad: but by that time they were come as far as the *Synedrivi*, *Eumenes* had assembled his forces from all parts to *Sordis*. There at *Synedrivi*, the Romans parled with *Sollicitus* the Generall of the Gauls: *Attalus* also went with them: but thought good it was not, that he should enter within the Gauls camp, for fear of stirring coals in heat of argument, and raising choice of the one side or other. So *P. Licinius* communed with the Duke of the Gauls abroad: and when he had done, he brought word back, that the more he was entreated, the worse he was and less tractable; in so much as it might seem a wonder, that the words of the Roman Embassadors were so powerful and effectual with *Antiochus* and *Ptolemaus* (two mighty and puissant Kings) as to make peace so presently between them, since they prevailed to little or nothing at all among the Gauls.

To return again to *Rome*. First, the two captive Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius* were sent thither, and committed there to ward they and their children: after them, the multitude besides of prisoners, then consequently those Macedonians, as also the other chief peers of *Greece*, who were wanted to repair unto *Rome*. For not they only were summoned to make appearance there, who had been seen present in place, but also all those were sent for by letters missive peremptorily, who were reported to have been with the Kings. Then *Paulus* himself a few daies after embarked in a ship of the Kings, a Galeace of a mighty bigness, making way with sixteen banks and rows of oars to a side, and the same set out and adorned with the Macedonian spoils, not only of brave gorgeous armour, but also of rich hangings, stiffe & cloth of gold out of the Kings wardrobe came up the *Tyber* against the stream: where great numbers of people went forth to meet him, and filled the banks on both sides of the river. Some few daies after *Anicium* and *Octavius* arrived also with their fleet. And to all three by an act of the Senat was triumph granted. *Q. Cassius* the Pretor had commandment to deal with the Tribunes of the Commons by warrant from the Senat, that they should prefer a bill unto the common people, that those three should be in full commission of command and government that day when they were to ride triumphant into the City. See, how mean things escape the touch of envy, but the highest commoners are met with. No doubt was made at all of their triumph of *Anicium*, nor yet of *Octavius*. But *Paulus*, with whom even they themselves would have been ashamed to compare, could not avoid the basking of flatterous & malicious tongues. His souldiers according to the ancient discipline of war, he had held hard to their service. And to them had he given a donative indeed out of the booty, but more sparingly & with a lighter hand than they hoped for, from out of so great wealth and riches of the Kings: and yet in good faith to say a truth, full well he knew that if he had satisfied their greedy desire, and dealt

as his liege
lord.

resemble *L. Paulus*, in a City so unthankful, nay so spiteful and malicious to all good men? say there were no question at all of infamy and obloquy, but of honor only and reputation, tell me (I beseech you) is there any triumph that compriseth not the glory also of the Roman name? so many triumphs over the Gauls, so many again over the Spaniards, and so many over the Carthaginians, are they reputed and called the triumphs of the Captains alone, and not likewise of the people of Rome? And like as we say, that we triumphed not over *Pyrrhus* only, nor over *Antibal*, but over the Epirots likewise and the Carthaginians: even so neither *M. Curium* alone, nor *P. Cornelium*, but the Romans also have triumphed. True it is, and I must needs say, that the founders have a proper interest and part by themselves in that they alone (dight with branches and chaplets of laurel, and every one bravely to be seen and adorned with the gifts that have been given them) resound *Te Triumpho, Te Triumpho*, and as they pass along the City sing and chant the praises of themselves and of their Captain-Generals. And if it fortune at any time that the founders be not brought home out of the province to the triumph, they grumble & are discontented: yet notwithstanding, albeit though they be, they think it is their due and so long as their General and leader triumpheth, they triumph also, because the victory was achieved by the strength of their arms. Good soldiers, is a man should ask you, for what intent you were recruited into Italy? and wherefore so soon as the service was performed and the war brought to an end, ye had not presently your congys of discharge? moreover to what purpose ye came by companies and quadrons under your ensigns and colors? for what cause ye stay and remain here, and go not every man his waies to his own home? what answer would ye make else, but, That ye would be seen in triumph? And to say a truth since ye have won the victory and are conquerors, I cannot blame you, nay, ye ought to desire for to be seen and seen again. It is not long since we triumphed over *Philip* (this man father) and over *Antiochus* likewise: and reigned both they did as Kings, when the triumph was: and shall there be no solemnity of triumph over *Perseus*, taken prisoner and brought captive with his children into the City? *L. Paulus*, standing beneath as a privat person (one amongst the company of gowned citizens) seeing *L. Lucium* and *Cn. Octavius* arrayed (imprudently in cloth of gold, and in their rich purple robes and mantles of state, mounting up the Capitol in their triumphant chariots, should ask them the question and say in this manner: Te I me, *O Lucius Ancus* and you *Cn. Octavius*, judge ye in your own conceit that you are more worthy of a triumph than I? They would no doubt come down each one out of his chariot and yield him their place; yet, and for very shame deliver up all their ensigns and ornaments unto him. And you *Quintus*, had you rather see *Gentius* than *Perseus* led in triumph? would you wish indeed to triumph for an accidental appendant only of the war, rather than for the main substance of the war? Shall the legions coming out of *Scythia*, and the mariners at sea, enter the City crowned with laurel garlands: and the legions out of *Macedon*, being denied their own triumph stand still and behold others to triumph? Moreover, what shall become of that rich booty? what shall be done with the spoils of that great and wealthy victory? where shall be bellowed and laid up so many thousand corselets and armors plucked from the bodies of enemies slain? shall they be sent back again into *Macedon*? Those costly images of gold, of marble, of ivory, those goodly fair pictures: those pretious clothes and hangings of purple, scarlet and tincture: that mighty quantity of gold and silver wrought into vessels chased and engraven: that huge mass of the Kings money and coin, what shall we do with it? What? shall it be carried all away as if it were goods into the public treasury and City Chamber? The goodliest fight of all the rest, what say you to it? A most noble and puissant King is taken prisoner, where shall he be shewed to the people of Rome his conqueror? What running, what concourse there was of people to see *K. Syphax* captive (yet he was but an accessory to the Punick war) most of us do well remember. Shall *K. Perseus* then, a prisoner and captive: shall *Philip* and *Alexander* his sons (persons of so great name, be hidden and kept from the sight and eyes of the City? And there were no more but *L. Aemilius* himself, twice Consul, the conqueror & rebuilder of Greece: all men would desire to see him enter the City in his triumphant chariot. We created him Consul for this intent that he should finish and determine this war, which to your dishonor and great shame had hung for the space of 4 years. To him then who (at what time as the lot of that province fell unto him, and when he departed on his voyage from Rome) had all our hearts to prelate victory and triumph, shall we now deny triumph when he hath the victory? And verily in so doing, we shall not only defraud men but rob the gods also of their honor: for due it is to the very gods also and not to men alone. Have not your ancestors ever used to enterprize all great affairs in the name of the gods first & therein also to end last? The Consul or Pretor when he is to take his journey into his province or to levy war, with his Lictors before him clad in their coats of arms, is ever wont to make his solemn vows in the Capitol: after he hath acquitted himself of his charge and obtained victory, when as he triumpheth, he transferreth in pomp the rich presents of the people of Rome well deserved and offereth them to the same gods in the said Capitol, unto whom there first he pronounced his vows. And the beasts for sacrifice going before the pomp of triumph are not the least part of this solemnity: that it may appear, how the General in his return is mindful of the gods, & rendereth thanks unto them for the happy managing of the affairs of Commonweal. As for those beasts for sacrifice which he hath appointed to be shewed in the pomp of triumph, they them neither makes it matter whose hand doth in some kill one & some another, but those sacred hands of the Senat, which are not to be eaten in any privat house, nor in publick place unhallowed, but

but only in the Capitol: and there, not for the pleasure of men, but of Gods and men together, as will ye trouble and impeach at the suggestion of *Servius Galba*? Shall the gates be shut against the triumph of *L. Paulus*? shall *Perseus* King of the Macedonians with his children and the multitude of captives, with the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind at the river side? shall *L. Paulus* go directly from the City gate home to his house as a privat person, like one that hath been abroad in the country to see his farm and is newly returned? But then Centurion and thou louding in ear, I advise thee, to the ordinance which the Senat hath decreed as touching the General *Paulus*, rather than to the vain speech of *Serv. Galba*: hearken to this that I say the word, rather than he. As for him, he hath learned nought else but to prate and talk, and that to the depraving of others full maliciously. I tell thee, I ought have I with mine enemies even upon defiance given twenty times and three; done I have my devoir, and from them all that were in combat with me, I never failed but carried away their spoils: I bear the marks about me of many a wound, and the honorable scars thereof are to be seen, all naked skin, and related withal in what battle he my body. As which word, they say, he bared his naked skin, and chanced to discover some had received this or that wound. Now as he shewed these scars, and chanced to discover some parts that better I wis and more honestly had been unseen, and therewith, a * bunch of swelling of a rupture that he had in his groin, wherof some of them that stood next unto him took up a laughter, then (qd he) even this that you have eloped hereof and make such game as I caught with a strain, riding continually as I did, and never from my horseback day nor night: and no more ashamed I am and displeased with myself for that infirmity, than for these scars which you here C see: since that it never was any impediment unto me in performing my service to the Commonwealth, either in civil affairs of City, or in warfare abroad. Well, I an old servitor, have been content here to shew unto young men and raw soldiers, my body, many a time and often hacked, pierced and slashed with the sword. Let *Galba* now lay bare that whole skin of his own to flick and fair. Now my masters, you that are Tribunes, call the tribes again to the scrutiny, and take their voices. As forme [down I will, and go after the soldiers hard at heels. Know I will which be those lewd and unthankful companions that had rather be footed up and flattered in the wars by mutinous persons, than serve under the martial discipline of their General.] * *

V. Lucius Ancus reporteth, That the sum of all the gold and silver taken in pillage and carried in the pomp of this triumph, amounted to the worth of 120 millions of Sesterces. Which mass, no doubt, ariseth much greater by the proportion of the number of wains, and the poies both of gold and silver by the same author let down in general terms. And as some have recorded, he either spent in the war next before, or else scattered and lost in his flight when he made halt to *S. strace*, as much again as that came to. And the more wonder it was, that so mighty a mass of money had been gathered and heaped up within thirty years after the war between *Philip* and the Romans, raised part out of the issue and incomb of his metal mines, and part out of other profits and tributes. Thus *Philip* very bare of money, and *Perseus* contrary-wise exceeding rich, began to make war with the Romans. Last of all, *Paulus* himself rode in his chariot, carrying a great port and majesty with him both for his comely and personable body, and also for his reverent old age. After his chariot, among other honorable personages rode his two sons, *Q. Maximus* and *P. Scipio*. Then followed the horsemen by troops, and the footmen by their cohorts and companies, every one keeping their ranks full decently. The footmen had given them a hundred Sesterces apiece, the Centurions double, and the horsemen triple so much. And it is thought, that he meant to have given the footmen as much as the most, and to the rest in proportion, in case they either had not denied his honour by their voices, or if in token of thankfulness and joy, they had but willingly and cheerfully shouted, when this sum which they received was pronounced and related unto them. And not *Perseus* alone (ed as he was through the enemies City in chains before the triumphant chariot of the conqueror) but also *Paulus* himself the conqueror glittering so gloriously in his cloth of gold and costly purple, was a mirror to the word in those few daies of the transitory and mutable state of mans life. For of those two sons, whom (after he had given the other two by way of adoption from himself) he kept alone at home as he himself to bear his name, to maintain the sacred rites and sacrifices of his family, and to uphold the house itself, the younger a stippling under twelve years of age, five daies before his triumph died, and the elder full fourteen years old and more, departed within three daies after the triumph. Which two youth indeed ought to have been arrayed in their embroidered robes of purple, and so to have ridden in the chariot with their father, predestining and aiming to themselves like triumphs another day.

Some few daies after, *M. Antonius* a Tribune of the Commons assembled a solemn audience of the people for his sake, wherein when after the manner and custome of other Generals he should discourse of his own exploits and worthy acts, he made unto them a memorable Oration and well becoming a noble Roman Prince, to his effect. "Albeit I suppose (quoth he) my neighbors and friends, the citizens of this noble City, you be not ignorant, both how happily I have adorned the weal publick and also how unfortunately within these few daies two thunderbolts have shaken my private house, as having one while beheld the goodly tree and pomp of my triumphs withstanding the one, and seen another while the woeful funerals and obsequies of my two sons declaring the other: yet I beseech you suffer me with that singleness of heart and affection, as I ought, to make a brief comparison between mine own particular private fortunes, and the publick

Bagasaxia.
Hem. ubi
me in 1807.
When the gates
bear down re-
charitapart
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briding of
their time.

All within
these marks
[] is supple-
d out of *Plu-*
tarch *lib. 5. 10.*
what war
besides immedi-
ately after
this Oration,
namely, part
of the celebra-
tion of *Paulus*
his triumph.

The story
of the
triumph
of *Paulus*
is told
in *lib. 28.*

"publick felicity of the City. At my departure from *Italy*, I loosed from *Brundisium*, and set sail at the sun-rising: by the ninth hour of the same day I arrived safe with all my ships at *Corythos*. The fifth day after I came to *Delphi*, where I sacrificed unto *Apollo*, for my self, for your armies, and your navy. From *Delphi* I departed, and within five daies was in the leaguers. Whereafter, I had received the charge of the army, and altered some things which might gratefully have hindered the victory, I marched forward, forthat the enemies camp was inexpressible, and the King could not be forced by any means to fight: and piercing through his guards that kept the passage, I went as far as *Petra*: so as by this means having perforce drawn the King to fight, I vanquished him in plain field and ranged batel. *Macedony* I subdued, and brought it in subjection to the people of *Rome*. Finally, that war which for four years together other Consuls before me so managed, as each one left it ever to his successor worse than he found it; I achieved, and brought to a final end in fifteen daies. I followed then in this train other prosperous affairs, as the fruits ensuing of that victory. For all the Cities of *Macedony* yielded unto me. The Kings treasure I seized upon: the King in person (as if the very Gods themselves had delivered and put him into my hands) I took prisoner, with his sons in the Temple of the *Samothracians*. But then my heart misgave me, and even then I suspected the surpassing favour of my good fortune: then call I doubts, and began to fear the dangers at sea, having to mighty a maul of the Kings treasure to transport, and my victorious army to record back into *Italy*. But seeing all things fall out to hearts desire, a prosperous voyage, safe arrival, and whatsoever I could pray for at the Gods hands: this I wished in my heart, (as knowing full well the wonted manner of fortune, when she is at the highest pitch, to turn back again and come as fast down) that mine own house, rather than the Common-weal, might feel that change and alteration whensoever it came. And therefore I hope that this so notable a calamity of mine own, shall excuse the City for having any other misfortune, since that my triumph (as it were to check and mock the changes of this world) hath slain joist between the funerals of my two sons. See how I and *Perseus* are represented above all others for two notable examples of the frail and unstable condition of man. Lo how he, who being a prisoner himself, saw his sons likewise led captives before his face, hath them yet living found and safe: and I, who have triumphed over him, came from the burial of one of my sons to ride in my chariot up to the Capitol, and from thence defended again to find the other lying at point of death: neither is there of all that fair issue that I had, one left to bear the name of *L. Paulus Æmilius*. For two of them the house of the *Corvelli* and the *Fabii* have, unto whom I gave them in adoption, as out of a great race and breed of children: so as now, in the family of *Paulus* there is not one left but himself. Howbeit for this calamity and ruin of my house, your felicity and the happy estate of the City is a great comfort and consolation again. These words delivered with such a magnanimity, troubled the spirits of the auditors, and aliened them more, than if he had lamentably mowed himself unto them with piteous tears, for his childless estate and desolat condition.

C. Octavius solemnized his naval triumph over King *Perseus* the first day of *December*: in which solemnity, he neither had prisoners led in shew, nor spoils carried in pomp. He gave to his mariners and sailors seventy and five Denarij apiece: to every pilot double, and to the ship-masters four times as much. After this the Senat assembled, and the LL. ordained, That *Q. Cassius* should lead King *Perseus* with his son *Alexander*, together with his train that accompanied him, as also bring all his money and goods, silvers, or what moveables and furniture soever he had to *Alba*, there to be kept in sure custody. But the Kings son of *Thrace*, with the hostages was sent to *Cassiodorus*, there to lie in safe ward. As for the rest of the captives who had been led in triumph, thought good it was they should be clapt up fast in prison.

Some few daies after these things, there arrived Embassadors from *Corys* King of the *Thracians*, bringing with them money for the ransom of his son and the other hostages. Unto the Senat they were brought: where, by way of preamble they laid this for the ground of their speech, That *Corys* had not sided with King *Perseus* in the war, upon his own motive and accord, but was compelled to give hostages: then they besought the LL. of the Senat to suffer them to be redeemed at N what price soever they would let down, were it never so high. Unto whom this answer was returned by authority of the Senat, "That the people of *Rome* bare well in mind the amity which they had with *Corys*, with his progenitors, and the whole nation of the *Thracians*. As for the giving of the hostages, it was rather an evidence to prove, than an argument to excuse their trespass and fault: considering that when *Perseus* was quiet, the *Thracian* nation stood in no fear and awe of him, much less then, when as he was troubled and occupied in war with the *Romans*. Howbeit although *Corys* preferred the favour of *Perseus* before the friendship of the people of *Rome*, yet they would consider of the matter, and respect more his quality and what was meet for his estate, than his desert and what he was worthy to have; and therefore they would release his son and the hostages, and send them home again. As for the people of *Rome*, their manner is to bestow their favours and benefits freely without regard of recompence: the worth and estimation whereof they had rather leave to the consideration and minds of the receivers, than require and demand the same presently. So there were Embassadors nominated to record the hostages unto *Thrace* to wit, *Quintus Flaminius*, *C. Licinius Nerva*, and *M. Cincius Rebilus*. And to those *Thracian* Embassadors were given by way of presents 2000 asses apiece. So *But* with the rest of the hostages was sent for from *Cassiodorus*, and with the fore-named Embassadors returned again to his father.

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The Kings ships taken from the *Macedonians*, of an extraordinary and monstrous bignes, before time, were landed upon *Marsi* field and there laid up drie. Whilest the late remembrance of the *Macedonian* triumph, remained full not in the minds only, but as it were in the very eyes of men, *L. Anticus* triumphed over King *Gentius* and the *Illyrians* upon the very day of the feast. *Quirinus* was generally thought that all things therein rather resembled some likeness in shew, than otherwise counterveiled in substance the former triumph. The General himself *Anticus* was inferior to *Æmilius* both in nobility and also in quality of person: and setting together their places of command, the one being but Pretor, and the other Consul: neither was *Gentius* equal to *Perseus*, nor the *Illyrians* to the *Macedonians*. Spoil for spoil, money for money, gifts for gifts, there was no proportion nor comparison between them. And therefore as that little late triumph was more resplendent and glorious than this, so considered in it self without other respect, it was not to be found fault withal and despised. *Anticus* within few daies had vanquished and thoroughly tamed the nation of the *Illyrians*: both by Sea and Land proud and mighty, bearing themselves stout and bold for their strong and fenced forts. The King he took prisoner, and those of the Kings race and royal blood. He shewed in triumph many field-engins, besides other spoils and moveable goods of the King. Likewise of gold seven and twenty pound weight, and of silver nineteen besides 3000 Denarij, and a hundred and twenty thousand peeces of *Illyrian* silver in coin. Before his chariot were led King *Gentius* with his wife and children: *Carvantius* also the Kings brother, and certain noblemen of *Illyricum*. Out of the pillage he gave unto his footmen 45 Denarij apiece, to every Centurion a double proportion, and unto the horsemen a triple. To the allies of the *Illyrian* nation he allowed as much as to citizens: the sailors and mariners he made equal with the footmen. Herein he surmounted the triumph of *Æmilius*, for that his soldiers followed after his triumphant chariot more joyous and merry, and the General was praised and extolled in many a ditty and ballad. *Anticus* writeth, That of his booty there was raised, as much money as came to twenty millions of *Sestertij*, over and above the gold and silver that went into the common treasury. But because I could not see how possibly such a sum should be made, I have let down mine author for the thing, now, chuse you whether you will believe him. King *Gentius* with his wife, children, and brother, was by order from the Senat led to *Spoleitum*, there to be kept in ward: all the captives besides were at *Rome* clapt into prison, and there lay. But when the *Spoleitans* refused to take the charge and custody of him and the rest, these Princes were translated from thence to *Igiturium*. There remained besides of the *Illyrian* prizes two hundred and twenty harks, which being taken from King *Gentius*, *Q. Cassius* by the ordinance of the Senat gave and distributed among the citizens of *Corinth*, *Apollonia*, and *Dyrrachium*.

The Consuls that year after they had only wasted the territories of the *Ligurians*, because they could never train the enemies forth to fight, having done no memorable service, returned to *Rome* for the choice of new Magistrats in the room of the old. And so the first comitial or court day that came, they created Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Sulpicius Gallus*. The morrow after were elected for Pretors *L. Livius*, *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, *A. Licinius Nerva*, *P. Rutilius Calvus*, *P. Quinctilius Varus*, and *Marcius Fomelius*. These Pretors had their government in this manner: two for the jurisdiction within the City, two for *Spain*, the other for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. This year leapt, and the leap day was the morrow after the feast *Terminidia*. That year died *C. Claudius* the August, and in his place the college of the Augurs chose *T. Quinctius Flaminius*. *Allo M. Fabius* Pretor the Flamin of *Quirinus* the same year departed this life. This year also came King *Prusias* to *Rome* with his son *Nicomedes*. He entered into the City with a great train attending upon him: from the gate he went directly to the common place and the tribunal of *Q. Cassius* the Pretor. And when there was a great concourse of people about him from all parts: he said that his coming was to worship the Gods which are the presidents of the City of *Rome*: as also to salute the people of *Rome*, and withal to shew his own joy and to wish theirs, for their happy victory over the two Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and for that by subduing the *Macedonians* and *Illyrians*, they had enlarged their signory and dominion. And when the Pretor made an offer to call King *Prusias* for him even that present day, if he would of himselfe be desired two daies respite to see the Temples of the Gods, to view the City, and to visit his good friends and acquaintance, *L. Cornicius Scipio* the treasurer was appointed to go about with him and shew him all: who also had been sent as far as to *Capua* for to meet him upon the way: also for him and his train about him, there was a sufficient house taken up, where he was kindly and liberally intertained. The third day after he came into the Senat, where after he had congratulated in their behalf for their late victory, he recounted his own demerits and good deserts during the war: and then requested, that he might have leave to pay his vows and namely, to sacrifice at *Rome* in the capitol, ten head of greater beasts, and one at *Prenteste* to Fortune. For that he said those vows were made for the victory of the people of *Rome*. Also that the league and alliance with him might be renewed. Item that the Land won by conquest from King *Antiochus*, which being not by the people of *Rome* given unto any, the Gaul notwithstanding held in possession, might be conveyed unto him by a deed of gift. Last of all, he recommended his son *Nicomedes* to the Senat. He found much favor among all them, who had been Generals of armies in *Macedony*. And therefore he obtained directly all other things that he made: only as touching the said lands, this answer he had. That they would send certain commissioners to see and view the thing. And if it appeared and fell out, that the foresaid land appertained to the people of *Rome*, and was not passed away by gift to any already, they would

* It was called the tools holy days, and kept upon the 18th February.

"repute King *Prusias* the worthiest man of all other, to receive that donation at their hands, *But* if it never belonged to King *Antiochus*, and so was plain and evident that the people of *Rome* had no right unto it, or if the Gauls had a grant thereof already, *Prusias* then must be content and pardon them, if they were unwilling to gratify him with any gifts preiudicial and injurious to another. Neither could a thing never so freely given, be an acceptable gift, which he knew the donor may take away from the donee at his pleasure. As for *Nicomedes* his son, they would willingly receive him into their protection at his hands so recommended. And how careful and tender the people of *Rome* was over Kings children committed unto them to keep, may appear by *Prolemus* the King of *Egypt*. With this answer was *Prusias* dismissed. Order was given that he should be presented with a certain summe of sesterces, and with silver plate to the quantity of 50 pound weight. Also they ordained that his son *Nicomedes* should have gifts proportionable to that sum which was given *Masabala* the son of *Masani*: also that besides all other things appertaining to sacrifices, should be allowed unto the King out of the City-chamber, like as to the magistrates of *Rome*, chuse whether he would stay and offer them at *Rome* or *Perseus*. Also that out of that fleet which rid in the harbor of *Brundisium*, there should be twenty gallees assigned him to use, until such times the King were arrived at the fleet which was given him. Finally, that *L. Cornelius Scipio* should accompany him and never depart from him, but beseech the charges both of him and his retinue about him until they were embarked and on shipboard. It is said, that the King joied wonderfully at this courtesy and kindness offered him by the people of *Rome* and that he would needs pay for those presents which were given him: only he commanded his son to take a gift at the hands of the people of *Rome*. Thus much have our Historians written as touching *K. Prusias*. But *Polybius* reporteth that this King was unworthy the Majesty which is honorable a name, for that he was wont to meet the Embassadors of *Rome* with his head shaven and a cap upon it: also to acknowledge and call himself the freed villan and slave of the people of *Rome*, and to testify so much he wore the badge and token of that degree and condition. At *Rome* likewise when he entered the Councel-house, he stooped down and kissed the very door-sill, calling the Senators Gods, his Saviors, yea, and to have need other speeches not so honorable to the hearers, as befit and unfitting his own person. When he had sojourned in and about the City not above thirty daies, he took his leave and departed into his own Realm.

To the Reader.

From the five and fortieth book forward, all the rest of *Livy* (to the great main and blemish of the Latine tongue, and no small grief of learned men) is left, even 100 books wanting five, like as those ten between the tenth and one and twentieth books, commonly called the second Decad. For as it appeared by *L. Florus* the Epitomist there were in all 140: and the arguments of so many remain at this day, by him collected. But if it be true that *Francis Petrarch* saith, *Levy* wrote in all 142: and as *Charles Sigonius* probably conjectureth, the 36 and 37 Breviaries of *L. Florus* be wanting of this later number. How all these complete books of *T. Livius* should miscarry, it is not certainly known. Some hope there is that they are but mis-cast and laid out of the way. For like as within these hundred years some fragments of the story were discovered in *Mogunce*: and the last five books now extant, found by *Simon Grinzus* in the Library of a monastery over-against the City of *Worms*, and dedicated by *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam* unto *Charles*, the son of *William Lord Montjoy*, in the reign of *Henry* the eight of famous memory *K. of England*, &c. so we are not to despair of the rest. In the mean time, we must make much of these brief summaries left unto us. Even as therefore I have inserted those ten Breviaries instead of the books: so I thought it not amiss (in hope that one day the very books themselves will come to light) to proceed in the rest following: and the rather for that neither he that translated *Livy* into the *Tuscan* language, nor they who have done him into *French* (as far as I could ever see) have taken that pains.

The

The Breviaries of L. Florus upon the rest of T. Livius his Books, which are not extant.

Of the XLVI. Book.

Eumenes came towards *Rome*. Now because in the Macedonian war he had carried himself indifferent between *Perseus* and the Romans, there passed a law in general terms. That no King might repair to *Rome*; so the end, that if he were excluded, he should not be reputed an enemy: nor if he were admitted, acquit and cleared of all fault. *Cl. Marcellus* the Consul judged the Gauls inhabiting the Alps, and *C. Sulpicius Gallus* the *Ligurians*. The Embassadors of King *Prusias* complained of *Eumenes*, for that he invaded and wasted their borders; and they informed *Perseus* that he had conspired with *Antiochus* against the people of *Rome*. At the earnest suit and intercession of the *Rhodians*, a league was contrived with them. The Censors took a review and survey of the City, wherein were enrolled and sessed 327022 Citizens of *Rome*. *M. Emilius Lepidus* was elected president of the Senat. *Prolemus* the King of the *Egyptians* was by his younger brother expelled out of his realm, but by the means of Embassadors (sent from *Rome*) he was restored to his Kingdom. Upon the death of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, his son *Ariarathes* came to the crown, and by entreaties and mediation of Embassadors, renewed amity with the people of *Rome*. This book containeth besides, the wars against the *Ligurians*, *Corinthians*, and *Lusitanians*, fought with variable fortune: the troubles also in *Syria* after the death of *Antiochus*, who left behind him *Antiochus* his son, a very child. This young Prince (together with his guardian *Lysias*) *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus* (who had been sent in hostage to *Rome*) murdered privily, because he was not yet at large and dismissed by the Romans: and so himself entered upon the Kingdom. *L. Emilius Paulus* who had conquered *Perseus*, departed the self; whose interruption and absence from the publick treasure was such, that notwithstanding he had brought both out of *Spain* and *Macedony* so great store of wealth and riches, yet when his goods were prized and sold, there would be hardly raised thereof sufficient to repay his wife her dowry. The *Pomptine* marshes were drawn drie by *Cor. Cethegus* the Consul (unto whom that charge was by lot fallen) and the same turned into firm ground.

Of the XLVII. Book.

Cneus Tremellius a Tribune of the Commons had a fine set on his head, for that he had contended in a wrongful cause with *M. Emilius Lepidus* the foreigner Pontife. The power and authority of the clergy Magistrates, was greater and mightier than before. A law was enacted as touching inordinate suit for offices. In the survey of the City, there were taxed in the subsidy book 328314 Roman citizens. *L. Emilius Lepidus* was chosen again president of the Senat. Between the two brethren *Prolemes*, who were at variance, there passed this accord and agreement, That the one should reign in *Egypt* and the other in *Cyrene*. *Ariarathus* King of *Cappadocia*, by the perswade plot and forcible power of *Demetrius* King of *Syria* dispossessed of his Kingdom, was by the Senat set into it again. Certain Embassadors were sent as delegates from the Senat to determine of the litigious ground between *Masani* and the *Carthaginians*. *C. Martius* the Consul fought against the *Dalmatians*, at the first unfortunately, but afterwards achieved the victory. The occasion of the war with them was this: for that they had made wast upon the *Illyrians*, who were allies of the people of *Rome*. The same nation *Cornelius Nasica* the Consul brought in subjection. *Q. Optimus* the Consul subdued the *Ligurians* beyond the Alps, who had spoiled *Antipolis* and *Nicea*, two Towns belonging to the seignory of the *Mallians*. Moreover, here are contained the adventures of many Captains in *Spain*, with no good success. In the 58 year from the foundation of the City, the Consuls so soon as the assemblies for election was past, and other Consuls chosen for the year following, began their office. The cause of this alteration was, because the *Spaniards* were entered into rebellion. The Embassadors aforesaid who had been sent to take up and decide the controversy between *Masani* and the *Carthaginians*, made report, That they had found great store of ship-timber and other matters for a navy at *Carthage*. Certain Pretors accused by the provinces for avarice, were condemned.

Of the XLVIII. Book.

The Censors took a review and tax of the city, wherein were reckoned three hundred four and twenty thousand polls of citizens. The causes of a third Punick war be here recorded. Upon a report that there was a right puissant army of *Numidians* upon the borders of the *Carthaginians*, conducted by *Antiochobarnes* the nephew of *Syphax*. *M. Porcius Cato* perswaded in an oration to proclaim war against the *Carthaginians*, for that they intertained such a power within their frontiers under a colour against *Masani*, but in truth raised against the Romans: howbeit *Publius Cornelius Nasica* gained him and dissuaded the matter. Whereupon ordeined it was, that Embassadors should be sent to *Carthage* in special to observe what they did, and whereabout they went. Who after they had given the *Carthaginians* Senat

PPPP 3

Senat a check, and rebuke, for that against the covenants of the league they maintained forces, and were provided of timber and other stuff for a navy, they shew sailing to conclude a peace between Malanilla and them: so at Malanilla (should) seize and part with the land in question. But Gigo the son of Amilcar, a bold and valiant man, who then was in Malanilla, notwithstanding their Sena's promise, refused to be ruled by the award of the said Embassadors: he incited them to his person's remembrance, and to war upon the Romans, that the Embassadors made first to flee and for themselves, or else they had come to a mischief. When they related (these) news at Rome, the Senat at last had bent against the Carthaginians, were now by his word provoked much more. M. Porcius Cato performed the funeral of his son, deceased in his Pretorship, with exceeding small charges, according to his ability, for he was poor. One Andronicus, who stoutly made the world believe, that he was the son of Perseus the King of Macedony, was sent to Rome. M. Enilius Lepidus, now six times chosen President of the Senat by the Consuls, gave his son in freight charge before he died, to carry him forth to Lurial in a conchunt linen clothes and the purple pal, and not to bestow in other acquiesces above one denier: saying, that the funerals of the greatest and best persons are wont to be enobled and honoured with the best of images and steller, and not with few pious expences. An inquisition there was about the practise of poisoning and Treary. Pubilia and Licinia, who were indicted for making away their husbands, put in societies before the Pretor, to be bound in goods, lands, and body for them; and under judicial process passed and their cause heard, by a decree of their kindfolk suffered death. Gullussa the son of Malanilla gave intelligence, that at Carthage there was mustering and levying of soldiers, rigging and providing of a fleet, all preparations no doubt for war: and Publius Cornelius Nafica replied against him, that nothing was to be done in such a cold way, without advice. Though good it was to send Enilius, for to see the truth of all, and upon their knowledge to certify, L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Pothumius Albinus the Consul, when they took matters with severity and rigour, and would not for favour spare any one, but press all, were committed by the Tribunes of the commons, who for their friends could obtain at their hands no release and immunity of soldiery. By cessation of the wars in Spain, which many times had been unwarily and unfortunately managed, when the City of Rome was so distressed and damned, that there could not be found any one who would so much as accept of a martial Tribuneship, or was willing to go in quality of Lieutenant: P. Cornelius Amilius stepped forth, made offer and professed, that he would undertake any kind of military service whatsoever he was laid upon him: and by his own example stirred up all the rest to the love of warfare. L. Lucullus the Consul, when Claudius Marcellus (after whom he succeeded) was thought to have quieted all the flux and nations of Celtiberia, subdued the Veeccans, Cantabrians, and other regions and nations as yet unknown in Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Amilius the son of L. Paulus, and the nephew of Africanus by adoption, being there a mortal Colonel, slew a Barbarian challenger that defied him. But in the winning of the City Interactia, he adventured a more dangerous enterprise: For he was the first of all other that scaled and mounted over the wall, Servius Sulpitius Galba the Pretor sped bravely in a battle against the Portugals. When as the Embassadors were returned out of Africk, together with the Carthaginians Orators, and Gullussa the son of Malanilla, bringing word, that they found at Carthage both an army and also an armada: I thought it was, to put to question and debate the matter in the Senat: where Cato and other principal Senators were of opinion and gave advice, to transport an army presently into Africk: but because C. Nafica opposed and said, that he saw as yet no sign and best cause of war, agreed it was to forbear all hostility and force of arms, in case the Carthaginians would turn their navy and discharge their army: if not, then agreed it was, that the Consuls next following in place of government should propose as touching the Punick war. When the Theatre was built, which by the Consuls had been put forth to no known frame, and set up at a price, through the means of Pub. Cornelius Nafica, who inferred, that it was a piece of work, unprofitable, yet, and hurtful to the manners generally of the citizens: by virtue of an Act of Sena's demolished it was pulled down: so as the people for a long time fed on their feet to behold the purple pal. The Carthaginians at that time took arms contrary to the league, and covered upon Malanilla. But was offered they were in flight by him (who now withstood) he now was fourscore year old and could not be used to staff his meat finely without any dairy since years and to chew his bare bread still) and over and besides they desired to draw upon their head the Roman war.

Of the XLIX. Book.

The beginning of the third Punick war, in the six hundredth and one year from the Cities foundation, which within five years after it began, came to a full and small end. Much diversity there was in opinion between M. Porcius Cato whom they reputed for the wisest, and Scipio Nafica, who by the Senat was judged the best and honestest man in the City. Cato was altogether for the wars, and advised to destroy Carthage quite: Nafica contrarywise dissuaded what he could. Nevertheless, in the end, notwithstanding it was. Thus because against covenant and accord they kept a navy at sea, and had led forth an army out of their borders: also for that they entered into arms and levied war upon Malanilla, a friend and confederate to the people of Rome, and received not into their Town, Gullussa his son, who was in the company of the Roman Embassadors: war should be proclaimed against them. But before that any forces were embarked and taken the sea, the Embassadors of Utica repaired to Rome, yielding themselves and what they had. That embassy, as a special promise to the issue and event of the war, was acceptable and pleasing to the Lords of the Senat, but heavy and grievous to the Carthaginians. In Terentum a place it was in Campus Martius, whereupon the pestimes Terentins took their name, were placed

exhibited

exhibited to Father Dis the infernal God, according to the direction of the books of Sibylla. These had been set out one hundred years before in the first Punick war, and in the five hundredth year and one, after the City was founded. Thirty Embassadors came to Rome, by whom the Carthaginians presented their submission. But the sentence of Cato imported and prevailed, to hold fast their former determination; and that the Consul with all speed should set forward in their journey to the war. Who having passed the sea and arrived in Africk, received of them three hundred hostages, whom they had required and demanded: and also took into their hands all their armor and weapons, and what furniture of war soever they found at Carthage. They proceeded moreover after all this, to command them by warrant and authority from the L. of the Senat to build them a new Town for to inhabit in some other place, so that it were ten miles at least remote from the Sea: by which indignity offered, they provoked the Carthaginians to strife and take arms again. L. Martius and M. Manilius the Consuls, began to besiege and assault Carthage: during which siege and assault it fortune, that two Colonels unadvisedly adventured to break into the City with their cohorts, at one part thereof where the walls were neglected, and when by the Townsmen they were fore beaten and killed, by the means of Scipio Africanus they were rescued: by whom also a certain squire was delivered. Moreover, he saved the camp, against which the Carthaginians filled forth of their City to give the assault at once upon it with all their forces: by which service he above the rest won great honor. Over and besides, when as the Consul (for the other was gone to Rome to behold the dilation of Massinissa) seeing the siege and assault of Carthage took no better effect, minded to lead the army against Aldrubal, who with another power of men kept the narrow freights of a certain passage, he counselled the said Cato, first, not to give battle in a place of such disadvantage: but afterwards overweighed and born down by the opinions of the greater number (who envied as well his wisdom as virtue) he also entered into the same freights. And when the Roman army, according as he foretold, was distressed and put to flight, and two cohorts best round and involved by the enemies, he with certain small cohorts of horse returned into those freights, rescued them, and brought them away in safety. Which valour of his, even Cato (a man otherwise more ready of his tongue to find faults) so recommended in the Senate, that in these terms he gave out and said, * That all the rest who were employed in the wars of Africk, served as shadows and dead men, but Cato had true vigour and spirit indeed. The people of Rome besides, cast forth favour and good liking to him, that at the next election, most of the tribes picked him out to be Consul, notwithstanding he was by law under age. When L. Scribonius a Tribune of the Commons had promised a Law, That all the Portugals (who according to covenant and composition, yielded to the people of Rome, and yet by S. Galba were sold in France) should be restored to their freedoms: M. Cato most earnestly pleaded in the behalf of that law, and maintained it. His Oration is extant to be seen, included within his Annals. Q. Fulvius Nobilior, when he was by him shaken up and well checked in the Senat, answered in the behalf of Galba. Tera, and Galba also, seeing himself at the point to be condemned, took in his arms and embraced his own two sons: being * Pratextati, and a son of C. Sulpitius whose Guardian he was, and made such pitome and rustle move, all the while he spake in his own cause, that the foresaid law was revoked and cancelled. Three Orations of his there are to be seen two against Libo a Tribune of the Commons and his proposed Law, as touching the Portugals: and one against L. Cornelius Cethegus, in which he confessed and avowed the killing of the Portugals, encouraging near unto him: for that he knew certainly that they after their manner had sacrificed an horse and a man, and under a colour of peace, intended to set upon and charge his army. Andronicus one of base birth and the most abject lowest condition, who made the world believe that he was King Petreus his son, and thereupon changed his name and was called Philip, having made an escape and fled secretly from Rome (whether Demetrius King of Syria had sent him in regard of this his notorious lie) had many men come flocking unto him, embracing a forged and counterfeit tale of his, as if it had been a true time and report: by which means he gathered an army together, and either with the goodwill of the inhabitants, or by force of arms, seized all Macedony and held it in his hands. Now had he devised and framed the piteous in this wise, That Petreus the King had begotten him (forsooth) of a concubine: that he was committed to * one Cytherea to be fostered and brought up: to the end that if ought (should) fall out but well unto the King, in that war which he waged with the Romans, there might be yet some seed as it were and issue remaining of the Kings blood and royal race. When Petreus was deceased, he had his education at Adramyctum until he was 12 years old, supposing him to be his natural father who fostered and kept him, and not at all from what stock he was descended. Now if fell out (saith he) that the said foster father of mine lay very sick; and being at the point of death, he bequeathed at my birth and parentage. Moreover, that there was a little book given to my supposed mother, folded with the sign manual of King Petreus, which she was to deliver unto me when I came once to ripe age, and to be 24 years old: charging her most faithfully of all loves, to conceal the whole matter until that time were come: and when I was grown to that age as she said, then the book was given me, wherein mention was made of two chests of treasure left for me by my father. Then the woman, who knew full well that I was no child of her, but only so topped, bequeathed my birth unto me, who was fortune ignorant of of mine own deceit: also the woman said great woe upon me to depart out of those quarters before that Eumenes, a professed enemy to Petreus, came to the knowledge thereof, for fear to be murdered. In which respect I being affrighted and hoping, wishal to find some aid in the hands of Demetrius, went into Syria: and there first I took heart unto king, and dared openly to profess who I was, and never before: [Thus much of Andronicus this counterfeit Kings son.]

* He alludeth here to this verse of Homer, *ὅς ἑσπευεν ἄνδρα δὲ*

* i. under 17 years of age.

Or, * Cytherea, i. i. 24 years of age, to one in Crates.

this: As C. Mancinus the Consul was devoutly sacrificing the sacred chickens clowned to *live away* out of their cage or coop. Afterwards, as he was about to *see* *Spain* and a shipboard for to *live away* into Spain; here hapnd a voice to be heard, saying, Stay, Stay Mancinus. These words in the effect to be unfortunist and heavy preages unto Mancinus, for he received an overthrow on the Numantians hands, and was turn'd clear out of his camp. And seeing no hope left to save his army, he entred in a dishonourable peace with them, but the Senat expressely revoked and annulled the same. 30000 Romans were defeated by 4000 Numantians & no more. D. Iulius made a general conquest of all Portugal, even as far as to the Ocean, by forcing and sacking their Cities and strong Towns: and when his soldiers were intreated to stop there; 'Oblivio, he caught up a banner from the port-engein, and carried it off very triumph, and by this means perswaded them to go on. Alexander Jon. King of Syria, a child not yett twenty years old at the mozt, was treacherously murdered by Diodorus his guardian or protector. Iustus Trypton, There were Physicians by corruption bribed and suborned to give it out and bear the people in hand most falsly, that the young Prince pined away with the paine of the Bladder, and whilst they would seem to cut him for it, they killed him out of hand in the very section.

Of the LVI. Book.

Decius Junius Brutus had got a fortune in the farther Province of Spain, fighting with the Galatians. But M. Aemilius Lepidus Pro-consul, for a service in his wars against the Vacci, and suffered the like treatment to that other received from the Numantians. When Mancinus the author and maker of the treaty with the Numantians, was delivered up in person to the Numantians, for to allow the people of Rome, to disengage them in conscience for cancelling the said covenant, they received him not, and would none of him. The people was numbered and taxed by the Cenforis in which survey and account they were, there were entered into their books 333000 Roman citizens. Fulvius Flaccus the Consul brought the Lusitanians in Illyricum under subjection. M. Cokinius the Pretor fought in Thracia with the Thracians, and won the battle. When by the default and error of the Captains and Commanders, the Numantians were continued still without the publick shame and dishonor of the state; the Senate and people of Rome conferred the Consulship upon Scipio Africanus, without any suit or seeking of his. Africanus when he was unwilling to accept thereof, by reason of a Law forbidding expressly, "that any man should be created Consul the second time, he had a dispensation, and was freed from the law in that behalf, like at that other in his former Consulship. There was an insurrection of bondslaves arose in Sicily, where it could not be suppressed by the Pretors and Lord Governors, C. Pulvius had the charge of that Province and service. This war began by occasion of one Eunus a bondslave and a Syrian born; who having assembled together a power of wretched peasants and country slaves; broken prisons and banes of correction, came to have assault and complete army. Moreover, Cleon also another notable slave, raised the number of 700000 villains like himself; and they both joining their forces together, waged war many times against the people of Rome and their army in both parts.

Of the LVII, Book

Scipio Africanus laid siege to Numantia: and whereas the army was grown to be corrupted through idleness, riot and loose life, he reclaimed the same, and reduced it unto a most strict and severe kind of military discipline. For he cut off all the means and occasions of delight from his people: he set packing away two thousand axes and adze, that followed the camp: he bid the soldiers hark to work every day: he forced each one to carry on his shoulder corn for thirty days; and seven good hawks besides an eagle, palladium, As if he died one of them to go heavily under his load: he would say thus under him, Sirrah, when you have the skill to empale your self with your sword point, then cease to carry pales, but not before. When he saw another practise to wield very narrowly a little light fly buckler, he commanded him to bear a target of a bigger size and weightier than ordinary, as finding fault that he knew better how to hold his shield for defence of his own body, than to handle his sword for offence of the enemy. Met he with a soldier on his back and side: If he were a Roman, up he went and was well beat and saddled with vine-windings by the centurion: if a stranger, flogged and jerked he was with birchen rods by the Lictors. And so severely all the pack-borne and other labouring folk he caused to be sold: because if they should not cease the soldiers of their carriage. Well, many a time he bare himself worthily in fight and had a fortunate hand against the enemies that sallied forth again. Him, The Vaccæans were freights besieged: and after that they had killed their wives and children, they slew their own selves upon them. Scipio, at what time Antiochus King of Syria had sent him most brave and stoutly present, Scipio, at what time of the field were wont to conceal the gifts of KK, he avowed the accepting of them in open sight of all men, except at the very Tribunal seat. And when he had so done, he commanded the treasurers to receive all, and enter in his book of receipts for the state; promising out of that stock to reward the hardest men and most valiant knights, who he had buckled and invincible Numantia on every side, and saw the enemies driven to great distress for hunger. he forbade expressly to kill any of them that went forth of the Town to beg and pursue, villains. Saying, That the more they were in number, the sooner they would consume and spend up the corn which they had,

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Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a Tribune of the Commons, when he promoued an Agrarian Law, by which no man should hold and occupy above five hundred arpens or acres of the City Lands; seeing the Senate and order of Gentlemen to storm against it, grew into such heat of choler and furious rage, that instantly by an act made, he deprived of Tribuneship himself, M. Octavius his Colleague, for maintaining the cause of the aduerser part; and without, care, created himself his brother C. Gracchus, and App. Claudius his own wife's father, Tribunes by commissaries for dividing of the said lands. He promoued also and published another Agrarian Law, by vertue whereof if any man encroached farther, and more abominably flint and proportion, the same Tribunes and none but they should sit down and determine, how far forth the common grounds and the priuim lands should reach. Afterwards, when three fold to be less ground than should be diuided, he p-posed that without the offence of the common people (because elsewhere he had stirred up their appetites for hope greater matters) he would prefer a Law, That amongst all citizens, by vertue of the Law Sempronius ought to receiue lands, the more which he thought fit to see King Attalus should be diuided. Nowe this Attalus the King of Pergimus and son of Eumenes, had left behind him, the people of Rome his fall heir of all that he had. To be Seene upon this so many indignities offered by Gracchus, was highly displeased, and Pub. Mucius the Consul about the self: who after he had intreated in the Senat against him, was by him haled forth before the people, and accused into the Commons, howbeit he declaimed against him once again openly from the Rostra; when Gracchus would haue been chosen Tribune of the Commons a second times, by the aduice and procurement of P. Cornelius Nasica, the chief priest and noblest fiew him in the Capitol. He caught his first knock with the broken peeces of the Tribunes poet. And he among others stun in that iudicious judgement, was neuer committed to the earth, but thrown into the river. Moreover, this book containeth the story in six, fought against the fugitive slaves with variable fortune a dozen.

Of the LIX. Book.

THE Numantians forced by great extremities, and of fsumine especially, murdered themselves in confusion by turns. After the City was won, Scipio Africanus rased and destroyed it wretely, and over it triumphed, in the fourteenth year after the ruin of Carthage. P. Attilius the Consul dispatched and called the war in Sicily, with the foresaid fugitive, Arritonicus the son of King Eumesus, invaded Asia and held it to his own use; whereas by the last will and testament of King Attalus, it was legaceth as a legacy unto the people of Rome, and ought to have been freed. Against him P. Licinius Stur was the Consul and Archibishop besides: (Asking never done or seen before) took a journey with an army of Italy, and in a battell was overthrowen and lost his life. M. Porpenna the Consul overcame Attitonicus, and receiveth him by surrender. Q. Pomponius and Q. Metellus were elected Consors, the first Commons that ever both together attained to that dignity. A review was taken by the Consors; there were numbered 36883 citizens, besides orphans and widows. Q. Metellus the Consor gave his advice and opinion; that all men should be compellid to singe wives, for the breeding of children. His Oratorical purpose is extant which Augustus Cesar, at what time as he went in hand to joy in marriage, all the three states and degrees of the City cheered in the Senat, as if it had been panned to sit there times wherein we now live. C. Atilius Labeo, a Tribune of Commons, commanded Q. Metellus the Consor (who in the review and new chaise of the Senatior did him that disgrace as to leave him out) to be pitched headlong from the rock Tarpeibus the rest of the Tribunes assisted the Consor for all that ever they could, that this commandment should not be executed. When Carbo, a Tribune of the Consors, did shew, that it might be lawful to create the same man Trib. of the Commons so often as one would; P. Africanus disjoined this law in a swift grave and prayd Orator wherein he said these words especially. That he judged Tib. Gracchus to have beenfully slain by his desert. Gracchus on the other side mayntained the law, and pleaded that it might passe; but Scipio imported and previled in the end: If this book, are related the wars between Antiochus king of Syria, and Phaeates king of the Parthians; at also the troubles of Egypt, which flood as then in no letter term. Ptolemee furnished Evierarches, for his exceeding cruelty gave hateful and odious to his own subject; and when the people had set on fire and burned his royal palace, he fled by stealth into Cyprus: and when the kingdom was by the people made over to his sister Cleopatra, whom (after he had deflowered by force her daughter), a virgin, and took her to wife) he had turned away in great displeasure and malice: unto her he killed the son he had by her, in Cyprus, and sent unto the mother the head, hands and feet. Certain seditions were raised by the Triumvirs, Fulvius Flaccus, C. Gracchus, and L. Carbo, who were created for the defence of land. Against whom P. Scipio Africanus made resistance; but being in perfect health, strong and lusty, he went home, to his house as it might best stand, and was found dead in his bed-chamber the next morning. His wife Sempornia was deeply grieved that he given him a cup of poison; and reasouned especially, because (he was sister to the Gracchi, between whom and Africanus there was great love and amity) Hence, there was no question and freight enquiry made how he came to his death. When his head was so laid the Triumvirs followed beforehand, brake forth into a fight and hot fire. C. Sempornius the Consul fought against the lapidist, but unfortunately, but soon after he made amends for that loss received, with a victory achieved by the special valor of C. Iulius Brutus, the same man who before had conquered Portuall.

Of the LX. Book.

Aurelius the Consul subdued the Sardiens, Fulvius Flaccus was the first man that vanquished the Ligurians beyond the Alps, being sent to aid the Massilians against the French Saltyes, who lay force upon the borders of the Massilians, and spoiled them. Lucius Optimus the Pretor received under his subjection the Fregellans who had revolted, and destroyed the Town Fregella. Here is reported a pestilence in Africa, by an exceeding multitude of sculls, killed and lying dead after war upon the ground. A survey was taken of the City by the Consuls, wherein were numbered 390736 citizens. C. Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, a Tribune of the Commons, but of the twins more eloquent, preferred certain dangerous laws: and among these, one touching grain, namely that the Commons should be served in the market at the rate of one half, and a third part of. Also, a Modus: another concerning division of lands, the same which his brother before him had published, and a third (whereby he meant to corrupt the order of Gentlemen, which then accorded with the degree of Senators) namely, that from out of the Gentlemen, 600 should be taken into the Senat: and forasmuch as in those days, there were but 300 Senators, these 600 Gentlemen should be entering into the said three hundred, it then was said, that the order of Gentlemen should be double in number to the Senators, and twice as strong. This Gracchus having continued his Tribuneship another year, by proposing still the Agrarian laws, provided, that many Colonies more should be planted in Italy, and one besides, upon the very plot of ground where Carthage lately destroyed. And last, and there himself (chosen Tribune) therefore erected a Colony. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Q. Metellus against those Balares Islands, which the Greeks call Gymnetia, because the people go naked all the summer time. But Balares they be named either of flinging darts, or of Balares the companion of Hercules, whom he left behind there, at what time, as is related to Ceryon. Also, the troubles in Syria be here reported, wherein Cleopatra first her husband Demetrius and his son Seleucus: taking great indignation, that when his father was by her killed, he without her warrant had taken the diadem upon him.

Of the LXI. Book.

Caius Sextius the Pro-consul, after he had conquered the nation of the Saltyes, built the Colony Aquæ Sextie: so called of the plentiful abundance of waters, by reason of springs both hot and cold, and so of his own name. C. Cominius the Pro-consul fought fortunately against the * Allobroges, near the Town Vindalium. The cause why he levied war against them was, for that they had received and relieved by all means they could, Teutomalus the King of the * Salvi, when he fled unto them, and waited at the territories of the * Hdunians, who were the allies of the people of Rome. C. Gracchus, after he had born his Tribuneship with much sedition, and kept the Aventine hill with a multitude of the Commons in arms, was by L. Optimus the Consul (who by virtue of an act of Senat had put the people in arms) distressed of his bold and staid, and together with him Fulvius Flaccus a Consular man, his officer and companion in this furious outrage. Q. Fabius Maximus the Consul, and nephew of Paulus, won a field of the Allobroges, and Bitutius King of the Avernii. Of Bitutius his army were slain a hundred and twenty thousand. And when himself in person was gone to Rome to satisfy the Senat, he was committed toward in Alba for that it seemed dangerous and hurt full to the peace, for to send him back again into France. Also there passed a decree, that Congentatius his son should be apprehended and sent to Rome. The Allobroges submitted and were received. L. Optimus being accused before the body of the people by Q. Decius a Tribune of the Commons, for imprisoning certain citizens uncondemned, was acquitted.

Of the LXII. Book.

Caius Marcius the Consul vanquished the Stonii, a people dwelling upon the Alpes, Micipsa King of the Numidians died, and left the Kingdom unto his three sons, Adherbal, Hyemphal, and Jugurtha his brothers son, whom he had adopted for his own child. L. Cæcilius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians. Jugurtha levied war upon Hyemphal his brother, overcame him in fight, and slew him: Adherbal his third brother, he drove out of there land, but by the Senat of Rome restored he was again. L. Cæcilius Metellus, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus the Consuls, deprived 32 Senators of their place and dignity. Besides, this book containeth the troubles of the Syrian Kings.

Of the LXIII. Book.

Caius Porcius the Consul fought with the * Scordisci in Thracia, and lost the field. The Consuls took a survey of the City: in which were enrolled 394336 of Roman citizens. Æmilia, Licinia, and Marcia, three vestal virgins were convicted and condemned for incest. The manner how this transgression was committed, detected, judged, and punished is here set down. The * Cimbrians, an huge and mighty nation, invaded Illyricum and put it to the wast: by whom Papirius Carbo the Consul was defeated, both he and his army. Livius Drusus the Consul, warred in Thrace upon the Scordisci, (a people descended from the Gauls) and won much honour.

Of the LXIV. Book.

Adherbal warred upon by Jugurtha, was within the City Cirra besieged, and by him slain, notwithstanding the commandment of the Senat to the contrary. For which cause war was proclaimed against Jugurtha himself. Calpurnius Bestia had the commission and charge to manage this war: who made peace with Jugurtha, without warrant from the people and Senat. Jugurtha being cited and called forth under safe conduct, to appease and bewray the authors of his plots and designs, for that the voice went, that he had bribed and corrupted with sums of money many of the Senat, came to Rome: where he was in trouble and jeopardy for a murder committed upon the person of a certain Prince, called Maffia (who seeing him to be hated of the Romans, sought for his kingdom) whom he slew at Rome. Being commanded to answer for his life in regard of this murder, he secretly fled, and he departed from the City, under (by report) these words, O corrupt City and false sale: how soon will it perish, if it may meet with a champion? A. Pothumius a Lieutenant General, after he had likewise fought an unfortunate battle against Jugurtha, amended the matter full well by making an ignominious and dishonourable peace with him, which the Senat judged not meet to be observed and kept.

Of the LXV. Book.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus the Consul, in two battles discomfited Jugurtha and over-ran all Numidia. M. Jun. Syllanus the Consul, fell unluckily in a battle fought against the Cimbrians: whose continual demands of the Senat a place of habitation and lands to occupy were denied. M. Minutius Proculus had good success in fight against the * Thracians. L. Cælius the Consul together with his host, was defeated and cut in pieces in the borders of the Allobroges by the French Tigrinus, a country of the * Helveticans, who had divided themselves and were departed from the rest of the State. The soldiers remaining alive after that overthrow, capitulated with the enemies for safety of their lives, to put in pledges for to part with the one moiety of all that ever they had unto them.

Of the LXVI. Book.

Jugurtha driven out of Numidia by C. Marius, had the help and aid of Bocchus King of the Moors: but when the power of Bocchus also was defeated in battles, and himself unwilling to maintain the war any longer (so unfortunately begun) Jugurtha was overcome, and delivered up to C. Marius. In which exploit the service of L. Cornelius Sylla treasurer unto Marius, was singular above the rest.

Of the LXVII. Book.

Aurelius Scaurus lieutenant to the Consul, was with his army overthrown by the Cimbrians, and himself taken prisoner. When by them he was called forth to council (at what time as they intended to avoage into Italy) in which he seemed to fright them for passing over the Alps, saying, That the Romans might possibly be overcome: he was by Bolus their King, a proud and fierce prince, killed. At the same time heads Cn. Manlius Consul, and Q. Serv. Cæpio, Pro-consul received an overthrow in the field and lost both their camps. slain there were 8000 soldiers of porters, scullions, launders, and such followers: of the camp besides 40000. By the verdict and censure of the people of Rome Cæpio (through whose ribs the loss and overthrow happened) was condemned: and he was the first after K. Tarquin whose good were confessed: and finally deprived he was of his government. In the triumph of C. Marius, Jugurtha with his two sons was led before his chariot: and afterwards murdered in prison. Marius entered into the Senat, with his triumphal mantle of estate, which never any man before him had done, and for fear of the Cimbrians war be continued in his Magistracy many years together. To his second and third consulship he was chosen absent, and he attained to be Consul the fourth time: which he gained for after he dissembled the contrary. C. Domitius was by the suffrages of the people created the chief Pontiff. The Cimbrians having laid waste all the parts about the river Rhodanus and the mountain Pyreneus, passed over into Spain through the streights: where after they had spoiled many places, they were by the Cætharians chased away: and being returned into France, they joined with the * Teutons, a warlike nation.

Of the LXVIII.

Marcus Antonius the Prætor persecuted the rovers at sea, and chased them as far as into Cilicia. C. Manlius the Consul manfully defended the camp, assailed with all most forcible means by the Teutons and * Ambroses. Afterward in two battles: one after another about Aquæ Sextie he utterly defeated those enemies: where by he port more slain 100000 and 90000 taken prisoners. Marius in his absence was created Consul now in his first time: and when a triumph was offered unto him, he deferred and put it off, until he had made a full and full conquest of the Cimbrians. The Cimbrians repelled and drove from the Alps Q. Catulus the Pro-consul, who had first the narrow gullet of the Alps, and kept a Castle highly mounted over the river Athelais, which he now at abandoned: and when by their colour they had cleared the passage, they pursued the Pro-consul with his army, and passed over into Italy, where in battle they were overthrown by the same Catulus and C. Marius, who had joined their forces together. In which (they say) 140000 men were slain, and 60000 taken prisoners. Marius was honourably received at his return with a general accord of the whole City: and whereas two triumphs were offered unto him, he was content with one. The principal peers and nobles of the City, who long time before had envied him as a man newly start up, joined and advanced to great honours, confessed now that the common-weal by him was preserved. Publius Metellus for murdering his own mother, was the first man fowed up in a leather bag and so thrown into the sea. Here is recorded how the sacred shield Ancilia stored of themselves with a great variety of noise before the Cimbrians war was finished. Finally, this book comprehendeth the wars between the two Kings of Syria.

Of the L. XIX. Book.

Cneus Apuleius Saturninus, by the help of C. Marius, and by occasion that A. Nonius his competitor and concurrent was by his soldiers slain, was by forcible means created Tribune of the commons; and here the Tribuneship as violently he got it. And when he had proposed an Agrarian law and passed it by force, he arrested Metellus Numidicus to answer at a day, for that he had not subscribed and sworn to the said law: who being maintained and defended by the Citizens of the better sort, because he would give no occasion of unseasonable debates and civil contentions, went in voluntary exile to Rhodes: and there he employed his time in reading of books, and giving audience to great and famous men. After he was departed, C. Marius the captain and author of that sedition, who now had purchased a sixth Consulship by a large money scambled amongst the tribes, proclaimed him as excommunicated and interdicted from fire and water like an outlaw. The same Apuleius Saturninus, Tribune of the commons, C. Memmius in his white gown standing to be safe, for that he feared him above all others, drew his proceedings: whereupon the Senat was exceedingly moved in the cause and behalf of C. Memmius: and when C. Marius a man by nature mutable and in his counsel variable, one who ever loved to be on the better side of the hedge and to band with the mightier, was not able to bear him out and protect him, the said Saturninus together with Glauca the Prator and other his complices in that outrage, being by one Rabirius, Q. Cecilius Metellus was recalled out of banishment with exceeding great love and favour of the whole City. Manius Aquilius the Pro-Conf. dispatched and ended the slower-war raised in Sicily.

Of the L. XX. Book.

Vhen Manius Aquilius should plead his own defence, or answer in case of extortion, he would not himself interest and create the favour of the Jury. But M. Antonius his advocate who pleaded for him at the bar, for his come down with his breast, to show the honourable scars received in the front of his body: which being by the Judges seen, they made no doubt, but acquit him. Of this thing Cicero is the only author. Didius the Pro-Conf. managed his wars against the Celtiberians happily. Ptolemaeus K. of Cyrene, surnamed Apion, when he died, left the people of Rome his heir: and the Senat decreed that the cities of his realm should be free. Ariobaranes was restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia by L. Cornelius Sylla. The Persian embassadors sent from their K. Artaces came unto Sylla, to treat and sue for amity with the people of Rome. P. Rutilius a man of uncorrupt and innocent life, who (being lieutenant under L. Mucius the Pro-Conf.) had defended Asia from the wrongfull dealings of the Publicans or common farmers (being odious to the order of knight-hood or gentlemen of Rome, who saw as Judges had the jurisdiction in their hands) was condemned for extortion and banished. C. Geminius the Prator fought unwarlike against the Thracians. The Senat would no longer abide the unwarlike and small offices committed by the gentlemen in exercising of their jurisdiction, and therefore began by all means possible to endeavour for to reduce and translate their prerogative again to themselves: which enterprise M. Livius Drusus a Tribune of the commons stood in their behalf: who to gain more strength to the cause, raised the commons by proposing unto them a large sum, Moreover in this book are comprised the stirr and troubles of the Kings in Syria.

Of the L. XXI. Book.

Marcus Livius Drusus, a Tribune of the commons, for the better maintenance of the Senat's cause, which he had undertaken, solicited the allies and the nations of Italy, upon hope they were enfranchised citizens of Rome: by whose assistance having gone through by strong hand, with the Agrarian and Frumentarian laws, he obtained also the foresaid law Judicials, in this manner. That all judgments should pass indifferently and equally by Senat and Gentlemen. After this, when the freedoms of Rome promised to the allies could not be compounded and performed, the Italians in a chase and heat of choler began to complot how to revolt: whose conventicles, conspiracies, and orations delivered in the assemblies and diets of their Princes, are in this book reported: In regard whereof, Livius Drusus became banished even to the Senat, as the author of a social war, and in his own house was murdered, but by whom God knoweth.

Of the L. XXII. Book.

The Italian states revolt, namely, the Picentes, Vestini, Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucians, Samnites, and Samnites: The Picentes first entered into arms and began the war. Quintus Servilius the Pro-Conf. was slain in Akulum, together with all the Roman citizens which were in that town: whereupon the whole people of Rome put on arms and soldiers' coats. Servius Galba being surprised by the Lucens, escaped captivity by the means of one woman, in whose house he took up his lodging. Eternia and Alba, two Colonies, were by the Italians besieged. After this, there are reported the aids of the Lucanes and other foreign nations sent unto the people of Rome: moreover, the expeditions and alternative winning of cities, as well by the one side as the other.

Of the L. XXIII. Book.

Lucius Caesar the Cof. in a battell against the Samnites went down and had the worst. Nola the colony fell into the hands of the Samnites, together with L. Porcinius the Prator, who there was slain. Many more nations revolted to the enemies, for that P. Rutilius the Consul had fought with less against the Marsians, and lost his life in the battell. C. Marius his lieutenant had a better conflict with the enemies in the end and upon. Servius Sulpicius vanquished the Pelignians: Q. Capio, another lieutenant of Rutilius, who having been by the enemies besieged, had sallied forth upon the enemies and got the upper hand: for this good success he was made equal in government and command with C. Marius. But hereupon he grew to be too rash, and being over-taken by an ambush of the enemies was slain, and the army defeated. L. Caesar the Consul won a field of the Samnites: for which victory the soldiers coats were laid off again at Rome. Yet because the fortune of the field would show her self variable, the Colony Effer-

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nia, together with M. Marcellus, was taken by the Samnites. On the other side, Marius in a battell vanquished the Marsians, and slew Hermianus the Prator of the Marrucians: Q. Cecilius overcame the Salvi in that rebell in the Province of Gaul beyond the Alps.

Of the L. XXIV. Book.

Cneus Pompeius discomfited the Picentes in battell and had them besieged: for which victory he entertained purple robes, with other ornaments and badges of the Magistratus were taken up again and put on. C. Marius fought against the Marsians with doubtful event. The Libertines then and never before began to serve in the wars. Aurel. Plotius the lieutenant in a battell overcame the Umbrians: likewise L. Porcius the Prator vanquished the Marsians, when as both these nations had rebelled. Nicomedes was placed again in the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobaranes of Cappadocia. Cn. Pompeius the Cof. overthrew the Marsians in a picnic field. When the City was deeply engaged and plagued in debt, A. Sempronius Aelilius the Prator, because he gave sentence respectively in the favour of the debtors, was slain in the market-place by their creditors the upurers. Moreover, this book cleareth the invades and incursions of the Thracians into Macedonia together with their wasting of those parts.

Of the L. XXV. Book.

Aul. Posthumus Albinus a lieutenant General, being Admiral of the fleet, was upon an infamous imputation of betraying his soldiers massacred by his own army. L. Corn. Sylla, a lieutenant, overthrew the Samnites in fight, and won two camps of theirs. Cn. Pompeius received the Vestini upon their submission. L. Porcius the Cof. after fortunate success in battell, and that he had sundry times discomfited the Samnites, as he assailed to force their camp left his life: a which accident gave away the victory of that battell to the enemy. Colconius and Lucius overcame the Samnites in battell, when Marius Egnatius, a most noble and renowned commander of the enemies, and had many of their towns surrendered up into their hands. L. Sylla tamed the Hirpini, and defeated the Samnites in many battells: and certain States submitted unto him: who having achieved so worthy and brave exploits before his Consulship (as seldom any other man besides the like) repaired to Rome for to sue to be Consul.

Of the L. XXVI. Book.

Aulus Gabinus a lieutenant, having fought fortunately against the Lucans and won from them many towns: as he laid siege to the enemies' league, was cut off and slain. Sulpicius in quality of lieutenant had the execution of the Marrucians, and the surrender of that whole nation. Cn. Pompeius the Pro-Conf. took the submission of the Vestini and Pelignians. The Marsians likewise having been in certain battells quelled by L. Muræna, and Cæcilius Pinna lieutenants, craved peace. Afulum was won by Cn. Pompeius: and the Italian people by Mamerus Æmilys the lieutenant were put to the sword. Silo Popedius, General of the Marsians, and the author of the villany, was slain in battell. Ariobaranes of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes of Bithynia were driven both out of their kingdoms by Mithridates King of Pontus. Last of all this book discourseth of the incursions and spoils that the Thracians made in Macedonia.

Of the L. XXVII. Book.

Vhen P. Sulpicius a Tribune of the Commons, by the advice and instigation of C. Marius had promulgated certain pernicious laws, that the banished should be restored, and new Citizens together with Libertines be voted into Tribes: also that Marius should be chosen General against Mithridates King of Pontus: and when he offered violence against Q. Pompeius and L. Sylla the Consuls, who contradicted his proceedings: and had slain the son of Pompeius the Consul, who had married Sylla's daughter: then L. Sylla Consul entered Rome with an army, and within the very City fought against the adverse side of Sulpicius and Marius, and drove them forth: of which faction twelve were by the Senat judged enemies, and amongst them C. Marius both father and son. As for P. Sulpicius, when he learned a certain farm-house of the country, was betrayed and betrayed by his own bond-servant: and so plied forth from thence and killed. The slave, because he might seem to be rewarded for revealing his Master according to promise, was manumitted and set free: but for his wicked treachery in betraying his own Master, he was thrown down the rock Tarpeia. C. Marius the son crossed the sea into Africa. C. Marius the father lay hidden amongst the marshes of the Minturnians, and was plucked out from thence by the townsmen: and when a certain bond-servant and a Frenchman born, was sent to kill him, he was so affrighted at the Majesty and countenance of so brave a man, that he went back and would not do the feat: whereupon Marius was embarked as the charges of the City and carried into Africa. L. Sylla reformed the State of the City, and drew out from thence inhabitants to people the Colonies: Q. Pompeius the Cof. took his journey to receive the army of Cn. Pompeius the Cof. and by his counsel was slain. Mithridates King of Pontus, seized upon Bithynia and Cappadocia: drove out Aquilius the lieutenant, and with a mighty army invaded Phrygia the Province of the people of Rome.

Of the L. XXVIII. Book.

Mithridates held Asia with his garrisons: he cast into prison Q. Oppius the Pro-Conf. and likewise Aquilius the lieutenant. Also by his commandment, all the Roman Citizens to be found in Asia, were in one day massacred. The City Rhodes, which only continued true and kept allegiance, he assaulted, but being in certain battell at sea overcome, he gave over and retired. Archelaus a chief governor, and commander under the King, saved Greece with an army, seized upon Athens and held it. Moreover, this book containeth the fearful troubles of certain Cities and Islands: whilst the Italian Colonies endeavoured to draw their states, some to side with the King: others, to take part with the Ro-

Lucius Cornelius Cinna, at what time as by force and arms he published dangerous laws, was thereupon by his Collegue Cn. Octavius, driven out of the City with six Tribunes of the commons; befidel and being thus deprived of his rule and authority, he became commander of Ap. Claudius his army by corruption; and joining with C. Marius and other banished persons; out of Attick he marched in the same manner against the City of Rome. In which war, it turned that two brethren, the one of Pompeius his army, and the other of Cinna's, encountered in fight and knew not one another. Now when the conquest was in disarming and spoiling him whom he had slain, he saw what he had done, and took knowledge that it was his brother: whereupon he fell into an exceeding piteous fit of weeping and lamentation: made a funeral fire for his brothers corps, stabbed himself through thereupon, and in the same fire was burnt and consumed to ashes. Now whereas these civil wars might have been suppressed in the beginning, such was the fraudulent dealing of Cn. Pompeius, who seeming to maintain both parties, gave strength to Cinna, and set not to his helping hand before that the Nobler side went down: such also was the fauour and coldness of the Consul, that Cinna and Marius took heart and grew strong: and so with four armies, whereof two were committed to the conduct of Q. Sertorius and C. Carbo, they invaded the City of Rome. Marius won by force the Colony Ostia, and most cruelly ravaged it;

Of the LXXX. Book.

The Italian nations were by the Senate enfranchised, and obtained the freedom of Rome. The Senators who only continued in arms banded again with Cinna and Marius: By them was Plancius slain and his army defeated. Cinna and Marius together with Carbo and Sertorius were possessed of Janiculum, and being a scornful and repelled by Octavius the Consul, retired and departed. Marius fortified and laid desolate Antium, Aricia and Lanuvium three Colonies. When as now the nobility and Lords of the Senate had no hopes at all left to withstand the contrary faction; by reason of the cowardice and treachery as well of souldiers as leaders, who upon corruption either would not fight at all, or else went over to the adverse part: Cinna and Marius were received into Rome: who as if it had been an enemy City forced by assault, made havoc of all with fackage and massacres. In this garb Cn. Octavius the Consul lost his life, and all the nobility of the other side were murdered: and among the rest, M. Antonius most eloquent Orator, and C. Cælar: whose heads were set upon the Pulpit Rottra. Young Crassus the son was by the horsemen of Fimbria killed: and Crassus the father, because he would not endure any indignity unworthy his virtues, fell upon his own sword. Without any assembly or election at all, Cinna and C. Marius declared themselves Consuls for the next year: and the same day whereon they entered into their Magistracy, Marius caused Sex. Licinius a Senator to be thrown down the rock Tarpeia: and after many wicked and heinous outrages committed upon the Ides of January, he departed on his flight: a man whose crimes (if they were weighed together with his virtues) hardly could be determined, whether he were in a better souldier, or in peace a more dangerous Citizen. For the Commonwealth which he in his armour saved, the same in his long gown he overthrew: first, with all manner of cofferage and deceit: and lastly by plain hostility and force of arms.

Of the LXXXI. Book.

Lucius Sylla straightly beleaguered Athens, which Archelaus a governor under King Mithridates held with a garrison: and after much toil and labour won it. To the City he granted their liberty again, and restored unto the Citizens all that was their own. Magnesia the only City in Asia that remained true and loyal was most valiantly defended against Mithridates. Over and besides, here ye shall read the exploits performed by the Thracians in Macedonia.

Of the LXXXII. Book.

Sylla vanquished inattel the power of King Mithridates, which having kept Macedonia in obedience, was now come into Thracia. He slew one hundred thousand enemies, and was Master of the Camp. afterwards, when the war was renewed, he discomfited and defeated quite the Kings whole army. Archelaus together with the Kings fleet yielded to Sylla. L. Valerius Flaccus the Consul and companion in government with Cinna, being sent to succed Sylla: was (for his covetousness) so odious unto his army, that he was slain by C. Fimbria his own lieutenant, a most audacious and desperate person: and so the conduct and command of the army was transferred to Fimbria. Moreover, here is recorded what Cities in Asia Mithridates won: how cruelly he spoiled and vexed the Provinces: and how the Thracians made raids and invasions into Macedonia.

Of the LXXXIII. Book.

Caius Fimbria after he had discomfited certain forces of Mithridates upon the City Pergamus, befeigned the King there, and mustered but a little of taking him prisoner. The City Ilium, which stood out and refused itself to the behest and devotion of Sylla, he forced and destroyed, and the greatest part of Asia he recovered. Sylla in many battels defeated the Thracians. When L. Cinna and C. Papyrius Carbo who for two years together were Consuls of their own making, prepared war against Sylla: by the means of L. Valerius Flaccus the President of the Senate (who made an Orator in the Council-Halls) and those who loved concord and sought for amity, effected it was in the end, that Embassadors should be sent unto Sylla to treat about a peace. Cinna was murdered by his own souldiers, whom he forced against their will to be embarked and to take a voyage against Sylla: by which occasion Carbo alone bore the Consulship. Sylla being passed over into Asia, made peace with Mithridates upon this capitulation, That the King should quit these Provinces, namely, Asia Bithynia, and Cappadocia, Fimbria being forsaken by his army, which revolted unto Sylla, gave himself a fore wound and yielding his neck unto his own bondage, obtained this favour at his hands, as to dispatch him outright.

Of

Sylla returned this answer unto the Embassadors sent unto him from the Senate, That he would be ordered by them in case these Citizens who (upon the hard usage of Cinna) stood unto him, might be restored. The Senate thought this a reasonable condition and just demand: but by means of Carbo and that faction, who made reckoning that war would be more commodious unto them, there ensued no agreement and accord. The same Carbo when he was minded to exact hostages of all the towns and colonies of Italy, thereby to bind them upon their allegiance against Sylla, was by a general consent of the Senate crossed and rubicited. The new enfranchised Citizens, by virtue of an act by the Senate granted, were allowed the privileges of their souldiers and voices. Q. Metellus Pius, who had sided with the nobility, whilst he lived was in Attick, was by C. Fabius the Praetor discomfited: and by the faction of Carbo and those that followed the part of Marius, an act of Senate passed. These all armies and forces whereof ever should be called and discharged. The Liberians were distributed indifferently throughout the five and thirty tribes. Besides all this, here is specified the preparation of war which was raised against Sylla.

Of the LXXXV. Book.

Sylla crossed the sea with an army over into Italy: and when these Embassadors which he sent to treat for peace were by the Consul C. Norbanus still entreated, he overcame the said Norbanus in a battel. And when he was about to assault the camp of L. Scipio the other Consul, with whom he had travelled and assailed all means to conclude peace, and could not compass it: the whole Army of the Consul in general, being solicited by souldiers whom Sylla had sent out under-hand to that purpose, turned their engines unto him, and followed him standard, Scipio, when he might have been killed was let go. Cn. Pompeius, the son of that Cneus who was Alculum, enrolled an army of vol-untaries, and came unto Sylla with three legions: unto whom also the nobility all and whole ranged themselves: so as abandoning the City they repaired to the camp. Finally, in this book report is made of the expeditions performed by Captains of both sides throughout all Italy.

Of the LXXXVI. Book.

That year wherein C. Marius (the son of C. Marius) was by forcible means and strong hand created Consul before he was twenty years of age; G. Fabianus Attick was burnt quick in his own parition for the bloody cruelty and greatly accused. L. Philippus, lieutenant unto Sylla, seized Sardinia, after he had discomfited and slain Q. Antonius the Praetor. Sylla contracted a league with the States of Italy, to put them out of fear that he would not benevolence of their freedom of Rome and liberty of souldiers lately granted unto them. In like manner, upon offered confidence (that he had already of undoubted victory, he commanded all those that were in Rome and referred unto him for jurisdiction, to adourn their appearance in court, and to appear at Rome. Whilst the City yeoman divided and distracted two ways, L. Damasippus the Praetor, having according to the bold and pleasure of C. Marius the Consul, gathered the Senate together, massacred all the nobility of the City. One of which number Q. Mutius Scevola the arch-Pontifex, as he stood in the very porch and doorway of Vettians Temple murdered. Besides this book containeth the war ventured by L. Muræna against Mithridates in Asia.

Of the LXXXVII. Book.

Sylla after he had discomfited and overthrown the army of C. Marius, near a place called Sacriportus, befeigned him within the town Praeneste. The City of Rome being recovered out of the hands of his enemies, and when Marius made an offer to rally forth he repelled him. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits achieved by his lieutenants, with the like fortune of that side in all places.

Of the LXXXVIII. Book.

Sylla after that he had defeated and put to the sword the army of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, chased him forth of Italy. With the Samnites, who alone of all the Italian nations had not yet laid down arms, he fought one final battel, and vanquished them near the City of Rome, even before the gate Collina: and thus having recovered and got into his hands the absolute managing of the State, he compelled and bound this most goodly and beautiful victory with the sunless cruelty that ever man committed. He cut the throats of 8000 in the great bathly called Villa Publica, even those that had yielded themselves. He set up the scale of proscription and outlawry. The City of Rome and all Italy through out filled with massacres. Among these he caused all the Praenstins, disarmed as they were, to be slain. Marius, a Senator by a King, he killed in this manner, by breaking his arms and legs, by cropping his ears, and digging out his eyes. C. Marius befeigned within Praeneste by Lucretius Aella and that side with Sylla: when he sought means of evasion by a mine under the ground, seeing how he was environed by the army, flew himself within the said mine: for perceiving that he could not escape, he and Pontius Telesinus, that accompanied him in this flight, ran one at the other with their drawn naked swords: and when he had killed him, and was himself hurt, he found so much kindness at his slaves hands as to make amends of him quite.

Of the LXXXIX. Book.

Lucius Butus sent from Cn. Papyrius Carbo, who was arrived at Corcyra in a spher boat to Lilybæum, in effect to see whether Pompey were there: being compassed a d-bemoed in round about by those vessels which Pompey had sent out, turned his sword point to his body, and set the point of himself at assault within the boat, and so bending forward with the point of his body was perc-divorced and disengaged. Cn. Pompeius sent by the Senate with full commission of fruits and command, Cn. Carbo prisoner, who was arrived to the Islands Corsica, and flew him, who kept a private and weeping: for a woman, whom he should die Sylla become Dictator, and that which never any man had done before him: kept his port abroad with 24 Mithridates or Leaders going before him with their rods and axes. He altered the State, and

and in that innovation established it. The Tribunes of the Commons he abridged of their authority, and wholly deprived them of their power to prefer and establish laws. The College of the Pontifices and Augurs he amplified and augmented to the number of 15. The body of the Senate he supplied out of the order of Gentlemen. The children of those who he had proscribed and outlawed he disabled for being eligible to any honorable office, and of their goods made part sale, whereof at first he seized much by violence and had it away. A mighty mass of money he raised thereof, amounting to a hundred and fifty millions of Sesterces. He commanded Q. Lucretius Ocellus to be killed in the very Forum of Rome, for that he presumed without his leave and licence to sue for a Consulship: and when the people of Rome were highly offended at this indignity, he assembled them to a public audience, and before them avowed the fact, and took it upon him. Cn. Pompeius in Africk vanquished and slew in battell Cn. Domitius, one of the proscribed outlaws: and Hirtius King of the Numidians, who prepared to levy war. He being but four and twenty years of age, and no better at yet than a gentleman of Rome (a thing that never any man attained unto) triumphed over Affrick. C. Norbanus, a man who had been Consul, and now proscribed and outlawed, was apprehended in the City of Rhodes, and thereupon slew himself. Mutius likewise one of them that were outlawed and out of protection, being come privily disguised with his head covered to the back door of Bostia his wives house, was not let in, for that she said he was an outlaw: whereupon he took the stab at his own hands, and with his own heart blood bespattered the door of his wives house. Sylla recovered and won again Nola in Samnium. He brought seven and forty legions into the lands conquered from the enemies, planted them therein, and divided the grounds amongst them. He besieged the town Volaterræ, which yet stood out and bare arms, and at length upon surrender got it. Mitylene also, the only City in Asia, (which after that Mithridates was subdued maintained war) was fired and raised down to the ground.

Of the XC. Book.

Sylla depaupered this life, and about his hour was done unto him by the Senate, that he was entered in Mars field. M. Lepidus going about to cancel and abolish the acts of Sylla, raised new war: and by Q. Catulus (his companion in government) was driven out of Italy: and when he prepared to wage war (but to no effect) in Sardinia, there he perished and came to his death. M. Brutus who held Lumbardy, was by Cn. Pompeius slain. Q. Sertorius, another proscribed out-law, levied a great war in the northlands of Spain. Lucius Manlius the Pro-Consul, and M. Domitius a lieutenant, were in fight overcome by Hercules the treasurer. Moreover, this book containeth the acts performed by P. Servilius the Pro-Consul against the Cilicians.

Of the XCI. Book.

Cneus Pompeius, being as yet but a gentleman of Rome, was sent with full commission of Consul command against Sertorius. Certain Cities had Sertorius won by assault, and brought under many States to be his devotion. Ap. Claudius the Pro-Consul overcame the Thracians in divers and sundry battels. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul defended and slew L. Hirculeius the treasurer of Sertorius, with all his army.

Of the XCII. Book.

Cneus Pompeius both here fought with Sertorius in doubtful events, so as of both parts, one of the wings and points of the battell had the better hand. Q. Sertorius overthrew in fight Metellus and Perpenna with two armies. Pompeius defers to carry away his part in that victory, entered into the field, but made no saving game of it. Afterwards Sertorius was besieged within Calagurum, by daily and continual sallies forth, gave the enemies that lay in siege within as good as they brought. Over and besides, herein are contained the deeds achieved by Cn. Pompeius in Thrace against those Dardaniens, together with sundry cruel and bloody parts played by Q. Sertorius, even with those of his own side. For many of his own friends, and such as were with him outlawed, upon imputations of treason pretended against them, he put to death.

Of the XCIII. Book.

Publius Servilius, the Pro-Consul in Cilicia, subdued the Isaurians, and won certain towns of the Pirars. Nicomedes King of Bithynia at his death made the people of Rome his full heirs, and his kingdom was reduced into the form of a Province. Mithridates contrived a league with Sertorius, and waged war against the people of Rome. Herein is shewed the great preparation of war that the King made as well by land as sea, and how he fixt upon Bithynia. M. Aurelius Cotta the Consul was in battell vanquished by the King at Chalcedon. Moreover, this book containeth the exploits of Pompeius and Metellus against Sertorius, who in all warlike feats and martiall prowess was equal unto them, whom also he raised from the siege before the town Calagurum, and compelled to go into divers countries, Pompeius into the farther Province of Spain, and Pompeius into Gallia.

Of the XCIII. Book.

Lucius Lucullus the Consul fought against Mithridates, and in horse-service had the better hand of him. Certain rode he made with good success, and when his soldiers called hard upon him for help, he said them from mummy. Deiotarus a tetrarch of Gallogracia, defeated the captain of K. Mithridates who levied war in Phrygia. Moreover, this book containeth the fortunate achievements of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.

Of the XCV. Book.

Caius Curio the Pro-Consul vanquished and subdued the Dardaniens in Thrace. Threescore and fourteen sword-players of Capua fled out of the fence-school of Lentulus at Capua: who having gathered together a number of slaves, and hired bonds raised war under the leading of Chrylus and Spartacus.

tacus, and vanquished in plain field, Cl. Pulcher a lieutenant, and P. Vatinius the Prætor. L. Lucullus the Pro-Consul with the famine and the sword together tamed and subdued the host of Mithridates at the City Cizicus: and when they had chased him out of Bithynia: after many overthrows in war, and misfortunes of shipwreck at sea, wherewith his heart was grieved, he compelled him to flie into Pontus.

Of the XCVI. Book.

Quintus Attilius the Prætor defeated and flew Chrysius the captain of the fugitives, and with him 20000 men. Caius Lentulus the Consul received assault and overthrow at the hands of Spartacus. He also overcame in fight Lu. Gellius the Consul and Quintus Arrius. Sertorius was at a banquet slain by Manius Antonius and M. Perpenna with other conspirators in the eight year of his dukedom. A captain and brave warrior he was. He fought with Pompeius and Metellus, two famous Generals and Commanders. Many a time he saved his own, but more often he went away winner, booty, in the end he was abandoned and betrayed. The foreign command of that side was made over to Marcus Perpenna, whom Cn. Pompeius vanquished, took prisoner, and slew: so about the tenth year after the war began, he recovered Spain. C. Cassius the Pro-Consul, and Cneus Manlius the Prætor were foiled by Spartacus in the field, and that war was committed over to the managing and conduct of M. Cassius the Prætor.

Of the XCVII. Book.

Marcus Crassus the Prætor first fought with a power of the fugitives aforesaid, consisting of French-men and Germans, and won the better: for he slew 35000 enemies, and their captain Granicus. After that he waged against Spartacus, killed him also, and 40000 with him. Manius Antonius the Prætor maintained war unfortunately against the Cretensians, and by his death it took an end. M. Lucullus the Pro-Consul brought the Thracians under subjection. L. Lucullus had the upper hand in a battell of Mithridates in Pontus, and slew above 60000 enemies. M. Crassus and Cn. Pompeius were created Consuls, and Crassus immediately out of his Prætorship stepped to that dignity. So Pompey was a gentleman of Rome and no better advanced thereto, even before he had born the office of Treasurer. They restored again the Tribunes power and authority, by the means of Aurelius Cotta, the prebeminence of judges also was translated unto the Gentlemen of Rome. Mithridates, seeing his own estate lying in danger, fled unto Tigranes King of Armenia for succour.

Of the XCVIII. Book.

Machares the son of Mithridates, King of Bosphorus, was by L. Lucullus received into amity. Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius the Consuls administered their office with great severity and rigour, and disposed 60 from Senators dignity: they also held a review and purged the City. Enrolled there were 450000 Citizens of Rome. L. Metellus Lord Prætor in Sicily fought fortunnally against the pirates and rovers. The Temple of Jupiter in the Capitoll, which by fire had been consumed, was re-edified by Q. Catulus, and dedicated anew. L. Lucullus in Armenia discomfited in many battels Mithridates and Tigranes, with a mighty power of both Kings. Q. Metellus the Pro-Consul having the charge of the war against the Candians, besieged the City Cydonia. C. Triarius, a lieutenant under Lucullus received a foil. Mithridates in fight, Lucullus was impeached and laid for pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes cause, that he could not accomplish his victory by occasion of a mutiny among his own soldiers, who would not follow, because the Valerian legions forsook Lucullus, alleging that they had served their time fully out.

Of the XCIX. Book.

Quintus Metellus the Pro-Consul forced by assault Gnolus, Lyctus, Cydonia, and many other Cities (in Crete) L. Roicus a Trib. of the Com. pulled a law, that the gentlemen of Rome should be allowed the 14 next seats in the scaffolds of the Theatre, to behold the games and plays. Cn. Pompeius being commanded by a law promised unto the people for to pursue the rovers aforesaid, who had departed and cut off all commerce for corn and vituals, within 74 daies rid the sea of them quite, and after the war with them finished in Cilicia, he received them upon submision, and gave them Cities and lands to possess. Moreover, this book containeth the worthy exploits of Q. Metellus against the Cretensians. The letters also of Metellus and Cn. Pompeius, sent from the one to the other: in which Metellus complaineth that Pompeius by sending his own lieutenant into Crete, to receive the surrender and homage of the Cities there, annulled and passed by the glory of those acts which he had achieved. Pompeius again rendereth a reason thereof, and alledgeth that he sought to do.

Of the C. Book.

Caius Manilius, a Trib. of the Com. preferred a bill, to be exceeding displeasure and indignation of the nobles, that the war against Mithridates should be assigned to Pompey. His speech to the people imported and was effectual. Q. Metellus having subdued the Cretensians, gave laws unto that Island which whilst that time enjoyed freedom of State. Cn. Pompeius went his journey for to levy war against Mithridates, and with Phraates, King of the Parthians, he renewed the league. In a battell performed by horse-service he overcame Mithridates. Also herein is contained the war, first between Phraates King of the Parthians, and Tigranes King of the Armenians: afterwards between Tigranes the son and his father.

Of the CI. Book.

* Or Boiporus.

C. Neus Pompeius vanquished Mithridates in a battell fought by night, and compelled him to flee Boiporus. He received Tigrares upon his submission; and when he had taken from him Syria, Phznicia, and Cilicia, he gave him again the kingdom of Armenia. Their conspiracy, who having been condemned for the inordinate and ambitious suit of the Consulship, were confederate to kill the Consul; was surprised and doleful. Cn. Pompeius following the chase after Mithridates, entered into far remote countries and unknown nations. The Iberians and Albans who would not grant him passage, he overcame in battell. Over and besides this book beweth how Mithridates fled by Colchii and Heniochi, and what his sirs were in Boiporus.

* Georgians at this day.

Of the CII. Book.

* He had so ordinarily used a possible Antidote on the reserved called now Antidote, that the poison would not work.

CN. Pompeius reduced the realm of Pontus into the form of a Province. Pharnaces the son of Mithridates made war upon his own father, by whom Mithridates was besieged within his own royal Court and Palace. When poison was drunk, and seeing it was not so effectually and strong enough to dispatch him, he was killed by a French soldier, named Bitarnus, whose helping hand he requested for to rid him out of the world. Cn. Pompeius subdued the Jews: their famous Temple of Jerusalem, which untill that day never had suffered abuse and violence, he forced and won. Catiline, by occasions both had twice suffered a repulse in suing to be Consul, conspired together with Lentulus the Prator, Cethegus, and many others so massacre the Consuls and the Senat, to set the City on fire, and to subvert and overthrow the State of the Commonwealth. And to this purpose he levied an army in Tuscany. This treason and conspiracy was by the industry of M. Tullius Cicero detected and found out. Catiline was banished the City. The rest of his complais and adherents every one suffered death accordingly.

Of the CIII. Book.

* Of the god-deis Rome.

Catiline, together with his army, was by C. Antonius the Pro-Consul defeated and slain. P. Clodius was accursed for entering (in the habit and apparel of a woman) that Chapel which was not lawful for a man to go into, and notwithstanding he had committed adultery with the archpriestess wife, yet he was acquit and went clear away. Cn. Pompeius the Prator vanquished at Solone the Allobroges, who had rebelled. P. Clodius lost the nobility, and ranged himself with the Com. C. Cesar subdued the Portugals. At what time as he was in election to be Consul, and went about to invade and make havoc of the C. W. there arose a conspiracy among three of the most principal personages of the City, Cn. Pompeius, M. Crassus, and C. Cesar. The Agrarian laws were by Cesar the Consul published with great strife and contention: the Senat was unwilling thereto; but by the other Cef. M. Bibulus they passed. C. Antonius, Pro-Consul in Thracia, sped but badly in his war-affairs. M. Cicero was banished the City by virtue of an act promulged by P. Clodius Tribune of the Commons, for that he had put to death certain Roman Citizens unwearied. Cesar made a voyage into the Province of Gaul, where he subdued the Helvetians, a vagrant and wandering nation in those daies, who seeking a place to inhabit, intended through the Province of Cesar to travel into * Narbo. Moreover, it containeth the situation of France. Pompeius triumphed over the children of Mithridates, also over Tigrares and his son, and by one voice and general consents of the whole assembly was saluted by the name of * Magnus.

* Narboni.

* Great.

Of the CIV. Book.

The forepart of this book compriseth the site and description, together with the manners of Germany. C. Cesar at what time as he led his army against the Germans, at the request of the Helvians and Segna: tians, whose territory by them was possessed, and who under the conduct of Ariovitus were come down into France, by an Oracion to his army shaid the timorous disposition of the soldiers, which arose upon the fear they had of new and strange enemies, vanquished the Germans in plain fight, and drove them clean out of France. M. Cicero by means of Pompeius (who among others made an Oracion in his behalf) and of T. Annus Milo, a Tribune of the Commons, who likewise pleaded his cause, was with the exceeding joy of the Senat and all Italy called home from exile. Cn. Pompeius had commission for five year space, to look unto the provision of corn and victuals. Cesar overcame in fight the Ambians, Suesians, Peromandans, Atrebaues (nations all of the Belge) of whom there was an exceeding multitude, and received at length yielding to his protection. Afterwards he fought with passing great heat and jeopardy against the Nervii one of the foresaid States, and in five utterly destroyed and extinguished their whole generation: for they had waged war so long, that all of 60000 armed men were there remained but 300, and of 95 of their Noblemen three only escaped and no more. There passed a law for to reduce Cyprus into the form of a Province, and to confiscate the Kings treasure: by virtue whereof, the managing of that affair was committed to C. Caro, Ptolemus King of Egypt suffered many wrongs and injuries at his own subjects hands, and being by them expelled out of his kingdom came to Rome. C. Cesar in a battell at sea vanquished the Venetians, a State and City seated in the very Ocean. Last of all, it reporteth exploits by his Lieutenants performed with like good fortune.

Of

Of the CV. Book.

At what time as the assembly for election of Magistrates might be holden, by reason of the negatives and inhibitions of C. Cato a Trib. of the Com. the Senat generally in token of sorrow put on mourning weeds. M. Cato in his sute for a Pratorship suffered a repulse, and Vatinius was preferred before him. The same Vatinius when he would have impeached the law, whereby were granted to the Cof. the Provinces for five years, unto Pompey the government of both Spains, unto Crassus Syria and the Parthian war, and unto Cesar France and Germany, was by C. Trebonius a Tribune of the Commons, and the first maker of the said law, committed to prison. M. Gabinius the Pro-Consul established Ptolemus again in the kingdom of Egypt, and disfeized Archelaus whom they had set up for their King. Cesar after he had vanquished and put to sword the Germans in France, crossed over the Rhene, and subdued that part of Germany which is next thereto: which done, he sailed over into Britain with much trouble and damage, by reason of the cross and contrary winds while he was at sea; and he sped little better, when he was there: but after he had slain a mighty great number of men, he brought into subjection the rest of the Island.

Of the CVI. Book.

Julia daughter to Cesar and wife to Pompeius departed this life, and had this surpassing honour done. Unto her by the people, as to be entered in Mars field. Many of the States of France revolted by the leading of Ambiorix a Duke of the Eburons, by whom Cotta and T. Aurunculeius the lieutenants of Cesar were by an ambuscado surprised and environed, and by means thereof they and the armies wherof they had the conduct were put to the sword. And at what time as the camp of the other legions also was besieged, assailed, and with difficulty defended, and among them Q. Cicero, who was Lord President of the Treveris: the enemies were by Cesar himself in person overthrow in fight. M. Crassus intending to war upon the Parthians passed over the river Euphrates, and being vanquished in battell wherein his son was slain, after he had rallied the broken ends of his army, and retired them to a little hill, he was trained forth by the enemies (whose Captain was Surenas) to a parley and treaty of peace, and thereupon attacked: but because he would not suffer any indignity and villany alive, he made resistance, and in that struggling of his was slain, and there an end of him.

Of the CVII. Book.

C. Aulus Cesar having vanquished the Treveris in Gaul, passed over the second time into Germany, but finding no enemy there to make head, returned into France, where the Eburons and other Civis which had conspired, he overcame, put their King Ambiorix to flight, and followed him in chase. The body of P. Clodius slain in the high way Appia near Boville by T. Annus Milo a competitor of the Consulship, the Commons of Rome burnt in a funeral fire within the Curia Hostilia. By occasion of a sedition and variance between two Candidates for a Consulship, namely, Hylcius Scipio, and Milo, who with voice and arms tried the issue by the ears, Cn. Pompeius was sent out of the Senat to suppress such enormous debates. Created Consul he was the third time in his absence, and which prerogative no man ever had before without Colleague. A commission was granted forth to sit upon the death of Pub. Clodius, by virtue whereof Milo was judicially condemned, and had his judgment to be banished. A bill was proposed, that C. Cesar notwithstanding he was absent should be accepted of in the election of Consuls, albeit M. Cato was unwilling thereto, and gain said it. Moreover, this book containeth the warlike acts attributed to C. Cesar against the Gauls (who generally in manner revolted under the leading of Vercingetorix the Avernian: also the painful sieges of certain Cities, and namely, of * Avaxium in * Bituriges, and * Gergovia in Auvergne.

* Bourgesse.
* In Berry.
Clermont.

Of the CVIII. Book.

C. Aulus Cesar vanquished the Gauls at * Alexia, and received of the Cities in France which had been in arms, into his protection upon their submission. C. Cassius the transjurer M. Crassus put the Parthians to the sword, who had passed over into Syria. M. Cato sued to be Consul, and had the repulse, and Ser. Sulpicius with M. Marcellus were created Consuls. C. Cesar subdued the * Bellovaci, and other States and Cities in France. Also it containeth the strife and debate between the Consuls, and their sending of a successor to C. Cesar. For M. Marcellus the Consul was earnest in the Senat, that Cesar should come to stand for a Consulship, considering that he by a law made in that behalf was to govern his provinces unto that time of his Consulship. Last of all, the martial deeds of Mar. Bibulus in Syria are here reported.

* Alize.

* Bee noisings.

Of the CIX. Book.

The causes of the civil war and their beginnings be here set downe. The contentions likewise shew a successor to be sent in lieu of Cesar, who denied flatly to dismiss the armies, unless Pompey also departed.

charged his forces. *Adversary*, this book treateth of the actions performed by C. Cæsar, a Tribune of the Commonwealth, first against Catullus, and afterwards for him. When there passed a day of the Senate, and we were told that Cæsar should be employed to succour Cæsar, M. Antonius and Q. Catullus, and other Tribunes, were then by their negation and inhibitions they seemed to resist, and say that they were expelled the city; and a commission was directed by the Senate to the Consuls, and to C. Pompeius, in this form, To see that the Commonwealth suffered no damage. C. Cæsar intending to perform his adversary, came with his army into Italy. Commius together with L. Domitius and L. Lentulus he took prisoners, and sent them again; but C. Pompeius, and the rest of that side he utterly chased forth of Italy.

Of the CX, Book.

Cains Caesar *besieged Massilia*, which had *shut the gates against him*: who leaving C. Trebonius and D. Brutus at the siege, took a journey into Spain, where he received upon his arrival Lucius Afranius and C. Petreius, two lieutenants of Pompeius, together with seven legions at Ilerdia, and dismissed them all with no harm done unto them. Vatro alse a lieutenant of Pompeius, together with his army came under his obedience. The Gaditani were enfranchised and gave the City unto. The Massiliani after two overthrows in sea-fight, and a long siege which they had endured, submitted at last and were at the devotion of Caesar. C. Antonius a lieutenant of Caesar fought an unfortunate battle against the Pompeians, and in Illyricum was taken prisoner: during which time the inhabitants of Optigerum beyond the river of Padus (who were the auxiliaries of Caesar) seeing their chained bridge of boats and others lacking up and fast fast within the enemies ships rather than they would fall into the hands of their enemies, ran one upon another, and died every one. C. Curio a lieutenant of Caesar in Affrick, after he had fought against Varns a captain of the Pompeians, was together with his army defeated, and cut in pieces by Julius King of Mauritania. C. Caesar passed the sea over into Greece.

Of the CXL Book.

CAIUS Cæcilius Rufus the Prætor going about to raise commotions and seditions all thre over he could win in the City, and having solicited the commons upon the hope of cancelling all debts, was first deposed from his Mag. stry, and after driven out of the City. Then he bawled with Multobis nomen, who had levied a power of offensive and defensive: but both of them in this preparation of war came first to their people and were slain. Cleopatra queen of Egypt was by her brother Ptolemy expelled out of her kingdom. By reason of the avarice and cruelty of Q. Cætilius the Prætor, the Cædianes in Spain, together with two Varian legions, revolted from Cæsar and his side. Cn. Pompeius was besieged by Cæsar at Brundisium: but having now his fences with the guards thereon belonging, and that with great loss of the adverse part, he was delivered from the siege. But after the war was translated into Thessaly, he was at Pharsalia in a battell overthrown. There he remained still within the camp Cicero, who was by name framed for nothing more nifty than war. Cæsar pardoned all those of the adverse part, who after his victory submitted themselves to his mercy.

Of the CXII. Book.

Herein is related the fearful condition of that side which was vanquished, and how they fled in sundry parts of the world. **en** Pompeius being arrived in Egypt, by the commandment of Ptolemus the King, as yet an infant under age, and persuasion of Theodoros his teacher and schoolmaster, who might of all other over-rule the King's will; also one Phortius, was killed by the hands of Achillaus, who had a warrant to execute that task, even in the very barge before he was landed. But Cornelia his wife, and Sextus Pompeius his son fled back into cyprus, czar three daies after the said fall victory pursued Pompeius: and when Theodoros presented unto him his head, and fignet of his finger, he was displeased in his heart and wept withall. He entered Alexandria without any danger, notwithstanding the troubles and barbarity therein, czar was created Dictator. He restored cleopatra unto the kingdom of Egypt: and when Ptolemus made war by their advice and counsell who moved him to murder Pompeius, czar vanquished him with great peril and hazard of himself. At Ptolemus's fled, his vessel wherein he was embarked, was grounded in Nilus, and there stuck fast. Besides, his book sheweth the painful and toilsome journey of Marcus caesar with his legions, in Affric through the desert wilderness: and the war which **en** Domitius fortinately managed against Phaartes the Parthian King.

Of the cXIII. Book.

WHEN the fide of Pompeius beat gathered heart and strength in Affrick; he sovereignly committed thereof was committed to P.Scipio; for Mato who before had equalled rest and confusion with him gave place and yielded his right. Now when it was that day that he saw the fate of his father and sister ruin of Utica; for that the City was so enclosed and favourable to exilar; while M. Cato stood fast in this point; hat it should not be defrayed; and Juba [the K.] was earnest to have it raised: the great heat and keeping thereof was committed unto Cato. The sin of Pompey the great, having levied forces in Spain (he could stand and loathing where, neither Africaine nor Pertrice were willing to undertake) made forth war upon exilar. Pharnaces King of Pontus and son of Mitridates, rendering no time of war

Of the CXIV, Book

Cælius Bassus a gentleman of Rome, and one of Pompeys fide, levied war in Syria. Sextus Cæsar was both foraker by the legion whiche revolted and went to Bassus, and also flatterer. Cæsar vanquished Septio the Syrian, Afranius, and Juba, near Tapios, and forced their camp. Cato hearing thereof, wounded him self at Utica: and when his son came between and stood his hand, his hurt was dressed, but in the very cure, the wound was newly lanced again, he yielded up his breath and died, in the 49 year of his age. Petreus killed Juba and himself. P. Scipio in his ship was fether round, and at his death, which he took manfully, uttered a brave speech: for when the enemies made search and enquiry what was become of the General, The General (quoth he) is well, Faulus and Afranius were slain. Cato's son had his pardon, Brutus, a lieutenant of Cæsar vanquished the Belovans in France that rebelled.

Of the C X V. Book.

Cæsar rode in four triumphs over France, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. A solemn feast he made, and exhibited unto the people (view of all sorts, *Motto* M. Marcellus a man of Confulary dignity, at the request of the Senat he granted leave to returne whith Marcellus could not enjoy the benefit of his grace and favour, by reason that he was murdered at Athens by Cn. Magnus Chilo, his own client and vassall, Cæsar also held a review of the City, wherein were enrolled 150000 Citizens, whereas before there had been numbered 400000. See the calamity of civil war. He took a voyage into Spain against Sex. Pompeius: and after many rades and expeditions on both sides made, and some cities forced, in the end he obtained one final victory for all before the City Munda, but with exceeding perill and danger. Sex. Pompeius escaped and fled.

Of the CXVI. Book.

Cælius Cæsar triumphed a fifth time over Spain. When many honours and rights were excellent, were by the *Senat* ordained for him, and, namely, among the rest, to be called *Pater Patriæ*; so he sacrificed and intreatable; and withal to be Dictator for ever; he gave occasion to be envied and misliked. In such that when the *Senat* bestowed upon him these honourable titles, at what time as he (as before the Temple of Venus Genetrix) rose not up nor gave entrance unto them: second for that when *Mar. Antonius* the *Coj*, and his Collegue *ran* among the *Lepidus*, he laid upon his ivory chair of estate the wreath of wisdom which was by him set upon his head: thirdly, because he deprived from their authority *Epitaphius* Marullus and *Cæcilius* Flavus, two Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to bring him into bondage; if he affected and sought to be King. Upon these causes, a conspiracy was contrived against him, whereof the principal heads were *M. Brutus*, *C. Trebonius*, and *C. Cassius*, also one of his own side *D. Brutus*; by whom he was massacred in the court of *Pompeius*, and received 33 wounds: and by these murderers was the *Capitol* seized and held. But after that the *Senat* had passed a decree to forget this murder, the conspirators forced aid, having received for their security the children of *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, as hostages, came down from the *Capitol*. By the last will and testament of *Cæsar*, *C. Octavius* (his first son) was made his half heir, and adopted into his own name. The body of *Cæsar* being brought into *Mars* field, was by the *Com. Burgh* in a funeral fire of the *Rolla*. The honour and dignity of Dictatorship was for ever abolished. Chameaces a person of soft-wile and base condition, avowed himself to be the son of *C. Marius*; and whilst he raised a sedition among the credulous common people, was cut off and killed.

Of the CXVII. Book.

Caius Octavius from out of Epirus repaired to Rome: for Cæsar had sent him thither before, when he minded to make war in Macedonia, where he was received with good tokens and fortunate presages, and with all took upon him the name of Cæsar. In this confusion of state and tumultuous trouble of all things, Lepidus attained by death to the high self pontifical dignity. But when M. Antonius the Consul threatened himself most lordly and proudly in his place, and by force published a law at touching the exchange of the Provinces; and withal offered much wrong and abuse to Cæsar, when he made request that he would assist and stand with him in revenge of those that murdered his uncle: Cæsar to the end that he might make both himself and the common-wealth strong against him, raised and excited the old soldiers that he had before placed in Colonia; The fourth legion also, and that called Matia, fell from Antonius and turned their ensigns to Cæsar. After this, more befides (by occasion that many through the cruelty of A. Antonius were murdered every where in their tents) became they were: one possessed, & evaded him him and draged to Cæsar. D. Brutus purposing to stop Antonius at the place Idajuntino Lombardy, seized upon Mutina with an army. Finally, this book declareth the running to and fro of those on both sides to be possessed of the Provinces and the preparation for war.

* For as he
entered the Ci-
ty, the circle
of the sun ga-
thered about
it an *Halo*
round like a
rainbow or
garland, even
over his head.

Of the CXVIII. Book.

MARCUS BRUTUS in Greece (under a pretence of maintaining the state, and enterprising war against Antonius) possessed himself of the army whereof Vercinus had the conduct together with the Province. Mito Cæsar, who first took arms in defence of the C. W. the government and command of a Pro-Prætor was granted, with the Prætorian ornaments and ensigns thereto belonging, and withal, he had this addition to be reputed Pro-Prætor. M. Antonius besieged D. Brutus in Mutina. Certain Embassadors were sent unto him from the Senat as concerning peace, but little availed they in the treaty and conclusion thereof. The people of Rome generally took them to arms and soldiers both. Brutus in Epirus subdued C. Antonius the Prætor together with his army.

Of the CXIX. Book.

CNEUS TREBONIUS was by the guilefull practice of P. Dolabella, slain in Asia: for which said Dolabella was by the Senat judged an enemy to the State. When Pania the Cof. was at the point to lose the field against Antonius, A. Hirtius the other Cof. came with his army to the rescue, discomfited the forces of M. Antonius, and so made the fortune of both parts alike and equal. Afterwards, Antonius being vanquished by Hirtius and Cæsar, fled into France, and joyned unto him M. Lepidus with the legions which were under him. Both he and his they who were within his holds in garrison, were by the Senat assailed. Aulus Hirtius, who after his victory was slain within the camp of the enemies, and L. Pania, who died of a wound received in an unfortunate fight, were both buried in Mars field. To C. Cæsar the very Captain of the three now remaining alive, the Senat was not so kind as they ought to have been: for leaving order and that D. Brutus (who by Cæsar had been delivered from the siege at Mutina) should himself make no thankfull remembrance of Cæsar and his soldiers, as was meet and requisite. For which discomfiter, C. Cæsar (being reconciled to M. Antonius by the means and mediation of M. Lepidus) came to Rome with an army: and when they were fore dismaied at his coming, who had before treated him so unkindly, created conflict he was (with Q. Pordius) being but nineteen years of age, not full twenty: for he wanted one day, as Velleius Paterculus saith.

Of the CXX. Book.

CÆSAR now Consul, proposed a law for an inquisition to be made of them by whose means his father Cæsar was killed: and by vertue of that law, M. Brutus, C. Cassius, and D. Brutus were condemned and condemned in their absence. When together with M. Antonius, Aulus Pollio also, and Minutianus Placidus had signed their names, and thereby much strengthened and augmented their forces. D. Brutus whom the Senat had sent with commission to pursue Antonius, being now forlorn of his confidants and friends, was at the commandment of Antonius (into whose hands he fell) killed by one Capenis a Burgonian. Cæsar contrived a peace with Antonius and Lepidus, wherein it was capitulated between them, that these three should for five years have the sovereignty over all, only to set in order and publish the state of the common-wealth: to wit, himself, Lepidus, and Antonius, and each of them prescribe and outlaw their own adherentes and enemies. In which prescription were contained the names of very many Gentlemen of Rome, and one hundred and thirty Senators, and amongst the rest, M. P. Paulus the brother of M. Lepidus, L. Cæsar the uncle of Antonius by the Mother, and M. Cicero, formerly Poppius, a legions soldier, in the 63 year of his age, whose head and hands were set upon the Rostra. Moreover, this book sheweth the death of M. Brutus achieved in Greece.

Of the CXXI. Book.

CASSIUS who had in commission from the Senat, to pursue by force of arms Dolabella, judged an enemy to the Common-wealth, being born out by the authority and warrant of the State, possessed himself of Syria, and became Master of three armies which were in that Province. He besieged Dolabella within the City of Laodicea, and put him to death. C. Antonius was likewise taken prisoner, and by commandment from M. Brutus slain.

Of the CXXII. Book.

MARCUS BRUTUS had but bad success in fight against the Thracians. After that all the Provinces beyond seas, and the armies, were under his hands and Caius Cassius: they complained both together at Smyrna, what course to take for the same war. Publicola the brother of M. Messala they vanquished, and yet by common consent they pardoned him.

Of the CXXIII. Book.

SEXTUS POMPEIUS the son of Magnus, assembled together out of Epirus a number of outlaws and banished persons, and having a long time with his army robbed only by way of prey, and seized as yet upon the possession of no piece upon the land, first seized Messina, a town in Sicily, and afterwards

the whole Province. And after that A. Pompeius Bibulus the Prætor there, was by Pompey slain: he the said Pompey in a battell at sea vanquished Q. Salvidienus, a Lieutenant of Cæsar. Cæsar and Antony with their armies sailed over into Greece, with intent to wage war against Brutus and Cassius, Quinquus Cornificius in Affrick overcame in plain fight T. Sestius, the Captain of the Cassian faction.

Of the CXXIII. Book.

CAIUS CÆSAR together with Antony fought at Philippa with variable fortune against Brutus and Cassius, but such fort as the right points of both battles had the better, and each of them won the other's camp. But the death of Cassius was it that turned the ballance and made the difference: who being in that point that retreated and went down, supposed that the whole army and main battell was discomfited and so killed himself. In another conflict afterwards, M. Brutus also was overcome, and there ended his life: for he intreated Strato (that accompanied him in his flight) to set his sword point to ward his, and so he ran upon it. The same did some forty more of the principall Romans: among whom was Q. Hontenius likewise slain.

Of the CXXV. Book.

CAIUS CÆSAR left Antony (for to his share fell the Empire of some Provinces beyond sea) and retired into Italy. He divided lands among his old soldiers. The mutinies of his own army by occasion that the soldiers were seduced by Fulvia the wife of M. Antonius and rose against their Generall, he repressed with exceeding danger and jeopardy. L. Antonius the Cof. and brother to M. Antonius, by the treacherous counsel and persuasion of the said Fulvia, made war upon Cæsar: and having procured those nations to side and take part with him, whose lands had been made over and assigned to the old soldiers, offered aid: and with all discomfited M. Lepidus, who with an army had the government and guard of the City, turned perforce by way of hostility into Rome.

Of the CXXVI. Book.

CAIUS CÆSAR when he was but three and twenty years of age, besieged L. Antonius in the town Perusia: and when he made sundry offers to sally out and break forth, he repelled and chased him back, yea, and for very hunger forced him to yield and come under his obedience. As for Antony himself and all his soldiers, he pardoned, but Perusia he reposed and destroyed. Finally, after he had brought all the armies of the adverse side to submit and to stand to his mercy, he finished the war without effusion of any blood.

Of the CXXVII. Book.

THE PARTHANS, under the conduct of Labienus, who had taken part with Pompey and that side, invaded Syria: overcome Didius Saxe, the Lieutenant of M. Antonius, and held all that Province to their own use. M. Antonius being solicited by the instigation of his wife Fulvia to make war against Cæsar, put her away, because she should be no let hindrance to the accord and agreement of the three rulers in their Triumvirate. Then made he a peace with Cæsar, and took to wife his sister Octavia. Q. Salvidienus who completed mischief against Cæsar, he detested and bewrayed: who being thereupon condemned, wrought his own death. P. Ventidius a Lieutenant under Antonius, overcome the Parthians in battell, and chased them forth of Syria, having before slain their Leader Labienus. When as Sextus Pompeius held Sicily, and being a near enemy and ill neighbour, to Italy, standeth betraying of own and vituals by sea: upon request Cæsar and Antony made peace with him for this consideration, that he should govern Sicily as his Province. Also herein are set forth the troubles and wars of Affrick.

Of the CXXVIII.

WHEN SEXT. POMPEIUS insisted the sea again with robbery, and piracy, and would not make good and maintain that peace, which he had accepted of Cæsar, he was forced upon necessity to undertake war against him, and in two naval battells fought with doubtful event. L. Ventidius a Lieutenant of M. Antonius, vanquished the Parthians in Syria and slew their King. The Jews also were by Antonius Lieutenant subdued. Herein besides, is set down the preparation for the Sicilian war.

Of the CXXIX. Book.

SUNDRY battells were fought at sea against Sext. Pompeius with variable issue: so as, of Cæsar two shippes, the one which was conducted by Agrippa, got the better hand: but the other by Cæsar himself had the overthrow: and the soldiers being set ashore, were in exceeding great danger. But afterwards Pompeius was defeated, and thereupon fled into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus crossed the sea from out of Affrick, pretending to take part with Cæsar in his wars to be made against Sext. Pompeius. But when Cæsar showed upon him also, he was abandoned of his army, and being content to resign up the honour and dignity of the Triumvirate, obtained life. M. Agrippa was by Cæsar rewarded with a naval crown, an honour to no man ever granted before him.

Of the CXXX Book.

Marcus Antonius, in his rising time with Cleopatra, entered into the Province of Media with eighteen legions, and sixteen thousand horsemen, leaving war upon the Parthians, and shut up the last two of his legions, seeing nothing prosper well on his side, he retired back. But still the Parthians followed him in chase: whereupon in exceeding painful haste and great peril of the whole army, he returned into Armenia: so as in 27 daies he fled three hundred miles. About 8000 men he lost by tempestuous weather. But he was himself the occasion that he suffered this damage, because he was so weary and weary, the Parthian war which unfortunately he entered into, he would not enter in Armenia, for he had made to him love Cleopatra.

Of the CXXXI Book.

Sex Pompeius having once submitted himself he was in the protection of M. Antonius, and when they war against him in Asia: but by his Lieutenant he was surprised and taken. Caesar, being the victor of the old soldiers, which with great mischief was begun: he subdued the Tapides, the Dalmatians and Pannonians, Antonius having upon his word and promise of safety and protection trained into him Artavasdes the King of Armenia, commanded him to be led up fast in front, and gave the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, which he had by Cleopatra: for now by this time he began to grow weary of his wife, upon whom long before he was enamoured and doted in love.

Of the CXXXII Book.

Caius Caesar subdued the Dalmatians in Illyricum. When M. Antonius for the sake of Cleopatra (who bare him two sons, Philadelphus and Alexander) would neither return to the City of Rome, nor after the time of the Triumvirate resign up that dignity and government, but prepared for war which he meant to levy against Rome and Italy: and thereby to advance a mighty power, as well of success as of love: and withal, had renounced the marriage with Octavia, Caesar's sister, and sent her a letter of divorce, and so put her away: Caesar thereupon, with an army sailed into Epirus. The battles followed, and the losses, wherein Caesar had the upper hand, he here related.

Of the CXXXIII Book.

Marcus Antonius was with his fleet overcome at Actium, and thereupon fled to Alexandria: where being by Caesar besieged, and in utter despair of recovering his former state, but moved especially by a false rumour that was spread, how Cleopatra was killed he slew himself. When Caesar was now Master of Alexandria, Cleopatra his wife because she would not fall into the hands of the conqueror, willingly procured her own death. Caesar upon his return to the City of Rome, had the honour of triumphing the one over Illyricum, another for the victory at Actium, and the third in regard of Cleopatra. Times when he had fought all civil wars which had continued 23 years. M. Lepidus, the son of Lepidus the Triumvir, conspired against Caesar, and whilst he went about to make war, was prevented and slain.

Of the CXXXIV Book.

Caius Caesar having set the State in good order, and reduced all Provinces into one certain form, was succeeded also Augustus: and the month Sextilis to honour his name was likewise called. Whilst he was in expedition at Narbonne, he took a review of the three Provinces of Gaul, which his father (Caesar) had conquered. The way which M. Crassus made against the Bosphorians, Massians, and other nations, is here related.

Of the CXXXV Book.

The war which M. Crassus levied against the Thracians, as also which Caesar made upon the Spaniards is here set down, likewise how the Salassians, a people inhabiting the Alps, were utterly subdued.

Of the CXXXVI Book.

Rhetia was conquered by Tiberius Nero, and Drusus his wives son. Agrippa Caesar's son in law died: and by Drusus was the general revenue and tax taken.

Of the CXXXVII Book.

The Cities of Germany situate on either side the Rhene, are by Drusus besieged and assailed. The tumult and insurrection which arose in France, by reason of the forced review or tax was suppressed. An altar was erected unto Divus Caesar at the confluent of the two rivers, Arar and Rhodanus, and a Priest was created to offer thereupon, one C. Julius Vercondaridubus an Helvian.

Of the CXXXVIII Book.

Here is shown how the Thracians were by L. Plo called, likewise how the Theruci, Temachate, and other nations of Germany beyond the Rhene, were subdued and brought under by Drusus. Octavia the sister of Augustus departed this life, having buried before, her son Marcellus: whose monuments still remain, namely the Theatre and gallery bearing his name, as if they had been dedicated by Marcellus.

Of the CXXXIX Book.

The war which Drusus managed against the nations beyond the Rhene is here reported. In which war the chief persons that fought were Senechtus and Anecius, Tribunes of the Nervian State. Nero the brother of Drusus subdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Peace was contracted with the Parthians: and upon capitulation the military engines were delivered up again to their King, which first under the conduct of Crassus, and afterwards of Antonius were lost, and by them taken.

Of the CXL Book.

In this book is related the war which Drusus fought against the Cities and States of Germany beyond the Rhene. Himself fell from his horse and broke his leg, by reason that his horse fell thereon: upon which fracture he died thirty daies after. His corps was by his brother Nero (who being sent for upon the news of his sickness, rode in post brought through to Rome, and bestowed in the tomb of C. Julius. Praised he was by Caesar Augustus his father in law, and at his funeral for a small space of time, was attended with many honourable names.

To the Reader.

The history of Titus Livius, as it was by him passing well penned otherwise, and none thereto in Latine comparable: so in the calculation and date of times, which they call Chronology (a singular light to give direction in a story) is it somewhat defective and unlike himself, so as he cannot be praised without exception. But in main consider the huge volumes which he wrote and namely, in his declining age; the variety and disagreement of former authors whom he followed, who before him failed also in this point, and whereof he much complaineth; he is to be pitied and pardoned if his meanness failed somewhat in this behalf. For where shall we find a man that is *in aetate senex, omnique ex parte beatus*? And indeed if we weigh the thing aright, as it was a profection by it felt, and required a whole man: so many trammelled therein alone, and they that performed well but it only, deserved high thanks and commendation. And to let many others pass, how worthily is T. Pomponius Atticus praised by Cicero his friend, for digressing the head Magistrates of 700 years in one book: As for Verrius Flaccus, who lived in the time of Augustus Caesar, he collected a catalogue and register of the chief Rulers of Rome, how they were chosen successively, and how they governed from time to time: which as becaused to be cut and engraven in a marble wall within the Capitol for a perpetual memory to posterity, so thereby he deserved also to have his own statue erected near the Temple of Vesta, for an everlasting memorial of so great a benefit. But what is there so durable that time watcheth not? What so conspicuous and evident, but troublesome daies may overwhelm and hide in oblivion? Thus amidst that havoc which the Goths and Vandals made in Italy, there remained not one fourth part extant of Livens history: thus in that general confusion of Rome, these records of Verrius Flaccus were defaced, broken, and buried deep under the ruins of the Capitol and other stately edifices. But the revolution of times as it hath brought to light again some reliques of Livy: so it hath discovered also the marbles of Verrius for in the time of Paul the third, Pope of Rome the fragments of the said stones were dugged out of the ground between the Roman Forum, and the broad street *Via Sacra*: brought forth also & laid abroad in the Capitol to the view of the world. To which as the true touch-stone certain learned men of late daies have laid to their own labors in that kind, namely, Bartholomew Marlian of Milan, Onuphrius Panvinus of Verona, Charles Sigonius of Modena and Francis Robertellus of Udine: and comparing the same as also the annals gathered by H. my Glareanus beforetime, with the foreaid antiquities of Verrius late found, have recovered much light to the history of Livy, and luppied his wants in that behalf. I thought it not unfit therefore to gratifie my countrymen in some measure this way also, and deliver the same in English which I found annexed to the best editions in Latine, as followeth.

CHRONOLOGIE

TO THE
HISTORY OF *TITUS LIVIUS*,

Compiled according to the Tables and Records of *Verrius Flaccus* in the Capitoll, and set out with most profitable Notes, shewing the variety and disagreement of Authors about the names of the Roman Consuls.

The causes of dissent and repugnance in Historiographers, as touching the computation and relating of the years from the foundation of the City of Rome.



In: we intend to set forth a Kalender or Register of the Consuls mentioned in the History of *Livius*, which by reason of uncertainty, obscurity and discordance of the times is so dark and intricate, that not only the learned and most experienced Historians of our age, but the best writers of the Roman story in ancient time very often complained thereof: we think it not impertinent to our purpose, briefly to search into the causes of this dissent: which being once known, we may follow that account of the times, which seemeth to accord best with the Historical truth, and to be grounded upon the authority and testimony of the most authentick and approved writers. For seeing that an History (as *Cicero* hath most truly said) is the witness of times; what is more unfitting for it, than to mislead and want that which is the chiefest point therein, and without due and diligent reckoning made, to be ignorant what was first and what was last done? It seemeth therefore, that of this diversity in the account and computation of the Roman Consuls, there be three especial causes.

The first is, for that the year in which the first Consuls entered into that Magistracy, is by the Roman Historiographers, not after one sort but diversely let down. For *Dionysius* (a most diligent writer of the Acts of Romans) in his first book, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, reporteth, that the KK. reigned 244 years: which also is collected out of the yearly computation gathered by *Varro* and approved by the authority of others. For *Messala* reporteth, how upon the expulsion of the KK, which happened in the 244 year after the foundation of the City, the Romans were ruled under the yearly government of Consuls. To which opinion *Livy* also subscribeth in the end of his first book, saying, that the regiment of KK. continued 244 years from the foundation of the City, unto the freedom and liberty thereof. But *Ennius* in his first book writeth that the seven Kings reigned in Rome 243 years: which account agreeth with *Sex. Rufus* in his abridgement. In which variety this is to be observed, that these two last named, reckon the years only of every Kings reign, and out of the whole and gross sum leave out the year of the interregnum, which *Dionysius*, *Livius*, *Messala*, and the rest inter between, and that right truly and upon good reason: for after the death of *Romulus*, the interregnum continued one year. Consider then and examine the thing diligently, and ye shall find, that in reckoning the years of every Kings reign in severall, *Ennius* and *Sexus Rufus* both, attribute as many years to the Kings government, as *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and the rest: so that this difference is not much. But otherwise there be (as *Ennius* hath delivered in his *Chronicles*) who write, that the KK. reigned but 243 years, and take the interregnum withall: whose judgment, *Orosius*, *Jornandus*, and *Bede* seem to follow. For *Orosius* in the fifth chapter of his second book recordeth, that *Ennius* the Consul in that very year, namely the 244, put his own sons to death. The Kings reigned not precisely to many years just, but, for that some (and namely, *Romulus*) went over some months and daies, *Dionysius* and *Livius* reckoned them for a full year, and laid it to *Tarquinius Priscus*: but the other above-named, together with *Ennius*, left out those odd months and daies (because they made not up a compleat year) and assigned but only seven and thirty years to the reign of King *Priscus*. To this may be added another reason of the like nature: namely, that as divers authors have doubtfully reported the year, so they are more certain of the month and day on which the first Consuls began their government. For *Plutarch* in his Problems writeth, that they entered upon the first day of *January*: but *Macrobius* in the first book of his *Saturalia* and seventh chapter, seemeth to imply that they took their Consuls place the first of *June*, saying, (according to the opinion of others) That *June* took the name of *Junius Brutus*: for that in this month, and namely, upon the first day thereof (according to a vow whereto he was obliged by the banishment of *Tarquin*) he solemnized a sacrifice to the goddess *Ceres* upon mount *Calvus*. Others

Others again write, how this happened the 24 of *February*: grounding herein upon the old antiquities and records of stone, together with the testimony of *Ovid*, who in the second book of his *Kalendar* thus writeth:

King Tarquin with his sons then fled: The Consuls yearly begin.

The sovereign rule at Rome: since that, no King ever reigned there.

Some there are besides of opinion, that they entered the first day of *July*: and of their mind seemeth *Jacchimus Perennius* to be, in his third book of the Greek *Magistrates*. In this repugnancy therefore of opinions, very doubtful it is which to follow. As for that old *Plutarch*, it hath long since been clearly and learnedly confuted by two great and excellent clarks, *Oppianus Patavinus* and *Sigismund*: since it is plain that it was the six hundred year from the foundation of the City, and not before, that the Consuls began their government the first of *January*. But in setting down the certain day, they themselves are not well agreed. For *Sigismund* after *Marlianus* inclineth this way and saith, That the first day of the Consuls government was the six and twentieth day of *May*. But *Perennius* thinketh that the first Consuls were created the 26 day of *February*. And this diversity is found not only in the day when the first Consuls took their government, but also in the time after ensuing. What was the usual day of any month whereon the Consuls were wont to begin their Magistracy, a man can hardly find any certainty before the six hundred year from the Cities foundation. In the four and fortieth year verily after the Kings were exiled the first day of *July*, as *Livy* writeth, was the ordinary day for yearly *Magistrates* to take their place: but how many years following, that order continued, or at what time it was changed, he shewed not before he came to the three hundred and two year, and then he saith in his third book, That the thirteenth of *May* was the ordinary day for *Magistrates* to begin their government. Thus much at leastwise we may collect by him (when he saith that this time was solemn) that he meant not two or three years only, but many. For that is properly called solemn, which is by law usually observed. Again, we read a little after the beginning of the fifth book, that this time also was altered: for whereas the first day of *December* was the usual time that *Magistrates* began to execute their office, he saith, that it was changed, in these words, The principal Nobles and Lords of the Senat, were it upon the default or the infirmity of their Generals (that to shame all an overthrow was received) joined and advised, not to expect and stay for the ordinary time of the election, but presently to create new military Tribunes in Consuls authority, who should enter into their government the first day of *October*. &c. Which opinion of theirs imported, and the whole scheme accorded to it: whereupon the other Tribunes gained it. But *Sergius* and *Junius* withstood this Act of the Senat, and denied flatly to resign up their dignity before the eleventh of *December*, the ordinary day of taking their oath and beginning their Magistracy. And a little after within one page, he sheweth that the usual day of entrance into government was altered from the eleventh of *December* to the first of *September*, saying, When this speech was received with a general applause of all men, and that the Nobles and Lords of the Senat &c. But this day was kept but a few years. For about six years after, he saith, by occasion that both Consuls lay sick it was ordained that the first of *July* should be the ordinary day. And this also I find was changed to another, whatsoever it was, for named it is not: and therefore uncertain. But this happened in the four hundred and thirteenth year after the Cities foundation: as *Livy* about the beginning of the eighth book sheweth in these words: And when the Consuls were commanded to resign up their Magistracy before the time, to the end that new Consuls might the sooner be created, against foretold troubles of war, &c. For in these words [The sooner, &c.] he declareth that the usual day of entrance into government was then changed. But as it is not certainly set down what day this was: so the other was as well known: for soon after, and namely, the eighth year following it was appointed, to wit, the first day of *July*. Immediately therefore (quoth he) the new Consuls, *Lucius Emilius Mamercus* and *Cn. Plautius* were enjoyed that day (even the first of *July*) on which they began their office, to agree and part between themselves their Provinces. As for the month, wherein for the most part the assembly for election of *Magistrates* was holden, were it was *February*: like as the thirteenth of *March* was ordinary for them to begin their government. For this day held aloof, during the second Punic war and the Macedonian, and longer than so. Thus *Livy* testifieth in many places (which to quote is needless) as in the sixth book of the second Punic war, and in the beginning of the first book as touching the Macedonian. By which, who seeth not that there is great variety in the month and day both, whereupon the *Magistrates* were wont to begin their rule? But whereas all the certainty in computation and account of the time dependeth upon a precise exact, firm, and settled reckoning of years, months, and daies: and seeing that in *Livius* story it is neither expressly shewed, what year, month, or day, the *Magistrates* began their government, nor precisely noted when the reckoning altered: considering also that nothing therein is more wavering and inconstantly delivered than the very usual day of entering into Magistracy: what marvel is there, if authors dissent so much about the computation of the times? whiles one beginneth at this month, another at that: whiles some, I say, ascribe these *Magistrates* created to this year, others attribute the same to another?

Thirdly, there being great difference between *Dionysius* and *Livy*, as well about the reckoning of the times and years, as the acts and affairs that therein passed; all seemeth to have risen hereupon, that the purpose of *Livy* was not to deliver exactly the acts and occurrences of great antiquity which happened in the State of the people of Rome, and which by many writers aforetime had

been most diligently set down and penned to posterity: but to record and write those things especially, which from the time a little before the second Punic war had been achieved by the people of Rome, unto the age wherein himself lived. But because as Polybius most wisely and pitifully writeth) a general story cannot be understood by particular registers; and for that an Historiographer study & endeavour ought to be employed rather in an universal treatise, than in particular discourses: therefore, left to great a piece of work as his, wanting a beginning, should remaine & imperfect in the format 20 books he lightly & briefly ran over the deeds of the people of Rome from the foundation of the City, unto the beginning of the second Punic war: But Dionysius professing purposely to describe the ancient monuments of the Romans, thought it his part to overpass and omit nothing worthy of remembrance, but most curiously and exactly hath delivered all things pertinent, either to the calculation of the times or discourse of affairs; inasmuch as those things whereof Livy hath scantily made 3 books he hath declared at large therein. Hereupon if a man read in Dionysius, the ancient beginning and original of the Roman Empire, and examine well the times how they are by him digested & compare the same with the brevity in Livy, no doubt he will prefer the diligence of the former before the overhastiness of the later. But if the indifferent reader consider the purpose and intent of them both, he will yield unto either of them their due praise: & whereas Livy making hable to other matters, hath either left pass or more slightly handled some things, he will judge him worthy rather to be excused than reproved for.

To these three caules above rehearsed, others also might be adjoynd: namely, the ordering of the years by Romulus, and the variety as touching that year wherein Rome was founded: but it may suffice only to touch these & point unto them with the finger. Howbeit, this we think good to advertise and admonish the reader by the way: that albeit in the digesting and reckoning of the Coss, we have let before our eyes to follow the marble tables and monuments of Verrius Flaccus, and according therunto have framed and applied the computation of the years: yet that year before the 250 as also the other, which Verrius rejected, we have inserted with the rest, that our account might fall out just with the sum of the years, as they are collected by Varro. Which, before us, Onuphrius Panvinus a most learned man hath done in his Kalender, thinking that the year which Verrius and they that followed him rated out was the 423, and therefore he hath put it to the rest without Consuls, according to the Capitoline records.

Of the computation of times usually observed by the Romans, and of the year of the Cities foundation.

The calculation of years was taken and observed by men in old time divers and sundry waies. The Achazans (as we read) received it from the revolution of the stars: the Argives from their women Priests: as for example, if Chrysis a year were chief Priest to offer sacrifices, they counted the number of years from the said Chrysis. But many have derived and searched the cause and consequence of their ads and affairs, from the years before Tr. was built, or else after the winning thereof. Howbeit, from the 468 year after the captivity thereof, by occasion of the Olympian games, which Hercules first instituted in the honour of his great grandire by the mothers side and which by his son Iphiclus (or Iphimus, as some will have it) were renewed that year from that time (I say) they began to number the years by the Olympiads, especially amongst the Grecians, whose story (as Eschylus affirmeth) is not of any credit but from the time of the first Olympiad. The Hebrews (like a other nations in the East) received the denomination and reckoning of the years from their KK. The Athenians from their Epynomi (as they called them) but that in their *Archæologia*, [that is, the election of their Magistrates] which were wont to hold for certain daies about the beginning of the year, they counted in this wise, *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων τῶν δυνάστην ἐκ δυνάστη* i.e. the tenth or eleventh of the first Prytanies. And heretofore it seemeth that the name cometh τῶν πρυτανείων, as it from thence, their acts received both the time and also the name. After the example of the Athenians and others, the Romans reckoned their daies, made their Kalender, and registred their acts by such and such Consuls: noting thereto otherwhiles the year from the Cities foundation. But about it there is much more diversity in authors, than about that wherein the first Consuls took their government. And seeing the clearing and declaration of that point is not impertinent to this place, briefly we will rehearse the opinions of authors as touching the time when the City of Rome was founded.

To begin therefore at them, who (according to the common received opinion of others) have written longer ago and further off. *Timæus Siculus* (I know not upon what reason induced) hath recorded, how the City was built by Romulus much about the time that Carthage in Affrick by the Tyrians, namely in the 38 year before the first Olympiad.

L. Cincius (a Senator of Rome by calling) saith it was in the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad. *Q. Fabius Pictor* (a most ancient writer of the Roman story and of greatest credit) attributeth it to the first year of the eighth Olympiad.

Pollux Megapolitanus and *Dionysius Siculus* quote the second year of the 7 Olympiad. *Appollodorus*, *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Erastus* heretofore, *M. Porcius Cato*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and *Theophilus Amaseus*, name the first year of the 7 Olympiad.

M. Verrius Flaccus, the avoucher of the Capitoline records, *T. Livius*, *C. Julius Solinus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and others, will have it to be the fourth year of the 6 Olympiad.

L. Tarquinius

L. Tarquinius Firmanns, *M. Terentius Varro*, *T. Pomponius Atticus*, *M. Tullius Cicero*, *Augustus Caesar*, *S. Plinius Secundus*, *Plutarchus Charonius*, *Domitianus Caesar*, *Augustus*, *P. Cornelius Tacitus*, *Callistus Dio*, *A. Gellius*, *L. Septimius Severus*, *Augustus*, *Confortinus*, *M. Julius Philippus Augustus*, *Ensephius Pamphilus*, *Cassiodorus*, *Entropius*, *Paulus Orosius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Langobardus*: and after the time of *C. Caesar* Dictator, the common opinion of the people of Rome (which we also go by) will have the City to be founded the third year of the six Olympiad.

But by what motives and reasons each one of these authors is induced, & whereby they would seem to confirm their several opinions, needles it is in this place for to declare: both because the speculation hereof pertaineth properly to another profession, and also for that (besides *Plutarch* in *Romulus*, *Solinus* in the 1. chapter of his *Polyhistor*, and *Camerius* in his annotation thereupon) the question hath been so thoroughly handled by *Onuphrius Panvinus* in the first book of his Kalender, that the thing requireth no further examination.

Now for the day on which the foundation of the City of Rome was laid by Romulus, it was the eleventh day before the Calends of May, called *Parilia* or *Palilia*. Now was this a festival day to *Pales*, the goddess of shepherds, celebrated by the said shepherds upon the eleventh Calends of May, in the fields and country villages, for the chasing away of wolves, for the preservation of their ship and cattell from diseases, or for the life yeaving and bringing forth their young: whereupon they were called *Parilia*. Of this matter writeth *Propertius* in his fourth book, in this wise:

A festi there was, Palilia, our fathers did call,

And on that day they first began, for Rome to build a wall.

Ovid also in the fourth book of his *Fasts*:

A time full meet they chose, with pough the plot to mark,

Dame Pales was hand, and so began the work.

The same is avouched by *M. Tullius*, *Plutarch*, *Solinus*, and others. And that these *Palilia* were solemnized ordinarily the eleventh day before the Calends of May, appeareth as well by the old marble Calendars, as also by the same authors before rehearsed.

Of the first sovereign Magistrates of the City of Rome, namely, of the KK, who were in number seven.

ALL sorts of policies and governments in a Common-weal which are set down and named by ancient Writers, the City of Rome (were it by the fatal course of destiny or upon some troubles in the State) hath received and endured every one: so as no Common-weal in manner there can be found, wherein they succeeded to one after another, as they did in the very City of Rome. For in the beginning, the KK ruled it: but when they for their excessive outrage and inordinate lust exercised upon their Citizens and subjects, were deposed and expelled, the Coss. (and after them the Tribunes military in Coss. authority) held the sovereignty. But in process of time, when this frame and form of Common-weal (simply the best) was by the outrage of the two *Gracchi* (*Saturninus* and *Drusus* Tribunes of the Commons) put out of joynt and troubled, noist such time as their power and authority was by *Syllent* in twain, and the Commons diseized of their lands and killed: then the administration of the Common-weal was restored again to the Nobles and principal persons of the City. But at length, when it was oppressed again by the civil war of *Pompey* and *Caesar*, the sovereign rule of the State was devolved upon the Empire of *Caesar* alone: wherein, being first shaken a few years before, through the wicked insolency and lust of the three Triumvirs, it continued until the time that it fell to utter ruin. We therefore will briefly go through all these sorts of government, in that successive order as they followed one after another, and first begin with the KK.

37

Romulus the first King of the Romans, reigned 37 years.

Romulus, the founder of the City, reigned 37 years: for to many *Livy* assigneth unto him. Likewise *Dionysius* in the first book, which he repeateth also in the second: and *Plutarch* in *Numa* dissenteth not from them: howsoever in *Romulus*, he writeth, that he departed this world in the 37 year of his age. *Solinus* in like manner rehearsing his worthy acts attributeth unto his reign 37 years. Only *Entropius* in 1. book 4. chap. alloweth unto him 39 years: but *Plutarch* thinketh very well that the Copy is corrupt. This Prince having reigned (according to the more common received opinion of authors) 37 years: in which time, he laid the first ground-work of the Roman Empire, with excellent laws and ordinances, and established both civil and also military discipline, departed this life upon the Nones of July, which day was called afterwards, *Nonæ Caprotinae*: by occasion that he in musing and reviewing his army at the lake of *Capra*, was conveyed out of mens sight: whereupon the people fled as amazed at the sudden death of their King, as *Plutarch* & *Dionysius* do witness. This *Romulus* after his deification was named, *Quirinus*, of *Apollonius*, which surname *Ovid* in his Kalender giveth. these reasons, *Sive*

Some read
thurs.
* *Lucretius*.
* *Arma*.
* *Romulus* vi-
cerat, but cor-
ruptly.

Sive quod bestia quibus proficis est dicta * *Sabinus*
Et non a rebus, sicut in Africa Datus
Quia sacro regnum possidet Equitibus
Sive quia Romanus iugum erat ille Cuius

A Spear, old *Sabinus* *Quirinus* call'd, which *Romulus* us'd in
fight :

This martial man a god became, and so *Quirinus* high;
Quirites, since his subjects liege, their King this name
might give :

O, else the *Curius*, whom he brought with *Romulus*
to us to live.

That he was bafe born, and could not avouch
his own father, beside other writers, *Plutarch*
especially affirmeth in his *Theses*. Howbeit,
the old opinion went current, that he was by
Mars begot in flesh of a vestal virgin, *Ilia*,
Rhea, or *Sylvia*, for so many names there go of
her; and that first he was called *Romulus*, of *Roma*,
which signifieth a seat or pap, and afterwards
by way of flattery, *Romulus*.

Interreges.

FOR one year after the death of *Romulus* the
nobles fell to variance & strove who should
be K, but by reason that no one person excelled
above the rest in that state so newly founded,
there grew several factions & debates in their
head-corporations. They who were delcnded
from the Sabins (because after the death of *Tar-
quinus* none of them reigned with *Romulus* in e-
qual society) were desirous to have a K, cre-
ated out of their body, because they would not
forgo their hold and possession in the Empire.
But the old Romans could not away with a
stranger-King. Howbeit, as different as they
were in affections, all were willing to set up a K,
as having not tasted yet the sweetness of lib-
erty. The Peers moreover mightily feared, by rea-
son that the neighbour States bordering round
about were provoked against them, I left some
foreign force might assill their City left thus
without a sovereign government, and the army
without a leader. Whereupon the two hundred
Nobles agreed among themselves to enter into
an association of rule, and made ten Decuries;
and in every Decury created one to have the
sovereignty over the rest. These Senators were
then 100 in number, as *Livy* saith, and accord-
ing to *Plutarch* a hundred and fifty. But *Dionysius*
writeth, that the c were two hundred of
the Sabins & as many Romans. After this they
call lots and their Decury unto whom the lot-
tery first fell, ruled the City: howbeit, not all of
them at once, but one alone had the regall or-
naments, and the Lotiors going before him.
Five daies he governed and no longer: and so
by this order in courfe the nobles of every De-
cury governed the City fifty daies. For after
five daies determined, he whose lot was first to
govern in that Decury, delivered up unto the
second, the imperial dignity together with the
ensigns thereof: and he again, when his five
daies were expired, unto a third, and so to the
fourth. Thus when these ten first Interreges
had pass'd one yodaies, a second Decury of Sen-
ators in like manner ruled the City other 50
daies; and thus they went round through all

until they had fulfilled a years space in this re-
gency. This government was of the thing it self
called *Interregnum*, which name it still retained
afterwards, and the men likewise were named
Interreges. In this year therefore was the Magi-
stracy of the Interreges first devised among
the Romans. And not only after the death of
Romulus the State was ruled by Interregency,
but also after the decease of *Numa*, *Tullius*, and
Ancus Kings. In like manner during the time of
the free State and Common-weal, after the time
of yearly Magistrates expired, the said govern-
ment took place very often, before the creation
of new: for they held the assembly for elections,
wherein new governors were by the people
created. Now the office and charge of this in-
terregent was, during the time of his regency
(which ordinarily pass'd not five daies) to ex-
ecute all those functions in the City which be-
longed either to KK, or Coll, namely, to mini-
ster justice, to rule the Common-weal, to hold
a Senat, and there to propound the affairs of
State, and lastly, to summon the general assem-
bly for chusing new Magistrates. As touching
the beginning of Interregency, *Dionysius* in his
second book *Livy* in his first *Plutarch* in *Numa*,
Sex, *Rufus*, *Ensepius* and other old writers,
have written at large.

Numa Pompilius, the second K, reigned 43 years.

ONE year of Interregency being thus ac-
complished, the people of *Rome* thought
this a grievous and heavy manner of govern-
ment; and the Commons grumbled that their
servitude was manifold more than before, as
having two hundred Lords over them instead
of one. Which when the Senators perceived,
they agreed at last upon this point, That the
old Senators should create a King, whom they
would, to be one of their own body and
degree. Whereupon *Numa Pompilius* (for
that in justice & wisdom he excelled all others)
was called out of *Cavara* a City of the Sabins, to
be their King. That he reigned three and forty
years, all accord, save *Ensepius*, *Ensepius*, and
Cassiodorus (late writers) who let down but one
and forty, as *Onuphrius* and *Sigismundus* have ob-
served. Of this K, *Dionysius* in the second book,
Livy in his first, *Solinus* in his second chapter,
Plutarch *Plinius* and *Ensepius* in his life: in like
fort *Valerius Maximus* have delivered much
in record. He died not much above the age of 80
years, as *Plutarch* writeth: for born he was (as
he himself) the same day whereon *Romulus*
laid the first foundation of the City, namely, the
twelfth Calends of *May*. Now for the name of
Numa, some say it was the forename of *Pompi-
lius*. But out of *Sextus Pompeius* it appeareth,
that neither *Tullius* nor *Numa* were fore-
names, as also by this conjecture, for that the
sons of *Numa* are by *Dionysius* called by other
sundry names divers from the family. Some
thought therefore that *Numa*, *Ancus*, *Aratus*,
Volusus, *Drusus*, *Junius*, *Manlius*, and
certain other (names were at first forenames,
as *Marcellus* in his *Annals* hath very well no-
ted.

Tullus Hostilius, the third King of Rome,
reigned 32 years.

Numa being deceased, the Interregency took
place again: during which time an Ad of
Senat pass'd, wherein by the approbation of the
Commons and advice of the Nobles, *Tullius*
Hostilius was created the third K, of the Ro-
mans, in the 82 year after the foundation of the
City. Who having raised *Albanus*, commanded the
Albanos be translated to *Rome*. Their Com-
mons he made free denizens, and the principall
Nobles he took into the order of Senators. After
Numa he reigned 32 years, as all writers
most constantly affirm. He perished, as *Dionysius*
writeth, by occasion that his house was on
fire, wherein his wife and children and all their
household besides were consumed and burnt.
Some say, that his palace took fire by lightning
through the ire of the gods, for that he had for-
got some sacrifices and holy rites: others write,
that it was occasioned by the treacherous pra-
ctise of *Ancus Martius*, who reigned next after
him. Of him *Dionysius* writeth in his 3 book:
That he carried before him the name of *Hostus*
it appeareth by this, that both his father and
grandire bare the said name. A Prince he was,
but only far unlike to *Numa*, but also more
ferce and stout than *Romulus*.

Ancus Martius, the fourth King of Romans,
reigned 24 years.

King Tullius being departed this life, there
was an Interregent by the Nobles declared,
who held the assembly for election in the 114
year from the foundation of the City: wherein
the people created *Ancus Martius* the fourth
K. of the Romans, and the Senators approved
the same. He built *Hostia* a town 16 miles di-
stance from the City of *Rome*; and fought seven
battles, *Livius*, *Dionysius*, and *Solinus* say, that he
reigned 24 years: but *Ensepius*, *Ensepius*, and
Cassiodorus, 23. What death he died, neither
Livy in his first book, nor *Dionysius* in his 3 do
let down: notwithstanding that by them his
noble acts are let out at large. Now *Ancus* (as
Sex, *Pompeius* hath reported) is he called, who
bith an arm bowing inward, so as it cannot be
put straight forth.

Tarquinus Priscus, the fifth K. of Romans,
reigned 38 years.

His Tarquinus being left by *Ancus* (when
he died) guardian to his children, was the
first that ambitiously intercepted the kingdom
to himself: he sent the sons of *Ancus*, during
the time of Interregency, out of the way, as it
were to hunting, and made an oration unto the
people to win their hearts & affections to him:
and to with the suffrages of the people, and au-
thority of the Nobles, he was by the Interre-
gent declared K, in the 170 year after the foun-
dation of *Rome*, and in the 41 *Olympiads*. This
noble Prince as well for warlike prowess as
peaceable policy and government, at the length
(being above fourscore year old) was forelaid
by the secret trains of of the two sons of *Ancus*

Martius, in the eight and thirty year of his
reign, according to *Livy* and *Dionysius*, whose
judgment we follow: or in the 37, as *Solinus*,
Mellus, *Ruffus*, *Ensepius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Ensepius*,
and *Bedae* write: like as we have before shew-
ed. *Priscus* he was furnished afterwards, becau-
he lived before *Tarquinus Superbus*, saith *Sex*,
Pompeius, unto whom accord *Dionysius* and
Laurentius Valla: who writeth, that the addi-
tion of *Priscus* was given unto him, not by men
of that time wherein he lived, but by the age
following. But *Livy* sheweth plainly that he had
the surname of *Priscus* given him, even then
when he came first into the City, because he
was born before *Superbus*. He also was called
Lucretius, and was the son of *Demetrius* the Co-
sinthian, descended from the family of the *En-
chiades*.

Servius Tullius, the sixth K. of the Romans, reigned
four and forty years.

AFTER *Priscus Targinius* was slain present-
ly *Servius Tullius* was the first that (with-
out any election of the people, yet with the ge-
neral consent of the Nobles) took upon him
the Roman kingdom, in the year from the
foundation of the City 176. Concerning whose
conception, we must not let pass that which *Pliny*
writeth in the 36 book after this manner.
During the reign of *Tarquinus Priscus*, their
appeared suddenly the gentill member of the
maulicine sex upon the heath where the fire
was kept, & thereupon presently a captive wo-
man and bond-servant of *Tarquinius* the Queen,
named *Orcisfa*, sitting there by the fire side, con-
ceived and was with child; and so was *Servius*.
Tullius born, who succeeded in the kingdom.
Afterwards as the boy lay asleep within the
Ks. palace, his head was seen on a light fire, and
supposed he was the son of the familiar *Lar* of
that house. In which regard, he instituted first
the *Compitalia* and plaies to the *Lari*. Concern-
ing his birth, *Plutarch* hath written more in his
book of the Romans fortune. By the crafty and
subtil device of his wives mother *Tarquinius*, he
attained to the Crown in the fourth year of the
first *Olympiads*, and reigned 44 years: but by the
villanous complot of *Tarquinus* his son in law,
and *Tullia* his own daughter and *Tarquinius* wife,
he was most impiously slain in the very street;
which thereupon was called *Sceleratus*. As tou-
ching the years of this Kings reign, some con-
troverfie there is among writers: for *Livy*, *Dio*,
onysius, and *Solinus* (whom we have followed)
write, that he reigned 44 years: but *Maffala*
Cornelius, *Sex*, *Ruffus*, *Ensepius*, *Ensepius*, *Cassio*,
dorus, and *Bedae* 34, and not above. Howbeit,
in adding those ten to the reign of *Tarquinus* af-
terwards, they hinder not this gross sum and
computation of the years: for they let them
down 35, which *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Soli*,
nius, make but 25. This K. took the name of *Ser*,
vinus, by occasion of his own fortune, for that
his mother *Orcisfa* a captive, but a most beau-
tiful and wife woman of *Corniculum* a bare him
during her bondage: but *Tullius* he was called,
by the name of his fathers kindred, as *Dionysius*
writeth.

wrieth in his fourth book, reckoning up many acts by him achieved.

25
L. Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh King of Rome, ruled 25 years.

IN the two hundred and twentieth year after the foundation of the City, L. Tarquinius the younger, having killed Servius Tullius, entered upon the Roman kingdom with force of arms, nor by Interregent, nor yet any right of law. Superbus he was named for his cruel demeanour, in that he forbade to commit to earth the dead corps of his father in law by him murdered: giving out that Romulus likewise died and lay unburied. He was the son of L. Tarquinius Priscus the King; as Q. Publ. An. Gellius, Licinius Macer. Verrinus Flaccus, and Livius have written. Howbeit, Dionysius out of L. Piso

in his Annals, by most strong reasons disproveth their error, and by the certain computation of the years sheweth how it cannot possibly be so, but rather that he was the son of Priscus. Five and twenty years he reigned according to Livy in his first book. Dionysius in his fourth, and Solinus in his Polyhistor. But Cassiodorus, Eusebius, Eutropius, and Bede, allcribing unto him five and thirty years, adding unto his reign those ten years which they took from Servius Tullius, and thereby giving occasion of error to the later writers. Of him Dionysius, Livy, both the Plinies, Gellius, Macrobius, and Eutropius, have written much. Collect then, into one sum the year of these Kings reign, and thereof will arise the number of two hundred forty four.

Of the first Elections of Consuls.

THIS is the second change of the Common-weal, by occasion that Superbus the King, as well for his insolent and proud government, as for the villany offered by Sextus the Kings son to Lucretia, was expelled, and liberty recovered: whereupon the sovereign government year by year was committed to two men, who first were named Prators, for that they were over the people: then Judges, because they decided their controversies: and lastly, Consuls, in that they advised and provided for the good of the Common-weal: as Cicero in the third book of Laws declareth in these words: Let there be two invetted in royaill governments; and of ruling, judging, and counsell-giving, be they called Prators, Judges, and Consuls: let them also have the sovereignty of command in war. Now the first Consuls or Prators were created by Sp. Lucretius (father of Lucretia, and Interregent for the time) in a generall assembly by the voices of the Centuries, according to the commentaries of Servius Tullius the King. The first Consul had all the rights, prerogatives, and regal enigns of the KK, this only provided, that both of them should not have the rods and axes carried before them, for fear of preventing any terror to the people. Both of them were chosen out of the *Patritii*: which for this intent I advertise the Reader of, that the progress of the Common-weal might be known; seeing that in process of time they came to be created out of the Commons also. Moreover, as concerning the year month, and day, when as the first Consuls entered their government, something were to be laid in this place: but because we have spoken before of the variety and dissention of Authors thereabout: therefore leaving pass these circumstances, proceed we to the very Consuls, who by the testimony of all writers were first chosen: namely,

245
L. Junius Brutus, and L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

IT is recorded by all writers, that L. Junius Brutus, and L. Tarq. Collatinus were the first Consuls or Prators of the Roman people: who in the end of the 244 year since the foundation of the City and upon the first day of March (after the Tarquins KK, the father & the son were expelled the City) in an assembly of the Centuries were solemnly pronounced and declared Consuls. But after that Brutus had compelled his Colleague Tarquinius to resign up his Consulship, either because he was suspected for the affinity and name of the Tarquins (as L. Piso in Gellius the 15 book and 29 cap. Livy, Plutarch, and Cic. 2. Offic. do write:) or by occasion of a variance between Brutus and Collatinus about the execution of Collatinus his sisters son, (as Dionysius reporteth) he was elected in his place Pub. Valerius Volusus the son of Volusus whose helping hand he had used especially in banishing the KK. Of whose Consulship, Plinius in the third book, Dionysius, Livy, Valerius Max. 4. book 4. chapter. Plutarch in Poplicola, and Pliny 36 book, chap. 15, have made mention. But Valerius, after that Brutus in his Magistracy was slain by Aruns the son of Superbus (for the King his father had levied war against the Romans) in a general Court of all the Centuries, took unto him for his companion in government, Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus the father of Lucretia; and to him (being the elder) submitted the prebendence of sovereignty. And soon after, within few daies upon his death, (for he was very aged) bequeathed unto him M. Horatius Pulvillus for his Colleague in the Consulship. The said Valerius was called Poplicola, for that during his Magistracy, he enacted certain laws very popular, and namely, concerning the appeal from the Consuls to the people, and the receiving of the state-government from the said people, as Livius

Livius and Dionysius do witness. In the vulgar books, as also in the old written Copies (whether by error or of purpose) was not we read his name evermore Poplicola, but still in one and the same signification. Only the letters are a little altered, which otherwise have much affinity one with another, as Quintilian writeth; namely a with u, and y with e. For in antique titles and inscriptions you shall read often Poplicola for Publicus. To conclude therefore, in the first year after the Kings were expelled, Collatinus was the elder, L. Junius Brutus, and Pub. Valerius, Sp. Lucretius Poplicola, and M. Horatius Pulvillus.

246
P. Valerius, II. T. Lucretius.

THE Consulship of these two is recorded likewise by Dionysius, Eutropius, and Cassiodorus, Omphrius Papius, given unto Lucretius the surname of Tricipitinus, both for that it was a peculiar addition to that house; and also, because by an ancient Chronologer in the records of Cassianus, he is named Tricipitinus. Now for Plinius the Etymology thereof according to Sextus, is twofold: For some call him Pop, who hath been brought up at the public charges; others againe name him Pop, who was a ward before he had his name given him.

247
P. Lucretius, P. Valerius Poplicola.

LIVY calleth this Lucretius by the surname of Pop, but other books of Titus, Dionysius writeth, that P. Valerius Poplicola the third time, and M. Horatius the second time were Consuls. Plutarch speaketh of the third Consulship only of P. Valerius, Omphrius and Sigeonius follow Dionysius. As for Cassiodorus, he leaveth out altogether the Consuls.

248
Sp. Lartius, T. Herminius.

AFTER Poplicola the third time, and Pulvillus the second time Consuls, Dionysius hath placed Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius. The same doth Cassiodorus. And the book noted by Cuspinian, under an unknown author, hath in it thus written, Poplicola I I I & Pulvillus; Ruffo & Aquilino; Valerio & Tiberio. Livy omitteth the Consuls and in their place putteth down M. Valerius, and P. Postumius: But as Sigeonius thinketh, the fault is in the writers of the book.

But that this year should necessarily come between Omphrius thinketh, according to the book of M. Tullius Cicero entituled Brutus and certain it is, that Verrinus Flaccus in his Capitoline tables hath not rejected these Consuls. Now this name Lartius is derived of Lars, and so ought it to be written, and not Lartius, as corruptly it is to be seen in some Copies of Livy and Dionysius. As for the surname to Herminius, Omphrius upholdeth it to have been Egurinus, both for that the mention of that surname appeareth in a fragment of the Capitoline murals, as also because of what family else it should

be, no writer ever hath delivered. This Sp. Lartius was the brother of Titus Lartius the first Dictator, as writeth Dionysius.

249
M. Valerius, P. Postumius.

PLUTARCH, as also Dionysius and Livius writeth, that this M. Valerius was brother to M. Valerius Publicola, and therefore truly is he said to be the son of Volusus. Postumius for his surname had Nukertus. Witteus Zonarus together with Plutarch in Poplicola, and Dionysius in the fifth and sixth book, still Dionysius calleth the brother of Quintus, where he treateth of the Consular Embassadors sent unto the Command in the year 260. This Postumius, as Omphrius teacheth, was by old authors written without the apostrophe (h) either because of Popia Popliana, and Postumius, and to Postumius is derived, or for that in old time they wrote *amius* without the said (h). Now is he called Postumius who was born last, as Celsus, Witteuseth in his commentaries of ancient readings. Howbeit lawyers pronounce the word with the apostrophe, and call by that name him only, who was born after his fathers death; and with them accord Varro, and Plutarch in the life of Sulla.

250
P. Valerius I I I I I. T. Lucretius.

DIONYSIUS, Livius, Plutarch, and Cassiodorus report, that for Consuls this year, But the registers of Cassianus deliver unto us Poplicola the fourth time, and Tricipitinus, Valerius Maximus in the fourth book and fourth chapter writeth thus, Valerius Poplicola the first in his Consulship with Brutus, and the same man bare three Consuls afterwards, to the great contentment of the people.

251
Agrippa M. Annianus, P. Postumius.

DIONYSIUS hath for Consuls this years Agrippa M. Annianus, Lucius, and L. Postumius the second time, Livy, Cassiodorus, Cuspinianus book, and the Greek records disagree not from him. Valerius Max. 4. book, 4. cap. corruptly calleth him M. Menenius Agrippa. Now Agrippa are they called, who are born into the world with extraordinary throws & birth-travels of their mothers, namely, not with their heads, but their feet forward, against nature.

252
Opter Virginis, Sp. Cassius.

LIVY, Zonarus, and Cassiodorus, name these Consuls barely thus. Dionysius yet is more liberal, calling Sp. Cassius, M. Caelianus, and Opter Virginis Tricipitinus. But whom Dionysius calleth *inceditor*, Cicero in his *Latinus* termeth *Cassius Becillimus*. And Cuspinianus Kalender *Viscellus*. For first of *Viscus* cometh *Visellus*, and so from thence they derive *Viscellinus*. Opter (to note that by the way, as Sex. Pompeius saith) is he; whose father died before his grandire, And the word *foundeth* thus much, as it were *before* after his fathers death; or because he taketh his grandire for his father.

253

Posthumius Cominius, T. Lartius.

Livy, Dionysius, Zenerius, and Cassiodorus name these simply thus. But Cyprianus Kalender, giveth to Posthumius the surname *Arunculus* to Lartius *Ruffus*. And those whom Cyprianus book nameth *Ruffi*, the Greek registers by another word, but to the same fence, call *Flavi*.

254

Ser. Sulpitius, M. Tullius.

Livy and Cassiodorus allow to these no surnames at all. The Sicilian Records give to Sulpitius the addition of *Cominius*, like as the Kalender of Cyprianus; and to Tullius of *Laurens*; as also doth Dionysius, who writeth, that *Manius Tullius* died in the time of his Magistracy, and that in his place there was none substituted, because the year was wearisome at an end. Of this *M. Tullius*, Cicero speaketh in his *Brutus*, saying, As if I should avouch my self to be defended of *M. Tullius* the Patritian, who in the tenth year after the expulsiō of the K.K. was Col. with *Ser. Sulpitius*. This surname *Manius*, as *Sext. Pompeius* saith, cometh hereupon that some one was born *manus*, i. e. in the morn, like as *Lucius*, who entered into the world by daylight. And in another place, this *Manius* (qd. he) consecrated the field *Nemorensis*, from whom many noble and famous men sprang, and continued many years. Whereupon arose the Proverb, *Mani Ma in Aricia*, i. e. there be many *Mani* at *Aricia*. Moreover, he was called *Servius*, who came of parents (either both or one at least) whilst they were in bondage, or else, who when his mother was dead, lived still in her womb, and so was saved.

255

C. Veturius, T. Ebutius.

The forename of this *Veturius* or *Veturinus* in some Copies of *Livy*, as *Marlian* sheweth in his annals of Coss, is *Caius*; in other *Cornelius*; in *Cassiodorus*, *Lucius*; in *Dionysius* *Publius*; who also nameth *Veturius*, *Geminus*; and *T. Ebutius Helas*; and in some place *Uanabas*, but faultily; for the Latine writers also affirm his surname to be *Helas*. The Greek Records likewise have *Helas* and *Geminus*. Moreover they that write him *Veturius*, imitate the ancient manner of putting, i. e. as when they call men *Fufius*, *V. Iulius*, and *Papilius*. But they who call him *Veturius* follow the latter usage. Of this matter *Livy* speaketh in the year 292.

256

Q. Cladius, T. Lartius.

Thus say *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Dionysius* nameth *T. Lartius*, *Flavius*; and *Q. Cladius*, *Siculus*: to whom accord the registers both of Cyprianus and Sicily. This *T. Lartius* is the same as appeareth by *Dionysius*, who before was Col. and therefore is his surname *Flavius* rightly added. The house of the *Cladii* as also of the *Iulii*, *Servilii*, *Geganii*, *Viriatii*, and *Quintilii* descended from the Albans first, as *Dionysius* writeth.

257

An. Sempronius, M. Minutius.

Thus *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us these Coss. But Cyprianus registers and the Sicilian, surname them *Atracini* and *Angurini*. And *Dionysius* nameth them *A. Sempronius Ebutius*, and *M. Minutius Angurinus*, albeit he maketh no mention of *Angurinus*, but in the second Consulship of *Minutius*, as for *Anus*, he was so called, who being new born, was nourished and fostered by the gods.

258

An. Posthumius, T. Virginius.

Thus are these Coss. set down by *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*. And to them verily the Greek records put to the surnames of *Albus* and *Calimontanus*. But the book of Cyprianus ad des *Regilenses* & *Tricostus* besides: so that by him they are thus written, *An. Posthumius Albus Regilensis*, and *T. Virginius Tricostus Calimontanus*.

259

App. Claudius and P. Servilius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* record these for Coss. this year. The registers as well of Cyprianus as Sicily, *Sabinus* and *Priscus*: But *Dionysius* more fully, *App. Cladius Sabinus*, and *P. Servilius Priscus*. This *App. Claudius* was the top of the Claudian kindred, first named, *Albius Cladius*, and afterwards, *App. Claudius*: who from *Regillus*, a City of the Sabins (whereupon he was called, *Sabinus Regilensis*) came to *Rome* in the two hundred and fiftieth year after the foundation of the City, and was ranged among the *Patritii*, as *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Suetonius* in *Tiberius* make report. This man was grandfire to that *App. Claudius* the Decemvir. As touching his forename, there is some difference: whereof ye may see *Onuphrius* and *Marlianus* in their Kalenders.

260

A. Virginius and T. Veturius.

These are thus set down by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, as here they be named. *Dionysius* writeth them. *An. Virginius Montanus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*. The register of Cyprianus, barely *Montanus* and *Geminus*. The Sicilian, *Calimontanus* and *Geminus*. *Montanus* and *Calimontanus* are both one, *Padianus* upon the Oration of Cicero for *Cornelius*, calleth these Consuls, *An. Virginius Tricostus*, and *L. Veturius Cicurinus*: whereby it may be understood, that both of them had two surnames, to win the one, *Tricostus Calimontanus*, and the other, *Geminus Cicurinus*: for so elsewhere other writers testifie, *Cyprianus* observeth, that this *Cicurinus*, is also called *Cognatus* by some writers.

261

261

Sp. Cassius and Posthumius Cominius.

So *Livy* and *Dionysius*. Of them I speaketh *Cicero* also in his Oration for *Cornelius*. But *Cyprianus* his books set forth unto us, *Viscellinus* & *Aruncus*. The Sicilian records, *Aruncus*, and *Viscellinus*. And that these same were Consuls together in this year, and entered upon their government the first of September, sooner then the custom was, as *Dionysius* writeth.

262

T. Geganus and P. Minutius.

Dionysius in the beginning of the seventh book nameth for Coss. this year *T. Geganus* *Maximus*, and *P. Minutius*. The same doth *Livy* in the second book. *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Eutropius*. *Orosius* also in the second book and fifth chapter, leaving out one of their surnames. But the Greek records and Cyprianus book surname them both, the one *Macerianus*, the other *Angurinus*. And these are ordinary surnames, this to *Minutius*, and the former to the *Geganii*.

263

M. Minutius, and An. Sempronius.

So *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* let them down, omitting their surnames, as also the numeral note II. But *Dionysius* recordeth them fully in this manner. *A. Sempronius Atracinus* the second time, and *M. Minutius Angurinus* likewise the second time. This year reckoneth *Dionysius* for the nineteenth, after that *Poplicola* the Col. published the law of appealing.

264

Sp. Nautius and Sext. Furius.

After *An. Sempronius* and *M. Minutius* Coss. *Dionysius* bringeth in to succeed them, *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *Sp. Lartius Flavius* the second time. *Cyprianus* registers, *Cornutus* and *Flavius*. The Sicilian, *Camerinus* and *Flavius*. Moreover, *Cornutus* is an ordinary surname to the *Sulpitii*, as may be gathered out of the Capitoline tables of stone. And that these Coss. are not to be left out, either according to the account of the Capitol, or to make up and digest the sum gathered by *Varro*, appeareth by the Triumph of *P. Valerius*, which would not tall to the year 279, if we should deduct these Coss. out of the Kalender.

265

T. Sicius and C. Aquilius.

Next after the former Consuls, theretofore according to *Dionysius*, *C. Iulius Iulus* and *P. Pinarius Rufus* Consuls. *Cyprianus* his records deliver unto us, *Iulus* and *Mamerianus*: But the Greek, *Iulus* and *Rufus*. And that *Mamerianus* is a surname to the *Pinarii*, appeareth by another place. These Consuls *Livy* overpasseth, like as the other two years before: whom they that undertook the explica-

tion of the Capitoline tables have noted, that there went Consuls for two years. So that of himself the like may be said to that which he writeth in the ninth book of *Piso*, in this manner [These Consuls, *Piso* bringeth in immediately after *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out two years, whereof we have reported that *Claudius* and *Valerianus* were Consuls in the one, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* in the other.] Whether he forgot them in the digesting of the Annals, or of purpose passed by them (notwithstanding he thought of those two couple of Consuls) it is uncertain. Moreover, the surname of *C. Iulius*, was transformed every where into *Tullius* and *Tullius*; but that it is to be read *Iulius*, both *Marlianus*, and also after him *Panvinius* sheweth. For this surname *Iulus* is set from *Africanus* the son of *Ennius*, and from the said surname is derived the denomination of a family; and therefore *Virgilius*.

The Iulian house at Rome, first came from Iulus great, a prince of name. And *Livy* speaking of the same in this wild faith, which *Iulius*, the house of the *Iulii* avouch for the author of their name.

266

Sp. Cassius. Proculus Virginius.

But to leave these things; *Sp. Nautius* and *Sext. Furius*, are by *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*, ranged Consuls in this year. In *Cyprianus* his Annals, there is *Rutilius*, the surname of *Nautius*, and likewise *Viscellinus*. But in the Sicilian, *Nautius* and *Ensus*.

267

Servius Cornelius, Q. Fabius.

According to *Livy* the Consuls this year were *T. Sicius*, and *C. Aquilius*; whom *Dionysius* and *Cassiodorus* name to be *T. Sicius* & *C. Aquilius*. The surnames of these, by the Greek records and Cyprianus Kalender, were *Tuscius* and *Sabinus*. As for *Aquilius*, he was so called (as *Marlianus* observeth) who was *agilis colore*, i. e. of a dusky black, or brownish colour.

268

L. Aemilius, L. Furius.

Livy avoucheth Consuls for this year, *Sp. Cassius* and *Proculus Virginius*; and *Dionysius* *Sp. Cassius* the second time, with *Proculus Virginius*. And *Diadema* in his eleventh book, unto *Virginius* addeth the name *Tricostus*. The Greek records, as also those of Cyprianus make mention of *Rutilius* and *Viscellinus*. Now as concerning the name of *Proculus*, I think they be so called, for that they were born when their parents were old, *quasi*, *Procul* atque *progreffi*, i. e. far step in years.

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269

M. Fabius, L. Valerius.

Dionysius in the said 1 book, declareth *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Servius Cornelius Cossus*, for this years Consuls. The same do *Dionysius* *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* saying that they leave out the surname. But as touching the surname of *Cossus*, (that ye may be relieved) men were named *Cossus* in the old time, who had rived and wrinkled bodies, like to the wood-worms breeding in trees, called *Cossus*. *Plinius* in his 17 book and 24 chap. saith: *Rhyet* and wantonness hath brought up the use at the table of the daintier wood-worms breeding in oaks. Hereupon *Saint Hieronymus* against *Jovinian*: In *Pennis* (quoth he) and *Phrygians* it is counted high and delicate fare to eat *Xyl phagion* for to be called thole plump and fat worms which came of rotten wood, and among them are reckoned to yield a great revenue and commodity to the housekeeper. Of them the Romans took their names of *Cossus*, *Cossius*, *Cessinus*, and *Cossianus*.

270

Q. Fabius, C. Julius.

Livius *Emilius* the son of *Mamercus*, and *C. Cato Fabius* the son of *Cato*, for by *Dionysius* recorded the Consuls of this year. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* approved the same. *Dionysius* likewise, saying that he addeth to *L. Emilius* the surname of *Mamercus*: but they leave out the fore names of their fathers. The Greek records have *Mamercus* and *Fabius*. As for the surname of *Mamercus* *Dionysius* giveth it unto *Emilius* himself in the third Consulship. Moreover, *Sex. Pompeius* affirmeth, that the kindred *Emilia* took name of *Mamercus* the son of *Pythagoras* the Philosopher, who for his singular humanity, was surnamed *Emilius*. But as he saith *Emilius* is a name and not a surname. Now was this *Emilius* the son of *Mamercus*, as witnesseth *Dionysius*.

271

K. Fabius, Sp. Furius.

Dionysius hath for this years Consuls *Mamercus Fabius Vibulanus*, and *L. Valerius Potius*. *Dionysius*, *Livius*, and *Cassiodorus*, *M. Fabius* and *L. Valerius*. The Greek records, *Fabius* and *Papirius*: and finally *Cassianus* book *Fabius* and *Potius*.

272

M. Fabius, Cn. Manlius.

Dionysius reasoned together in the Consuls *M. Fabius*, *C. Julius* and *Q. Fabius*. *Livy* and *C. Cassiodorus*, *Q. Fabius* and *Cn. Manlius*. The Sicilian registers and *Cassianus* book *Fabius* and *Potius*.

273

K. Fabius, L. Virginius.

Dionysius writeth, that *C. Fabius* the second time, and *Sp. Furius* the second time were

Consuls this year: but *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* put in head of them, *Q. Fabius* and *C. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, as also *Cassianus*, *Julius* and *Fabius*.

L. Emilius, T. Servilius.

By the testimony of *Dionysius*, there follow. Bed Consuls next after, *M. Fabius* the second time, and *C. Manlius*. But *Dionysius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*, deliver unto us *M. Fabius* and *Cn. Manlius* for Consuls. The Greek records, name *Fabius* the second time: and *Comacinius*, *Cassianus* book hath *Vibulanus* the second time. The Capitoline stone theweth *Cn. Manlius* the son of *Publius*.

274

C. Horatius, T. Manlius.

Fabius *Cassiodorus*, *Dionysius* and *Dionysius*, make report of *Cato Fabius* to have been Consul this year with *T. Virginius*: but the Sicilian registers, *Fabius* with *Rutilius*. *Dionysius* noteth that *Cato* the brother of the Consul, who gave him his place, was a third Consul this year. And *Livy* saith, that *T. Virginius* *Rutilius* died in time of the pestilence the 290 year.

276

A. Virginius, Sp. Servilius.

According to *Livy*, *Dionysius*, and *Cassiodorus*, the Consuls this year were *L. Emilius* and *C. Servilius*: but *Dionysius* nameth *L. Emilius Mamercus* with *C. Cornelius Lentulus* the Sicilian registers, *Emilius* with *Esquilinus*. Another fragment of the Capitoline stone, only *Strabon* *Abala*: with *Esquilinus* subjoined in his room. Moreover, *Mamercus* (as *Sex. Pompeius* writeth) is an Oscan fore-name: who also reporteth, that the House *Emilia* was so called of *Mamercus* the son of *Pythagoras* the Philosopher, who for his paising courtie was surnamed *Emilius*.

277

C. Nautius, P. Valerius.

Livius, *Cassiodorus*, *Dionysius*, and *Dionysius*, put down for Consuls *T. Manlius* and *C. Horatius*. As for *Dionysius*, he added unto *Horatius* as the surname of *Pulvillius*: and the Capitoline stone surnameth *Manlius*, *Lamius*. And even so both in *Cassianus* Kalendar and the Sicilian registers, are to be seen *Lamius* and *Pulvillius*. Of these Consuls maketh mention in the 17 book and 12 chap. but not without fault.

278

L. Furius, A. Manlius.

Livius, *Cassiodorus*, and *Dionysius*, set down for Consuls *A. Virginius* and *Servius Servilius*. *Dionysius*, *A. Virginius* *Triclusius*, and *C. Servilius* *Strabon*. In *Cassianus* his Kalendar, *Virginius*, for his surname hath *Rutilius*: and the Capitoline stone giveth *Strabon* to *Servilius*: the Sicilian records have both.

279

279

L. Emilius, Opter Virginius, or, Papius Julius.

Livius and *Cassiodorus* nominat for this years Consuls *P. Valerius* and *C. Nautius*. *Dionysius*, *P. Valerius* *Papicula* and *C. Nautius*. *Dionysius*, *P. Valerius* *Papicula*, and *C. Nautius* *Rufus*. The Sicilian registers thus *Nautius* and *Papicula*. *Cassianus*, *Papicula* and *Rufus*. The Capitol stone, having for *Rufus*, *Rutilius*: like as *Dionysius* before in *Livius*, for *Rufus* putteth down *Flavus*.

280

L. Pinarius, P. Furius.

Dionysius this year nameth Consuls, *L. Furius* *Medullinus* and *Manlius* *Vulso*. *Livius* and *Cassiodorus* record *L. Furius* and *C. Manlius*. *Dionysius* cometh with *A. Manlius* and *L. Pinarius*. *Medullinus* giveth warning to read *Vulso* not *Vulso*.

281

App. Claudius son of Appius, T. Quintius.

Dionysius would have *L. Emilius* *Mamercus* to be Consul the third time this year, with *Papirius* *Julius*: but *Livy*, *L. Emilius* and *Opter Virginius*. Howbeit he saith that in some doctols be found *Papirius* *Julius*, in stead of *Virginius*. And them *Dionysius*, the Greek records, and the avouchers of the Consuls tables when the Capitol, have followed. In the fragments whereof is read *Julius*, which is a surname of the *Julii*. And therefore in the Sicilian registers, it is thus written, *Emilius* and *Julius*: but in those of *Cassianus*, *Mamercus* and *Papirius*. *Cassiodorus* hath followed *Livy*. Moreover, *Appius* is a peculiar name of the *Claudii*, which a citizen died of *Rome* called: because it was a lingers name.

282

L. Valerius, T. Emilius.

Livius, *Dionysius*, and *Cassiodorus*, name for this year Consuls, *L. Pinarius* and *L. Furius*. *Dionysius*, *L. Pinarius* *Mamercinus*, and *P. Furius* *Opter* faultily, as *Sigonius* and *Omnipert* think. Of these Consuls *M. Varo* maketh mention, and *Macrobius* in the first book of the *Strenalia*.

283

T. Numicius Priscus, A. Virginius.

Dionysius saith the Consuls of this year were *App. Claudius* the son of *Appius*, surnamed the *Sabinus*, and *T. Quintius* *Capitolinus*. *Livy* leaveth out their surnames.

284

T. Quintius, P. Servilius.

Livius and *Cassiodorus* set down for Consuls this year, *T. Emilius* and *L. Valerius*. *Dionysius*

Julius, *L. Valerius* *Papicula*, and *T. Emilius* *Mamercus*. *Dionysius* doth *Valerius* the second time, and *L. Emilius*. The Sicilian registers yield us nothing but the bare names, *Emilius* and *Valerius*: but *Cassianus*, *Pinarius* and *Adamas*.

285

T. Emilius, Q. Fabius.

Dionysius, hath for Consuls this year, *A. Virginius* *Montanus* (whom the Greek records call *Calimontanus*) and *T. Numicius* *Priscus*. *Dionysius*, *Livius*, and *Cassianus* do conceal their surnames: and whom the Sicilian registers name *Calimontanus*, *Cassianus* calleth *Montanus*.

286

Q. Servilius, Sp. Posthumus.

In *Dionysius* we read for this years Consuls *Quintius* *Capitolinus*, and *Q. Servilius* *Priscus*. *Livius* and *Cassiodorus*, are silent for the surnames: but in *Dionysius* there be *T. Quintius*, and *Q. Servilius* *Strabon*. In *Cassianus* Kalendar, *Capitolinus* and *Priscus*: in the Sicilian registers, *Calimontanus* and *Priscus*.

287

Q. Fabius, T. Quintius.

Livius, and *Cassiodorus* match together in Consulship for this year: *T. Emilius* and *Q. Fabius*. *Dionysius*, *T. Emilius* the 11. time, and *Q. Fabius*. The Sicilian registers, *Emilius* & *Vibulanus*, *Cassianus* *Mamercus* and *Vibulanus*, *Dionysius*, *Emilius* *Mamercus* and *Q. Fabius* *Vibulanus*. This is that *Fabius* who afterwards was four times Consul, and was the only *Fabius* that survived, when the *Fabii* were slain at *Cremona*: not a child at the time of fourteen years of age, but a serviceable and an active man of his hands, (as *Dionysius* reporteth) and was the son of *Marcus* a man who had been Consul.

288

A. Posthumus Albus, Sp. Furius Fusus.

This year had for Consuls, *Q. Servilius* and *Sp. Posthumus*. As *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report but *Priscus* and *Albus* as *Cassianus* saith. And by *Dionysius* his testimony *Sp. Posthumus*, *Albus*, and *Servilius* *Priscus* the second time: *Dionysius* nameth *Q. Servilius* *Priscus* the second time: but *Dionysius* nameth *Q. Servilius* & *Sp. Posthumus* *Albus*. Howbeit in the fragment of the Capitol marble, *Sp. Posthumus* is surnamed *Albus* *Regillus*, and not *Albus*, and so *Macrobius* thinketh it ought to be read.

289

Livius nameth *T. Quintius* and *Q. Fabius* *Cassiodorus*: *T. Quintius* the second time, and *Q. Fabius* the second time. *Dionysius*, *T. Quintius* *Capitolinus* and *Q. Fabius*. *Dionysius*, *T. Quintius* *Capitolinus* the third time, and *Q. Fabius* *Vibulanus* the second time.

Still 2

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290
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, T. Petrus Geminus

According to the Capitoline table, *Anus Posthumus*; out of *Livy*, *Diogenes*, and *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Furius Fufus*, are noted for Consuls this year. *Diogenes* putteth to *Furius* the only gentile surname *Medullinus* for *Fufus*. This *A. Posthumus* was the son of *A. Postumius* the Dictator.

291
P. Valerius. Serv. Sulpitius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* write that there followed as Cons. this year, P. Servilius but *Diogenes* nameth L. *Aburnius* and P. Servilius *Prifcus*, *Diogenes*, L. *Aburnius Etoa* and *Pub. Servilius Strabon*. The Sicilian registers shew *Prifcus* and *Flavinius Cuspianus*, *Etoa* and *Prifcus*. The Capitoline tables exhibit unto us P. *Servilius* the son of Sp. P. N. i. the sons son of *Publius*; and furnished *Prifcus*.

292
C. Claudius, son of Appius. P. Valerius Poplicola.

Livy *Cassiodorus*, and *Denis*, represent unto us as Consuls this year, L. *Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and T. *Valerius* [or *Veturius*] *Geminus*; but *Diogenes*, L. *Lucretius* and T. *Veturius Cicerinus*, *Cuspianus* his Kalender, *Geminus* and *Tricipitinus*. The Sicilian Registers, *Tricipitinus* and *Veturius*; the Capitol monuments L. *Lucretius Tricipitinus*.

293
Q. Fabius Vibulanus III. L. Corneli. Maluginensis

Livy and *Cassiodorus* profess for Consuls this year, P. *Valerius* and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*. The Capitol marbles have P. *Valerius Anianus Gallus*. Of the same Consul *Valerius* speaketh, in his first book and fix chapter.

294
L. Minutius, C. Nautius.

Livy and *Diogenes* name, P. *Valerius Poplicola*, and C. *Claudius Sabinus* Consuls for this year; *Diogenes*, P. *Valerius Poplicola*, and C. *Claudius Regillanus*. The Sicilian registers & *Cuspianus* call them *Poplicola* and *Sabinus*. The Capitoline marble hath this record, P. *Valerius* P. F. [son of P.] *Voluf* N. i. the sons son of *Voluf*, furnished *Poplicola* but *Livy*, *Diogenes*, *Orphus*, & they that have ranged the Cons. in the capitol, have reported that P. *Valerius* the Consul was slain in the batel against the bondslaves who this year (under the leading of *Ap. Herdonius* the Sabine) held the Capitol by force; and that in his head L. *Quintius Cincinnatus* was substituted.

295
Q. Minutius, C. Horatius Pulvillus.

Livy, together with *Cassiodorus*, declare for Consuls this year, Q. *Fabius* the third time and L. *Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Diogenes*, Q. *Fabius Vibulanus* the third time, and L. *Cornelius Didenus*, Q. *Fabius Vibulanus* and L. *Cornelius Aspinus*. The Sicilian registers, and *Cassiodorus* *Vibulanus* and *Maluginensis*. The Capitol marble C. *Fabius Vibulanus* the third time.

296
M. Valerius, Sp. Virginus.

Both *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us for Consuls, L. *Minutius* and C. *Nautius*, *Diogenes*, L. *Minutius* and C. *Nautius* the second time, *Diogenes* *Minutius* *Capitulus*, and C. *Nautius* *Rutilius*. The Capitol stones C. *Nautius Rutilius* the second time. What this surname *Capitulus* should mean, *Sigismus* and *Omphrius* somethie they know not, and think in stead thereof two should read *Capitulus*, *Valerius* *Maximus*; (5 book a chap. Of thankful persons) writeth these Consuls corruptly, Q. for *Nautius*, and *Minutius*.

297
T. Romulus, Sp. Veterius.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name for Cons. this year Q. *Minutius* and M. *Horatius Pulvillus*; but herein they do amisse, as *Sigismus* and *Omphrius* suppose for the same *Livy* writeth, that *Caius* *Horatius Pulvillus* died being August in the year 302. *Diogenes* nameth L. *Posthumus* and M. *Horatius*. *Diogenes* Q. *Horatius* and Q. *Minutius*. The Capitol records, C. *Horatius Pulvillus*. And the Sicilian registers, *Pulvillus* and *Augurinus*.

298
Sp. Tarpeius, A. Asterius.

In *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, and *Diogenes*, we find Cons. this year, [Valerius with Sp. *Virginus*. But in the twelfth book of *Diogenes* M. *Valerius* *Laetius*, and Sp. *Virginus* *Tricipitinus*. In *Cuspianus* Kalender *Maximus* and *Calpurnius*. In the Sicilian, *Maximus* and *Virginus*. In the of the Capitol, M. *Valerius* *Max.* As for *Laetius*, *Plinius* sheweth, that it is a surname of the *Valerii*. Of thebe Consuls also, *Cuspianus* maketh mention in his sixteenth of the places called *Seculares*.

299
P. Curiatius, Sext. Quinctilius.

According to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Diogenes*, this year *Veturius* and T. *Romulus* entered upon the Consulship. *Diogenes* delivereth unto us C. *Veturius Cicerinus*, and T. *Romulus* *Veturius*. *Cuspianus* Kalender sheweth *Geminus* and *Veturius*. The Sicilian, *Romus* and *Veturius*. The Capitol records, T. *Romulus* son of T. nephew or sons son of T. *Veturius*. Of the same *Romulus*, *Pliny* also speaketh 2 book, chapter 28.

300
T. Minutius, P. Sestius Capitolinus.

Spirius *Tarpeius* son of M. and nephew of S. M. furnished *Minutius* *Capitolinus*, the Kalender of *Veturius* *Flavens* sheweth unto us for Consuls this year. Of whom, *Diogenes*, *Diogenes*, *Livy*, *Pedanius* upon *Cicero* his oration for *Cornelius*, and *Cassiodorus* make mention save only the surnames. *Cuspianus* book, and the Greek records, have *Capitolinus*. As for his colleague, they dissent and disagree. For *Diogenes* would have him to be *Anus Asterius Festinus*; but *Diogenes* *Anus Terminus*, *Livy* and *Pliny*, the seventh book, chapter seven and twenty, A. *Eternus*. *Solinus* chapter 4. Cell. 1. book, chapter 11. A. *Therminus*. *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, A. *Asterius*. whom *Sigismus* and *Omphrius* follow.

301
App. Claudius, T. Geminus.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* likewise report for this Lycet Consuls, Sext. *Quintilius* and P. *Curiatius*. *Diogenes*, Sext. *Quintilius* and *Horatius*. *Diogenes*, Sext. *Quintilius* *Tergeminus*. The Capitol stones name him Sext. *Quintilius*, son of Sex. nephew of *Pub.* For this surname *Tergeminus* is common both to the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*. But *Sigismus* and *Omphrius* allow *Horatius* rather.

302
Sext. Quintilius son of Sextus, nephew of Pub.

To this Consul the Greek records give the surname of *Varnus*, and to the Capitoline tables of stone do represent him. But *Diogenes*, *Diogenes*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* deliver the same man unto us without the surname. Who was his colleague, it is doubtful. For by *Diogenes* it is was P. *Horatius*; by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Curiatius*; by *Diogenes*, *Tergeminus*; which is the surname as well of the *Curiatii*, as the *Horatii*. *Omphrius* rather approveth at *Curiatius*.

303
Decemvirs Consular.

Livy and *Diogenes*, together with the Capitoline registers (as far forth as may be gathered by the broken fragments of the tables shew that App. *Claudius* and T. *Geminus* were Cons. elect for this year, but they reigned up the place, in regard of creating *Decemvirs*. Now at touching this *Decemvirat*, the law *Tremitia* brought it into the commonweal; which law A. *Tremitius Arfa*, a Tribune of the Commons promulgated as touching five *Quinquervis* to be created, who should set down laws to gage the Cons. authority. For the Commons complained, that their government was too great and tolerable, and therefore required that it might be abated and made more moderate. Which law, after he had been for six year together hotly canvassed by the Trib. to no effect

in the end waxed cold again, by reason that the said Trib. obtained a grant to double their own number. But afterwards upon the occasion that *Romulus* and *Veturius* the Consulars themselves too extreme in rigor against the Com. refusing warfare, the said law was let on foot again, and suit followed more hotly then before. Whereupon when the L.L. of the Senat were doubtful what to do, at length they resolved upon this point, wherof the principal adviser was T. *Romulus* to create certain lawgiver, who should set down the rights and privileges both of nobles and commons. And look what ordinances by them were decreed, the same should bind both the one part and the other. The Com. agreed to this determination; and lo three Embassadors, Sp. *Posthumus Albus*, An *Manlius Vulfus*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*, were sent into Greece, to learn the statutes, customs, rights, and laws of the Athenians and other Cities of Greece, and the same to bring to them to Rome. These went their embassy when *Atinius* and *Tarpeius* were Consul, and three years after returned with the said laws, whiles *Sestius* and *Minutius* were Consuls. Now when the Tribunes were instant & called hard upon them, to begin once for to make their positive laws; and now already App. *Claudius* and T. *Geminus* were elected Cons. for this year; they passed an act of the Senat (according to the advice of App. *Claudius*) That other magistracies should succede, and so *Decemvirs* be created in consular, may royal authority absolutely, without liberty of appealing from them to the people: who should choole as well out of their own customs and ordinances, as the forrain laws above said, the best & most profitable to the commonweal, and set down the rights of the people of Rome; And look what they prescribed and presented (if the Senat and people of Rome allowed thereof) that should stand in force & bind the whole body of the state for ever. When this act was approved by the Commons, the Consuls resigned and gave over. In whole trade, were chosen *Decemvirs* consular, namely, App. *Claudius*, T. *Geminus*, the same that gave up their Consulship; Sp. *Posthumus*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, An *Manlius* (those that went in embassy from the Cons. to Athens); T. *Romulus*, C. *Julius*, P. *Sestius*, *Pub. Horatius*, all men of consular calling, and such as had been Consuls before. Besides, Sp. *Veturius*, according to *Livy*, *Diogenes*, and *Diogenes*; although *Diogenes* called *Posthumus* by the name of *Publius* and not *Spirius* as *Livy*, and *Diogenes* do. Likewise *Livy* forceth nameth *Veturius*, *Lucius* *Diogenes* *Titus*; but *Diogenes* and the Capitoline stones, *Spirius*. These *Decemvirs* began their government in the 301 year after the foundation of the City, as *Livy* writeth, and after them *Cassiodorus* goeth. But the vouchers of the Capitol records, say it was the year 302; & with them agreeeth *Solinus*. But *Varro* (who *Omphrius* followeth) accounteth the year 303. The least in judgment and misestified justice to the people by turns every one his tenth day; on which day the said chief justice

bare the sovereign port, with his 12 Lictors before him; the other nine had but one sergeante apiece to give attendance: and the singular concord among themselves, which otherwhiles was an agreement profitable when they were private, proved exceeding great equity to others.

BY this time the Commons, besides that they detested the name of Coss, no less than KK. found no mis of the Tribunes assistance; nor fought once after it, seeing the Decemvirs yeeld one unto another in reciprocal appealing. With great affection therefore and endeavour, as well of nobles as commons, there were created for this year also Decemvirs in Consuls authority absolutely without appeal. *Q. Claudius* the second time, *Q. Fabius* who had been four times Consul, *M. Cornelius Maluginensis* brother of *L. Cornelius*, who had been Consul in the year 295; *M. Sergius*, *L. Minutius*, *T. Antonius Merenda*, *M. Rabuleius*; and three likewise of the Commons, *Q. Petilius*, *K. Dutilius*, and *Sy. Optim* Cornicen, as witnesseth *Diodorus*. *Dionysius* and *Livy*; although the gentile names for the most part are by *Diodorus* omitted.

WHEN the more part of the former year was past, and that upon the adding of two other tables to the former ten, there remained no more to do, (in case the said tables were one in the high court and assembly of the Centuries passed) why the common-weal should have any need of the Decemvirs, in so much as the commons expected, that soon after, the solemn court and assembly foresaid for creation of Consuls should be published: then the Decemvirs without any word at all made of that election or assembly, came abroad guarded with whole troops of young gentlemen Patricians, and demeaned themselves more proudly and insolently to every man. But before the year was fully expired, by occasion of the lecherous lust of *Ap. Claudius*, who challenged a maiden (one of the commons daughters) as a bond-servant, according as *Livy* more at large writeth; and also of the commons insurrection and departing into the *Aventine*, the foresaid Decemvirs gave over their Magistracy: and when *Q. Furius* the high Pontifex called a general assembly of the tribes, ten Tribunes of the Commons were again chosen: and so at length in another assembly of Centuries for the Consuls, holden by the Interreges, created there were Consuls,

L. Valerius Potitus, *M. Horatius Barbatus*.

THESE Consuls *Onuphrius* casteth upon a third year of the Decemvirs (although *Livy* seemeth to dissent) to the end that he might jump with the account of the Capitol, which he supposed to be collected by *Varro* for by their calculation, the triumphs of these Consuls declared in the Capitol records, are engraven upon this very year, i. 304: so as it appea-

reth evidently, that part of this year was taken up by the Decemvirs, and part by the Consuls. *Tacitus* and *Rufus* write, that the Decemvirs continued but two years.

THESE putteth down for Consuls, *Sp. Herminius* and *T. Virginus Calpurnianus*, *Cassiodorus* saith, *L. Herminius* and *T. Virginus*. *Dionysius* writeth ad hoc *ignotus*. *Tiber* *Dionysius* and *Diodorus* thus, *nasitor ignotus*. *Tiber* *Dionysius* saith: the Greek records *Herminius*, *Tricostus*: whereby *Onuphrius* teacheth that it be corruptly written in *Diodorus*, *Serullus* for *Tricostus*: for *Serullus* was a surname of the *Servili* and not of the *Virginii*. As for his colleague *Herminius*, that he is to be fore-named *Lars*, besides *Diodorus* and *Dionysius*, *Valerius* also sheweth in his tenth book, where he writeth thus: The fore-name of *Lars* is derived from the *Lares*.

M. Geganus Macerinus, *C. Julius*.

THESE are recorded likewise to be the Consuls this year. The surname *Macerinus* is suppressed by *Cassiodorus* and *Diodorus*, who so nameth the other *L. Julius*. In *Dionysius* certain pages be wanting in this place, *Cassius* his Kalender hath for *Macerinus*, *Matrius*.

T. Quintius Capitolinus IIII. Agrippa Furius.

Dionysius and *Livy* both, name the Coss. of this year, *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fourth time, and *Agrippa Furius*. *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus* conceal the surname and the numeral note of four. The Greek records have *Furius* and *Capitolinus*. *Onuphrius* unto *Furius* addeth the surnames of the grandfure, to wit, *Medullinus* *Fusus*.

Al. Gentius, *C. Curtius*.

Livy delivereth unto us for Coss. this year, *M. Gentius*, and *P. Crutius*. *Cassiodorus* likewise *M. Gentius* and *P. Crutius*; but *Dionysius*, *M. Gentius* and *C. Quintus*; and *Diodorus* hath, *M. Gentius* and *Agrippa Curtius* *Chilo*. But as *Sigonius*, and after him *Onuphrius* have noted, it is falsely read in *Livy*, *Crutius* for *Curtius*; and that is proved by the authority of *Varro de lingua latina*: and therefore in the Sicilian registers written they are, *Gentius* and *Curtius*.

310

A. Semp. Atratinus, *M. Military Tribunes in Consul authority upon whose designation Consuls were chosen in their rooms*.

L. Papirius Mugillanus, *L. Sempronius Atratinus*.

WHEN *C. Canuleius* a Tribune of the Commons, had the former year published a second

second law, That one of the Consuls should be created out of the Commons, (whereby the dignity of the Patricii was empaired) the nobles fearing lest the said law would pass in deed munge their heads, drew to a point; whereof *C. Claudius* made the first motion and was the adviser. That in stead of Consuls there should be created military Tribunes, three of the Patricii, and as many of the Commons; who being endued with Consular authority, should govern the common-weal. Also, that when their years government was expired, the advice both of Senat, and also of people should be once again required. Whether they would have Consuls rather than Tribunes consular? and look which pleased them, they should be created. These points being resolved upon and decreed, three military Tribunes were created only, all Patricii: and well enough were the Commons content therewith, because themselves were eligible and capable of that dignity. Howbeit, this regiment of theirs newly let up, stood not firmly established. For within 3 months after, by a decree of the Augurs, they resigned up their honourable place, as if there had been some error committed in their election: and then *T. Quinctius Barbatus* (nominated Interreges) created Consuls, *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. The Consuls are left out in the Sicilian registers. Well saith *Livy* therefore, that these Consuls are found neither in ancient annals and yearly records, nor yet in the Kalender of the Magistrats. But *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his Epistle to *Papirius* *Pais*.

M. Geganus Macerinus II., *T. Quintius Capitolinus V.*

Dionysius and *Cassiodorus* avouch these for Consuls this year. As for *Dionysius*, he saith that they entered in the month of December. *Cassius* concealeth both their surnames, and *Diodorus* the one, namely, *Capitolinus*. The Greek records have *Macerinus* the second time, and *Capitolinus* the fifth time. *Zonaras* nameth them *Macerinus* and *Barbatus*.

M. Fab. Vibulenus, *Postumius Eburnus Cornicen*.

THESE Consuls of this year, were so named, *Diodorus* and *Cassiodorus* are silent in their surnames. The Greek records have *Vibulenus* and *Helus*. *Diodorus* attributeth to *Eburnus* the surname of *Helus*, but what manner of addition that might be, *Sigonius* knoweth not, and thinketh that it should be read, *i. Helus*.

C. Furius Pacilus, *M. Papirius Crassus*.

THESE Consuls by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* are in this wise represented unto us. But by *Diodorus* after this sort, *Q. Furius Fusus*, and *Manius Papirius Crassus*. And by the Greek records thus, *Pacilus* and *Crassus*.

P. Geganus Macerinus, *L. Menenius Lanatus*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus*, deliver these Consuls thus fully named, *Proculus Geganus Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus*. *Diodorus*, *Menenius*, and *Proculus Geganus Macerinus*. The Sicilian registers, *Macerinus* and *Lanatus*.

T. Quint. Capitolinus VI., *A. Menenius Lanatus*.

BY *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, these were the Consuls for this year: but after *Diodorus*, *T. Quintinus*, and *T. Menenius*. According to the Sicilian rolls, *Menenius* and *Capitolinus*.

Mam. Aemilius, *Q. Milit. Tribu. L. Quintus son of Cincinnatus*, *Q. Conf. au- L. Julus*, *thority*.

THE Tribunes of the Commons imported and prevailed, that there should be an election holden for Tribunes military, rather than Consuls making no doubt, but in the choosing of six (for so many now by law might be created) some of the commons by making profession that they would be revenged for the death of *Melius*, would step into the place: howbeit the Commons created no more than three Tribunes with Consular authority, and among them *L. Quintus* the son of *Cincinnatus*. In which election, *Manius Aemilius*, a right honorable man and of great worth, was by their suffrages preferred before *Quintinus* and *Julius* they made the third. In like manner, *Diodorus* nameth three Tribunes military for this year: but in this sort, *M. Aemilius Mamercus*, *C. Julius*, and *L. Quintus*.

M. Geganus Macerinus III., *L. Sergius Fidenas*.

WHEN the Commons, together with their Tribunes were quiet, and carefully regarded the main state of the Common-weal, no question there was nor controversy, but that Coss. were chosen, to wit, *M. Geganus Macerinus* the third time, and *L. Sergius*, to saith *Livy*. *Cassiodorus* doth the same, but that he setteth down the names of the Coss. only in this wise, *M. Geganus* the third time, and *L. Sergius*, without surnames. *Diodorus* likewise, *M. Geganus* and *L. Sergius*, *Cuspinianus* Kalender, and the Sicilian registers, *Macerinus* and *Fidenas*. For this *Sergius* was surnamed *Fidenas* (as *Livy* reporteth) by occasion of the war which he made against the *Fidenates*.

M. Cornelius Maluginensis, *L. Papirius Crassus*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* report these above-named, for this year Consuls, *Diodorus* nameth them, *L. Papirius* and *A. Corn. Macerinus*: but doubtless not without error, as *Sigonius* supposeth: for both in *Cuspinianus* Kalender and the rolls of Sicily, we find *Maluginensis* and *Crassus*.

319
C. Julius II. L. Virginus.

These Consuls are found for this year in *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*; but in *Diadema* C. Julius and *Proculus* Virginus *Triestus*. In *Cassiodorus* Kalendar and the Sicilian records, Julius and *Virginus*.

320
C. Julius III. or M. Manlius.
L. Virginus II. or Q. Marcius.

I find in *Licinius Macer*, that the same Consuls were chosen again for the year following, to wit, Julius the third time, and *Virginus* the second. *Valerius Antias* and *Quintus Tuber* allege for this years Consuls, M. Manlius, and Q. Sulpicius. But in these so different records of theirs, *Tuber* and *Macer* both profess to go by the linen books; and neither of them dissembleth but that the ancient writers report of military Tribunes that year created. As for *Licinius*, he doubteth not to follow the linen records, and *Tuber* cannot resolve of the truth. But among other things, which by continuance of time are unknown, this also is left uncertain. Thus much *Livy*. But *Diadema* in stead of Consuls, setteth down three military Tribunes, namely, M. Manlius, Q. Sulpicius, *Proculus*, and *Servius Cornelius Cossus*. The Greek records (following *Antias* and *Tuber*) have delivered t'us Consuls, *Capitolinus* and *Comitinus*.

321
M. Fabius Vibulanus.
Sergius Fidenas.
Marcus Feslius.
Tribunes military in Consuls authority.

The Tribunes of the Commons in their orations continually forbade the elections of Consuls: and when they had brought it to issue; that the government was at the point of interregency, they wan the mastery in the end, that the military Tribunes might be chosen with Consular authority. But reward of this victory which they shot at, namely, to have a commoner created, they obtained none: for out of the Patriiti, namely M. Fabius Vibulanus, M. Feslius, L. Sergius Fidenas. Thus much *Livy*. *Diadema* likewise nameth three, but corruptly, to wit, M. Fabius, M. *proculus*, and L. *Servilius*. As for *Feslius* in some of the Capitol monuments, he is written *Flaccinator* and not *Feslius*, as in the common editions of *Livy*, whom *Diadema* calleth *proculus*.

322
L. *Paenarius* Mamercus.
L. *Furius* Medullinus.
Sp. *Posthumius* Albus.
Tribunes military in Consuls authority.

NO motion was made of Consuls election. So Tribunes military were created in Consuls authority these, *Paenarius Mamercus*, L. *Furius* Medullinus, and *Sporius* *Posthumus* Albus:

as *Livy* writeth. In *Diadema* they are named thus, L. *Furius* Sp. *Posthumius* Mamercus.

323
T. Quintius [son of Lucius] Cincinnatus Pennus Julius Meno.

An act of the Senat passed, that an election of Consuls should be holden, wherein T. Quintius [son of Lucius] Cincinnatus, furnished also Pennus, and C. Julius Meno, were made Consuls, saith *Livy*. The same Consuls *Cassiodorus* also avoucheth. The Greek records have Pennus and Meno: But *Diadema* nameth them barely T. Quintius and Cains Julius.

324
L. Papirius Crassus. L. Julius.

The Tribunes of the Commons made much ado, and kept a convulsing in the City that Tribunes military in Consuls authority should be created, but could not prevail. So Consuls were chosen, L. Papirius Crassus and L. Julius. So say *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Diadema* nameth them falsely, Cains Papirius and L. Julius: the Greek records, Crassus and Julius.

325
L. Ser. Fidenas II. Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus.

The Consuls this year in *Cassiodorus*: are L. Sergius and Hostus Lucretius: in *Diadema* Opiter Lucretius and L. Sergius Fidenas: in *Livy* L. Sergius Fidenas the second time, and Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus. In the Sicilian registers, Tricipitinus and Fidenas. Of these *Diadema* maketh mention in his Epitome.

326
A. Cornelius Cossus. T. Quatinius Pennus II.

These Consuls are named by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* for this year. But *Diadema* avoucheth L. Quintius and *Sempronius* both corruptly, as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose. For in the Sicilian records are written, Cossus and Pennus: the surnames of Cornelius and Quintius. Of these Consuls *Livy* spake before, in the year 316.

327
C. Servilius Ahala. L. Papirius Mugillanus.

Livy and *Cassiodorus*, name Consuls for this year, C. Servilius Ahala, and L. Papirius Mugillanus. *Diadema* for Ahala putteth down *Servilius*: for well it may be, that *Servilius* was also called Ahala.

328
T. Quintius Pennus.
M. Posthumius.
C. Furius.
A. Cornelius Cossus.
Tribunes military in Consuls authority.

The Commons carried it clear, that no Consul this year were created: for four there were elected military Tribunes in Consuls authority, namely, T. Quintius Pennus immediately upon his Consulship, M. Posthumius, C. Furius, & A. Cornelius Cossus. Thus writeth *Livy*: and the same *Diadema* nameth.

329
A. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Quatinius Cincinnatus.
L. Furius Medullinus.
L. Horatius Barbatus.
Tribunes military in Consuls authority.

These abovenamed (as *Livy* reporteth) were Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year. *Diadema* leaveth out their surnames, and L. Horatius full and whole.

330
Ap. Claudius the Decemvirs son.
L. Quatinius Cincinnatus.
L. Sergius Fidenas.
Hostus Julius Julius.
Tribunes military in Consuls authority.

These Tribunes military in Consuls authority *Livy* setteth down for this year. The same doth *Diadema* also nominate, all but their surnames, and App. Claudius whom he called Titus. *Livy* moreover saith, that there were two *Sporius Nautius Rutili*, Tribunes in those daies: but no doubt, as *Onuphrius* thinketh, there is some error in the copies of the book: the one of which is now the first time and a second time shall be in the year 338; the other, who was first in the year 335, and once again in the year 332. The Capitol monuments of stone have the same: but they shew that the one was but once, and the other thrice Tribune.

331
C. Sempronius Atratinus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

The Consuls this year created were according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, C. Sempronius Atratinus and Q. Fabius Vibulanus (*Diadema* avoucheth them) whom *Livy* reporteth to have entered into government, upon the Ides of December. Of C. Sempronius Atratinus Consul, *Valerius* writeth six books, cap. 9. whom he saith nameth Lucius: but in the third book and second chapter, he speaketh of both, although untruly; for Q. Fabius, he nameth Q. Caninus.

332
L. Manlius Capitolinus.
Q. Antonius Merenda.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.
L. Sergius Scaevola.
Tribunes military in Consuls authority.

The Senat being offended with the very names of Consuls for the hatred they bare to *Sempronius*, commanded Tribunes military to be created with Consuls authority. And these they were, L. Manlius Capitolinus, Q. Antonius Merenda, and Papirius Mugillanus. Thus much *Livy*, in whose story the name is missing of the

fourth, to wit, L. Servilius Scaevola, who in the year 339, is found engraven in the Capitol stones: Tribunes military the second time. Of these, *Diadema* saith not a word; in a fragment of the Capitoline marble, there is to be seen the surname of *Mugillanus*, belonging to L. Papirius.

333
T. Quatinius Cincinnatus. N. Fabius Vibulanus.

NOt only *Livy*, but *Cassiodorus* also recordeth that the Consuls this year were N. Fabius Vibulanus and T. Quatinius Cincinnatus. *Diadema* omitteth them: but to do not the Sicilian registers. In a fragment of the Capitol marbles, we find engraven T. Quatinius Cincinnatus Barbatus and N. Fabius. This Fabius was the son of Q. Fabius the Decemvir, who after the 300 Fabii slain in *Comertus*, survived and was the first of all that kindred and family surnamed *Numerius*: as *Valerius Maximus* in his 10 book; and *Sextus Pompeius* do report. As for T. Quatinius son he was (as *Livy* writeth) to that Capitoline who was Consul six times.

334
An Interregency.

VVhen the greater part of the year was spent in troubles and contentions, between the new Trib. of the Commons and certain Interregency, while the Tribunes one while would not suffer the Patriiti to go together about the declaring of an interregency, and another while impeached the Interregency that he could not pass an act of the Senat for the election of Consuls at length L. Papirius Mugillanus the Interregency, by rebuking as well the Senators as the Tribunes of the Commons, prevailed, that an assembly should be holden for choosing of Tribunes consular. So there were created Tribunes military with Consuls authority, and all Patriiti, T. Quatinius Cincinnatus the third time, L. Furius Medullinus, M. Manlius, L. Sempronius Atratinus. Thus much *Livy*.

335
A. Menenius Lanatus.
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Sp. Nautius.
C. Sergilius.
Trib. military in Consuls authority.

Military Tribunes with Consuls authority for this year, are set down by *Livy* Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and P. Nautius: for the name of the fourth is wanting; and that was C. Sergilius, son of Quintius and nephew of Cains, surnamed *Aspila*; who the year following, in the Capitol tables is numbered among the Tribunes consular, with the numeral note of II. So as it must needs be, that he was also first time in the year, for as much as no other fit void place left for him. *Diadema* nameth Sp. *Patriiti*.

354
P. Licinius Calvus, P. Manius.
T. Titinius, P. Malus.
L. Furius Medullinus, L. Publius Vulsus.

THese by T. Livius are this year named the Tribunes military. But *Diodorus* beareth only three, namely, P. Melius, Sp. Manius, and L. Furius. But *Omniphrius* thinketh that he is to be read, not L. Furius but Sp. Furius. The same author hath put to P. Licinius, the surname of Calvus, whom Livy writeth to have been the first man of the commonalty chosen Tribune military; only to take possession of the said right and interest.

355
M. Pomponius, M. Pomponius.
C. Daulius, Valerius Publilius.
Cn. Genucius, L. Atilius.

THese *Diodorus* sheweth for Tribunes. But Livy setteth down *Marcus Pomponius* to have been the only Patritian, and the rest commoners, namely, M. Pomponius, C. Daulius, Valerius Publilius, Cn. Genucius, L. Atilius. *Cyprianus* his book, who every year delivereth the names only of two Tribunes, hath *Augurinus* and *Longus*, surnames of *Genucius* & *Atilius*.

356
L. Valerius Potius, V. L. Furius Medullinus.
M. Valerius Max., Q. Servilius Fidenus II.
M. Furius Camillus II., Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.

All these Tribunes military for this year created were Patritii, as Livy writeth: neither discredeth *Diodorus* although he recite two names corruptly, to wit, *maxus* & *yon*, *Spurius* & *atius*, *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* maketh mention, of the said *Camillus*, the second time Tribune military; and the Capitoline Stone of *Medullinus* the third time.

357
L. Julius Iulus, A. Postum Regillensis.
L. Furius Medullinus IV, P. Cor. Maluginensis.
L. Servius Fidenus, A. Manlius.
IN this wit Livy reckoneth them, but *Diodorus* L. Servius, A. Postumius, P. Cornelius & *Q. Atianus* & *Q. Atianus* & *Q. Atianus*. But in those two Greek-written names, as *Siganius* & *Omniphrius*, observeth there is a foul error.

358
P. Licinius, P. F. Calvus, L. Titinius II.
P. Manius II., P. Melius II.
Cn. Genucius II., L. Atilius II.

IN this manner are these Tribunes military delivered us unto by Livy. But *Diodorus* names them thus, L. Titinius, P. Licinius, P. Malus, Q. Manius, Cn. Genucius, and L. Atilius. All these, but L. Licinius the son of *Publius* (as Livy saith) bare the dignity of Tribuneship a little before: who writeth moreover, that *Genucius* was slain in a battle against the Faliscians.

359
P. Cornelius Cossus, P. Cornelius Scipio.
L. Fabius Ambustus, L. F. Furius Medullinus IV.
M. Valerius Max., M. Q. Servilius III.

After the winning of *Vesii*, this year had the Tribunes military in Consuls authority whole above-named, *Diodorus* calleth P. and Ser. Cornelius both, *Cossus* is the rest, leaving that he concealth their surnames, he agreeth.

360
L. Furius Medullinus, V. Sp. Postumius.
C. Amylius, P. Cornelius II.
L. Valerius Poplicola, M. Furius Camillus.

Livy nameth these in this year. *Diodorus*, M. Furius Amylius, & *Q. Postumius*, but *Camillus* now is the third time. *Siganius* and *Omniphrius* think, that by P. Cornelius we must understand *Scipio*, and not *Cossus*. This year *Camillus* Tribune military, by his just dealing reduced the Faliscians to the obedience of the people of Rome; in that he sent back unto them, that schoolmaster who bestrid their children as Livy and *Plutarch* write. *Valerius* (now without some suspicion of error) writeth in his last book, that *Camillus* did this being Consul: whereas *Plutarch* saith, he was never Consul.

361
L. Lucretius Flavius, Serv. Sulpicius Camerinus.
After fifteen years (saith Livy) Cossus was created again L. Lucretius Flavius, & Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus, *Diodorus* and *Calpurnius* passe over the surnames. The Sicilian registers do shew, Flavius, and Camerinus.

362
L. Valerius Potius, M. Manlius Capitolinus.
Livius, *Valerius Potius* and *M. Manlius* named afterwards *Capitolinus*, are by Livy reported Consuls this year. *Dionysius* in his first book maketh mention of these Consuls, naming them L. Valerius Potius, and T. Manlius Capitolinus. *Calpurnius* delivereth them by the names of L. Valerius and M. Manlius, *Diodorus*, of L. Valerius and A. Manlius; but the Sicilian registers, of Potius and Capitolinus.

363
L. Lucretius, L. Furius Medullinus VII.
Serv. Sulpicius, Agrippa Furius.
M. Amylius, C. Amylius II.

By occasion that the Coss. lay sick, though good it was, to renew the government by means of an interregency: therefore after they had depose the Coss. by an act of the Senate, six Trib. military were created with Consular authority, by the Interreges: who upon the first day of July began their magistracy, as Livy saith, *Diodorus* mentioneth but four, namely, L. Lucretius, Serv. Sulpicius, C. Amylius, and L. Furius. As for *Sulpicius*, *Zenarus* calleth him *Rufus*; which surname *Omniphrius* also hath put unto him.

364
Q. Fabius Ambustus, Q. Sulpicius Longus.
The brethren of Q. S. Servilius IIII.
Fabius Ambustus, Servil. Cor. Maluginensis

THese are by T. Livius recorded for Tribunes military in Consuls authority: but *Diodorus* reckoneth the three Fabii, Q. K. & C. and the other three, besides *Plutarch* in *Camillus*, *Gellius* out of *Verrius Flaccus*, in his 5 book and 17 chapter: *Macrobius* also in his first book of Saturnals, make report of *Quintus Sulpicius*, a Tribune military.

365
L. Valerius Poplicola II., A. Manlius.
L. Virginius, L. Amylius.
P. Cornelius, L. Postumius.

According to Livy, these were created Tribunes military after the winning of the City: but by *Diodorus*, they were Pub. Cornelius, L. Virginius, L. Virginius, A. Manlius, and L. Postumius. Of these Tribunes, *Macrobius* speaketh in his first book of Saturnalia.

366
T. Quintus Cincinnatus, L. Aquilius Corvus.
Q. Servilius Fidenus V., L. Lucius Tricipitinus.
L. Julius Iulus, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.

THese Tribunes military in Consuls authority for this year, Livy thus declareth unto us, *Diodorus* hath these Tribunes, T. Quintus, L. Servilius, L. Julius Aquilius, L. Lucretius & Ser. Sulpicius.

367
L. Papirius, C. Sergius.
L. Amylius II, C. Cornelius.
L. Menenius, L. Valerius Poplicola III.

THese, Livy reporteth for Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year. But *Diodorus* hath L. Papirius, C. Cornelius, L. Menenius, C. Servilius, A. Valerius, and Q. Fabius. Howbeit, there is wanting in Livy the name of the six Tribune, whom (out of *Diodorus*) *Siganius* and *Omniphrius* have set to the rest by the name of C. Cornelius. *Diodorus* also for *Sergius* hath *Servilius*, and *Amylius* for *Fabius*.

368
M. Furius Camillus, L. Horatius Pulvillus.
S. Cor. Maluginensis, L. Quint. Cincinnatus.
Q. Servil. Fidenus VI., P. Valerius.

THese Common-wealth came to be governed again by *Camillus*, a Tribune military in Cons. authority, and for Collegues were added unto him these 5 here named. But *Diodorus* saith that were 4 created, M. Cornelius, Q. Servilius, M. Furius, and L. Quintus. In this year when the Dictatorship was offered unto *Camillus*, he said there was no need thereof: and he, together with the Tribunes his Collegues, vanquished the Volscians, Antiois, & Tuscans which rebelled.

369
A. Manlius, P. Cornelius.
L. Quintus Capitolinus, L. Papirius Curior II.
T. Quintus Capitolinus, C. Sergius II.

THese hath Livy: but *Diodorus* saith, that four only were created namely, L. Papirius, Q. T. and L. Quintus. But of those six, A. Manlius having been Tribune military in the year 365, and who shall be a third time in the year 371, must now verily be the second time.

370
S. Cor. Maluginen. V. P. Valerius Potius II.
M. Furius Camillus V. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus II.
C. Papirius Crassus, T. Quintus Cincinnatus II.

THese Tribunes military in Cons. authority in this manner be delivered unto us by Livy: but *Diodorus* (as his manner is) putteth down four: Serv. Sulpicius, L. Papirius, M. Cornelius, and T. Quintus. In this year, M. Manlius attained and condemned for aspiring to be K, was thrown down headlong from the rock Tarpeia: Livy, *Plutarch*, and *Faler*.

371
L. Valerius IV., L. Lucretius.
A. Manlius III., L. Amylius.
Ser. Sulpicius III., M. Tribonius.

Livy rangeth these in this year, *Diodorus* nameth four: L. Valerius, Crispus (which is the name of Tribonius) A. Manlius, and Serv. Sulpicius, Crispus, some call Flavius.

372
Sp. Papirius, Q. Servilius.
L. Papirius, C. Sulpicius.
Ser. Cornelius IV., L. Amylius IV.

According to Livy, these were created Tribunes military in Consuls authority. The surname of *Cornelius* (as we have before) was *Maluginensis*. *Diodorus* writeth four: Q. Servilius, Sp. Papirius, Cornelius, & A. Manlius, but not truly.

373
M. Furius Camillus VI., L. Furius.
A. Postumius Regillensis, L. A. Manlius.
L. Postumius Regillensis, M. Fabius Ambustus.

Livy nameth these as we have placed them: But *Diodorus* in this wit: M. and L. both Furii, A. Postumius, L. Lucretius, M. Fabius, and L. Postumius, *Plutarch* also nameth *Camillus* Tribune military this year; wherein he vanquished the Prenestines, the Volscians, and the Tuscans also, against whom war was proclaimed, because they had served in the field under the Prenestines.

374
L. Valerius V., L. Menenius II.
L. Valerius III., P. Papirius.
C. Sergius III., Ser. Cor. Maluginensis.

THese fix are set down by Livy: but *Diodorus* reckoneth eight, namely, L. and P. both.

Valerius, C. Terentius, L. Menenius, C. Sulpitius, T. Papirius, L. Emilius, M. Fabius.

375
P. Manlius, C. Sextilius,
C. Manlius, M. Albinus,
L. Julius, L. Antistius.

After this, was the general assembly holden for the election of military Tribunes in Consuls authority, wherein were as many created of the Commoners as of the Patritii; namely, P. and C. both Manlius, with L. Julius, Patritians; and out of the Commons, C. Sextilius, M. Albinus, and L. Antistius. But Diadormus exhibiteth eight, and to these above rehearsed, he addeth C. Herennius, and P. Trebonius, Sextilius also he calleth Sextius.

376
S. Furius, P. Clodius,
Q. Servilius II, M. Horatius,
C. Licinius, L. Geganus.

Livy reporteth these for Tribunes military in Consuls authority this year: but in Livy, for L. Menenius the third time, you must read C. Licinius, as Sigonius hath shewed in his Scholia upon Livy: which Onuphrius also in his Kalender approveth. But Diadormus speaketh of no more than four: Q. Servilius, C. Licinius, L. Furius, P. Clodius.

377
L. Emilius, Ser. Sulpitius,
P. Valerius II, L. Quintus Cincinnatus,
C. Veturius, C. Quintus Cincinnatus.

These Tribunes military, the Consuls (being for ed by the might and strong hand of the great men of the City) chose all Patritians, as Livy witnesseth. The same also are named by Diadormus excepting only C. Quintus, who is called by him C. Cornelius, as for Ser. Sulpitius he was renamed Pretextatus, Zonaras nameth him Rufus.

378. 379. 380. 381. 382.
C. Licinius Stolo, Tribunes of the Commons five years,
L. Sextius.

In this year hapred the fourth change of the Roman government: for the administration of the weal publicke fell from Tribunes military in consuls authority, to the Tribunes of the commons. The authors that procured this mutation, were (as Livy reporteth) C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, Tribunes of the commons, who in the former year having promulged three laws in favour of the commons and against the power of the Patritii, the first forbidding of debts; a second for alitt of lands and possessions; and the third, that there should be no more elections of Tribunes military and that one of the consuls should necessarily be chosen a commoner: seeing they could not go through with these laws, by reason of their

own fellows oppositions (whom of purpose the Nobles had made for themselves) fell into an anger, and would suffer no curule Magistrats of State to be created, nor any election to be holden, but only of Aediles and Tribunes: both of commons. This deplorable estate and want of Magistrats (whiles the commons made the same Tribunes fill, who with uncessant and invincible peristance never gave over to cross the election of Tribunes military) continued in the city for the space of five years, as Livy saith. This want of Magistrats Diadormus calleth *anarchia*, and calleth it upon the former year, but Sext. Rufus, Eutropius, C. Aspidorus, and Zonaras write that they ruled the state not five years, but four only. Sigonius and Onuphrius in his Kalender, follow Livy and his Annals inasmuch that the capitoline writers go by. Livy also in the sixteenth book, and four and twentieth chapter, maketh mention of the year three hundred seventy nine from the foundation of the city, in which year he saith that at Rome

383
L. Furius, Ser. Cornelius,
A. Manlius, P. Valerius,
Ser. Sulpitius, C. Valerius.

When C. Licinius and L. Sextius the Tribunes gave over their opposition and the liberty of their negative voice, whereby the Interregent called and held an assembly for the election of Magistrats, the above-named Tribunes military, were (as Livy saith) created for this year. Diadormus nameth them thus, L. Papirius, L. Menenius, Ser. Cornelius, and Ser. Sulpitius, who writeth also, that after them there was another Anarchy, and when that was overpast and gone, then were created A. Manlius, L. Furius, Ser. Sulpitius, and Ser. Cornelius. But in his story, as well through his own default, as the negligence of the writers that copied out flame, there is a confusion of yearly Magistrats.

384
Q. Servilius, M. Cornelius,
C. Veturius, L. Quintus,
A. Cornelius, M. Fabius.

This year also, as Livy writeth, had these for Tribunes military in Consuls authority. But Diadormus hath Q. Servilius, C. Veturius, A. Cornelius, M. Cornelius, and M. Fabius: as for Quintus, Sigonius calleth him rather Cincinnatus than Capitoline. The rest have their warrant out of the Capitoline fragments, wherein it is thus found Cossus . . . Maluginensis . . . Cincinnatus . . . M. Fabius Ambustus. This is that M. Fabius Ambustus, who had bestowed his two daughters in marriage, the one to C. Licinius Stolo, the other to Ser. Sulpitius Pretextatus, as Livy writeth.

385
L. Quintus, Ser. Cornelius,
Ser. Sulpitius, Sp. Servilius,
L. Papirius, L. Veturius.

Livy declareth these six for Tribunes military this year, Diadormus rehearseth but three, namely, T. Quintus, Servilius Cornelius, and Ser. Sulpitius. What surnames all these carried, and with what numerall notes (signifying how often they had born the office) they are to be marked, the Capitoline fragments do shew; wherein they stand thus, Capitoline . . . Maluginensis, II, Prætextatus, III, Sp. Servilius Strabatus, L. Papirius Crassus, L. Veturius Crassus Cicerinus.

386
Two Dictators without any curule Magistrats of State besides.

Presently in the very beginning of the year, they proceeded to put it to the trial of small lites, what should become of the foresaid laws propoied by Licinius and Sextius. When the tribes were called to give their voices, and the publishers of the laws were not hindered by the negatives of their Colleagues coming between: the Nobles began then to quake for fear, and in all haste betook them to their two last helps and means of refuge, the sovereign and absolute government, and the principal Citizen and greatest man of all others. Resolve they did to nominate a Dictator, and Marcus Furius Camillus was the man: who took unto him for General of the horfemen L. Emilius. But when the Captains and ring-leaders of the Commons dealt very bitterly and roughly against Camillus, he (as Livy writeth) resigned up his Dictatorship. Plutarch also testifieth the same: who likewise avoucheth the cause thereof, which Livy goeth about to disprove. But both Livy and Plutarch do affirm, that in the room of Camillus thus giving over his place, there was a second Dictator created. Livy saith, it was P. Manlius. Plutarch suppresseth his name: but they agree both, that C. Licinius was the General of the horfe. Howbeit, they mean not both, one and the self-same man. For Livy saith and that truly, that it was he who had been Tribune military in Consuls authority before: But Plutarch nameth him, who was the author of the sedition and of the new laws: wherein he faulteth, For the Captain of the foresaid sedition, was this year also made Tribune of the Com, the ninth time: but Tribune of the Com, and General of the horfe at one time he could not be. And therefore Onuphrius thinketh him to have been the son of P. Licinius Calvus military Tribune, and who had to his grandfather that Pub. Licinius, who of the Com, was the first Tribune military. Of this, see more in his Kalender.

387
A. Cornelius II, M. Cornelius,
L. Veturius, M. Geganus,
Julius P. Manlius, P. Valerius V, I.

Livy exhibiteth these Trib. military before named for this year, whom Diadormus exhibiteth. Their surnames, together with the notes signifying how often they had born this honourable dignity, are thus expressed in the Capitoline fragments, Cossus II, . . . Maluginensis II, . . . Maccarius, L. Veturius, Crassus Cicerinus II, . . . P. Veturius Petitus Poplicola, VI, P. Manlius Capitolineus II.

388
L. Sextius, L. Emilius.

When L. Sextius and C. Licinius, Trib. of the Com, now chosen the tenth time, were more and more eager and instant in the publishing of their laws, in the end the authority both of Dictator and Senat, was conquered by the strong hand of the Tribunes. For they prevailed notwithstanding all the Nobility was against it, that there should be holden a solemn assembly for election of Consuls: and that, (by vertue of their laws which they carried clear before them) the one of the Consuls should be a Commoner. By which means, L. Sextius was the first Consul created from out of the Commons. But when the nobles denied flatly to approve the same by their assent, inasmuch as the Commons were at the point of insurrection and ready to leave the City: the difford and dissention was at length taken up and appeald by the mediation of the Dictator: and as the nobility was content to yield unto the commonalty a Consul, so the Commons granted unto the nobles one Praetor or Lord chief Justice within the City, and him to be created from out of the Nobility. Granted also unto them now first it was, that two Aediles Curule should be chosen out of the Patritii. The Commons conferred the Consulship upon L. Sextius (by whose law it was first obtained) and for companion in government he had L. Emilius Mamercus. Thus much Livy and Plutarch: who altogether with Aspidorus put down for Cossus, L. Emilius a Patritian, and L. Sextius a Commoner. The same, Diadormus nameth L. Emilius Mamercus, and L. Lutatius. Now this Lutatius is the surname of Sextius, as appeareth in a table of record in the Capitoll, wherein the consuls are thus to be seen, Mamercinus & L. Sextius Sextimus Lutatius: as also in the Sicilian registers they are called Mamercinus and Lutatius. In the book entitled De viris Illustribus of famous men, we find written that it was not L. Sextius, but C. Licinius Stolo, who was the first consul chosen out of the commonalty.

389
L. Gentius, Q. Servilius.

Diadormus, Livy, and Aspidorus shew unto us for consuls, L. Gentius and Q. Servilius: Of whom Orosius also and Eutropius make mention. According to the records of the Capitoll, the cof. in his first consulship is thus written: Q. Servilius son of Q. nephew of Quintus Abolus together

together with *L. Genucius*, but in the second, the son of *M. nephew of Cn. (surnamed Ammentinus)*. In the Sicilian registers they are written *Genucius* and *Cursius*, but corruptly, as *Signonius* thinketh.

390

C. Sulpitius Peticus, *C. Licinius Stolo*.

These be the Consuls reported by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Diodorus* concealeth their surnames. *Valerius Max.* in his second book and first ch. maketh mention of them, and so doth *Plutarch* in his problems. But he whom all other writers name *Stolo*, the Capitoline records nominate *Calvus*: as also the Sicilian, which deliver their surnames *Peticius* and *Calvus*.

391

L. Aemilius Mamercinus II., *Cn. Genucius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* declare these for Consuls: whom *Diodorus* in his sixteenth book nameth *Cn. Genucius* and *L. Aemilius*. In the Capitoll tables in this manner they be let down, *Mamercinus II.* and *Cn. Genucius* son of *M.* and nephew of *M. Ammentinus*. But in the Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *Stolo*.

392

Q. Servilius Ahala II., *L. Genucius II.*

Diodorus nameth the Consuls of this year, *Q. Servilius* and *Q. Genucius*. The Sicilian registers, *Ahala* and *Genucius*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Q. Servilius Hala* and *L. Genucius*. These are they who three years before were matched together in the same government.

393

C. Sulpitius, *C. Licinius Calvus*.

These are by *Livy* recorded Consuls this year. *Cassiodorus* writeth them thus, *C. Sulpitius II.* and *C. Licinius*. *Diodorus* in this wife, *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Licinius*. *Signonius* suppoeth they be the same, who three years before were Collegues. The Sicilian registers give unto *Licinius* the surname, not of *Calvus* as before, but of *Stolo*: and *Sulpitius* they surname *Peticius*.

394

C. Patellus Libo, *M. Favius Ambulstus*.

Livy, and *Cassiodorus* write the Consuls for this year were, *C. Patellus Balbus* and *M. Favius Ambulstus*. But *Diodorus*, *M. Favius* and *C. Patellus*, corruptly for *Patellus*. The Capitoll writers give them surnames divers from *Livy*: for they call *Libo* *Vipulanus*; but he *Balbus*. And the Sicilian registers go with those of the Capitoll.

395

M. Popilius Lanatus, *Cn. Manlius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* name this year Consuls in this sort: but *Diodorus* calleth them, *M. Popilius Lanatus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperatorius*. This

was the first man of the *Popilii*, surnamed *Lanatus*. The reason of which name *Cicero* reddereth in his book *Brutus*, saying, *M. Popilius* being Consul, and at the same time offering sacrifice in his robe called *Lana*, for that he was *Flaminio* *Carmen*: upon news brought unto him that the commons were up and risen in a commotion against the Nobles, came in that attire and habit as he was into the assembly: and what with his authority of countenance, and what with his eloquence of speech, appeased the sedition.

396

C. Fabius, *C. Plantius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* have these above-named for the Consuls this year: but in *Diodorus* they are named *M. Fabius* and *C. Plotius*. In the Capitoll records, *M. Fabius* and *C. Plantius Proculus*.

397

C. Martius, *Cn. Manlius*.

Diodorus, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* name the Consuls of this year, *C. Martius* and *Cn. Manlius*. This *Cn. Manlius* was Consul the first time, two years before. *Cicpinus* book and the Greek records have *Rutilus* and *Capitolinus*.

398

M. Fabius Ambustus II., *M. Popilius Lanatus II.*

This years Consuls are with these names entituled by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* leaveth out their surnames and the numeral notes. *Cicpinus* book and the Greek records, let them thus down, *Ambustus II.* and *Lanatus*.

399

C. Sulpitius Peticus III., *M. Valerius Poplicola*.

In the four hundred year from the foundation of the City, and the thirty five after that it was by the Gauls won, the commons after eleven years did forgo their hold of the Consulship, and upon an Interregency, both Coll. of the *Patritii* entered into government, to wit, *C. Sulpitius Peticus III.*, *M. Valerius Poplicola*, as *Livy* saith. The same Consuls *Diodorus*, *Cassiodorus*, and the Sicilian registers, do report. But why the account of time made by *Livy*, disagreeeth from this reckoning, *Signonius* and *Omnipontius* in his *Kalendar* do give a reason.

400

M. Fab. Ambustus III., *T. Quintus*, or *M. Popilius*.

In this year also, according to *Livy*, both Coll. were *Patritii*, namely, *M. Fabius Ambustus* the third time, with *T. Quintus*: although he writeth, that in some Annals instead of *Titus Quintus*, he found *Marcus Popilius* as Consul. With *Livy* accordeth *Diodorus*, and *Cassiodorus*, *Solinus* also: who in his forty one chapter out of *Cornelius Nepos* writeth, that *Alexander* was born when *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *T. Quintus*

1111

these *Capitoline* were Consuls. *Cicpinus* book leteth forth *Ambustus* and *Capitolinus*. But these Consuls and those that follow are in the Sicilian registers concealed.

401

C. Sulpitius Peticus III., *M. Valerius Poplicola III.*

Both Consuls created this year were *Patritii*, and namely, those who are here set down, after *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Diodorus* omitteth both their surnames, and also the numeral notes, and letteth after the former Consuls, *M. Valerius* and *C. Sulpitius*.

402

P. Valerius Poplicola, *C. Martius Rutilus*.

To *L. Valerius Poplicola* was given in fellowship of government this year, *C. Martius Rutilus* of the commons, as *Livy* saith. These *Cassiodorus* calleth *P. Valerius* and *C. Martius Rutilus*: the second time. *Diodorus* nameth them *M. Fabius* and *P. Valerius*. The Sicilian registers intermingling them confusedly with those of the next year, matching *Rutilus* and *Pennus* together.

403

C. Sulpitius Peticus, *T. Quintus*, or *C. Quintus Pennus*.

The Coll. for this year created were *C. Sulpitius Peticus* and *T. Quintus Pennus*. Some put to *Quintinus* the name *Caso*, others *Cains*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* name them thus, *C. Sulpitius Peticus* and *T. Quintus Pennus*: but *Diodorus*, *C. Sulpitius* and *C. Quintinus*.

404

M. Popilius Lanatus, *L. Cornelius Scipio*.

Livy writeth, that for Consuls this year the Commons yielded *M. Popilius Lanatus*, and the nobles *L. Cornelius Scipio*. *Cassiodorus* letteth them forth under the name of *M. Popilius Lanatus* the third time, and *L. Cornelius Scipio*. *Diodorus* nameth them, *C. Cornelius* and *M. Popilius*: and the Sicilian registers barely *Scipio* and *Lanatus*.

405

M. Fabius Camillus, *P. Claudius Crassus*.

M. Fabius Camillus the Dictator restored the nobles again to their former possession of the Consulship: and being himself for that good dementie created Consul, with the great love and hearty affection of the nobles, nominated for his Colleague, *Publius Claudius Crassus*. Thus saith *Livy*. The same Consuls are let down by *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus*, nameth them *Aemilius* and *T. Quintus*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Crassus*. *Cicero* in *Clau* maketh mention of these Consuls, saying, that *Plato* came to *Tarentum*, when *L. Camillus* and *P. Claudius* were Consuls: *Gellius* likewise book 11 chapter.

406

M. Valerius Corvinus, *M. Popilius Lanatus III.*

M. Valerius Corvinus being Dictator, created for Consul with the exceeding favour of the people, *M. Valerius Corvinus* (for that was his surname afterwards) in his absence, and being but three and twenty years old. This *Corvinus* had joyed with him in the Consulship from out of the commons. *M. Popilius Lanatus* the third time, as saith *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* three years after nominateth *M. Valerius* and *M. Popilius*. In the fragment of the Capitoll thus only it is found, *M. Valerius*, *M. F. M. N. Corvinus* Consul. In the Sicilian registers *Corvinus* and *Lanatus*.

407

T. Manlius Torquatus, *C. Plantius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* nameth them for Consuls this year, *Cicpinus* *Kalendar* and the Sicilian records, *Torquatus* and *Pennus*. In a fragment of the Capitoll there is to be read the surname of *Manlius Imperatorius Torquatus*.

408

M. Valerius Corvinus II., *C. Patellus*.

These are named Consuls by *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*: but *Cicpinus* *Kalendar* and the registers of *Sicily* shew for Consuls, *Corvinus* and *Libo*. As for the name *C. Patellus*, it is described by his Dictatorship, which (according to the Capitoll evidences) he bare in the year 440: for in a fragment (testifying his Consulship) there appeareth no more but one of his surnames *Vipulanus*.

409

M. Fabius Dorso, *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*.

These were the Consuls created for this year, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. *Diodorus* also (although not in the right place) allegeth *M. Fabius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Dorso* and *Camerinus*. Both these Consuls were *Patritii*, which *Livy* omitted.

410

C. Mart. Rutilus III., *T. Manlius Torquatus II.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* avow these for Coll. this year. *Diodorus* likewise delivereth unto us, *C. Martius* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers, *Rutilus* and *Torquatus*. *Frontinus* also in his second book of *Stratagems* speaketh of them.

411

M. Valerius Corvinus II., *A. Cornelius Cossus*. *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* both together report, that these were chosen Coll. for this year. *Diodorus*, *Cicero* in his book of *Divination*, and *Frontinus* nameth them, *M. Valerius* and *A. Cornelius*. The Sicilian registers, *Valerius* and *Cossus*: both of them are *Patritii*. But he that hath written of famous men, calleth them, *Valerius Max.* and *Cornelius Cossus*.

TITUS

412

412
C. *Martius Rutilius IV. Q. Servilius.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* declare *Coff.* for this year, *C. Martius* and *Q. Servilius*, *Diodorus*, *Q. Servilius* and *Martius Rutilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Athala* and *Rutilius*. This is that *Q. Servilius Athala* who was Master of the horse in the 403 year.

413
C. *Plantius II. L. Emilius Mamercinus.*

The Consuls that followed, were *C. Plantius* the second time, and *L. Emilius Mamercinus*, as witness *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*; but *L. Emilius* & *C. Plantius*, as testifieth *Diodorus*; and as the Sicilian registers say, *Vennus* and *Mamercinus*. *Cuspinian* Ralendar set forth for this year, *Vennus* the second time, and *Mamercinus*.

414
T. *Manlius Torquatus III. P. Decius Mus.*

This *Manlius Torquatus* the third time, and *P. Decius Mus*, bare the Consulship this year, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report, *Diodorus* nameth them, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *P. Decius*. The Sicilian registers, *Torquatus* and *Manlius*. *Zonaras*, *Torquatus* the third time, and *Decius*. Of the same Consuls *Pliny* speaketh in his 27 book and 5 chap. *Valerius* also in his 1 book and 5 chap. besides others.

415
T. *Emilius Mamercinus. Q. Publilius Philo.*

This *Emilius Mamercinus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, are by *Livy* reckoned *Coff.* for this year. *Diodorus* passeth over their surnames. The Greek records shew unto us, *Mamercinus* and *Philo*. As for *Philo*, he is described out of the tables of the Capitoll.

416
L. *Furius Camillus. C. Manius.*

Thus say *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *Diodorus* hath *L. Furius* and *Publius*, but corruptly The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Manius*. The Capitoll monuments of triumphs, *L. Furius Camillus*, and *C. Manius*. *Pliny* in his 34 book and 5 chap. maketh mention of *Caius Manius*, Consul.

417
C. *Sulpitius Longus. P. Elms Pais.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* write, that these *Coff.* followed, *Diodorus* putteth down *C. Sulpitius*, and *L. Papius*. The Sicilian registers, have *Longus* and *Pais*.

418
L. *Papius Crassus. K. Dintius.*

Livius *Papius Crassus*, and *K. Dintius*, were in this years *Coff.* as witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Diodorus* also, but for leaving out the sur-

name *Crassus*. In the Sicilian registers they are named, *Crassus* and *Dintius*. As touching these Consuls, *Cicero* in his Epistle to *Papirius* writeth thus, *L. Papius Crassus*, four years after he was Dictator, was made Consul with *K. Dintius*.

419
M. *Valerius Corvus III. M. Atilius Regulus.*

This year, when the Aunones that inhabited the City *Cales*, took arms and combined with the Sidicins, *M. Valerius Corvus*, a right noble General, was created Consul the fourth time, having to his Colleague (as *Livy* writeth) *M. Atilius Regulus*. *Cassiodorus* likewise declareth the same for Consuls: and so doth *Diodorus*, but that he leaveth out their surnames: which appear extant in the Sicilian registers.

420
T. *Veturius. Sp. Posthumius.*

The Dictator held an assembly for the election of Consuls, wherein were created (according to *Livy*) these above-named. So say *Cassiodorus* also and *Diodorus*. *Zonaras* nameth them *Tiber. Calvinius*, and *Sp. Posthumius*: and right well, as *Sigonius* thinketh: for *Tiberius* was the fore-name of the *Veturii*. The Greek records, and *Cuspinian* book, have *Albinius* and *Calvinius*.

421
Interregius, all one year.

Sigonius and *Onuphrius* infer this one year without Consuls, besides the account of the years, according to the Capitoll monuments, albeit they see neither in *Livy*, nor in any other, mention thereof; and all to make up the total sum collected by *Varro*. And that the said year should at this time especially be interposed, the tables of the Capitoll records do shew. For whereas in them thus engraven it is, *M. Valerius Corvus* Consul the fourth time, in the year of the City 419, and again *L. Emilius* and *C. Plantius*, in the year 414: to the end that these records might agree one with another, of necessity there must be put a year between. For leave out that, then both *L. Emilius* the Consul should fall upon the year 414, and the total sum of the year in *Varro* and the Capitoll tables be overthrown. That this odd year was now above all other times to be cast between, *Gregory Haloander* (who left in writing a Chronology of the Consuls) saw long before them: for he over-passed this year wholly, noted without Consuls. But *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* are of opinion, that this year there was an Anarchy, and the Common-wealth without Consuls, or other Magistrates of state, by occasion of the pettience, whereof *Livy* writeth.

422
A. *Cornelius II. Cn. Domitius.*

Aulus *Cornelius* the second time *Cof.* with *Cn. Domitius* is by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* set down

down. *Diodorus* nameth them *A. Cornelius* and *C. Domitius*. The Sicilian registers, *Calvinius* and *Coffus*.

423
M. *Claudius Marcellus. C. Valerius.*

After this, were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Valerius*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report. In *Diodorus* also they be set down by the name of *C. Valerius*, and *M. Claudius*. *Livy* saith, that he findeth in the Annals, the surnames of *Valerius* diversly put down, namely, *Flaccus* and *Potius*. *Orosius* calleth these Consuls, *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Valerius Flaccus*: The Sicilian registers, *Potius* and *Marcellus*. *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* retain their surnames, that it may seem, how to the old surname *Potius* of the House *Valeria*, this new surname of *Flaccus* is a later addition.

424
L. *Papirius Crassus II. L. Plantius Vennus.*

These Consuls are by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* recited this year. *Diodorus* concealeth their surnames. The Sicilian registers, make them known by the names of *Crassus* and *Vennus*.

425
L. *Emilius Mamercinus. C. Plantius.*

Next to them (according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*) were *L. Emilius Mamercinus*, and *C. Plantius* created Consuls. *Diodorus* nominateth *L. Papius* with *L. Plautius*. The Sicilian registers, *Mamercinus* and *Decianus*. How both these are to be described, their triumphs upon record in the Capitoll do evidently shew. These Consuls entered upon their government the first day of July.

426
P. *Plautius Proculus. P. Cornelius Scapula.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* put down [for Consuls] *P. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*. *Diodorus*, *P. Cornelius* and *A. Posthumius*. The Sicilian registers, *Vennus* and *Scipio*. *Onuphrius* thinketh this *Plautius* ought to be forenamed not *Publius* but *Caius*: who in his Consulship which he bare afterwards with *Appius Cæcus*, was surnamed *Venox* (as *Frontinus* suppoeth) for finding certain springs and veins of water within the earth.

427
C. *Plantius Proculus. Q. Publilius Philo II.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* match together in the Consulship for this year, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*. *Diodorus*, *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Publilius*. The Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Philo*.

428
L. *Papirius Mugillanus Cursor. C. Petellius.*

Caius *Petellius* and *L. Papius* are by *Livy*, nominated consuls this year, *C. Postumius*

the third time, and *L. Papius Mugillanus*, by *Cassiodorus*. *Solinus* maketh mention of these Consuls in his five and thirtieth chapter. As for *Papirius*, *Livy* indeed surnameth him here *Mugillanus*, but he saith that he findeth him in other Annals by the name of *Cursor*. In the Greek records they be *Lily* and *Cursor*. Now as touching *C. Petellius*, he is to be written with the numeral note *II*, and not *III*, as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* do admonish. For it is not the same man who was Consul in the 393 year; but his son.

429
L. *Furius Camillus II. Junius Brutus Scæva.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* put down for consuls, *L. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Junius Brutus Scæva*. *Diodorus*, *L. Furius*, and *D. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Camillus* and *Brutus*.

430

Livius *Furius*, unto whom the charge of *Sammnis* fell by lot, furnished by occasion of sickness to forgo the war there, and was commanded to nominate for the managing of martial affairs a Dictator: whereupon he pronounced *L. Papius Cursor*, the bravest warrior in those dates; by whom *Q. Fabius Rullianus* was named great Master of the horse. Afterwards, *Cursor* turned him out of that Mastership of horse, because without his warrant he had fought (although it were fortunately) against the *Sammis* when himself was out of the way and gone to *Rome* for to take the Auspices anew: and in his room he substituted *L. Papius Crassus*. Thus write *Livy*, *Entropius*, and *Valerius* in the second book.

431
C. *Sulpitius Longus II. Q. Aemilius [L. Aulus] Cæcilius.*

Livius *Papirius* the Dictator, before he left his Magistracy, created Consuls, *C. Sulpitius Longus II*, and *Q. Aemilius Cæcilius*. Some Annals have *Aulus*. Thus much *Livy*. In like manner the Sicilian registers have *Longus* and *Cæcilius*. But *Diodorus* corruptly for *Aulus* hath *Ælius*.

432
Q. *Fabius. L. Fulvius.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* deliver unto us for Consuls this year, *Q. Fabius* and *L. Fulvius*; whom the Capitoll records of the triumphs name *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and *L. Fulvius Corvus*. *Marcellus* it is therefore, that in the Sicilian registers, they are put down, *Cursor* and *Sylla*.

433
T. *Veturius Calvinius. Sp. Posthumius.*

This year *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* set forth for Consuls, *T. Veturius Calvinius* and *Sp. Posthumius*. *Cicero* in his third book of *Offices* writeth, that they were twice *Coff.* *Zonaras* calleth

callect the one of them *T. Calpurnius*, by a familiar forename unto that house and kindred of the *Veturii*. The Greek records exhibit unto us *Calpurnius* and *Albinus*. Of these consuls as also of the Caudine peace, *Cicero* in his book of old age; *Pliny* also in his book of famous men, *Gellius* in his 7th book and 21 chap; *Florus* in his 1st book and 16 chap. and *Orosius* in his 3rd book and 15 chap. do make mention;

434

L. Pappius Cursor II. C. Publilius Philo.

L. Ioy and *Cassiodorus* shew for this years Consuls, *Q. Publilius Philo* and *L. Pappius Cursor*, the second time. The Sicilian registers *Cursor* and *Philo*. But that this *Philo* should now be third Consul, his Consulships do plainly shew.

435

L. Pappius Cursor or *Mugillanus*,
Q. Annius Cerecillus II.

L. Ioy saith, there is some doubt, whether *L. Pappius Cursor* were this year created Consul the third time, with *Q. Annius Cerecillus* the second time: and for his good service in war at *Luceria*, continued still in government; or rather *L. Pappius Mugillanus*, and so the surname was mistaken. *Cassiodorus* delivereth unto us *L. Pappius* and *Q. Annius Cerecillus*. The Sicilian registers, *Pappius* and *Cerecillus*. The monument of his triumph in the Capitoll, alloweth of *Cursor* and not *Mugillanus*. The author of that book which *Cassiodorus* hath set forth, following other Annals, letteth down *Mugillanus*.

436

M. Felsius Flaccinator, L. Plautius Venno.

Seeing that for twelve years next ensuing, we have the Capitoline tables whole and found, the less trouble we need to be at in reforming and redressing the names of the Magistrates. Both they, and also *Livy* with *Cassiodorus* represent unto us for this years consuls, *M. Felsius Flaccinator* and *L. Plautius Venno*. *Diodorus* calleth them *L. Plotius* and *judex*. The Sicilian registers, *Venno* and *Flaccius*.

437

C. Junius Bubulcus, Q. Emilius Barbula.
Cassiodorus putteth down *C. Junius* and *Q. Emilius Barbula* for Consuls. *Livy*, *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Quintus Emilius Barbula*. *A. Rone* in the Capitoll, *Q. Emilius Barbula*, and *C. Junius Bubulcus Bruns*.

438

Sp. Nautius, M. Popilius.

Next follow in order *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius* Consuls, according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Rutilius* and *Lenax* their surnames, are by *Sigonius* restored unto them: and the same also are to be seen in the Sicilian books of record.

L. Pappius Cursor III. Q. Publilius Philo III.

The Consuls names of this year, through the default of the writers that copied forth *Livy's* books, are there left out: namely, *L. Pappius Cursor* the fourth time, and *Q. Publilius Philo* likewise the fourth time: as it is written in *Cassiodorus*, in the Capitoll tables, and in *Cassiodorus* book, wherein they are named *Cursor* and *Philo*. Howbeit, in the Sicilian registers they are called *Cursor* and *Lenax*.

440

M. Petelius, C. Sulpitius.

L. Ioy and *Cassiodorus* report for Consuls this year *C. Sulpitius* and *M. Petelius*. But *Diodorus* hath *C. Sulpitius* and *judex*. The Capitoline writers, have *M. Petelius Libo* and *C. Sulpitius Longus* the third time. The Sicilian registers, *Longus* and *aquius*, but there is a fault, as *Sigonius* truly thinketh.

441

L. Pappius Cursor V. C. Junius Bubulcus.

Diodorus putteth down for Consuls this year *L. Pappius* fifth time, and *C. Junius*. The Sicilian registers, *Cursor* and *Bubulcus*. But *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, *L. Pappius Cursor V.* and *C. Junius Bubulcus II.* *Festus* maketh mention also of these Consuls in his 18 book.

442

M. Valerius, C. Decius.

L. Ioy writeth that there followed consuls *M. Valerius* Max. and *P. Decius* but *Cassiodorus*, saith *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*. *Frontinus* in his book of water-conduits, speaketh of these Consuls: whom he writeth to have been thirty years after the beginning of the Samnites war. As for *P. Decius*, *Livy* afterwards calleth *Mus*. The Sicilian registers have *Max* and *Mus*.

443

C. Junius Bubulcus III. Q. Emilius Barbula II.

We find in *Livy* for Consuls this year, *C. Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and *Q. Emilius Barbula* the second time: likewise in *Cassiodorus*. But *Diodorus* nameth them *C. Junius* and *Q. Emilius*. In the Sicilian registers, *Bubulcus* and *Barbula*. The same names are also in the Capitoll monuments; which be in *Livy*.

444

C. Martius Rutilius, Q. Fabius.

C. Aius Martius Rutilius and *Q. Fabius* be this years Consuls in *Livy*. But in *Cassiodorus*, *C. Martius Rutilius* and *Q. Fabius* the second time. *Diodorus* hath *C. Martius* and *Q. Fabius* the second time. The Sicilian registers shew *Rutius* and

and *Rutius*. The Capitoll monuments, *Q. Fabius*, *Max*, *Rutilius* the second time, and *C. Martius*, who afterwards in his second Consulship in the 498 year, is surnamed *Conferrius*.

445

A year without Consuls, *P. Pappius Dictator II.*

Verrinus Flaccus interpoiseth this year also without Consuls, wherein he reporteth *L. Pappius* Dictator the 2 time, with *C. Junius Bubulcus Bruns* the Master of the horle. This year *Diodorus*, *Livy*, the Greek records, *Cassiodorus* book and *Cassiodorus* do overlap. For *Livy* writeth that *L. Pappius Cursor* was nominated by the consull Dictator, and by him *C. Junius Bubulcus* named Master of the horle: upon occasion that *C. Martius* the Cos. had no good fortune in his conduct of the wars in *Samnium*. This inferring of one year *Onuphrius* hath approved, that the computation of the years gathered by *Varro* might stand in force, which to the Capitoll tables putteth one year, whose judgment we also are willing to follow.

446

Q. Fabius, P. Decius.

L. Ioy writeth, that *Fabius* continued Consul this year also, for his singular good service in subduing and taming *Heturia*: and that he had for his companion in government *Decius*. *Cassiodorus* acknowledgeth for Cos. *Q. Fabius* the third time, and *P. Decius* the second time. *Diodorus*, *P. Decius* and *Q. Fabius*. The Sicilian registers *Mus* and *Rutius*. The Capitoline tables, *P. Decius* *Max* *I.* and *Q. Fabius* *Max*. *Rutius* the third time.

447

App. Claudius, L. Voluminius.

L. Ioy saith, that immediately there followed Consuls, *App. Claudius* and *L. Voluminius*, *Cassiodorus* and *Diodorus*, *Appius* and *Volens*. The Sicilian registers, *App. Claudius Cacus* and *L. Voluminius*. The Capitoline monuments have *Flamma* and *Volens*. Now whether one of these Consuls surnames be *Volens* or *Violens*, *Onuphrius* advertiseth us to consider. For the capitoll stone hath it alwaies written *Volens*. But the Greek words have *Appius* and *Volens*: as if the name were *Violens*.

448

Q. Martius Tremulus, P. Cornelius Arvins.

L. Ioy and *Cassiodorus* register for the Consuls of this year, *Q. Martius Tremulus*, with a Colleague adjoynd unto him, *Diodorus* saith *Q. Martius* and *P. Cornelius*. The Sicilian records, *Tremulus* and *Arvins*.

449

L. Posthumius, T. Minutius.
L. Posthumius and *T. Minutius* are reported consuls by *Diodorus*, *Livy* and *Cassiod.*

Cassiodorus book sheweth, *Megellus* and *Augurinus*. These Consuls, doth *L. Piso* put down for to succeed *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, leaving out those two years wherein we have set down (as *Livy* writeth) that *Claudius* with *Voluminius*, and *Cornelius* with *Martius* were consuls. Whether his memory failed him in digetting of the annals, or of purpose he supposed that those two couple of Consuls were not truly recorded, and therefore overlapt them, I know not. A fragment there is of the Capitoline stone, which sheweth for this year, *Megellus* to be the surname of *Posthumius*, *Tiberius* the forename of *Minutius*, and *M. of Fulvius*. Now the surnames of *Fulvius* were *curvus* and *Petunus* as it appeareth written in his triumph.

450

P. Sempronius Sophus, P. Sulpitius Saverrius.

The Consuls next following were *P. Sulpitius Saverrius*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus*, according to *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. In *Diodorus* they are written *P. Sulpitius* and *P. Sempronius*. In the Greek registers, they stand *Sempronius* and *Saverrius*. *Pliny* writeth of these Consuls in his 33 book: but *Sempronius* he calleth *Longus*. Both of them are described thus by their triumphs, appearing upon record in the Capitoll for in their Consulship there is no more to be seen but *Sophus* and *Pablinus*.

451

L. Genutius, Ser. cornellinus.

Diodorus, *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* report for Cos. this year, *L. Genutius*, and *Ser. cornellinus*. The Sicilian registers have *Aventinensis* and *Lenulus*. The Capitoline writers put unto *cornellinus* the surname of *Lenulus*.

452

M. Livius Denter, M. Emilius.

L. Ioy nameth for Consuls this year *M. Livius* and *c. Emilius*, *Cassiodorus*, *M. Livius* and *L. Emilius*, *Diodorus*, *M. Livius* and *M. Emilius*. As for the forename *Emilius*, *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* do think that more credit is to given unto *Diodorus*, than others: especially, seeing that in *Livy* there is mention made the year following of *M. Emilius Paulus* General of the horsemen, whom they all think to be the same man that this Consul, *M. Livius* is written *Denter* in the Capitoll records, which surname *Livy* in another place addeth to the *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* book in like manner setteth down *Denter* and *Pantus* as the surnames of these Consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Denter* and *Emilius*.

453

Two Dictators, and no Consul.

This year also of two Dictators without Consuls, *Onuphrius* inferreth in his Kalender, howbeit directed thereto by evidence of the Capitoll fragments: to the end that the calculation of *Varro* might agree in all respects; which,

which, if this year were over-slipped should be wholly overturned: although *Diadore*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* dissent therefrom, and leave out this year altogether. Whereof see *Onuphrius* more at large in his Kalender upon this year 453.

454
M. Valerius, *Q. Apuleius Pansa*.

Immediately after *M. Livius* and *M. Aemilius*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus* leteth pass the year of two Dictators without Consuls, bring in *M. Valerius* and *Q. Apuleius Pansa* for Consuls. The Greek records shew *Corvinus* and *Pansa*. It seemeth that *Livy* by *Marcus Valerius* meaneth *Maximus*, for that he saith that presently upon his Dictatorship he was made Cof. Now that *M. Valerius Max.* was Dictator the year before, he writeth plainly.

455
M. Fulvius Patru, *T. Manlius Torquatus*.

Livy, and *Cassiodorus* declare for Consuls this year, *M. Fulvius Patru* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*. The Sicilian registers have *Patru* and *Torquatus*. *Livy* saith that *Q. Fabius* refused the Consulship offered unto him without any suit of his. But *T. Manlius* the Consul, was by lot appointed to levy war against *Herrania*, which took arms and prepared for war against the truce accorded upon. Now was he scarce well entered into the enemies confines, but as he exercised among men of arms, and chanced to turn about his horse upon a full carrier, he was cast from his back: whereupon (for the present) he lay for dead, and within three daies after the said fall ended his life. Then all the Centuries in general by their suffrages chose *M. Valerius* Cof., whom the Senat purposed to have made Dictator. Thus much *Livy*. By *M. Valerius* he meaneth *Corvus*, whom *Cicero* writeth in his book of old age, and *Valerius Max.* in his 7 book and 48 Chap. to have been Cof. now the sixt time, and that between this and the first there were 46 years, although *Plutarch* in the life of *C. Marius* saith, they were but 45. Howbeit all of them call him *Corvinus* and not *Corvus*.

456
L. Cornelius Scipio, *Cn. Fulvius*.

C. Nens Fulvius and *L. Cornelius Scipio* are recorded Consuls by *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*: but *Scipio* and *Centumalus*, by *Cuspinianus* book: *Scipio* and *Maximus* by the Greek records.

457
Q. Fabius Max. IV., *P. Decius Mus III.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* alledge for Cof. this year, *Q. Fabius Max.* the fourth time, and *P. Decius Mus* thrice. The same Cof. *Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records delivered unto us. The author that writeth of famous men, and *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, speak of *P. Decius* thrice Consul.

458
L. Postumius, *Appius Claudius*.

L. Postumius a Commoner, and *Appius Claudius* of noble blood, were created Cof. this year: even the same men who in their former Consulship were matched together, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write: but in the Sicilian registers they are found written, *Claudius* and *Videtur*. Howbeit, *Cicero* in his book entitled *Caesetopontis*, that between the two Consulships of *Livy* and *Cicero* were ten years.

459
Q. Fabius P., *P. Decius IV.*

Livy and *Cassiodorus* both witness, that the Cof. next following, were *Q. Fabius* the first time, and *P. Decius* the 4 time, who had been companions together already in 2 Consulats and in one Censorship. The Sicilian registers have *Rullus* and *Mus*: of which Consuls *Cicero* speaketh very often; *Valer. Max.* likewise, *Plutarch* also. *Plutarch*, *Frontinus* in his book of Stratagems, the author of the book of famous men, *Ennius*, *Orosius*, and others: who all report, that the Cof. *P. Decius*, following the example of his father, offered himself to die for the Roman legions, and by his death purchased a notable victory to the people of Rome.

460
L. Postumius Megellus, *M. Atilius Regulus*.

The Cof. next following, were *L. Postumius Megellus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* write. In the Sicilian records, their surnames are *Megellus* and *Regulus*.

461
L. Papirius Cursor, *Sp. Carvilius*.

A Free *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*, the Cof. this year were *L. Papirius Cursor* and *Sp. Carvilius*. After the Sicilian registers, *Cursor* & *Max.* A stone in the Capitol maketh mention of *Papirius* the son of *L.* nephew of *P.* surnamed *Cursor*, whom *Livy* writeth to be the son of *Papirius* 5 times Cof. Of these Cof. *Pliny* of *Perona* maketh mention in his 7 book and 60 chap. *Val. Max.* likewise in his 7 book and 1 chap. *Vellius* in his 2 book: and the same *Livy* in the year 456.

462
Q. Fabius Gurges Max., *Decius Junius Brutus*, son of *Scævola*.

The year following had Consuls, *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and *D. Junius Brutus Scæva*, as witness *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*. *Zonaras* nameth them, *Junius Brutus* and *Q. Fabius Max.* *Cuspinianus* Kalender, *Maximus* and *Scæva*. The Sicilian registers, *Brutus* and *Maximus*. *Livy*, *Pliny* in his 7 books, the Capitoll tables, and *Zonaras*, have delivered, that this *Fabius* was the son of *Q. Max.* *Rullianus*, who had been 5 times Cof. before. And here an end of the Consuls for the first 463

463
L. Posthumius, *C. Junius*.

Since that after this Consulship, ten books of *Livy* next ensuing be lost, whom hitherto we have had for the most sufficient witness of this story, so as now we are in manner destitute and deprived of the best helps of Annals, namely, *Didorus*, *Dionysius*, and *Livy*: from hence forward we will use principally in digetting and reckoning the years by the Consuls, the authority and testimony of *Cassiodorus*, the Sicilian records, and *Cuspinianus* book: yet will we not in the mean while reject what help soever shall be ministred unto us by others. For this year therefore *Cassiodorus* writeth, that *L. Posthumius* and *C. Junius*, were created Cof. whole surnames, *Megellus*, and *Brutus Bubulcius*, have not been left out so much as in *Cuspinianus* Kalender, nor in the Sicilian records. *Livy* also maketh mention of them in his 28 book, saying thus, *Lu. Postumius Megellus* the Interregent, was created Cof. with *C. Bubulcius*, by that very court and assembly which himself called and held.

464
P. Cornelius Rufinus, *M. Curius Dentatus*

The Cof. this year are recorded by *Cassiodorus*, *Pub. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus* for whom in the Sicilian registers appear *Maximus* the third time, and *Mus* the sixth time. But of those forenamed Cof. *Cicero* maketh mention in his first book, entitled *Cato*; *Plutarchus* in his first book, *Valerius Max.* in his first book and 3 chap. *Pliny* also in his 7 book and 50 chap. Now this *M. Curius* was called *Dentatus*, as *Pliny* writeth in his 6 book and 16 chap. for that he came into the world with teeth.

465
M. Valerius, *Q. Cædinius*.

Marcus Valerius and *Q. Cædinius* were afterwards Cof., as saith *Cassiodorus*. The old book of *Cuspinianus* putteth to them the surnames of *Corvinus* and *Nellius*: which in the Sicilian registers are overpassed. The Greek records shew unto us, *Maximus* and *Mus*: for *Maximus* was a surname also of the *Valerii Corvini*.

466
Q. Martius, *P. Cornelius*.

Cassiodorus this year delivereth for Consuls, *Q. Martius* and *P. Cornelius*, *Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records add their surnames, *Tremulus II.* and *Arvinius II.* who had been Consuls together once before.

467
M. Marcellus, *Sp. Nautius*.

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this year, *M. Marcellus* and *Cn. Nautius*. The Greek records and *Cuspinianus* book, have *Marcellus* and *Rutilius*.

468
M. Valerius, *C. Atilius*.

Marcus Valerius and *C. Atilius* are ranged in this year for Cof. by *Cassiodorus*, *Cuspinianus* book putteth forth, *Maximus* and *Pains*: but the Greek records, *Potius* and *Pains*. Now you must think, that both *Maximus* and *Potius* are the surnames of the *Valerii*.

469
C. Claudius, *M. Aemilius*.

For this years Cof. *Cassiodorus* hath *C. Claudius* and *M. Aemilius*. The Greek records and *Cuspinianus* book, *Caminus* & *Lepidus*: whereof the former is the surname of *Claudius*, the latter of *Aemilius*.

470
G. Servilius, *L. Cæcilius*.

By *Cassiodorus*, *C. Servilius* and *L. Cæcilius* Metellus are placed Cof. in this year: for whereas in some copies of *Cassiodorus*, instead of *Lu. Cæcilius*, is written *Cælius* that is a fault: as *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* have noted. To *Servilius* this Consil, the Greek records add the surname of *Turca*, whom they put down Cof. with *Dentatus*, they would say *Dentatus*, as both *Sigonius* and *Onuphrius* suppose. For *Dentatus* is a surname also given to the *Cæcilius*, as appeareth by *Livy*.

471
P. Cornelius Dolabella, *Cn. Domitius*.

Cassiodorus intereth *P. Corn. Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius* for Cof. *Cuspinianus* Kalender hath *Dolabella* and *Calvus*. The Sicilian registers, *Dolabella* *Maximus*. And some think that *Maximus* was the surname of *Dolabella*, which he seemeth to have acquired by the honour that he had won in the war against the Gauls.

472
C. Fabricius, *Q. Aemilius*.

Cassiodorus bringeth in for Cof. *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Aemilius*: but the Sicilian registers, *Luscinus* and *Papirius*. Of them *Cicero* in his book *Lelius*, maketh mention in this manner: We see that *Papirius Aemilius* was familiarly acquainted with *C. Luscinus*: for so we have heard our fathers say, that they were two Cof. together, and companions in the censorship. Moreover, *Valerius* in his chap. where he treateth of Poverty, maketh mention of *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Aemilius* *Papirius*. This *Aemilius*, *Plutarch* in his *Parallels* calleth corruptly by the name of *Paulus*.

473
L. Aemilius, *Q. Martius*.

Here followed cof. as *Cassiodorus* sheweth, *L. Aemilius* & *Q. Martius* unto whom *Cuspinianus* book and the Greek records give also to their surnames, *Babula* and *Philippus*: and the same also is evident by the records in the Capitoll of their triumphs.

474
P. Valerius, T. Cornucaninus.

Pub. Valerius and T. Cornucaninus are by Cassiodorus placed in this year for Coss. The Greek records, Cyprianus book, Florus, Orosius, and Eutropius, give to Valerius the surname of Lavinus. And Plutarch hath a Libor for M. Bibor.

475
P. Sulpitius, P. Decimus.

Next after thole, Cassiodorus putteth down P. Sulpitius Consul with P. Decimus. The Sicilian registers, have Savennius and Mus, Cicero in his 2 book entitled De Fin, and in his Tullian disputation, faith, That this Pub. Decimus was the son of that P. Decimus who vowed himself to death in the Samnits and Gauls war.

476
C. Fabricius, Q. Aemilius.

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius: whom Cyprianus book and the Greek records, call Lucius the second time, and Papius. That these were fellows together once before in the Consular, Cicero writeth in his book Lelius, Plutarch in Pyrrhus Gellius 3 book, chap. 8, Eutropius, and Zonaras, make report of the same.

477
P. Cornelius, C. Junius.

Pub. Cornelius and C. Junius, are rehearsed for Consuls this year by Cassiodorus. Cyprianus book hath Rufinus the second time, and Brutus. The Greek records, Rufinus, Of P. Rufinus twice Coss. in his 2 book Of a perfect Orator, Valerius, in his 2 book, and 4 chap. Gellius in his 4 book, and 8 chap. in his 17 book likewise and 21 chap. and last of all Frontinus in his book of Stratagems, make mention.

478
Q. Fabius, C. Gentius.

Cassiodorus reporteth Q. Fabius and C. Gentius Consuls. The Sicilian registers have Gurgus and Clepsina. Of these Coss. Orosius maketh mention in this wife: When Fabius Gurgus was the second time Coss. with C. Gentius Clepsina, a grievous pestilence reigned both in this City, and also in the territory about it.

479
M. Curius, L. Lentulus.

Cassiodorus and Eutropius deliver unto us for Coss. M. Curius and L. Lentulus. The Sicilian registers, Dentatus and Lentulus. This is the third Consul of M. Curius, which together with Lentulus Consulship, is drawn out of the Capitol records of triumph this year.

480
Serv. Cornelius, M. Curius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Coss. Servius Cornelius and M. Curius. Cyprianus book and the Greek records, Merenda & Dentatus the third time. This M. Curius is now Coss. the fourth time, for thrice he was before. Concerning this Serv. Cornelius Merenda, Pliny relateth and writeth, that he received a princely coronet of gold at the hands of L. Lentulus the Coss. of the former year, for winning a town of the Samnits.

481
C. Fabricius, C. Claudius.

Cassiodorus setteth down, C. Fabricius and C. Claudius Consuls: the Sicilian records, Licinius and Canina: Cyprianus Kalender, Licinius and Cinna, Eutropius, Fabius Licinius, and C. Claudius Canina. Velleius, Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina. Whereby it may be understood, that these Consuls were called, C. Fabius Dorso Licinius, and Caius Claudius Canina: for Dorso was an old name of the Fabii.

482
L. Papirius Cursor, Sp. Carvilius.

Next after them, Cassiodorus nominateth for Coss. Sp. Carvilius and L. Papirius Cursor. The records both of Sicily and Cyprianus, have Cursor and Maximus. Both these were now Coss. the second time, as appeareth by their triumphs: upon record in the Capitol. Frontinus speaketh of them in his book of water-conditions, and Livy in his 24 book.

483
C. Quintus, L. Genutius.

It is reported by Cassiodorus, that C. Quintus and L. Genutius were Consuls, Cyprianus book and the Greek records, Livy in his 17 book speaketh of one T. Quintus Janus of one leg, from whom haply this surname is drawn.

484
C. Gentius, Cn. Cornelius.

Reported there are for Consuls this year by Cassiodorus, C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius: whose surnames were C. Genucius and Blasio, as it appeareth in Cyprianus book. This Cn. Genucius is the same, who before-time was Consul. As for C. Blasio, he is described by his Consulship standing upon record in the Capitol. The Greek records over-pais them both.

485
P. Sempronius, or after Q. Ogulphus
App. Claudius, } some, } Fabius Pictor.

After Cornelius and Genucius Consules, Cassiodorus bringeth in Pub. Sempronius, and App.

App. Claudius, and of purpose over-skippeth Q. Gulo and Fabius Pictor, Zonaras, Q. Gulo and C. Fabius. Of them speaketh Eutropius saying: When Q. Gulo and Fabius Pictor were Consuls, the Picenians raised war; and by the Consuls next following, to wit, P. Sempronius and App. Claudius, they were vanquished. Pliny also in his 33 book and 3 chap. When Q. Fabius (quoth he) was Consul, silver was coined and stamped for money, five years before the (second) Punic war. These Consuls, Velleius also reckoneth in his first book. But Sigenius and Onuphrius adventure us, that the book of Eutropius is very faulty in one of these Consuls, and that in lieu of Quin. Gulo, it should be read Q. Ogulphus: for of this Gulo, there is in no place besides, any mention: so as they would have, that it should be Q. Ogulphus, son of L. nephew of A. surnamed Gallus, who a little before was sent in embassy to Ptolemus. And it falleth out passing well, that they should match Ogulphus a commoner, with Fabius a Patrician. Also Onuphrius testifieth, that in the most ancient hand-written books of Eutropius, the name is found of Ogulphus. And, as both the Greek records, and also Zonaras, together with the more ancient and perfect copies of Eutropius, agree to this his judgment: so Hubertus Goltzius likewise in his Catalogue of Consuls, embraceth the same: and that which maketh most for the purpose, the old antiquities of coin-writings as much. But in the mean while this is worth the observation, that oftentimes in the most ancient pieces of money, the letter C is written for G: as for example here, Ocul, Cal, for Ogul, Galba.

286
P. Sempronius, App. Claudius.

Seeing that we settle the Consulship of the Sotomer year, in Ogulphus and Fabius Pictor, and that upon the authority of Eutropius, the Greek records, Cyprianus, Zonaras, Onuphrius, and others: we will set down for this years Consuls, P. Sempronius and App. Claudius, whom Pellerin in his first book calleth, Sempronius Sophus, and Appius the son of Cacus. The Greek records, Sempronius Rufus Sophus: and Cyprianus book Rufus. Moreover, this also Goltzius giveth us to understand, that the surname of this Sempronius is in old peeces of coin found written without an aspiration [Sophus] which is no rare thing to be seen in such antiquities: for we read in others of them, Philipus, Tampilus, Gracius, Pulcer, Triumpus, for Philipus, Tampilus, Gracchus, Pulcher, Triumpus, and such like.

487
M. Attilius, L. Julius Libo.

Eutropius putteth down for Consuls, M. Attilius and L. Julius Libo. The Sicilian registers, Regulus and Libo. Cassiodorus, M. Attilius and L. Libo. And both of them are taken forth of the records of capitol triumphs.

D. Junius, 488
N. Fabius.

Cassiodorus reporteth for Coss. this year, D. Junius and N. Fabius: the Sicilian registers, Pansa and Pictor: the capitol record of triumphs, D. Junius son of D. nephew of D. surnamed Pansa, and N. Fabius son of C. nephew of M. surnamed Pictor. Upon what occasion these Fabii took the surname of Pictor, Pliny sheweth in his 35 book chap. 4. Pictor, Max. in his 4 book and 3 chap. seemeth to note and signify, that Fabius Gurgus and N. Fab. Pictor, lived at one and the same time.

489
Q. Fabius M. Cimius, L. Mamilius Vitulus.

This year also Cassiodorus passeth over. The Greek records shew, Maximus and Vitulus, Zonaras, Q. Fabius, and Aemilius (no doubt) for Mamilius, by some error and fault of the copies. Cyprianus out of some old books delivereth unto us for Consuls, Q. Fab. Maximus and L. Mamilius. Onuphrius thinketh, that Q. Pub. Maximus Gurgus was now thrice Consul.

490
App. Claudius, M. Fulvius.

Besides the capitol monuments, Polybius in his first book maketh mention of these Consuls, Gellius also, who calleth them thus, App. Claudius brother of Cacus surnamed Caudex, and Mar. Fulvius Flaccus. In like manner Livy, Paternulus, and Pliny in his book of famous men: as also Appianus, Florus, Frontinus in his 1 book of Stratagems, Eutropius, Orosius, and Cassiodorus.

491
M. Valerius, M. Oracilius.

Cassiodorus and Eutropius shew unto us that M. Valerius and M. Oracilius were Consuls. Zonaras nameth Valerius Max. and Oracilius Crassus, Cyprianus Kalender and the Sicilian records, Max. Messala and Crassus. Of these Consuls, Ver. Flaccus Polybius, Cassiodorus, Eutropius, and Macrobius out of Varro make report: As for Macrobius, he rendereth a reason, why M. Valerius was in this government of his named Messala: and Pliny likewise in his sixth book and five and thirtieth chapter.

492
L. Posthumus, Q. Mamilius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius put down for next Consuls, L. Posthumus and Q. Mamilius. Zonaras nameth them, Posthumus Albinus and Quintus Mamilius. The Sicilian registers, Albinus and Vitulus: but the capitol monuments, L. Posthumus son of Lucius, nephew of Lucius, surnamed Megallus, and Q. Mamilius son of Q. nephew of M. surnamed Vitulus.

L. Valerius. 493 T. Otacilius.

Polybius and Cassiodorus match together in the Consul for this year L. Valerius and T. Otacilius: (the surname of Valerius is Flaccus, and of Otacilius, Crassus, as it appeareth upon the capitol and Sicilian records,

Cn. Cornelius. 494 C. Drilius.

Cassiodorus and Zonaras bring in for Coss. Cn. Cornelius and C. Drilius. In like manner also Polybius, but only that in lieu of *Drilius* he hath *Drilius*. The Sicilian Registers shew *Scipio* and *Drilius*. Cn. Cornelius *Scipio* is surnamed also *Afinus*, by the capitol writers *Orosius*, *Entropius*, and *Valerius* in his first book chap. 10, of which surname *Macrobius* writeth thus in his first book of Saturnalia: The surname of *Afinus* (qd. he) was given to the *Cornelius*, for that the first of the House *Cornelia* having either bought land, or given his daughter in marriage, when (after the Iolemn manner) he was required to put in good sureties for security, brought into the open market place a she ass laden with money, and pawned down that presently in stead of pledges.

C. Aquilius son of M. L. Cornelius son of L.

There are nominated by Cassiodorus for Consuls, C. Aquilius and L. Cornelius. The Sicilian registers, *Florus* and *Scipio*. Zonaras, C. *Florus* and L. *Scipio*. *Entropius* and *Orosius*, L. *Cornelius* *Scipio*, and C. *Aquilius* *Florus*. *Polybius* leaveth them out. The Capitoline monuments agree with the Annals of *Entropius* and *Orosius*.

A. Attilius Calatinus, Q. Sulpicius.

Polybius avoucheth for these years Consuls, A. Attilius and C. Sulpicius. Cassiodorus, A. Attilius Calatinus, and C. Sulpicius. The Sicilian Registers and *Cyprianus* Kalender, *Calatinus* and *Patruclus*. The capitol monuments, A. Attilius Calatinus and C. Sulpicius *Patruclus*. Zonaras, *Attilius* *Calatinus*, and *Gaius* *Sulpicius*. Of these Consuls, *Cicero*, *Valerius*, *Florus*, *Frontinus* in his *Stratagems*, *Pliny* the younger, *Gellius*, and *Cassiodorus* make mention. But concerning the forename of *Sulpicius* *Patruclus*, the Capitoline tables disagree one from another: to wit, those that carry the records of the triumphs, from those that shew the Consulships and other magistracies: for in these latter monuments he is called *Quintus*, in the former *Gaius*. Whereby *Gellius* doth conjecture: that one man was not the author of both those records, namely, the Triumphal and the Consular.

Cn. Cornelius. 497 C. Attilius.

Cassiodorus sheweth unto us, Cn. Cornelius, and C. Attilius *Serranus*, for Consuls: but *Polybius*, C. Attilius. The capitol tables, C. Attilius *Regulus*, *Cyprianus* Kalender and the Sicilian registers, have *Regulus* and *Blasius* the second time. But how *Attilius* should come by his surname *Serranus*, *Pliny* sheweth in his 18 book, saying: In these daies the fields were tilled by the very hands of L. Genera themselves, and a man verily would believe thereby, that the ground joyed in a lauxat ploughshare and a triumphant plowman. Him they found a sowing, unto him they presented those honorable dignities, and so took he his surname *Serranus*. As concerning *Blasius*, all authors well need besides, approve the judgment of *Cyprianus*: but *Goltzius* suppoeth, that he was not the same man that was Consul before; and therefore he writeth him the son of C. nephew of L. without putting to the numeral note II.

Q. Cadius, L. Manlius.

The next Consuls that succeeded, were (by Cassiodorus his saying) Q. Cadius and L. Manlius. The Sicilian registers name them *Valso* and *Cadius*. Zonaras, M. *Regulus* and L. *Manlius*. *Entropius*, M. Attilius *Regulus* and L. *Manlius* *Valso*: and *Polybius*, M. Attilius and L. *Manlius*. *Isidorus* in his 41 book maketh mention of these Consuls. But ye must understand, that Q. Cadius died whilst he was in office, and M. Attilius was substituted in his room, and made Consul the second time; as appeareth evidently by the capitol tables, wherein it standeth thus upon record, L. Manlius *Valso* *Longus*: and in stead of Q. Cadius, M. Attilius *Regulus* the second time: as also by *Cyprianus* book, wherein is written, *Longus* and *Regulus*.

M. Emilius Paulus, Ser. Fulvius Nobilior.

Polybius sheweth for the Coss. this year, Ser. Fulvius, and M. Aemilius. *Cyprianus* Kalender, *Nobilior* and *Paulus*. The Sicilian registers, *Paulus* and *Paulus*. Cassiodorus and *Entropius* together with the Capitoline records have Ser. Fulvius *Nobilior*, and M. Emilius *Paulus*.

Cn. Cornelius. 500 A. Attilius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius report for this years Consuls. Cn. Cornelius and A. Attilius. The capitol authors write, A. Attilius *Calatinus* the second time, and Cn. Cornelius *Scipio* *Afinus* likewise a second time. As touching Cn. Cornelius *Afinus* twice Consul, thus writeth *Valerius* in his first book: Cn. Cornelius S. *Afinus*, who being Consul, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians at *Lipara* when he had by the Jaw

law of arms lost whatsoever he had, recovered all again, and was made Consul the second time: so as, of a Consul he became a captive, and of a captive twice Consul.

Cn. Servilius. C. Sempronius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius put down for Consuls, Cn. Servilius and C. Sempronius. The Sicilian registers, *Capis* and *Blasius*. Zonaras, *Servilius*. *Capis* and C. *Sempronius*. *Entropius* and *Orosius*, Cn. *Servilius* *Capis*, and *Sempronius* *Blasius*. Of the same Consuls *Sabinus* in his 30 book maketh mention, as also a stone of the Capitol.

C. Aurelius Cotta, P. Servilius.

Cassiodorus bringeth in as Coss. C. Aurelius Cotta, and P. Geminus. The Sicilian registers, *Cotta* and *Geminus*: but those of the Capitol, C. Aurelius Cotta, and P. Servilius *Geminus*. Zonaras, Pub. Servilius and C. Aurelius. *Cicero* in his book, entituled *Lucullus* writeth, that C. Cotta, together with P. Servilius *Geminus*, was twice Consul. *Frontinus* also in his fourth book of *Stratagems*, and likewise *Orosius*, make mention of G. Cotta Consul in Sicily.

L. Cassilius Metellus, C. Furius.

Polybius setteth down for Consuls, L. Cassilius Metellus, and Cn. Furius. The Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Pacilius*. Zonaras, *Cassilius* *Metellus*, and C. Furius. Cassiodorus, L. Cassilius and C. Furius. *Entropius*, *Orosius*, and a capitol stone, L. Cassilius Metellus, and Cn. Furius *Pacilius*. This is that L. Metellus, twice Consul and high priest, of whom *Pliny* writeth in his seventh book and three and fortieth chapter.

C. Attilius Regulus, L. Manlius.

Polybius placeth for these years Consuls, C. Attilius and L. Manlius. Cassiodorus, C. Attilius *Regulus*, and L. Manlius. *Orosius* and a capitol stone, have C. Attilius *Regulus*, and L. Manlius *Valso*, both Coss. the second time. Zonaras, C. Attilius the brother of *Regulus*, and L. Manlius. The Sicilian records, *Regulus* and *Valso*.

P. Claudius. 505 L. Junius.

Cassiodorus and Polybius infer for Consuls the next year, Pub. Claudius and L. Junius. Zonaras, L. Junius and C. Pulcher. *Florus* and *Suetonius* in *Tiberius*, put to Claudius the sumator of *Polybius* and *Consortinus* to Junius of *Pachinus* which also are upon record in the Sicilian and capitol tables. This P. Claudius, *Cicero* (in his books of *Disquisition*, and of the nature of gods) calleth the son of App. Cacus: but *Pliny* in his

seventh book and three and fortieth chapter, maketh him the nephew of Junius. The capitol writers maketh him with Claudius, *Publius* in his first book and fourth chapter, speaketh of the same Consul.

P. Scipio. C. Drilius.

For Consuls this year, Cassiodorus putteth down P. Scipio and C. Drilius. *Cicero* in his book *Lucullus*, liketh that he was twice Consul. Which also is apparent by the Capitol and Sicilian tables in which their surnames are to be seen, *Geminus* II, and *Cotta* II.

L. Cassius, C. Fabius.

It is recorded by C. *Isidorus*, that the Consuls of this year were L. Cassius and M. Fabius: but Zonaras nameth them, C. Attilius *Metellus*, and *Numerius* *Fabius*. *Cyprianus* Kalender and the Sicilian Registers, have them in this manner, *Metellus* II, and *Attilius* II. But the capitoline tables shew them thus, L. Cassius *Metellus* II, M. Fabius *Butea* II. *Pliny* also reporteth in his seventh book, that *Metellus* was twice Consul.

M. Fabius. C. Metellus.

Cassiodorus setteth down as Consuls, M. Fabius and M. Otacilius. The Sicilian Registers, *Crassus* and *Licinius*. *Gellius* in his tenth book and six chapter, hath P. Licinius and Q. *Crassus*. The capitol marble stones, M. Fabius *Licinius*, and M. Otacilius *Crassus*. Besides, *Gellius* in the place before alleaged, *Belides* likewise in his 19 Breviary upon *Livius* maketh mention of these Consuls: as also *Suetonius* in *Tiberius*.

M. Fabius, 509 C. Attilius.

Cassiodorus reckoneth M. Fabius, and C. Attilius, Consuls for this year. The Sicilian tables, *Butea* and *Butea*. But those of the capitol, M. Fabius *Butea*, and C. Attilius *Butea*. Of Fabius the Consuls shipwreck, *Florus* speaketh out of the nineteenth book of *Livy*.

A. Manlius, C. Sempronius.

For these years Consuls, Cassiodorus setteth forth unto us, A. Manlius and C. Sempronius. The Sicilian records, *Torganus* and *Blasius*. *Cyprianus* book hath *Attilius* and *Blasius*. The capitoline tables shew A. Manlius *Torganus* *Attilius*, and C. Sempronius *Blasius* II.

C. Fundanus, C. Sulpicius.

Cassiodorus putteth down, C. Fundanus, and C. Sulpicius for Consuls. The Sicilian writers,

cap. Fundanus and Gallus. The Capitol monuments, C. Fundanus, Fundanus, and C. Scipio. Gallus. None besides make mention of them.

512
C. Lucius Caelius. A. Postumius.

Cassiodorus delivereth unto us for Consuls this year, C. Lucius and A. Postumius. The Sicilian records, Caelius and Albinius. Entropius, and the capitol marbles, C. Lucius Caelius, and A. Postumius Albinius.

513
Q. Lucius Cereus. A. Manlius.

Cassiodorus, Entropius, and Orofius shew for consuls this year, Q. Lucius, and A. Manlius. The Sicilian records, Cereus and Torquatus. They of the capitol, Q. Lucius Cereus, and A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus II. Indeed C. Lucius Cereus is named for an Ambassador by Livy in his 42 book.

514
C. Claudius Centho. M. Sempronius.

For this year there were Consuls, C. Claudius Centho, and M. Sempronius Tuditans, according to Cassiodorus and the capitol writers. The Sicilian records testify also the same furnames. Of these consuls likewise, besides the capitol writers, Cicero speaketh in his *Caio and Brutus*, where he calleth this year (according to the judgment of Atticus, wherto Varro also agreeth) the 514 year from the foundation of the city: as also in his first Tusculan question. So doth Gellius 17 book 21 chap. and Cassiodorus.

515
C. Mamilius. Q. Valerius.

Next there followed in consuls place, as witnesseth Cassiodorus, C. Mamilius and Q. Valerius: but according to the Sicilian registers, Turritius and Falco: and after the capitol records, C. Mamilius Turritius, and Q. Valerius Falco. Besides, Verrinus Flaccus and Cassiodorus, Gellius also maketh mention of these Consuls, in his 17 book and 21 chapter. So doth Cicero in *Brutus*: and the Tusculan questions, in which year they say, that Ennius the Poet was born.

516
T. Sempronius. P. Valerius.

For the year following, Cassiodorus hath consuls, T. Sempronius and P. Valerius. Gracchus and Falco, in Cyprianus Kalender and the Sicilian records, Zonaras avoucheth, Semp. Gracchus, and P. Valerius. The capitol writers, have T. Sempronius Gracchus, and P. Valerius Falco. Orofius speaketh of these consuls.

517
L. Cornelius. Q. Fulvius.
Next to them, Cassiodorus reporteth for consuls, L. Cornelius and Q. Fulvius. Zon-

aras, L. Lentulus and Q. Flaccus. Entropius, L. Cornelius Lentulus, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. The capitol registers give to Lentulus, the surname *Candicans*: and therefore in Cyprianus Kalender, they stand by the names of Candicans and Flaccus. As for the Sicilian registers, they leave them out clean.

518
C. Licinius. P. Cornelius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, C. Licinius and P. Cornelius. Zonaras, P. Licinius and Iscomius Varus. The capitoline writers, C. Licinius Varus, and P. Cornelius Licinius Candicans. In like manner Cyprianus, who reckoneth this for the 518 year after the cities foundation: following herein the computation of Varro, Cicero, and Pliny. Cyprianus Kalender and the Sicilian registers, name them *Clavdus* and *Varus*.

519
T. Manlius Torquatus. C. Asilius.

This year had for consuls, as Cassiodorus saith, T. Manlius Torquatus, and C. Asilius. The Sicilian records, shew Torquatus and *Bullus*: but Entropius, Orofius, and the capitol Tables shew, T. Manlius Torquatus, and C. Asilius Bullus: unto Bullus. The capitol records put to the numeral note II. When T. Manlius Torquatus and C. Asilius Bullus the second time were consuls, according to Verrinus Flaccus, Entropius, Orofius, and Cassiodorus, that there was peace throughout all the empire of Rome, the Temple of Janus was shut the second time, as Plutarch sheweth in *Numerius* as *Livy* also, *Velleius*, *Entropius*, and *Orofius* do testify.

520
L. Postumius. Sp. Carvilius.

Cassiodorus nameth for consuls this year, L. Postumius and Sp. Carvilius. The Sicilian Registers have Albinius and Ruga. Zonaras, Postumius Albinius, and Sp. Carvilius. The capitol writers have L. Postumius Albinius, and Sp. Carvilius Maximus. That Ruga was a surname to the Carvilius, appeareth out of Gellius, who maketh mention of Sp. Carvilius Ruga, who at this time was the first that divorced his wife.

521
Q. Fabius. M. Pomponius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls, Q. Fabius and M. Pomponius. The Sicilian records Maximus and Maio. The capitoline writers have Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, and M. Pomponius Maio. Zonaras hath Q. Fabius Max. and M. Pomponius. The surname of Maximus, this Fabius took of his grand-father, and was not himself the first of that name, whatsoever Polybius writeth in his third book.

Verrucosus

Verrucosus he was called besides of a weert upon his lip, at Plutarch witnesseth and he that wrote the treatise of Famous men.

522
M. Lepidus. M. Poplicius.

Marcus Lepidus and M. Poplicius are reputed to be Consuls this year by Cassiodorus. The Sicilian registers have Lepidus and Malleolus. Zonaras hath M. Malleolus and M. Emilius. The capitol tables shew M. Emilius Lepidus and M. Poplicius.

523
C. Papirius. M. Pomponius.

Next after this were created Consuls, C. Papirius and M. Pomponius according to Cassiodorus, Zonaras, and Dionysius in his second book. The Sicilian registers shew *Maso* and *Maio*. But the Capitol records have C. Papirius *Maso* and M. Pomponius *Maio*. Of C. Papirius, son of C. surnamed *Maso*, a Pontify or Bishop, Livy speaketh in the year 540.

524
M. Emilius. M. Junius.

Zonaras and Cassiodorus exhibit unto us for Consuls, M. Emilius and M. Junius. The Sicilian registers, *Barbula* and *Pera*. The Capitol records, M. Emilius *Barbula* and M. Junius *Pera*.

525
L. Postumius. Cn. Fulvius.

Cassiodorus setteth down L. Postumius and Cn. Fulvius as Consuls. The Sicilian records Albinius and Centumalus. But those of the Capitol, and Entropius, present unto us L. Postumius Albinius and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. Polybius nameth Cn. Fulvius and A. Postumius.

526
Q. Fabius II. Sp. Carvilius.

There are by Cassiodorus nominated for Consuls this year: Q. Fabius Maximus the second time, and Sp. Carvilius. The Sicilian registers Maximus and Ruga. The Capitol writers set also unto Carvilius Maximus the mark and numeral note of a double Consulship. Cicero in his book entituled *Caio*, likewise in his second book of Rhetorical invention, maketh mention of these Consuls, and so doth Velleius in his chapter, discoursing of the kindness and affectionate duty of children to their parents.

527
P. Valerius. M. Atilius.

There are set down by Cassiodorus for Consuls this year, P. Valerius and M. Atilius. The Sicilian registers, have Flaccus and Regulus. The

Capitol records represent P. Valerius Flaccus, and M. Atilius Regulus. Gellius writeth of them in his 4 book and 3 chapter.

528
L. Apustius. M. Valerius.

Next after, Cassiodorus putteth L. Apustius and M. Valerius Consuls. The Sicilian tables, Maximus and Apustius. The Capitol monuments L. Apustius Fulgo, and M. Valerius Messala.

529
C. Atilius. L. Aemilius.

Imediately followed Consuls, C. Atilius and L. Aemilius, as Cassiodorus and Polybius do witness: whom the Capitol writers call, C. Atilius Regulus, and L. Aemilius Papius. The Sicilian registers, Regulus and Papius. Zonaras, Regulus and Aemilius. Of these Consuls also Orofius maketh mention: and Pliny in his third book and twentieth chapter, where untruly men read *Paulus* for *Papius*.

530
T. Manlius. Q. Fulvius II.

The year following had Consuls T. Manlius and Q. Fulvius the second time, according to Cassiodorus and Polybius, and as Orofius saith, T. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Cyprianus tables, together with the Capitoline, have Torquatus the second time, and Flaccus likewise the second time, shewing the furnames only of these Consuls.

531
C. Flaminius. P. Furius Philus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, C. Flaminius and P. Furius. So doth Polybius. Zonaras nameth them Flaminius and Furius. Plutarch likewise in *Marcellus*. The Sicilian tables name them Flaminius and Philus. But the capitol records, C. Flaminius, and P. Furius Philus.

532
M. Marcellus. Cn. Cornelius.

Cassiodorus nameth for the next Consuls, M. Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius. Polybius, M. Claudius and Cn. Cornelius. The Sicilian registers Scipio and Marcellus. Zonaras, Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Scipio. Entropius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio. The Capitol tables M. Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus. This is that Marcellus, who was five times Consul: and this is that Scipio, who afterwards with his brother Scipio was slain in Spain by Asdrubalus the Carthaginian.

533
P. Cornelius. M. Minutius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, C. Cornelius and M. Minutius. So doth Zonaras.

was, The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Rufus*. *Enropius* hath *P. Cornelius* and *M. Minucius Rufus*. *Cuspinian* book *Afina* and *Rufus*. *Sigonus* and *Omphrius* both, do think that this *P. Cornelius Scipio Afina* was his son, who in the first Punick war was twice consul. And verily *Livy*, in the year 543 maketh mention of *P. Cornelius Afina*, an honorable Senator, and who had been consul.

L. Veturius, 534 C. Licinius.

Cassiodorus and Zonaras exhibit unto us for consuls, *L. Veturius* and *C. Licinius*. The Sicilian registers *Philo* and *Catulus*. *Cuspinian* book *Philo* and *Scavola*.

M. Livius, 535 L. Emilius.

The consuls next following were *M. Livius* and *L. Emilius*, as *Cassiodorus* witnesseth. *Cuspinian* book and the Greek records shew *Salinator* and *Paulus*. *Zonaras*, *M. Livius* and *Emilius Paulus*. *Pliny* maketh mention of these consuls in the 29 book and first chap.

P. Cornelius Scipio, 536 T. Sempronius Longus.

Cassiodorus and *Polybius* put down for consuls *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius*. *Zonaras*, *Sempronius Longus* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *Longus* and *Scipio*. *Livy*, *Enropius*, *Probus*, *Orosius*, and *Pedanius*, name them *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Whiles these were consuls, the second Punick war arose, as writers have delivered unto us in their chronicles.

Cn. Servilius Geminus, 537 C. Flaminius.

Then followed consuls, as *Polybius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Livy* write, *Cn. Servilius*, together with *C. Flaminius*. But the two last named, as also the Sicilian registers, have given to *Servilius* the surname of *Geminus*. *C. Flaminius* now second time consul, with like pride as heretofore, entered into his magistracy in the Ides of *March*, not at *Rome* but at *Ariminum*. The same man, in neglect and contempt of the Auspicia or signs of birds, at what time as he made head and went against *Annibal* coming into *Italy*, fought a battle at the lake *Thrasymenus*, where his army was wholly defeated and himself lost his life: into whose place *M. Atilius Regulus*, who had been consul before, was substituted. Thus much out of *Livy* and *Polybius*.

C. Terentius Varro, 538 L. Emilius Paulus.

Next to them *Polybius* bringeth in *L. Emilius Paulus* and *C. Terentius* for consuls. The Sicilian registers, *Paulus* and *Varro*. *Plutarch* in *Paulus*,

Terentius Varro, and *Emilius Paulus*. *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and others, *C. Terentius Varro*, and *L. Emilius Paulus*. *Goltzius* noteth, that the father of *C. Terentius Varro*, was one *Annius*, a thing by others passed over.

L. Posthumus Albinus, 539 M. Claudius Marcellus, II. Q. Fabius Maximus, III. T. Sempronius Gracchus.

Livy reporteth that the consuls elect for this year, when *M. Junius* the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election, were *Lucius Posthumus Albinus* the third time, who as then ruled the province of *Gaul*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who had been master of the horse-men; and that *Posthumus* before that he entered into government, was by *Annibal* in *France* environed and slain, in whole fleet *M. Marcellus* was subrogated consul now the second time: who upon information given by the *Augurs*, that his creation was not good, resigned; and commonly the Nobles gave out and said, That the Gods were not well pleased, that two commoners were then first chosen consuls: whereupon in the room of *Marcellus*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus* was chosen consul the third time. Thus write *Livy* and *Plutarch*. And for this cause it is that *Cassiodorus*, *Orosius*, and *Enropius* do put down for this years consuls, *T. Sempronius* and *Q. Fabius*.

Q. Fabius, IV. 540 M. Claudius Marcellus, III.

Livy, *Plutarch*, and *Cassiodorus* set out for consuls this year, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fourth time, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* the third time. Moreover, *Cicero* oftentimes and *Frontinus* in his second book of *Stratagems*, make mention of these consuls.

Q. Fabius Max. son of Verrucosus, 541 T. Sempronius Gracchus, II.

Against this year were both the consuls created in their absence, namely, *Q. Fab.* Max. the son of *Verrucosus*, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time: as *Livy* testifieth and *Cassiodorus*, together with the Sicilian registers. This *Fabius* had been Pretor the former year: and *Gracchus* consul two years before. These consuls *Gellius* nominateth out of *Quadrigerius*, the second book and second chapter. Likewise *Cicero* and *Valerius*,

App. Claudius Pulcher, 542 Q. Fulvius Flaccus, II.

The consuls created for this year by the Dictator, were *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, who then was master of the horse-men, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who in his

his pretorship was *L. deputy* in *Sicily*, as *Livy*, *Plutarch* in *Fabius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Festus* in his 17 book do witness.

543

C. Spilpinus Galba, Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Vpon the receipt of certain letters, the Consuls agreed together, that *Glaucius* should hold the election for magistrats and see it finished, whiles *Fulvius* remained still before *Capua*. *Claudius* created for consuls, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *P. Sulpicius* son of *Servilius*, and *urnamed Galba*, who before time had born no state-office of the chair. Thus writeth *Livy*. The same consuls also *Cassiodorus* doth deliver. *Orosius* likewise and *Festus* in his 17 book. The Sicilian records declare *Galba* and *Centumalus*. As for *S. Sulpicius*, he is named in his second consularship, as it appeareth upon record in the capitol, the son of *Ser.* nephew of *Fabius* turnamed *Galba Maximus*.

544

M. Val. Livinus, II. M. Claudius Marcellus, IV.

Livy, *Sextus Pompeius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Enropius*, and *Orosius*, do present for consuls this year, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *M. Valerius Livinus*. Now this is *Marcellus* his fourth consularship, as *Plutarch* and *Livy* write: but *Cassiodorus* saith, that he was but the third time with *M. Valerius Livinus*, leaving out that consularship which he bare not through, because of the error in his creation: and yet is it one of the five that he is reported to have born. *Livy* in the nine and twentieth and thirtieth books, writeth that *M. Valerius* was twice consul. In like manner, the book of *Cuspinian* hath for this year, *Marcellus* the fourth time, and *Livinus* the second time. And therefore *Omphrius* suppoeth that his first consular was in the year five hundred four-and-thirty: and the second, now. Of him *Polybius* and *Cicero* make mention.

545

Q. Fabius Maximus, V. Q. Fulvius Flaccus, IV.

The consuls for this year created, were *Q. Fabius* the fifth time, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the fourth time, the same man who being Dictator, held the assembly for that election: as *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* do witness. The Sicilian records set forth *Fabius* and *Flaccus*. Whiles these were consuls, *Cicero* in his Oration against *Rollus*, saith that *Capua* was won: and yet *Livy* hath reported it two years before. Of these consuls *Valerius* also, together with *Plutarch*, *Enropius*, and *Orosius* have made mention.

M. Claudius Marcellus, V. T. Quintus Crispinus, 546

In the eleventh year of the Punick war, there entered into their consularship, *M. Marcellus* the fifth time (so ye reckon that consularship which upon an error in the creation he kept not) and *T. Quintus Crispinus*. So saith *Livy*. *Plutarch* also nameth *Marcellus* the fifth time and *Crispinus*. But *Cassiodorus* reckoneth *Marcellus* but the fourth time with *Crispinus*, passing over that faulty consular of his. Moreover these consuls are mentioned by *Cicero* *Valerius*, *Plinius* the younger, *Probus*, *Enropius*, and *Orosius* who also report that they both were forelaid and intrapped in ambush by *Annibal* in so much as *Marcellus* was presently slain in the place; and *Quintus* fled sore wounded.

547

C. Claudius Nero. M. Livius Salinator.

Vhen the LL. of the Senat cast about to see whom they should create consuls, behold, the most eminent and singular man above all others, was *C. Claudius Nero*: unto whom was joined as companion in government *M. Livius*, who many years before, upon a consular that he had born, was by the judgment of the people condemned: and almost eight years after his condemnation was by *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Marcus Livius* then consuls, reduced into the lucky. In like manner, the Sicilian Registers name for consuls, *Nero* and *Salinator*. The capitol records shew *Claudius Nero*, with *M. Livius Salinator*.

Q. Caecilius Metellus, 548 L. Veturius Philo.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the records of the capitol, exhibit unto us for consuls this year, *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Caecilius Metellus*. The Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Philo*. Over and besides, of these consuls *Cicero* many a time and often, *Valerius*, *Plutarch* in *Africanus*, *Appianus* in *Ibericus*, *Pliny* in his 7 book 43 chap. do make mention.

549

P. Cornelius Scipio. P. Licinius Crassus.

Lucius Veturius Philo held the assembly for creation of Magistrats, wherein all the centuries in general, with exceeding great favour nominated *Publius Scipio* for consul, and to him was joined in government, *P. Licinius Crassus*, the supreme pontiff. Thus saith *Livy*. The Sicilian tables have *Scipio* with *Crassus*. The capitol records shew *P. Cornelius Scipio*.

Scipio, surnamed afterwards *Africanus*, with *P. Licinius Crassus* the rich, of whom *Cassiodorus* likewise and *Cicero* in *Brutus* do speak.

550

M. Cornelius Cethegus, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do name for Consuls this year, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The Sicilian registers, *Cethegus* and *Tuditanus*, of whom *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Plutarch*, *Eutropius* and *Cassiodorus* do often times make mention. In this year *P. Scipio Nasica*, judged by the Senate the best man in the city, received dame *Idea*.

551

Cn. Servilius Capi, *C. Servilius*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* together, with the Sicilian records and capitol monuments put unto us for Consuls *Cn. Servilius Capi* and *C. Servilius*. Of which twain *Capi* had been Pretor in the year 548, and *Servilius* in 547. This year died *Q. Fabius Max*; and *Annibal* with a sad cheer and heavy heart departed out of *Italy* into *Africa* by commandment of certain delegate Embassadors, in the seventeenth year of the second Punic war.

552

Tib. Claudius Nero, *M. Servilius Geminus*.

M. Arcus Servilius Geminus, and *Tib. Claudius Nero* were Consuls this year according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records, in which *Servilius* standeth surnamed *Pulex Geminus*. The Sicilian tables have *Nero* with *Servilius*. In these Consuls year, *Annibal* was in *Africa* by *Scipio* overthrow, and a second peace made with the Carthaginians, as *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Eutropius* do report.

553

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, *P. Aelius Paetus*.

Against this year were created Consuls, as *Livy* writeth, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Aelius Paetus*. So saith *Cassiodorus* also and *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and eighteenth chapter. In a broken pece of marble in the Capitol, we find *Lentulus* and *P. Aelius*: in the Sicilian registers, *Lentulus* and *Paetus*. These two were Pretors both in the year 550.

554

P. Sulpicius Galba, *C. Aurelius Cotta*.

Livy and *Cassiodorus* put down for Consuls, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*. This *P. Sulpicius* in the year 542 was first Consul; and *C. Cotta* two years before, Pretor. These same Consuls are to be seen in the capitol tables, but *Galba* and *Cotta* in the Sicilian.

555

L. Cornelius Lentulus, *P. Valerius Tappulus*.

This year had for Consuls, *L. Cornelius* and *P. Valerius*, as *Cassiodorus* writeth: but according to *Livy* and the capitol monuments, *Lentulus* and *Tappulus*: after the Sicilian records, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Valerius Tappulus*. Of *P. Valerius* Consul, *Plutarch* maketh mention in *Quintius*.

556

T. Quintius Flaminius, *Sex. Aelius Paetus*.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, together with *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, report unto us for consuls this year, *T. Quintius Flaminius* and *Sex. Aelius Paetus*. The Sicilian tables, *Flaminius* and *Paetus*, *Pliny* in his book of famous men, saith (but not without some error) that this *Flaminius* was the son of that *C. Flaminius* who was slain at *Thrasymene*. Where, as in deed this man was defended of the noble Patritian house of the *Quintius*, the other of the family of *Flaminius*, no better than commoners. Now this *Sex. Aelius Paetus* is the man of whom *Cicero* giveth this report out of the poet *Ennius*:

*Tibi Sexus Aelius in records, Catus surnam'de sit,
A worthy might for wisdomer was, a discreet man was be*

And therefore in the capitol tables he is called *Paetus Catus*.

557

C. Cornelius Cethegus, *Q. Minutius Rufus*.

In this year *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minutius* were consuls, after *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol marbles. Their surnames only appear in the Sicilian registers. And *Cicero* speaketh of them in *Brutus*.

558

L. Enrius Porporeo, *M. Claudius Marcellus*.

This year had for Consuls, *L. Enrius Porporeo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records. The Sicilian annals deliver unto us *Porphyro* and *Marcellus*.

559

M. Porcius Cato, *L. Valerius Flaccus*.

M. Arcus Porcius Cato and *L. Valerius* are ranged Consuls this year, by *Ferrus Flaccus*, *Cicero* in many places, *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Valerius*, *Probus*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and *Cassiodorus*.

560

P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, II.
T. Sempronius Longinus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, the monuments both of the capitol and Sicily, match Consuls together this year, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* the second

second time, and *T. Sempronius Longinus*. Of them *Cicero* maketh mention in the oration of *Cornelius* accused of felony, appeareth in *Pedanius*.

561

L. Cornelius Merula, *Q. Minutius Thermus*.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol authors, writeth that the Consuls chosen to succeed in this year were *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The said surnames are found in the Sicilian records, *Probus* speaketh of them in *Annibal*, and *Frontinus* in his book of stratagems.

562

L. Quintius Flaminius, *C. Domitius Enobarbus*.

L. Quintius Flaminius, and *Cn. Domitius Enobarbus* were this years Consuls, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records testify. The Sicilian registers also shew their surnames.

563

M. Acilius Glabrio, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*.

The Consuls created for this year, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, son of *Cn.* as testify *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol records, *Plutarch* in *Quintius*, and *Appian* in his Syriack history. In the Sicilian registers, named they are *Glabrio* and *Nasica*. In these Consuls year the same authors report, that the war against *Antiochus* King of Syria, and against the *Ætolians*, was proclaimed: which in the capitol monuments, in *Patriculus*, and *Macrobius*, we called the Antiochian, but by *Florus* and *Pliny* the younger in *Cato*, the Syrian war. This was the 563 year from the cities foundation, as *Macrobius* writeth in his first book of *Saturnals*.

564

L. Cornelius Scipio, *C. Laelius*.

Cassiodorus, *Livius*, and the capitol tables put down for Consuls this year, *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Laelius*. The Sicilian registers have *Scipio* and *Laelius*. The same men *Gellius* in his sixteenth book and fourth chapter nameth *C. Laelius* son of *C.* and *L. Scipio* son of *P.* To *Laelius* *Cassiodorus* only addeth the surname *Africanus*. This *L. Scipio* surnamed *Africanus*, was brother to *Africanus*.

565

C. Manlius Vulso, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*.

Cn. Manlius Vulso, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, are nominated Consuls for this year by *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the tables both of the capitol and Sicily. *Manlius* was Pretor in the year 557 and *Fulvius* anno 560.

566

C. Livius Salinator, *M. Valerius Messalla*.

The Consuls next following, were *M. Valerius Messalla*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, as

Livy and *Cassiodorus* testify, together with the Sicilian and capitol tables.

567

M. Aemilius Lepidus, *C. Flaminius*.

The next Consuls, were *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius*, as witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Zonaras*, *Strabo* in his first book, the Sicilian and capitol tables. Of them *Valerius* maketh mention in his sixth book. This is that *M. Lepidus* who was the Arch-bishop, twice Consul, Cenfor, and President of the Senat six times chosen by the Censors. And this is that *C. Flaminius*, who afterward by *Cato* the Cenfor was displaced out of the Senat and disrebed.

568

Sp. Posthumius Albinus, *Q. Marcius Philippus*.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, *Eutropius* and the capitol tables report Consuls for this year, *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*. The Sicilian Registers name them barely, *Albinus* and *Philippus*, *Valerius* maketh mention of them in his sixth book and third chapter. Likewise *Pliny* in his 33 book and tenth chapter.

569

Ap. Claudius Pulcher, *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*.

For this years Consuls were *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, & *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* and the capitol records do testify. They stand in the Sicilian records by the names of *Pulcher* and *Tuditanus*.

570

P. Claudius Pulcher, *L. Porcius Cicerinus*.

The Consuls that followed for this year, were *L. Porcius Cicerinus* & *P. Claudius Pulcher*: witness *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Pulcher* and *Licinius* they be called in the Sicilian records.

571

Q. Fabius Labco, *M. Claudius Marcellus*.

Against this year were created Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *Q. Fabius Labco*, according to *Livy*, *Cassiodorus* & the capitol marble stones. Their surnames be found also in the Sicilian tables. Whiles these were consuls, *Atticus* wrote that *Annibal* died, as *Probus* maketh report in *Annibal*.

572

L. Aemilius Paulus, *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*.

Cn. Babius Tamphilus and *L. Aemilius Paulus* were created Consuls for this year, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, the capitol, yea, and the Sicilian tables do testify, although these last have regard only of their surnames. This *L. Aemilius* is the son of that *L. Aemilius*, who was slain at *Cannae*, as *Plutarch* and *Velleius* do witness.

579
P. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Babinus Tamphilus.

Plinius Cornelius Cethegus and M. Babinus Tamphilus, succeeded Consuls this year, after *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables. *Cethegus* and *Tamphilus* they are called in the Sicilian records. Of P. Cornelius and M. Babinus conf. *Plutarch* make mention in *Nicom.* Of P. Cornelius and M. Babinus Tamphilus, *Valerius* speaketh in his first book and first chapter. Of P. Cornelius *Lemulus*, and M. Babinus Tamphilus in 11 book and 13 chapter. But *Pliny* in his 13 book and 13 chapter calleth the one P. Cornelius Cethegus, son of *Ducius*; and the other M. Babinus son of *Q.* (turned *Tamphilus*).

574
A. Posthumus Albinus, C. Calpurnius Piso.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments exhibit unto us for this year Consuls, A. Posthumus Albinus, and C. Calpurnius Piso. The Sicilian tables, *Albinus* and *Piso*. *Plutarch* Preter in the year 567. And *Albinus* anno 568. But whereas a pestilence had reigned now three years, so as it despoiled the City of *Rome* and all *Italy*, it hapned that C. Calpurnius died, not without suspicion that he was murdered by Q. *Hofilia*: in whose room Q. *Tulvius* *Flaccus* his father in law or mothers husband, was declared Consul.

575
L. Manlius Acidinus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records shew for Consuls this year, L. Manlius Acidinus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus. The Sicilian tables, Acidinus with *F. Cicero*. *Cicero* maketh mention of Acidinus a Consul, in his second book of a perfect orator. Also observed it is in the capitol monuments, that these Consuls were german brethren: and the same hath *Plinius* in his second book reported. And therefore it cometh to pass, that in the capitol tables L. Manlius Acidinus, is furnished also *Fulvius* after the manner of those that are adopted.

576
M. Junius Brunsus, A. Manlius Vulso.

Next Consuls created, were M. Junius Brunsus and A. Manlius Vulso: as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do testify. *Brunus* and *Vulso* they be named in the Sicilian monuments. This *Brunus* was Preter in the year 562, and *Vulso* in 571.

577
C. Claudius Pulcher, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus.

Caius Claudius Pulcher and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, are matched Consuls this year by *Ver. Flaccus*, *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*. Of this *Gracchus* *Cicero* speaketh in his first book of divination, and *Erastus* in his first of *Strategem.*

578
C. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, C. Valerius Maximus.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records exhibit unto us for Consuls, C. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, and C. Valerius Maximus. The Sicilian registers, *Scipio* and *Valerius*. But when *Scipio* returning out of the mount *Alpeus*, fell into a fit of Apoplexy, and so into a dead palsy, whereupon he went to the bath at *Cometa*, where, by reason that his disease grew upon him, he departed this life: Q. *Perillus* the other Consul, created for his companion to enter presently upon the government, C. Valerius *Lavinus*. Thus saith *Livy*.

579
R. Mutius Scaevola, M. Aemilius Lepidus II.

Rofius putteth down for Consuls *Lepidus* and *Mutius*, *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. M. *Lepidus* and P. *Mutius*. The Sicilian tables, *Lepidus* and *Scaevola*. The capitol monuments, P. *Mutius* *Scaevola* and M. *Aemilius* *Lepidus* II. The election of the Consuls this year is lost in *Livy*. *Cicero*, likewise writeth in his discourse of Provinces: *Valerius* also in his first book and first chapter, that this M. *Aemilius* *Lepidus* was twice Consul.

580
Sp. Posthumus Albinus, Q. Mutius Scaevola.
Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, Sp. Posthumus Albinus and Q. Mutius. The capitol records, Sp. Posthumus Albinus *Paulus*, and Q. Mutius *Scaevola*. *Cicero* in his first book hath *Paulus* and *Scaevola*. *Pliny* maketh mention of these in his second book and 13 chapter. The election of the Consuls this year is lost in *Livy*.

581
L. Posthumus Albinus, M. Popilius Lenax.

The Coss, for this year created, were L. Posthumus Albinus and M. Popilius *Lenax*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments do testify. *Albinus* and *Lenax* are put down in the Sicilian records. Whiles these were consuls, the feast *Floralia* was instituted first, as *Ovid* sheweth in his first book of his *Kalendar*.

582
C. Popilius Lenax, P. Aelius Ligur.

This year had for consuls, C. Popilius *Lenax*, and P. Aelius *Ligur*, as *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol records do testify. The Sicilian registers name them *Lenax* and *Aelius*. To this day had no Coss. in one year been matched together, both commoners: and this was the first time, that both consuls were created out of the commons, as is observed in the capitol monuments. After this, you shall never find the consuls both *Patricii*: commoners ye shall have them both twain, many a time and often: but most of all, a commoner and a *Patrician*, one with another.

583

583
P. Licinius Crassus, C. Cassius Longinus, M. Marcellus, C. Sulpicius.

The Consuls next ensuing for this year, were P. Licinius *Crassus*, and C. Cassius *Longinus*, as it appeareth in *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Orosius*, and the capitol tables. For in the Sicilian records, they are named no otherwise than *Crassus* and *Longinus*. Of the very same Consuls *Pliny* maketh mention in his seventh book. *Gellius* also in his ninth book and fourth chapter. Whiles these were Consuls the people of *Rome* began war against *Perseus* King of the *Macedonians*, son of *Philip*: which *Florus* and *Ennius*, together with *Orosius*, call the second *Macedonian* war: whereof *Livy* and *Plutarch* write more at large.

584
A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Atilius Serranus.

Cassiodorus setteth next after for Consuls, C. Hostilius *Mancinus*, and C. Atilius. The Sicilian registers, *Mancinus* and *Serranus*. The capitol monuments, A. Atilius *Mancinus*, and A. Atilius *Serranus*. As well the election of these Consuls as their acts, are missing in the Annals of *Livy*.

585
Q. Marcius Philippus, II. Cn. Servilius Capio.

Livy, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol tables match together in the Consulship of this year Q. Marcius *Philippus* the second time, and Cn. Servilius *Capio*. The Sicilian catalogue hath barely *Philip* and *Capio*. *Cicero* in his books entituled *Brutus* and *Cato*, writeth that *Ennius* the Poet died in their Consulship.

586
L. Aemilius Paulus, II. C. Licinius Crassus.

The Consuls that next succeeded were L. Aemilius *Paulus* the second time (seventen years after his first Consulship) and Caius Licinius *Crassus*: witnesses *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, and the capitol monuments. In like manner they are named in the Sicilian registers *Paulus* and *Crassus*. As touching this second Consulship of *L. Paulus*, *Plutarch*, *Valerius*, *Orosius*, *Ennius*, *Florus*, and *Justinus* in his 33 book do write, *Plutarch* addeth thus much and saith, That *Paulus* was threecore years of age, when he was chosen Consul the second time.

587
Q. Aelius Paulus, M. Junius.

Livy bringeth in for Consuls next after, Q. Aemilius and M. Junius. The Sicilian records *Paulus* and *Pennus*. *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus* Q. Aelius *Paulus*, and M. Junius *Pennus*. *Cicero* likewise in *Brutus* speaketh of Mar. *Junius* *Pennus*, Consul with Q. Aelius. Now from this year forward, we want the compleat story penned by *Livy*.

589
Cn. Octavius, T. Manlius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* infer Consuls this year, Cn. Octavius and T. Manlius. The Sicilian tables, Octavius and *Torquatus*. The capitol stones, Cn. Octavius and T. Manlius *Torquatus*. Mention there is made of these consuls in the title before *Hegeus* in *Terence*. *Cicero* in his first book of *Final* ends, and likewise in many other places, speaketh of T. *Torquatus*, Consul with Cn. Octavius.

590
A. Manlius, Q. C. Cossus.

Cassiodorus matcheth together consuls in this year, A. Manlius and Q. Cossus. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Torquatus* and *Longinus*. The capitol records A. Manlius *Torquatus* and Q. Cossus *Longinus*, who died in his consulship. These also had been companions together in their Pretorship, anno 586, as *Livy* beareth witness.

591
T. Sempronius, M. Juventinus.

Cassiodorus saith, that the consuls this year were T. Sempronius and M. Juventinus. *Obsequens* nameth them, T. Gracchus, and M. Juventinus. The capitol monuments shew T. Sempronius *Gracchus* the second time, and M. Juventinus *Thalva*. In the Sicilian registers, *Dolabella* and *Thalva*. But not well as it is to be doubted. *Cicero*, *Valerius*, and *Plutarch* have made mention of Tib. Gracchus twice consul. And that M. Juventinus died whiles he was consul, *Pliny* in his seventh book, and *Valerius* also do report.

592
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, C. Martius.

Cicero in his first and second book of the nature of Gods, *Perrinus* *Flaccus*, *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus*, report for consuls P. Cornelius *Nasica* and C. Martius *Figulus*. But for that there was an error committed in their creation, and thereupon they refigined up their place, as the forefild authors witnesses together with *Valerius* *Plutarch* and *Pliny*: P. Corn. *Lemulus*, and Cn. Domitius *Enobarbus*, entered in their stead.

593

593 M. Messala. C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, M. Messala and C. Fannius. The Sicilian Catalogue Messala and Strabo. The capitol records, and the title before Phormio in Terence represent unto us, M. Valerius Messala, and C. Fannius Strabo. Of these Consuls Suetonius maketh mention in his book of excellent Rhetoricians. Likewise in Cicero in *Brutus*, Pliny in his ninth book and fiftieth chapter, and Gellius in his second book.

594 L. Anicius. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Cassiodorus and the title set before the Comedy *Adelphi* in Terence avouch for Coss. L. Anicius and M. Cornelius. The Sicilian and capitol records put surnames unto them, Gallus and Cethegus. Of Anicius the Consul, Cicero speaketh in *Brutus*; and of Cethegus, the six and fortieth Epitome or Breviary of Florus. In their year, it is for certain held, that L. Paullus who conquered Persens, died.

595 Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. M. Fulvius.

The year next following had Consuls, as witnesseth Cassiodorus, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius. The Sicilian registers shew Dolabella and Fulvius. The capitol monuments, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and Mar. Fulvius Nobilior. The same is to be seen in the life of Terence the poet, for there it is written, that in their year he died.

596 N. Aemilius. C. Popilius.

The Consuls next succeeding, were Marcus Aemilius and C. Popilius, as Cassiodorus saith. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth Lepidus and Lanat. The capitol records have M. Aemilius Lepidus and C. Popilius Lanat the second time. Of the same *Censorinus* maketh mention in his chapter of distinction of ages.

597 Sex. Julius. L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus reporteth, that the next Consuls were Sex. Julius and L. Aurelius. The Sicilian and capitol tables yield surnames unto them, *Cæsar* to Julius, and *Orestes* to Aurelius. Pliny writeth of them in his 33 book.

598 L. Lentulus. C. Martius.

Obesque and Cassiodorus record for this years Consuls L. Lentulus and C. Martius. The Sicilian catalogue *Lentulus* and *Figulus*. The capitol monuments, L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, and C. Martius Figulus the second time.

Cicero in *Brutus* speaketh of them both, And as touching Figulus twice Consul, Valerius writeth in his chapter of Wrath.

599 P. Scipio Nasica. M. Claudius.

Publius Scipio and M. Claudius are by Cassiodorus set down for Coss. The Sicilian registers have Nasica and Marcellus. The capitol records, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica the second time, and M. Claudius Marcellus likewise the second time. Padiamus writeth, that this Marcellus was thrice Consul. And that Pub. Scipio Nasica, surnamed also *Corvulum*, was twice Consul and Censor besides, Cicero writeth in his *Brutus*.

600 L. Posthumus. Q. Opimius.

This year had Consuls, Lu. Posthumus and Qu. Opimius as Cassiodorus and Obsequens do witness. The Sicilian tables shew Opimius and Albinus. But the capitol records Q. Opimius, and Lu. Posthumus Albinus. Mention there is made of this Q. Opimius, Consul, by Cicero in his *Brutus*; also in the Epitome of the seven and fortieth book. Moreover, that Posthumus died in his magistracy, besides *Verrinus Flaccus*, Obsequens also sheweth: in whose head *Man. Acilius Glabrio* was chosen.

601 Q. Fulvius. T. Annius.

The Consuls next following, as Cassiodorus writeth, were Qu. Fulvius and T. Annius. In the capitol fragments they are named Nobilior and Luscus. Cicero in his *Brutus* saith, that Q. Nobilior son of Marcus, and T. Annius Luscus were Consuls. The Greek records and Cnipsianus book shew Nobilior and Luscus.

602 M. Marcellus. L. Valerius.

This year had for Consuls, M. Marcellus and L. Valerius as Cassiodorus witnesseth. The Sicilian catalogue representeth Marcellus and Flaccus. Obsequens exhibiteth unto us M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Valerius Flaccus. This Marcellus was thrice Consul, as Padiamus saith upon the Orator for *Scaurus*, and Cicero in his book of divination and destiny.

603 L. Licinius Lucullus. A. Postumius Albinus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, L. Lucullus and A. Postumius. The Sicilian tables, Lucullus and Albinus. The broken marbles of the capitol, Lucullus and Au. Postumius son of Anides, Orestes and the Epitome 48, shew L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Post. Albinus. Cicero in his *Brutus*, and Lucullus both, maketh mention of the same.

604 T. Quintinus. M. Acilius.

This year had for Consuls, T. Quintinus and M. Acilius, as Cassiodorus testifieth in whom Pliny in his 7 book & 36 chap. calleth C. Quintinus and M. Acilius. Cicero in his book *Cato*, and the 12 book of his *Epistles* to Atticus nameth T. Flamininus and M. Acilius, and saith that they were created Consuls in the 19 year after the death of Ennius. The Sicilian tables have Flamininus and Balbus. The Capitol fragments, Flamininus and M. Acilius Balbus.

605 L. Martius. M. Manilius.

Cassiodorus avoucheth for the Consuls of this year, L. Martius and M. Manilius: likewise the 49 Epitome. Cicero in *Lucullus* maketh mention of *Censorinus* and M. Manilius: of *Censorinus* and Manilius in his twelfth book of epistles to Atticus. The same Consuls, Appianus in *Lycia* nameth L. Martius *Censorinus* and M. Manilius. In like sort *Censorinus* in his treatise of *Nativity* or Birth-day. The Sicilian tables have *Censorinus* and Manilius. The capitol fragments shew *Censorinus* and M. Manilius, son of Publius, nephew of Pub. While they were Consuls, there arose a third war between the State of Rome and the Carthaginians, as Florus in the 49 Epitome, besides *Verrinus Flaccus* do testify: likewise *Solinus*, but that he saith with *Verrinus Flaccus*, that it was the year 64, Cicero also in his eleventh Philippick, and lastly *Entropius* with *Orestes*.

606 Sp. Postumius. L. Piso.

Then were Consuls created, Sp. Postumius and L. Piso, according to Cassiodorus and Obsequens. In the capitol fragments they are named A. Magnus, and Lu. Calpurnius, son of Cains, nephew of Cains, surnamed Piso *Cæsonius*. In *Cnipsianus* Kalender, Magnus and Cæsonius, in the Sicilian catalogue Albinus and Piso. As for Magnus and Albinus: they be the surnames of Postumius: like as Cæsonius and Piso, of Calpurnius. In this year the people of Rome, entered into arms against *Andrius*, otherwise termed *Pseudo-Philippus*, which they call the third Macedonian war, after Florus and *Entropius*.

607 P. Africanus. C. Livius.

Obesque and Cassiodorus set forth for consuls this year P. Africanus and C. Livius. In the Sicilian catalogue they are registered *Seipio* and *Dreusus*: in the capitol fragments *Africanus* and *Aemilius*, and C. Livius: the one son of M. Aemilius, nephew of Marcus, the other surnamed *Dreusus*. This Pub. Cornelius was the natural son of that *Paulus* that vanquished *Perseus* King of the Macedonians, and adopted

by P. Cornelius the son of *Serpio Africanus*. Whereupon he was called Pub. Cornelius, son of Publius, nephew of P. *Serpio Africanus* the younger, and *Aemilius*, as *Velleius* and others do witness. His two last surnames are in the capitol records, out of which, the complete name of M. Livius *Dreusus*, with his addition, was framed. Of these Consuls Cicero speaketh after: likewise *Valerius*, *Pacervulus*, *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Florus*, both *Plinius*, *Entropius* and *Orestes*.

608 G. Cornelius. L. Mummius.

Next consuls following, were Cn. Cornelius and L. Mummius, as witnesseth Cassiodorus: and according to *Orestes*, *Velleius*, *Censorinus*, and Cicero in the thirteenth book of epistles to Atticus, Cn. Cornelius *Lentulus* and L. Mummius they are named. In the Sicilian registers *Lentulus* and M. Mummius. In the fragments of the capitol, *Lentulus* and L. Mummius, nephew of *Luce* n. L. Mummius in this magistracy acquired the surname of *Achaicus*, upon a victory achieved by him in *Asia*, as *Plutarch* in *Marius*, and *Velleius* do testify.

609 Q. Fabius Maximus. L. Hostilius.

Cassiodorus this year delivereth unto us for Consuls, Q. Fabius Maximus together with L. Hostilius. Cicero in *Laelius*, and Pliny in his five and thirtieth book and fourth chapter, nameth them Qu. Maximus, brother of *Scipio*, and L. Mancinus. Of this Q. Fabius Maximus *Aemilius*, *Valerius* writeth in his second book and first chapter. This Q. Fabius was the son of P. Aemilius, adopted by Q. Fab. Max. the son of *Verrucolus*, as Appianus writeth in *Hispanensis*: and therefore in the fragment of a capitol table there is to be seen the second surname *Aemilius*. Pliny was deceived, who in his 31 book 11 chapter calleth him Qu. *Allobrogicus*, brother of *Scipio*, who was the son of this Fabius.

610 Ser. Galba. L. Aurelius.

This year had for Consuls, Ser. Galba and Lu. Aurelius, according to Cassiodorus: those, *Valerius* in his first book nameth S. *Sulpicius* Galba, and Lu. Aurelius *Cotta*, whom the Sicilian catalogue sheweth under the bare names of Galba and Cotta. But the capitol fragments have Galba and L. Valerius *Cotta*. This is that *Sulp. Galba*, who being Pretor as *Suetonius* writeth, stirred up the war before against *Cratichus*, for he was a vehement Orator of whom Cicero speaketh many times. And as for L. Cotta, he it was whom afterwards being accused by *Africanus*, Qu. *Metellus* Macedonius defended. Cicero in *Brutus* for *Murena* and against *Porcius*, maketh mention of him. Likewise *Frontinus* of them both, in his first book of water conduits.

611
Ap. Claudius, Q. Metellus.

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls *Appius Claudius* and *Q. Metellus*, *Orosius* *App. Claudius* and *Q. Caelius Metellus*. The Sicilian registers have *Claudius* and *Metellus*. The capitol fragments shew *Pulcher* and *Q. Caelius Macedonicus*. Of the same, *Frontinus* speaketh in his book of water-conduits, and *Valerius* in his seventh book. Now this *Metellus* is he who being Pretor, subdued the Macedonians and Achaens, whereupon he was furnished *Macedonius*; whom *Plinius* 7 book sheweth to be the son of *Lu.* and nephew of *Quint.*

612
L. Metellus, Q. Maximus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Lu. Metellus* and *Q. Maximus*. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Maximus*, *Orosius*, *L. Caelius Metellus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus Servilius*. In like manner the capitol fragments *Calvus* and *Servilius*. This *Servilius* is the brother german of *Q. Servilius* *Capio*, the Consul two years after (as witnesseth *Appian*) and the adopted son of *Q. Fabius* *Max.* the son of *Verrucolus*, the one out of the house *Æmilia*, the other of *Servilius*. *L. Metellus* is the brother of *Q. Metellus* *Macedonicus*, as writeth *Valerius* in his treatise of Witnesses.

613
Cn. Capio, Q. Pompeius.

Cicero *Capio* and *Q. Pompeius* are recounted Consuls by *Cassiodorus*, *Velleius* in his second book faith thus: Whether there were two or three houses of the *Pompeii*, the first of that name was Consul with *Cn. Servilius*. Of this *Q. Pompeius*, *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes, writing that he was of base and obscure parentage. Him *Valerius* in his chapter of witnesses nameth *Aulus*, but corruptly through the fault of the copiers, in stead of *An. F. i.* the son of *Aulus*. In the same sort *Appianus* in *Hispanensis* nameth him *Q. Pompeius Aulus* for *A. Filius*, *Cicero* in his Orations against *Verrus*, and in that for *Fonteinus*, *Valerius* also in his chapter of Witnesses, sheweth that there were two brethren named *Cneus* and *Quintus*, both *Servilii* *Capiones*.

614
Q. Capio, C. Lelins.

After this were Consuls made, *Qu.* *Capio* and *C. Lelins*, my authors are *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens* together with the Sicilian tables, and *Frontinus* in his treatise of water-conduits. This *Lelins* as *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippic*, and *Velleius* do report, was the son of *Lelius* the Consul, anno 564, whom as *Cicero* in his second book of Duties and in *Lelius*, was the first that was furnished Wife, whereof *Plutarch* in *Gracchus* yieldeth a reason,

615
Cn. Piso, M. Popilius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, *Cn. Piso* with *M. Popilius*. *Appianus* and the Epitome have *M. Popilius* *Lænas*: but they be named *M. Popilius* *Lænas* and *L. Calpurnius* by *Valerius* in his first book, writing thus, That *Cornelius Hispalus*, Lord chief justice for Strangers, when *M. Popilius* *Lænas* and *L. Calpurnius* were Consuls, by an edict commanded all the Chaldean [Astrologers] to depart out of *Rome* and *Italy* within ten daies next ensuing.

616
P. Scipio, D. Brutus.

Publius *Scipio* and *D. Brutus* are named for this years Coss by *Cassiodorus*. *Florus* in his 55 Epitome; *P. Cornelius Nasica* (named *Serapion* in mockery by *C. Curiatius* a Trib. of the Com.) and *D. Junius Brutus* Coss. levied and muttered souldiers, &c. This *Scipio* was son of that *Nasica* who was furnished *Cerealis*, and twice was he Consul and Censor also, nephew to that *Nasica*, who by the Senat was deemed the best man in the City, and father to him that warred upon *Sugurtha*, as *Velleius* faith. This *Decius Brutus*, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* calleth the son of *Marcius*, who bare the Consulship in the year five hundred ninety seven, and in the capitol tables is called *Pennus*. Moreover, of these Consuls *Cicero* speaketh very oft, *Valerius* also in his 3 book, chap. 7. 5 book, chap. 3. 9 book, chap. 15: Likewise, *Pliny* in his 21 book, and lastly, *Frontinus*.

617
M. Æmilius, C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* match together in the consulship this year, *M. Æmilius*, and *C. Hostilius Mancinus*. The Sicilian registers *Lepidus* and *Mancinus*, *Orosius* and *Appian*, *M. Æmilius* *Lepidus* and *C. Hostilius Mancinus*. Of this Consul *Mancinus* there remain yet some tokens to be seen in broken marbles of the capitol, *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes of *Lepidus*, as well in other places as in *Brutus*. Likewise, *Valerius*, *Florus*, *Paterculus*, and *Pliny* in his treatise of Famous men.

618
P. Furius, Sex. Attilius Serranus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *P. Furius* and *Sex. Attilius Serranus*. *Cicero* in his third book of Duties, *L. Furius* and *Sex. Attilius*, *Obsequens*, *L. Furius* and *Attilius Serranus*. The Sicilian registers *Philbus* and *Serranus*. Of this Consul *Mancinus* there remain yet some tokens to be seen in broken marbles of the capitol, *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes of *Lepidus*, as well in other places as in *Brutus*. Likewise, *Valerius*, *Florus*, *Paterculus*, and *Pliny* in his treatise of Famous men.

619
Sext. Fulvius, C. Calpurnius.

The next consuls are set down by *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, *Sext. Fulvius* and *C. Calpurnius*. The Sicilian catalogue hath *Flaccus* and *Piso*, *Orosius* nameth *S. Fulvius* *Flaccus* and *C. Calpurnius* *Piso*. The capitol fragments shew *Piso*: as for *Fulvius* *Flaccus* the Consul, mention there is made of him in the Epitome 36. *Appian* also in his *Illyrica* speaks of him, and in *Hispanensis* of *Calp. Piso*.

620
P. Africanus, C. Fulvius Flaccus.

The year following had *P. Africanus* and *C. Fulvius* *Flaccus* for Coss, as it is written in *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. But *Scipio* and *Flaccus* in the Sicilian catalogue. The same *Flaccus* the capitol fragments do shew. Of this *C. Fulvius*, mention there is made also in the 56 Epitome: and of *Africanus* twice consul, by *Appian* in *Hispanensis*, by *Orosius*, *Florus*, and *Valerius* in his eight book.

621
P. Mucius, L. Calpurnius.

This year had consuls, *P. Mucius* and *Lu. Calpurnius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian registers shew *Scævola* and *Calpurnius*. *Velleius* nameth *P. Mucius* *Scævola* and *L. Calpurnius*. Of these Consuls *Padianus* upon the Orations against *Ferret*, maketh mention in these words: *Scævola* a right learned man in the Laws, was consul with *L. Piso*, that year where in *Tib. Gracchus* was killed. In the broken marbles of the capitol he standeth by the name of *L. Calpurnius* *Piso*, furnished also *Frugi*, and that truly. For *Cicero* in one Oration against *Verrus* and in another for *Fonteinus* writeth, that he was the first of the *Piones*, called *Frugi*. This man, when he was Tribune or Provost of the Commons, made a law against the extortion of magistrates, when *Martius* and *Manlius* were consuls: he wrote also the annals of *Rome*, as *Cicero* testifieth in his book *Brutus*.

622
P. Popilius, P. Rupilius.

Against this year were consuls created, as *Cassiodorus* writeth, *P. Popilius* and *P. Rupilius*: after the Sicilian records *Lænas* and *Rupilius*. *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his 13 book of Epistles to *Atticus*, and against *Ferret*. Also in the capitol fragments we read of *P. Popilius*, son of *Cneus*, and *P. Rupilius*, son of *P.* and nephew of *Publius*, *Velleius* in his second book, nameth the consuls *Rupilius* and *Popilius*, *Cicero* in *Latini* speaketh of *Rupilius* and *Lænas*. And of *P. Rupilius* there is mention made in the Epitome or Brevari 59.

623
P. Crassus, L. Valerius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls this year, *Pub. Crassus* and *Lu. Valerius*, *Crassus* and *Flaccus* the Sicilian catalogue, *L. Valerius* *Flaccus* and *Pub. Licinius* *Crassus*, according to *Cicero* in his eleventh *Philippic* against *Antony*. Of this consul *Pub. Licinius* *Crassus*, all they have spoken, who wrote of the war of *Antony*, this *P. Crassus* furnished *Deat*, by *Cicero* in his books of a perfect Orator, and in *Brutus* is called the brother of *Scævola*: whereupon *Velleius* in his second book nameth him *Martianus*, betokening thereby that he was adopted out of the house of *Martius* into the family of the *Crassi*. This man *Gellius* writeth in his first book and 23 chap. to have been of all others the richest man, the noblest personage, and the most eloquent Orator, the deepest lawyer, and the supreme Bishop withal.

624
C. Claudius, M. Perperna.

Appius *Claudius* and *M. Perperna* are matched in the Consul together this year by *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus*. *Cyprianus* book and the Greek records, shew *Lentulus* and *Perperna*. This *Claudius* haply was adopted into the family of the *Cornelii*. Moreover, *Cicero* in his third book of Laws, and in the Oration for *Plancius*, calleth this man *C. Claudius*. This also is confirmed by an old table of stone commonly known, wherein is to be seen this inscription, *C. Claudius* and *M. Perperna* Coss. Which evidence *Stiponius* and *Onuphrius* following, named him *C. Claudius* and not *Appius*. Of this *M. Perperna* as many as wrote the war of *Antony*, have made mention, and namely, *Valerius* in his 3 book and 4 chap. *Velleius*, *Strabo*, *Orosius*, and *Eutropius*.

625
C. Sempronius, M. Aquilius.

This year had consuls, *M. Aquilius* and *C. Sempronius*, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. But *Aquilius* and *Tuditanus* according to the Sicilian registers, *C. Sempronius* *Tuditanus*, and *M. Aquilius*, after *Orosius*. *Cicero* speaketh of them in his book of the nature of gods, and to his brother *Quintus*. *Paterculus* also in his second book. *Strabo* in his 14 book. *Appian* in his first book. And both of them are taken out of the triumph records in the capitol.

626
Cn. Octavius, T. Annius.

Next followed as consuls *Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius*, as *Cassiodorus* testifieth and none but he, for *Cyprianus* book and the Sicilian catalogue have *Octavianus* and *Rufus*, *Plutarch* also writeth, that one *T. Annius* contended with *Tib. Gracchus* in a sedition. As for this *C. Octavius*,
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vine, son he was to that *Cneus* who was Consul in the year five hundred eighty nine.

L. Cassius. 627 L. Cinna.

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls, L. Cassius and L. Cinna. The Sicilian records *Longinus* and *Cinna*. *Cassianus* books let out *Rulla*, corruptly for *Ravilla*, and *Cinna*. This L. Cassius was his son who bare the consulship in the year 599, and he was afterwards Censor in the year 629 furnished *Ravilla* by *Frontinus*.

628 M. Aemilius. L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* reckon for Coss. this year, Mar. Aemilius and Lu. Aurelius. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Lepidus* and *Orestes*. *Conforius* hath M. Aemilius Lepidus, and L. Aemilius Orestes. *Cicero* in *Brutus*, Mar. Lepidus, and L. Orestes.

629 M. Plautius. M. Fulvius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* avouch Consuls this year, M. Plautius and M. Fulvius. The Sicilian registers, *Hyppus* and *Flaccus*. *Orestes* and *Frontinus* in his treatise of water-conduits, M. Plautius Hyppus and Mar. Fulvius Flaccus. *Valerius* also in his discourse of Pride maketh mention of them.

630 C. Cassius Longinus. C. Sextius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* report, that the consuls following were C. Cassius Longinus, and C. Sextius. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Longinus* and *Calpurnius*. *Velleius* writeth, that the colony *Fabrateria* was planted by *Cassius* and *Calpurnius*. *Cicero* in *Brutus* speaketh of C. Sextius *Calpurnius*. *Entropius* declareth for consuls, C. Cassius Longinus, and S. Domitius *Calpurnius*, not without suspicion of a fault or error.

631 Q. Caelius. T. Quintius.

Cassiodorus nomineth for consuls this year, Q. Caelius and T. Quintius. The Sicilian records *Metellus* and *Flamininus*. *Entropius* and *Orestes*. Q. Caelius *Metellus* and T. Quintius *Flamininus*. *Cicero* in his Oration pleading for his house, call eth them T. Flamininus and Q. Metellus. This Q. Metellus was the eldest of the four sons of *Macedonicus*, whom *Plutarch* in his treatise of the Romans fortune, calleth Q. Metellus *Balaericus*, of the *Baleares* whom in this magnificity he conquered.

632 Cn. Domitius. C. Fannius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* join in fellowship of the consulate this year, Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius. The Sicilian records, *Enobarbus* and

Fannius. *Cicero* writeth of them in his *Brutus*, and *Pliny* in his second book and 32 chapters. Three moons (qd. he) appeared when Cn. Domitius and C. Fannius were Coss, which most men called the night-stars.

L. Opimius. 633 Q. Maximus.

This year had for consuls, Lu. Opimius and Q. Maximus, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Opimius* and *Maximus*. But *Obsequens*, L. Opimius and Qm. Fabius *Maximus*. *Pliny* speaketh of them in his second book, laying, About the sun there appeared an arch or bow, when L. Opimius and Q. Fabius were consuls. This Qm. Fabius *Maximus* is by *Cicero* in *Brutus*, *Florus* in his Epitome, *Velleius* in his 2 book, and *Padianus* upon the Orations against *Verrus*, rightly named the nephew of *Paulus*, and son of F. Aemilianus. And lo may *Strabo*, *Appian*, and *Pliny* be well reproved, for making him and his father *Aemilianus*, all one. The same man, as *Cicero* and *Pliny* testify, was furnished *Allobrogicus*, upon a victory over the *Allobroges*. Of this L. Opimius consul, after whose name there was a while called *Opimianum*, *Pliny* maketh mention in his 14 book and 4 chap. *Plutarch* also in C. Gracchus, and *Velleius* in his second book.

634 P. Manlius. C. Papyrius.

Cassiodorus inferreth for this years consuls, P. Manlius and C. Papyrius. The Sicilian records *Manlius* and *Carbo*. This is that *Cant* *Papyrius* *Carbo*, who being a Tribune of the commons when *Claudius* and *Terpenna* were Coss, was afterwards by C. Gracchus appointed for one of the *Triumvirs* to divide lands: who first took part with the commons, but afterwards ranged with the nobility: of whom *Cicero* in many other places, and namely in his second book of a perfect Orator, maketh mention.

L. Caelius. 635 L. Aurelius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* put down for consuls, Lu. Caelius and Lu. Aurelius. The Sicilian catalogue, *Metellus* and *Cotta*. *Plutarch* in *Marinus* speaketh of C. Metellus and *Cotta*, consuls. Which *Marinus* he writeth to have born the Tribuneship of the commons, when there were consuls, and to have cast *Metellus* the consul into prison. This is that *Cotta*, in whose consular year *Velleius* reporteth, that C. Caesar *Flamia* of *Jupiter*, was created.

M. Cato. 636 Q. Martius.

This year had for consuls Mar. Cato and Q. Martius: witnesseth *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. *Cato* and *Martius*, according to the Sicilian registers. But *Entropius* nameth them M. Porcius *Cato* and Q. Martius. *Valerius* speaketh of

of them in his first book, and *Pliny* in his second book 31 chap. *Gellius* also in his 13 book and 19 chap.

L. Lucilius. 637 Q. Marcius.

Consuls next ensuing by *Cassiodorus* his saying, were L. Lucilius and Q. Marcius. After the Sicilian registers, *Metellus* and *Scavola*, if ye go by *Entropius*, L. Caelius *Metellus* and Q. Marcius *Scavola*. Now is this that L. Caelius *Metellus*, who afterwards upon subduing the *Dalmatians*, was furnished *Dalmatians*, whom *Plutarch* in *Corioli* and in his book of the Roman fortune, nameth *Diadematus*, for that a long time he bound up his forehead with a forehead of wreath which they call a diadem, to hide an ulcer that he had there. Hereupon, when *Pompeius* bound up his leg with a white band or garter, It makes no matter, qd. *Favonius*, in what part of the body a man wreatheth the diadem: upbraiding and reproaching him for his Kinglike power, in turning a small clout or pece of cloth by that name. This is that Q. Marcius *Scavola* the Augur, of whom *Cicero* in his book *Lucius*, and in the first book of an Orator maketh mention.

638 C. Licinius Geta. Q. Maximus.

Cassiodorus completeth together in society of Consulship this year, C. Licinius and Qm. Maximus. The Sicilian registers name them *Geta* and *Eburinus*. Of this Q. Maximus *Cicero* speaketh in his Oration for *Murana*. That this man was of the house of the *Fabii*, his surname *Eburinus* sheweth, of whom writeth *Festus* in this manner: Qm. Fabius was called *Pallus* *Jovis*, surname *Eburinus*, of whiteness, for that his buttock was blasted with lightning. *Quintilian* in his third Declamation reporteth, that this *Fab. Eburinus* had a son uncast of his body, whom he examined at home in his house, and thereupon put him to death. The same man *Valerius* calleth Qm. Fabius *Servilianus*. As for the name of this *Licinius* his father, obscure and unknown hitherto, *Gellius* out of an old antiquity of coin hath restored it, wherein, as he saith, was written plainly, C. Licinius *Geta*, son of *Fabius*.

639 M. Metellus. M. Scaurus.

The consuls next following by *Cassiodorus* his report, were M. Metellus and M. Scaurus. As for *Metellus*, the third son he was of *Macedonicus*. But as touching M. Scaurus, whom the writer of the book entituled of famous persons, calleth M. Aemilius *Scaurus*, thus writeth *Padianus*, M. Scaurus (qd. he) was a Patrician indited and of noble blood. but so, as the gentry of his house, for those descents before him lay obscure, for neither father, nor grandfire, by reason of their poor estate, and for want of putting forth themselves in the world, attained to

dignity in weal publick. Moreover, of him *Cicero* maketh mention oftentimes in his Oration for *Murana* and in *Brutus*. *Valerius* also in his 5 book and 8 chap. and *Pliny* likewise in his 2 book and 36 chap.

M. Atilius Balbus. C. Cato. 640

Cassiodorus setteth down for consuls this year, M. Atilius *Balbus*, and C. Cato. The Sicilian catalogue *Balbus* and *Cato*. *Obsequens* M. Atilius and C. Porcius. Of the same consuls *Pliny* speaketh in the 2 book chap. 29, and 58. *Plutarch* in *Marinus* giveth to *Atilius* the surname *Mauius*. This C. Cato is the brother of that M. Cato, who four years before was Consul, nephew to M. Cato *Conforius*, and *Africanus* sisters son, as saith *Velleius*. *Cicero* against *Verrus*, and in *Brutus*.

C. Caelius. Cn. Papyrius. 641

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* set down for next Consuls, C. Caelius and Cn. Papyrius. The Sicilian registers *Metellus* and *Carbo*. *Entropius*, C. Caelius *Metellus*, and Cn. Carbo. The same men *Tacitus* in his book of the manners of Germans reported to have born the Consulship, anno 640 after the foundation of Rome: in which year, both he and *Obsequens* do report, that the people of Rome began first to war with the *Cimbrians* and the *Teutones*. This C. Metellus was the fourth son of C. Metellus the son of *Macedonicus*: whom, when he died, he left a man of Pretors calling, and in suit and election for to be Consul. This man got a surname by way of reproach, as *Cicero* testifieth in his second book of a perfect Orator. Now furnished was he *Capriarius*, as *Plutarch* saith in the Life of the Romans.

642 M. Livius Drusus. L. Piso.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth unto us for this years Consuls, M. Livius *Drusus* and L. Piso. The Sicilian catalogue *Drusus* and *Piso*. L. Piso furnished *Calpurnius* a man of Consular degree, was slain aret by the *Tigurini* when Lu. Cassius was Consul, as *Orestes* testifieth.

643 P. Scipio. L. Calpurnius Bestia.

Cassiodorus nameth this year for Consuls, P. Scipio and L. Calpurnius *Bestia*. The Sicilian records *Nafica* and *Bestia*. *Obsequens*, P. Scipio and L. Calpurnius. *Sallust*, *Entropius*, and *Orestes*. P. Scipio *Nafica* and L. Calpurnius *Bestia*. Of these Consuls, P. Nafica *Scipio* and L. *Bestia* *Patricius* likewise maketh report, lib. 1, chap. 6. Moreover, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* writeth that P. Scipio the son of Pub. Scipio furnished *Serapion* and fellow Consul to L. *Bestia*, died in his Consulship. Of this *Bestia* there is some mention to be seen in a capitol fragment.

644
Sp. Posthumius. M. Minutius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, *Sp. Posthumius* and *M. Minutius*. The Sicilian registers *Albinus* and *Rufus*, *Salustius*, *Sp. Albinus* and *Q. Minutius Rufus*. Of *M. Minutius Velleius* and the threecore and seventh Epitome make mention.

645
Q. Metellus. M. Silvanus.

Cassiodorus saith that the Consuls next following were *Q. Metellus* and *M. Silvanus*. The Sicilian catalogue sheweth *Metellus* and *Silvanus*, *Padianus* and *Eutropius*, *Qu. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus*, and *M. Junius Silvanus*. Of them also *Cicero* speaketh in *Brutus*. This *Metellus* was surnamed *Numidicus* for the conquest of *Numidia*, as witnesseth *Velleius*.

646
Ser. Galba. M. Scaurus.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* deliver for the Consuls of this year, *Servius Galba* and *M. Scaurus*. The Sicilian evidences, *Sulpicius* and *Scaurus*. *Cicero* in the Oration for *Rabirius*, saith that *S. Galba* was a man of Consular degree, when *Marius* was the sixt time Consul. Of *M. Scaurus* the Consul, *Velleius* and *Tacitus* make mention. This is that *M. A. Scaurus*, who being afterwards in embassy was by the Cimbrians murdered, as appeareth in the threecore and seventh Epitome.

647
L. Cassius. C. Marius.

Cassiodorus joineith in the consulship this year, *L. Cassius* and *C. Marius*. *Cicpinianus* book and the Sicilian records, *Longinus* and in his *Marius*, *Pliny* also maketh mention of them in his 10 book and 13 chap. *Cicero* in his oration for *Plancius*; *Plutarch* in *Marius*; and *Cicero* again in his third book of *Duties*, writeth, that *C. Marius* having taken the repulse twice for the office of Aedileship, was created consul.

648
Q. Servilius Capio. C. Atilius.

Obssequens and *Cassiodorus* reach consuls together this year, *Q. Servilius Capio* and *C. Atilius Serranus*. The Sicilian monuments *Capio* and *Serranus*. In this year upon the third day of January, *M. Tullius Cicero* was born, as *Gellius* in his fiftenth book and eight and twentieth chap. hath best written. Much mention there is made of these consuls in *Cicero* and other ancient writers.

649
P. Rutilius Rufus. C. Manilius.

Publius *Rutilius Rufus* and *C. Manilius*, are put down by *Obsequens* and *Cassiodorus* for this years consuls. This *P. Rutilius*, *Cicero* in *Brutus*, calleth the son of *Marcus*. About the other consul the Annals do vary and dilagree: some forename him *C.* others *Cneus*. Some name him *M. Manlius*, others *Mallius* or *Manlius*. But all this controversy is decided by an old antiquity in stone at *Putcoli*: the inscription whereof testifieth that *P. Rutilius* and *Cn. Mallius* were Consuls: as also the evidence of the Sicilian registers, wherein written it is *Rufus* and *Mallius*. Of this *Mallius* mention there is made in *Cicero's* Orations for *Plancius* and *Murana*: likewise in *Valerius*, *Salustius*, *Tacitus*, *Florus*, *Eutropius* and *Orosius*. That he was not only a base man and of low birth, but also without all vertue and wit, in the courie of his life also vile and contemptible. *Cicero*, writeth in his Oration for *Plancius*. Whereby it easily appeareth, that the *Mallii* were a kindred different from the *Manlii*. For of *Cn. Manlius* a Patrician, and that of a most noble house, *Cicero* would never have spoken in such terms.

650
C. Marius II. C. Flavius Fimbria.

The next Consuls are set down by *Cassiodorus*, *C. Marius* the second time, and *C. Flavius Fimbria*: by *Obsequens*, *C. Marius* and *C. Flavius*. By the Sicilian registers *Marius* and *Fimbria*: by *Padianus* upon the Oration for *Cornelius*, *C. Marius* the second time, and *C. Fimbria*: Item, *C. Marius* and *Caius Flavius*. Besides, *Cicero*, *Velleius*, *Valerius*, *Plutarch*, and others speak often of these Consuls.

651
C. Marius III. L. Anrelus Orestes.

Cassiodorus reporteth for this years Consuls, *C. Marius* the third time, and *L. Anrelus Orestes*. The Sicilian catalogue, *Marius* and *Orestes*. Moreover, *Marius* even in his absence was elected Consul the third time, for fear of the Cimbrian war which was defeated, as *Velleius*, *Eutropius*, the Breviary, and *Cicero* in his Oration concerning Provinces, do testify.

652
C. Marius IV. Q. Lutatius.

Next after them are put down for Consuls by *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, *C. Marius* the fourth time, and *Q. Lutatius*. The Sicilian registers exhibit unto us *Marius* and *Caius*, *Plutarch* and *Eutropius*, *Caius Marius* the fourth day of January, and *Q. Lutatius*, *Caius*. Of these Consuls, *Cicero* and *Pliny* oftentimes make mention.

653

653
C. Marius V. M. Aquilius.

Then succeeded in the Consulship by the testimony of *Cassiodorus*, *C. Marius* the fift time, and *M. Aquilius*. Of this *C. Marius* five times now Consul, *Plutarch* and *Florus* give report. And *Cicero* in his second book of a perfect Orator nameth *M. Aquilius* for the companion of *C. Marius* in his fift consulship. Of whom *Plutarch* in *Marius* speaketh and calleth him *Publius*, as also *Appian* in *Mithridatica*. Now this *Marius Aquilius* a Consular man, is the same who afterwards being an Ambassador, was by King *Mithridates* taken prisoner, and most villanously tormented and mangled.

654
C. Marius VI. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* shew unto us for this years consuls, *C. Marius* the sixt time, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*. The Sicilian records, *Marius* and *Flaccus*. This *L. Flaccus* afterwards Censor) was President of the Senat, and matter of the horiemen under *Syll.* Dictator. Of these consuls *Cicero* speaketh very often, and namey, in his *Brutus*, in his oration for *Rabirius*, against *Caesar* and *Antonius*: and also in the defence of *Plancius*. *Pliny* likewise in his second book, *P. Flaccus*, and *Padianus* upon the oration against *Piso*. Moreover, *Plutarch*, and many authors besides. In this year (upon the twelfth day of July then called *Quintilis*, as *Macrobium* witnesseth) was *C. Caesar* born, who afterwards, was surnamed *D. Calator*.

655
M. Antonius. A. Postumius.

Reported it is by *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, that *M. Antonius* and *A. Postumius* were Consuls this year. The Sicilian registers, shew *Albinus* and *Antonius*. In a fragment also of the capitol marbles, mention there is of *A. Postumius*, *Cicpinianus* book and the Greek records, have *Antonius* and *Albinus*. Of these Consuls, *Cicero* speaketh in his oration to the citizens of *Rome*, after his return out of exile. Likewise, *Pliny* in his 8 book and 7 chap, where he noteth this the 655 year. Also *Gellius* in his 4 book and 6 chap.

656
Q. Metellus. T. Didius.

Quintus *Metellus* and *T. Didius* succeeded consuls next in this year, as *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens* do write. And *Padianus* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, nameth them: *Capio* (saith he) acquired *Q. Metellus Nepos*, son of *Balaerus*, and nephew of *Macedonius*, who was Consul with *T. Didius*. *Cicero* speaketh of the same man in his oration after his return.

657
Cn. Lentulus. P. Crassus.

Not only *Cassiodorus*, but the Sicilian registers also, do testify, that *Cn. Lentulus* and *P. Crassus* were Consuls this year: and *Obsequens* nameth them, *Cn. Cornelius* and *P. Licinius*. *Pliny* writeth of them in his tenth book and first chap. also in his 33 book and second chapter.

658
Cn. Domitius. C. Cassius.

This year had for Consuls, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Cassius*, as *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens* do witness. *Cicpinianus* and the Greek registers shew *Enobarbus* and *Longinus*. A fragment of *P.*, *Elacus* his marbles. *Enobarbus* and *C. Cassius* son of *Lucius*, *Padianus* speaketh of them upon the oration for *Cornelius*.

659
L. Crassus. Q. Scaevola.

Lucius *Crassus* and *Q. Scaevola* were consuls next following, according to *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. In a fragment of the capitol records as touching Consuls, is to be seen *Crassus* and *Mutius*. In *Consortius*, we find *L. Licinius* son of *Scaevola*, *Cicero* in his *Brutus* writeth that *Crassus* the orator bare all dignities of magistracy, together with *Scaevola* the high-priest, except the Tribunal of commons, and the Consulship: also that whiles they two were Consuls, *Q. Pompeius* pleaded the first cause that ever he undertook at the bar. *Padianus* upon the oration of *Cicero* for *Cornelius*, maketh mention of *L. Licinius Crassus* the Orator, and *Q. Mutius Scaevola* the arch-bishop, an orator besides and a professed lawyer, both Consuls together.

660
C. Calpurnius. L. Domitius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* do laye for this years Consuls, *C. Calpurnius* and *L. Domitius*. The Sicilian registers, *Calpurnius* and *Domitius*. In a capitol fragment, they are *Calpurnius* and *L. Domitius* son of *Calpurnius*. As for *Calpurnius* it is the surname of *Calpurnius*. For *Velleius* maketh mention of one *C. Calpurnius* under *Augustus*. In his 18 book and 1 chap. he noteth this the 660 year. The using for a Consulship and in his oration for *Mutius*. And *Padianus* upon the Oration for *Cornelius*. And *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, nameth them next before *Herennius*.

661
C. Valerius Flaccus. M. Herennius.

There are matched by *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens* for consuls this year, *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*. The Sicilian records, *Flaccus* and *Herennius*. A broken stone of the capitol, hath *Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*. *Pliny* in his 29 book and 3 chap, *Cicero* also in his Oration for *Murana*, and in *Brutus*, speaketh of them.

662

662

C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perpenna.

Consuls this year, were C. Claudius Pulcher, and M. Perpenna, as witness *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*. Likewise in a Capitol broken monument, and in the Sicilian register, it is *Pulcher* and *M. Perpenna*. *Cicero* maketh mention of this *Claudius* as Pretor of *Sicily*, in the fourth Oration against *Verrus*; and as *Edile Curule*, in his second book of *Offices*. So doth *Pliny* in his 8 book,

663

L. Martius. Sext. Julius.

Cassiodorus and *Obsequens* name for consuls this year, L. Martius and Sext. Julius. The Sicilian records, *Philip* and *Cesar*, *Entropius* and *Orosius*. Sex. Julius *Cesar*, and L. Martius *Philippus*. A Capitol fragment, *Philip* and Sex. Julius son of *Cinna*. *Pliny* speaketh of them in his 2 book 8 chapr. also in the 33 book and 3 chapr. In like manner *Cicero* many times, and *Valerius*.

664

L. Julius Caesar, P. Rustius Lupus.

According to *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens* the Consuls this year were L. Julius Caesar, and P. Rustus Lupus. And so it is in *Publius Valerius*, and the 73 Epitome: as also in other authors who have written of the Mithran war. In a fragment of the Capitol, are they seen written, *Cesar*, and P. Rustus son of *Rufus*. In the Sicilian records, *Cesar* and *Lupus*. *Cicero* in his book of *Divination*, speaketh of them both: and in his oration for *Plancius* he writeth, that L. Caesar missing of an *Edileship* became a Consul.

665

L. Porcius, Cn. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year, L. Porcius and Cn. Pompeius. *Padianus* upon the Orator for *Cornelius*, furnished Cn. Pompeius. *Sextus* and L. Porcius, *Cato*. The Capitol fragment shew no more but *Sextus* and *Cato*. *Appian* hath made mention of these consuls: so have *Orosius* and others that have perceived the Mithran war. This Cn. Pompeius was father to that Cn. Pompeius the Great: as *Appian* witnesseth, and *Padian* upon the Orator against *Riso*.

666

L. Sylla, Q. Pompeius.

Cassiodorus sheweth for this years Consuls, L. Sylla and Q. Pompeius: and the same is written in *Obsequens*, *Velleius*, *Entropius*, *Orosius*, *Appian*, *Plutarch*, and others. The Sicilian records have *Sylla* and *Rutilius*. *Sylla* after his victory in the civil war, would needs have himself sturnamed *Felix*: and therefore *Padian* and the avouchers of the Capitol monuments, in report-

ting this consular, write thus: L. Sylla, who afterwards was called *Felix*. The same man in his second Consulship, (which appeareth upon record in the Capitol) is named the son of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Paulus*. Moreover, of Q. Pompeius *Rufus*, *Cicero* maketh mention in his *Brutus*.

667

L. Cornelius Cinna, Cn. Octavius.

Reported there are by *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian registers for Consuls this year, L. Cinna and Cn. Octavius. *Appian*, *Velleius*, and the rest, who have recorded the history of this time, name them L. Corn. Cinna, and Cn. Octavius. *Plutarch* writeth, that L. Cinna being of the adverse faction to L. Sylla, was by him made consul, upon condition, that he should not cross nor stand against the proceeding of the said L. Sylla: and so soon as he was entered into place of government, he began to trouble and disquiet the present state of the common-wealth, yea, and intended an addition against *Sylla*, by the means of *Virginius* a Tribune of the commons. Howbeit *Sylla* concerning *Virginius*, made an expedition against *Mithridates*.

668

L. Cinna II., C. Marius III.

After this, were Consuls, C. Marius the seventh time, and L. Cinna the second time, according to the records of *Sicily*, *Cassiodorus*, and those that wrote of the civil war. *Plutarch* saith, that *Marius* was the first man that was seven times consul of *Rome*. Moreover, as it is to be seen in *Appian*, and in the *Breviaries*, L. Cinna and C. Marius, without any lawful assembly for Election, declared themselves Consuls against this year, and the very same day that they entered into their magistracy *Marius* commanded *Sext. Licinius* a Senator, to be thrown down from the rock *Tarpeta*: who after he had committed many heinous crimes and outrages, ended his daies upon the Ides of *January*: in whose room was subordinated, L. Val. Flaccus, even he (as men think) who before-time was colleague to C. Marius in his first Consulship: of whom *Sicero* maketh mention in his Orator for his son *Flaccus*.

669

L. Cinna III., Cn. Papirius.

Cassiodorus witnesseth, that the Consuls succeeding in this year, were L. Cinna the third time, and Cn. Papirius. The Sicilian records, have *Cinna* and *Carbo*. In the 83 Breviary it is written, that L. Cinna and Cn. Papirius *Carbo*, for two years together usurped the Consulate. Also in the book entitled, Of famous persons, we read, that *Cinna* made himself Consul a second and third time. Of these Consuls *Plutarch* speaketh in *Sylla*. *Appian* in *Mithridates*, and in the first book of civil wars.

670

L. Cinna IV., Cn. Papirius II.

Next were Consuls, after *Cassiodorus* and the Epitomis, L. Cinna the fourth time, and

and Cn. Papirius the second time. *Cicero* in his *Tuclulan* questions mentioneth *Cinna* four times Consul: so doth *Suetonius* in *Cesar*. And of Cn. Papirius *Carbo* twice Consul, the Capitol tables do yeeld testimony. As for the Sicilian records, they put down for consul, (not without suspicion of error) *Carbo* and *Scribonius*.

671

L. Scipio, C. Norbanus.

Besides the Sicilian tables, *Cassiodorus*, *Obsequens*, *Appian*, *Entropius*, *Florus*, and *Tacitus* in his nineteenth book do witness, that L. Scipio, and C. Norbanus were Consuls. In the Capitol fragments it is written, L. Cornelius son of *Lucius*, nephew of L. Scipio Africanus.

672

M. Carius, Cn. Carbo III.

I Find in *Cassiodorus*, *Appianus*, *Velleius*, and others, the next consuls to have been C. Marius and Cn. Carbo the third time. This C. Marius was the brothers son of C. Marius seven times consul, according to *Appian*: but *Velleius*, *Plutarch*, *Entropius* and others, say that he was the son of that C. Marius: and haply indeed he was adopted by C. Marius. Certainly, in the Capitol tables, he is called C. Marius, son of C. and nephew of *Cicero*. *Cicero* speaketh of these Consuls against *Rullus*: *Pliny* also in his 17 book and they who have set down in writing the civil wars of *Sylla*.

673

M. Tullius, Cn. Dolabella.

Next to these, *Cassiodorus* bringeth in for consuls, M. Tullius and Cn. Dolabella. The Sicilian records, have *Decula* and *Dolabella*. *Appian* also reporteth, that *Sylla* Dictator, to the end that the state and common-wealth might seem to retain some shew yet of her ancient dignity, permitted M. Tullius and *Cornelius Dolabella* to be created consuls, whiles himself after the manner of *Kiste* aloft in a throne above them, *Cicero* in his oration against *Rullus*, and *Gellius* in his 15 book and 33 chapr. maketh mention of M. Tullius and Cn. *Cornelius* consuls. In a Capitol fragment, this M. Tullius, son of M. nephew of A. is sturnamed *Decula*.

674

L. Sylla II., Q. Metellus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers, set down for Consuls, L. Sylla the second time, and Q. Metellus. *Appian* saith moreover, that *Sylla*, Dictator though he was, yet stood content and willing to be declared consul with Q. Metellus *Pius*, to the end that the common-wealth might seem to have some likeness yet of a free state. Of these consuls, *Cicero* maketh mention in his Orations against *Verrus*, and elsewhere. *Gellius* likewise in his 15 book and 28 chapter, together with *Cassiodorus*. This Metellus was sturnamed *Pius*. He it is, who was by lot ap-

pointed to manage the wars in *Spain* and against *Sertorius*: and son he was to *Nimidicus*.

675

P. Servilius. App. Claudius.

The next consuls, were P. Servilius and App. Claudius, as witnesseth *Cassiodorus*. In the Sicilian tables, it appeareth that their surnames were, *Vatia* and *Pulcher*: of whom *Appianus* writeth thus: The people of *Rome* in obsequious mannerto court *Sylla* the Dictator, requested of him that he would continue consul till another year: But *Sylla* would none of that: and took order, that *Ser. Iulianus* and *Claudius Pulcher*, should be declared Cof. In a fragment of the Capitol he is thus written: Pub. Servilius *Vatia*, called afterwards *Iulianus*: which surname he took of the *Iulians*, a nation in *Syria* whom he subdued. My authors are, *Padianus* upon the Orations of *Cicero* against *Verrus*; *Strahon* in his 14 book: *Marcellinus* likewise in his 14 book, with others.

676

M. Lepidus, Q. Catulus.

M. Lepidus and Q. Catulus, are by *Cassiodorus* named Consuls for this year. *Plutarch* reporteth, that when L. Sylla had given up his Dictatorship, and restored again to the people of *Rome* the free liberty to dispose of consular dignities in their solemn assemblies for elections: M. Lepidus an enemy to *Sylla*, and an audacious person, was declared Consul before *Catulus*, and had the prebeminence above him, by the earnest endeavour of Cn. Pompeius. Of these Consuls, *Pliny* maketh mention in his 36 book, wherein he saith, that they governed in the year 676. Likewise, *Cicero* in his Oration for *Cornelius*: *Florus* out of *Livy*: *Valerius* a book 3 chapr. and *Entropius*.

677

M. Aemilius, D. Brutus.

This year had for Consuls, by the testimony of *Cassiodorus* and *Obsequens*, M. Aemilius and D. Brutus, *Macer*, a Tribune of the commons, speaketh of them in *Salsus*, complaining that the commons were by the nobles oppressed. In like sort, *Cicero* in *Brutus*, and in his second book of *Duties*, as also *Valerius* in the 7 book and 7 chapr. This M. Aemilius was sturnamed *Lepidus* and *Livianus*: for out of the family of *Livies* he was adopted by M. Lepidus, and therefore right well he is called, son of *M. Aemilius*.

678

Cn. Octavius, C. Curio.

Verrus *Flaccus* setteth down for Consuls, Cn. Octavius son of M. nephew of C. and C. Scribonius *Curio*. The same doth *Cicero* report in *Brutus*. So do *Salsus*, *Obsequens*, *Laetantius* in his first book, and *Pliny* in his second book and

and 35 chapter. Cic. in his *Brutus*, and *Pliny* in his 7 book and 41 chap. make report of three *Caii Curiati*, all Orators to wit, the father, the son, and the sons son or nephew.

679

L. Ollavius, C. Cotta.

Cassiodorus putteth down for consuls this year, L. Ollavius and C. Cotta. *Obligatus*, C. Aurelius and L. Ollavius. *Pliny* in his second book and 35 chap. Cicero likewise in his third and fifth Orations against *Verres*, maketh mention of L. Ollavius, and C. Aurelius consuls. Upon the broken marbles of the capitol, they stand to be seen, L. Ollavius son of Cn. nephew of Cn. and C. Aurelius. This year the Sicilian registers over-skip. *Padianus* writeth, that there were at this time three *Cotta's* brethren, and all of consular degree, namely, *Caius*, *Marcius* and *Lucius*.

680

L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Cotta.

For this years consuls, *Cassiodorus* registreth L. Lucullus, and M. Cotta. The Sicilian records, *Lucullus* and *Cotta*, *Entropius*, *Appianus* in *Mithridatica*, and *Plutarch* in *Lucullus*, nameth them, L. Licinius Lucullus, and M. Aurelius Cotta. Mention there is made of them by *Cicero* against *Verres*; and by *Florus* in the 93 and 94 Epitomes. This L. Lucullus had for his grand-father that *Lucullus*, who was consul with A. Albinus, as *Cicero* and *Plutarch* do testify.

681

M. Lucullus, C. Cassius.

This year (by the testimony of *Cassiodorus*) had for consuls, M. Lucullus, and C. Cassius: but the Sicilian records, nominate *Marcellus* and *Cassius*: whom *Cicero* in an oration against *Verres*, nameth M. Terentius and C. Cassius: saying that the laws *Terentia* and *Cassia*, were by them promulg'd. For, so far forth as we may conjecture by the capitol fragments, M. Licinius Lucullus, was adopted by M. Terentius Varro, and therefore called M. Terentius Varro Lucullus. *Cicero* in *Lucullus*, and *Plutarch*, call L. Lucullus and M. Lucullus brethren, whom *Entropius* nameth coin Germans by two sisters. That the surname of *Cassius* was *Varus*, appeared both by a conduit pipe or waterpout of lead found in *Rome*, and also for that *Appian* in his fourth book, writeth that C. Cassius Varus, a man who had been Consul, was condemned and outlawed by the Triumvirs.

682

L. Gellius, Cn. Lentulus.

The consuls next following, by the report of *Cassiodorus*, were L. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus. In like sort *Cicero* maketh mention of them in his oration for *Balbus*, and elsewhere. *Plutarch* also in *Craffus*, with *Entropius* and *Orosius*. *Cassiodorus* book sheweth *Poplicola* and *Lentulus*. Now the surname of L. Gellius was *Poplicola*, as witnesseth *Omnipetrus*.

683 Cn. Aufidius, P. Lentulus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for consuls this year, Cn. Aufidius, and P. Lentulus. The Sicilian registers have *Lentulus* and *Orestes*. *Entropius*, C. Lentulus and Cn. Aufidius *Orestes*. This Cn. Aufidius *Orestes*, when he went beside a Tribuneship of the commons, was chosen consul, as *Cicero* writeth in his oration for *Plautius*. This is that P. Lentulus surnamed *Sura*, who afterwards, being a man of consular calling, and who had been twice Pretor, was hanged and strangled to death when *Cicero* was consul, for that he had conspired with *Caecilus*: whose grand-father was P. Lentulus President of the Senat, as *Cicero* saith, pleading for his house, and inveighing against *Caecilus*: as also *Padianus*.

684

M. Craffus, Cn. Pompeius.

Next to them were *Coss*, M. Craffus and Cn. Pompeius, according to *Cassiodorus*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and the Sicilian records. Their surnames for certain, were *Dives* and *Magnus*. All the old writers speak much of this their first Consulship. *Plutarch* reporteth that L. Craffus attained to the Consular dignity, by the means of Pompeius the consul. Besides *Cicero*, *Salustius*, *Padian* writing upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and all other authors speak of these consuls.

685

Q. Metellus, Q. Hortensius.

Then followed consuls, Q. Metellus and Q. Hortensius, as *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian catalogue do testify. *Padianus* matcheth Q. Metellus *Creticus* with Q. Hortensius that great Orator: Likewise, *Josephus* in his fourteenth book of Jewish antiquities. *Cicero* in *Brutus* calleth this Q. Hortensius, the son of *Lucius*, Q. Metellus afterwards upon the conquest made of *Crete* surnamed *Creticus*, was the son of L. Dolmoneus, as may be gathered out of *Padianus* upon the Oration of *Tully* [called *Divinatio*] against *Verres*.

686

L. Metellus, Q. Marcius.

Padianus writing upon *Tully's* Oration against *Piso*: Dio likewise and *Cassiodorus* join together in the consulship this year, L. Caelius Metellus, and Q. Marcius. The Greek records, *Marcius Rex*, and *Metellus*. This *Metellus*, Dio writeth to have died in the very beginning of his magistracy: that he also who was substituted in his room, left this life before he entered into the government: and thereupon it was not thought good to subeject any more; and by that means Q. Marcius bare that dignity alone: and him *Salustius* entituleth with the surname of *Rex*. This L. Metellus was brother to Q. Creticus, as *Padian* witnesseth.

687

687 C. Piso, M. Glabrio.

There succeeded Consuls, C. Piso and M. Glabrio, witness *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian records. And in *Dio* they follow immediately by the name of *Manius Acilius* and C. Piso. *Cicero* in his twelfth book of Epistles to *Atticus*, speaketh of C. Piso and M. Acilius Glabrio, men of Consular place and calling. *Padian* in his commentaries upon the oration for *Cornelius* maketh mention of C. Piso and the law *Calpurnia* by him made, as something inordinate and indirect since after dignities of state. Moreover, of them *Valerius* in his fourth book writeth.

688

M. Lepidus, L. Volcatius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Manius Lepidus*, and with him L. Torquatus, but untruly. The Greek records have *Volcatius Tullus*. *Dio* L. Tullus, and *Emilius Lepidus*. *Salustius* in *Caecilus*, L. Tullus and M. Lepidus. *Padian* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, M. Lepidus and L. Volcatius. *Cicero* in his oration for *Sulla* hath L. Volcatius Tullus: so as it appeareth it should be, M. Emilius Lepidus, and L. Volcatius Tullus.

689

L. Cotta, L. Torquatus.

The Consuls eleb, were L. Autronius Patus (as it appeareth upon a monument of a triumph in the capitol, and not *Autronius*, as commonly it is read), and P. Cornelius Sulla: who being condemned for ambitious seeking after that office, and having therefore suffered condign punishment, their accusers stept into their place of government, namely, L. Aurelius son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Cotta*: and L. Manlius son of *Lucius*, surnamed also *Torquatus*: as testify *Salustius*, *Dio*, *Padian* upon the oration for *Cornelius*, and that which he made in his white robe: and lastly, *Tranquillus* in *Caesar*.

690

L. Caesar, C. Figulus.

The year next ensuing had for Consuls, by the testimony of *Cassiodorus*, *Padianus*, and the Sicilian records, L. Caesar and C. Figulus, whom *Dio* calleth *Lucius Caesar*, and *Lucius Marcius* son of *Caius*, surnamed *Figulus*. *Cicero* in his oration for *Sulla*, nameth them L. Julius and C. Figulus: so doth *Salustius* in *Caecilus*. This, L. Julius Caesar is his son who was Consul in the Maritan war.

691

M. Cicero, C. Antonius.

The Consuls this year, were M. Tullius son of M. surnamed *Cicero*, and C. Antonius son of M. as testify *Dio* in his seven and thirtieth book, *Cassiodorus*, *Salustius* in his *Caecilian* oration, *Velleius* in his second book, *Joseph* in his

Jewish antiquities 14 book 8 chapter. *Pliny* in his eight book and three and fiftieth chapter, *Tranquillus* in the life of A. *gustus*, *Appian*, *Entropius*, *Padian*, and others.

692

D. Silanus, L. Murena.

There followed consuls next, D. Silanus, and L. Murena, as *Cassiodorus*, *Salustius*, and the Sicilian records do witness. *Dio* calleth them D. Junius son of M. surnamed *Silanus*, and L. Licinius son of L. surnamed *Murena*. *Entropius* nameth them D. Junius Silanus, and L. Licinius, son of that L. Murena who in quality of Pro-petor triumphed over *Mithridates* (as *Cicero* saith) pleading for *Murena* himself, being accused and in trouble for unlawful seeking to be Cof. In this assembly for election of Cof. L. *Sergius Catilina* suffered the second repulse: for anger whereof, In a melancholy he brake out into a conspiracy, and practised against the state: and likewise *Servius Sulpicius Rufus* the lawyer, who afterwards accused *Murena* for the crime aforesaid.

693

M. Pupius, M. Valerius.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year, M. Pupius and M. Valerius. The Sicilian registers, *Piso* and *Messala*. *Dio*, M. Pupius, son of M. surnamed *Piso*: and M. Valerius son of M. surnamed *Messala Niger*. Of this *Messala Niger*, there is also mention made by *Padian* upon the oration for *Scaurus*. Also of M. *Messala* and M. *Piso*, in *Plinius* seventh book, and six and twentieth chapter, seven and thirtieth book, cap. second, and the eighth book, chap. six and twenty. And in *Caesar's* first book of the Gauls war. Of M. *Piso* *Padian* likewise speaketh writing upon the oration against *Piso*.

694

Q. Metellus, Q. Asinius.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian registers nominate for this years Consuls, Q. Metellus and L. Asinius. The like doth *Obligatus* and *Cicero* in his first book of Epistles to *Atticus*. *Dio* nameth them L. Asinius son of L. and Q. *Cecilius* son of Q. surnamed *Metellus Celer*. Both of them were advanced to the Consulate (as *Dio* witnesseth) by the means of Pompeius, for they had been both twain his Lieutenants serving under him in *Asia*.

695

C. Caesar, M. Bibulus.

Cassiodorus, *Suetonius*, together with the Sicilian tables and the Breviaries, do match together for consuls this year, C. Caesar and M. Bibulus. *Dio*, C. Julius son of C. Caesar, and M. Calpurnius, *Plutarch* and *Appian*, C. Julius Caesar, and C. Bibulus. Albeit *Appian* as also *Entropius* and *Orosius* give *Bibulus* the forename of *Lucius*. Of *Caesar* and *Bibulus*, *Cicero* speaketh in his first book of Epistles, writing to *Lentulus*.

696

696
L. Pifo. A. Gabinus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records shew for Consuls this year, L. Pifo and A. Gabinus. Dio. L. Calpurnius (son of L. Pifo) and A. Gabinus son of Aulus. Caesar, Cicero, Plutarch, and C. Cassiodorus, L. Pifo, and A. Gabinus, Caesar writeth of them in his first book of the Gauls war, and Plutarch in the life of Cato the younger, Cicero also in his oration against Pifo and for Sex-tius. This Pifo the Consul Cicero and Padian surnamed Censorius, for so his grand-father before him was called, as appeareth in the capitol records for the year 606.

697
P. Lentulus. Q. Metellus.

The Consuls following for this year, were by Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records, P. Lentulus and Q. Metellus. By Dio, Pub. Cornelius son of Publius, Lentulus Spinther and Q. Caelius son of Q. Metellus Nepos. Of them speaketh Valerius in his ninth book. Lentulus (qd. he) and Metellus companions in the consularship were beheld and seen both upon the stage like plaiers: but the one of them took the surname of Spinther * one of the second sort of actors: the other, but that he had gotten the name of * Nepos already for his lewd behaviour, should have been called Pampulus, after the name of * one of a third sort, whom for all the world he resembled. Of the same men, Cicero in his first book of Epistles, and in very many of his orations, Plutarch in his seventh book and second chapter, Plutarch in the life of Cicero, and all other writers make much mention,

698
Cn. L. Lentulus. L. Philippus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, Cn. Lentulus and L. Philippus. The Sicilian records, Marcellus and Philippus. Dio, Cn. Cornelius son of Publius, Lentulus Marcellus: and L. Marcus son of Lucius Philippus. Of Lentulus and M. Marcellus Consuls, Cicero speaketh in his Epistles to Lentulus. Plutarch also in the life of Cato, maketh mention of Marcus Philippus now Consul. This Cn. Lentulus was the son of that P. Lentulus, as Cicero saith in his Brutus. And surnamed he was Marcellus, and not Claudius, that it might be known, of what family of the Claudii he was descended.

696
Cn. Pompeius. M. Crassus.

When as by the obstinate persistence of C. Cato Tribun of the commons, (who ever interposed his negative) there could be no ordinary assembly holden for the creation of magistrates the whole degree of the Senators changed their weed in token of grief: so as upon an Interregency between, Cn. Pompeius was chosen Consul, and with him M. Crassus the

second time, as Plutarch, Dio, and Appian do witness. Lucius Domitius Enobarbus, whom Cato and all good men accompanied and presented, was in the common place by violence throngly beaten, and Cato himself wounded. These Coss. Dio calleth Cn. Pompeius, son of Cn. Magnus the second time: and M. Licinius son of Publius Crassus, the second time. Of them Padian, Eutropius, the Sicilian registers and others make mention.

700
Ap. Claudius. L. Domitius.

Dio in his nine and thirtieth book, for the year after the cities foundation 700, following the computation of Varro, avoucheth Consuls, Appius Claudius, son of Appius Pulcher: and L. Domitius son of Cneus, Enobarbus, Cassiodore and Obsequens, name them, Ap. Claudius and L. Domitius, whom the Sicilian records call Pulcher and Enobarbus: and Padian upon the Oration for Scavrus, L. Domitius Enobarbus, and Appius Claudius Pulcher. Of this L. Domitius, son of Cneus Enobarbus, Caelius speaketh in the eight book of Cicero's Epistles.

701
Cn. Domitius. M. Messala.

Against this year there rood in election and laboured with much earnestness and ambitious desire to be Consuls, Cneus Mammius, Cn. Domitius, M. Messala and M. Scavrus, as Cicero writeth to his brother Quintus. But at the last, even in the seventh month of this year there were created by means of an Interregency, M. Messala and Cn. Domitius. Neither had they been choien then: but that Q. Pompeius Rufus a Tribun of the commons, who still opposed himself to hinder and debar all election, was by order from the Senate committed: and the Senate made countenance to do the like by the rest, as many as went about to cross the said election. Thus much Dio. But Appian saith that the common-weal continued for eight months space in Anarchy without any sovereign magistrats of state. Plutarch writeth, that in this so great extremity of danger, Lucilius a Tribun of the commons, preferred a bill for the creating of Cneus Pompeius Dictator, who should redress all enormities and set upright the state again: but Cato gainstaid it, and so nothing was effected. Dio saith moreover, that the Tribuns of the commons moved for the chusing not of a Dictator only, but also of military Tribuns in consuls authority: but through the earnest labour of Pompeius, Consuls were created, Messala and Calpurnius, which surnames stand to be seen upon the Sicilian records. Also in the capitol monuments, written it is thus. Cn. Domitius Calpurnius son of M. nephew of Marcus, anno 708 and 717.

702
Cn. Pompeius. Q. Metellus.

When by reason of the contentions among so mighty competitors, the Consuls could not be created by the Calends of January: there passed an Act of the Senat, according to the mind and advice of Bibulus, by vertue whereof Cn. Pompeius was by the Interregent Serv. Sulpicius created Consul the third time, upon the five and twentieth of February, without a Collegue first, and presently entred upon the government. But afterwards to avoid the envy that might arise thereupon, he took unto him as companion in the Consulship for the five last months of the year behind, Q. Caelius Pius Metellus Scipio, his wives father. Thus writeth Padian upon the Oration of Cicero in defence of Milo: Plutarch likewise, Appianus and Dio. This Metellus Pius Scipio was also called P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica son of Nasica Scipio, who being adopted by Q. Metellus Pius, is called by Caelius in the familiar Epistles of Cicero, Q. Caelius son of Q. nephew of Q. Metellus Pius Scipio.

703
M. Marcellus. Ser. Sulpicius.

Against this year were Consuls created, M. Marcellus, and Serv. Sulpicius, as Cassiodorus, Plutarch, and Appian witness. The Sicilian records call them Rufus and Marcellus, Dio nameth them Servius Sulpicius son of Q. surnamed Rufus, and M. Claudius son of M. surnamed also Marcellus. Of these Consuls Suetonius also maketh mention in Caesar: likewise Cicero in his Epistles, and the Epitome 118. This Marcellus was the cousin german of that Marcellus who the year next following was Consul: and brother german to him who two years after bare the Consulship, as may be collected out of Verrius Flaccus, Dio, and Suetonius.

704
L. Paulus. C. Marcellus.

There succeeded Consuls, L. Paulus, and C. Marcellus: witness Cassiodorus, Dio, Suetonius, Hirtius in his 8 book, together with the Sicilian records. The one of these is by Dio named L. Emilius, son of Marcus, surnamed Paulus: the other by Cicero in his Epistles, C. Claudius son of Cneus, Marcellus. Dio writeth, that this man by some was reported to be adopted: i.e. the brothers son, others adoped by the brother of Mar. Marcellus, but Suetonius saith plainly, he was the brothers son.

705
L. Lentulus. C. Marcellus.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls this year L. Lentulus & C. Marcellus, as also Appian, Plutarch, Hirtius, Florus, and Cicero in his Epistles do testify. Dio calleth these Consuls

L. Cornelius, son of Publius, Lentulus: and C. Claudius son of Marcus Marcellus. In the broken marbles of the Capitoll it is to be seen this C. Claudius son of Marcus, nephew of Marcus Marcellus. This is that Lucius Lentulus Cras, who as Caelius testifieth in the former election took a repulse, and by Cicero is called in the Oratio against Catulus, Flamen Martialis.

706
C. Caesar. P. Servilius.

When Gaius Caesar the Dictator held the solemn assembly for the election, in the latter end of the former year, Consuls there were created Cains Julius, son of Cains Caesar, and Pub. Servilius, son of Publius Sulpicius. For now was the year come, when as Caesar by the laws might be chosen Consul: for so in the third book of his own Commentaries he saith himself, and so Dio in his one and fortieth book, Plutarch, Tranquillus, Appianus, and Cassiodorus do testify of him. But he meaneth that law which expressly forbade and debarred, that no man might be within ten years a space chosen Cof, twice. As for Publius Servilius, he was the son of that Publius Servilius that first took the surname Scaevola, who this year bare his Consulship at Rome, while Caesar warred in Macedonia.

707
Q. Fabius Calenus. P. Vatinus.

Dio saith, That the people of Rome having intelligence that Pompeius was murdered, endeavoured earnestly, that there might pass honourable decrees for Caesar the Conqueror as possible might be. And therefore they ordained, that he might be Consul five years together, and Dictator not for six months as beforetime, but a whole year: and endowed with the Tribunes authority for ever. Now Caesar, altho it he was without Italy, immediately entred upon his Dictatorship, having sub-ordained under him for his General of the horie, Mar. Antonius, a man who yet had not been Prator. This appeareth by the Capitoll records, Dio, Plutarch, and Cicero in his second Philippica. But under what pretence and colour Caesar took upon him this Dictatorship and the rest following, Marcus Antonius sheweth in his Oration of Caesars praise in Dio: wherein he saith, that Caesar was created Dictator to make head against the enemies and therefore the troubles and dissensions of war was the cause of this creation. But certain it is that Caesar became Dictator for another cause, namely, that by the means of that sovereign power, he might draw unto himself alone the whole managing and government of the State, which beforetime had been administered by many persons. But Dio addeth moreover and saith, that in the beginning of this year there were neither Prators nor Consuls elected. For Marcus Antonius General of the horie, arrayed in his purple robes, with six Dictors, making way before him, resembled a certain

certain shew of the ancient liberty. But with-
in a while after he departed forth of the City,
and that which never was before done by any
Master of the horse, he left *Lu. Cæsar* an aged
man, Provet and governor of *Rome*. However,
in the end of the year, after the recovery and
conquest of *Ægypt*, when King *Ptolemæus* was
slain, and *Pharnaces* K. of *Pontus* vanquished,
Consuls were created, *Q. Fufius*, son of *Quin-
tus, Calenus*; and *Pub. Vatinius*, son of *Vatinius*.
And these the Capitoll tables do shew, and
Cassiodorus also. Of *Publius Vatinius* Consul,
Macrobius in his second book maketh men-
tion.

708

C. Cæsar. M. Lepidus.

Verrius in his capitoll tables setteth forth
Consuls of this year, only without ever a
Dictator. The none record of *Calpurnius*, whereof
Onuphrius speaketh here, nameth *C. Julius Cæsar*
the third time, and *M. Emilius Lepidus*. But
Dio in his three and fortieth book, The next
year following (quoth he) he bare the Dicta-
torship and the Consulat both, the third time,
and took unto him for his Colleague in both
Magistracies, *M. Emilius Lepidus*. Of the same
mind setteth *Tranquillus* to be in *Cæsar*, chap.
seventy six. Likewise *Hirtius* in the fit book.
But *Onuphrius* suppoeth that both *Tranquillus*
and *Diogenes*, and *Hirtius* also was in an error.
For, with the capitoll records, *Plutarch* and *Euse-
bius* agree: who write that *Cæsar* this year
was Consul the third time with *M. Lepidus*,
and Dictator the second time.

709

C. Cæsar. Q. Maximus.

They who cut the capitoll marbles do shew
unto us that *Cæsar* this year was third time
Dictator with *M. Lepidus* General of the horse.
From whom *Dio* differeth; who doth report
that this year *Cæsar* was Dictator the 4 time,
and *Lepidus* second time Master of the horse-
men: also that *Lepidus* fellow- Consul with *Cæsar*,
declareth himself against all law, General
of the horse. Thus much of the Dictator. But
as touching the Consuls this year, there is to
be seen written in the Index or table of *Dio*,
that the same year *Cæsar* bare his fourth Dicta-
torship, and likewise his fourth Consulat with-
out Colleague. In that history also it appeareth,
that *Cæsar* presently entered upon his fourth
Consulat, but bare it not throughout the whole
year: and that so soon as he was returned to
Rome out of *Spain*, he resigned and substituted
in his place for the rest of the year, *Q. Fabius*
Maximus, and *Cn. Trebonius*. With *Dio*, the
evidences agree that are written in the capi-
toll fragments: wherein it appeareth that *Cæsar*
was the fourth time Consul, and that with-
out a Colleague: as *Sigonius* maketh interpre-
tation. For *Cassianus* Kalender, together with
the Sicilian registers, do shew that *Cæsar* was
Consul now alone the fourth time. In like

manner, *Appian* and *Plutarch* make mention of
Cæsar, who being Consul elect from the fourth
time led an army into *Spain*. As for *Q. Fabius*,
Suetonius calleth him a three months Consul.
Dio saith moreover, that *Cæsar* upon the
death of *Q. Fufius* the Consul, declared the
very last day of the year, *C. Cæsar* to be the
Consul for those few hours that were behind.
Whereof *Cicero* in his seventh book of *Epistles*,
writing to *Cicilius*, *Macrobius* in his second
book of *Saturnalia*, *Tacitus* in his eighteenth
book, *Pliny* in his seventh, and *Suetonius* in *Cæsar*
do make report.

710

C. Cæsar. M. Antonius.

Dio setteth down for this year *Cæsar* Dicta-
tor the fifth time, together with *M. Emilius*
Lepidus Master of the horse-men. But the capi-
toll tables avouch him Dictator now the
fourth time. *Dio* and *Appian* write that he
created himself Consul together with *M. Anto-
nius*. Likewise *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian reg-
isters give record, that *Cæsar* was this year
Consul the fifth time, together with *M. Anto-
nius*. And *Macrobius* in his first book speaketh
of them. Moreover, written it is in the capi-
toll and Colotian tables, that *C. Cæsar* was Col,
the fifth time, with *M. Antonius* son of *M*, and
that in the room of *Cæsar* there was chosen *P. Cor-
nelius* son of *Publius*. And this was *P. Cor-
nelius* *Dalabella*, whom *Cæsar* himself (if he had
lived) meant to have substituted in his own
room. *Plutarch* writeth that *Cæsar* Consul now
the fifth time took unto him for his companion
in government *M. Antonius*. And when as he
would have subordained *Dalabella* in his own
stead, *Antony* gainstaid it in an oration: and af-
terwards, when *Cæsar* a second time would have
had *Dalabella* to be declared Consul, and still
Antony crossed and withstood it, *Cæsar* gave
over his enterprise. But after *Cæsar* was murder-
ed, *Antony* (as *Dio* writeth) fearing some infor-
rection and commotion if he should have re-
jected *Dalabella*, took him into the fellowship
of government. *Appian* saith, that immediately
after *Cæsar* was killed, *Dalabella* entered into
the Magistracy. So saith *Pelleus* also. And this
verily was the year, in which the conspiracy
was contrived against *Cæsar*, whereof the capi-
tains were *M* and *Decimus* both *Brutus*, *C. Tre-
bonius* & *C. Cassius*: and upon the fiftenth day
of *March*, when he sat in Council together
with the Senat in the court of *Pompey*, he was
stabbed and received in his body three and
twenty wounds: which done, the murderers
who had wrought the feat seized the capitoll,
And *C. Octavius* his nephew or sisters son,
whom *Cæsar* had made in his will his half-her,
and adopted to bear his own name, came out
of *Epirus*, whither *Cæsar* had sent him before,
minding to make war upon the *Parthians*, and
after all lucky and happy proceedings, took up-
on him the name of *Cæsar*, according to his last
will and testament.

711

711
C. Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Dio *Cassiodorus*, and the rest, nominate *Con-
suls* for this year, *C. Vibius* *Pansa* *Capronianus*,
and *A. Hirtius*, son of *Anulus*. *Cassianus*
book sheweth *Cretonius* and *Hirtius*. Where-
by it may be understood, that *Cretonius* was
the surname of *Pansa*, but peradventure writ-
ten for *Capronianus*. In the Colotian table they
are named *C. Vibius*, son of *Caius*, and *Au. Hirti-
us* son of *Hirtius*. This *Hirtius* was one of their
sons who were out-lawed by *Sulla*, and whom
Cæsar (as *Dio* reporteth) advanced to honoura-
ble dignities. Both these, and the Consuls of the
year following, were by *Cæsar* elected and de-
clined thereto, before he was slain. *Dio*, *Appian*,
and others report, that of these two Consuls,
Hirtius in the time of the civil war, in a battell
before *Modena* against *Antonius* was slain;
and *Pansa* some daies after, upon a hurt receiv-
ed in the same fight, died at *Bononia*. In the
room of *Pansa*, *C. Octavius* was sub-elected
Consul, the nineteenth of *August* in the same
year, and he instead of *Hirtius*, took unto him
for his Colleague *Q. Tadius*.

712

M. Lepidus. L. Plancus.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records put
down for Consuls, *M. Lepidus* and *L. Plancus*.
Dio, *M. Emilius Lepidus* the second time,
and *Lu. Munatius*, son of *Lucius*, surnamed *Plancus*.
Of these Consuls *Suetonius* speaketh in *Tiberius*,
saying, that *Tiberius* was born after the
battell of *Philippi*, when *Mar. Emilius Lepidus*
was the second time Consul with *Munatius*
Plancus. Now had there been before appointed
Consuls against this year by *Cæsar*, *D. Brutus*
and *Lu. Plancus*. But by reason that *Brutus* the
year before was by the law *Pedia* condemned
and after killed, and so the three *Triumvirs* u-
rped the rule of the common-weal: agreed it
was, that *M. Lepidus* one of the *Triumvirs* who
beforetime also had been Consul with *Cæsar* in
his third Consulship, should together with
Plancus, (who also taking part and siding with
Antony, had revolted from the Common-weal)
administer the Consulat. Moreover, this *Brutus*
was by *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dio*, and *Zonaras*,
called also *Albinus*; I suppose, for that out of
the race of the *Bruti* he was adopted and in-
corporated into the house of the *Albini*. In this
year, during the civil war, *Brutus* and *Cassius*
were slain in battell before *Philippi*, as *Dio*, *Plu-
tarch*, *Appian*, and others write.

713

P. Servilius II. L. Antonius.

The Colotian tables, *Dio*, and *Cassiodorus*
match Consuls together for this year, *Lu. An-
tonius*, son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Pietas*, and
P. Servilius, son of *Publius*, surnamed *Isauricus*, the second
time. Of these Consuls, *Suetonius* writeth in

Tiberius, This *P. Servilius* was first Consul with
Cæsar in his second Consulat: whole father *I-
sauricus* died a little before, as *Dio* and *Eusebius*
report. As for *L. Antonius*, named he is by *Dio*
Pietas, for that being Consul, he together with
Fulvia the wife of his brother *Ma.* managed
the affairs of state with that mind, as if his
whole care had been for his brother the *Trium-
vir*, in regard of which brotherly and affection-
ate kindness, he challenged the surname of *Pie-
tas*.

714

Cn. Domitius. C. Asinius.

A Colotian table, *Dio*, and *Cassiodorus* joyn
in the Consulat of this year, *Cn. Domi-
tius* (son of *Marcus*, *Calvinus*, the second time,
and *C. Asinius*, son of *Cn. Asinius Pollio*. Of these, *Jo-
sephus* speaketh in his fourteenth book of the
Jews antiquities and three and twenty chapter.
Toward the end of this year, *Dio* writeth, that
these Consuls gave up their place, and that o-
ther Consuls were substitute for those few daies
that were to come; and one of them was *L. Cor-
nelius Balbus Gaditanius*. And therefore in
the Colotian table these subordinated Consuls
stand under these names, *L. Cornelius*, son of *Lu-
cius*, and *P. Canidius* son of *Lucius*. Of *Pub. Cor-
nel. Balbus* Consul, *Pliny* writeth in his seventh
book and three and fortieth chapter, and *Pel-
leus* in his second book.

715

L. Conforinus. L. Calpurnius.

Cassiodorus inferred for the next Consuls,
Lucius Conforinus and *Caius Calpurnius*. The
Sicilian records have *Conforinus* and *Sabinus*.
Dio, *L. Marcus* and *C. Sabinus*, *C. Calpurnius* son
of *Caius*, is named by *Dio* in the catalogue or
table, *Sabinus*, although it be read there com-
monly, but amiss, *Asinius*.

716

Ap. Claudius. C. Norbanius.

Consuls that follow, were *Ap. Claudius* and
C. Norbanius, as *Cassiodorus* saith. But as the
Sicilian registers, purport, *Conforinus* and *Sabi-
nius*: as *Dio* writeth, *Ap. Claudius* son of *Caius*,
Pulcher; and *C. Norbanius*, son of *Caius*, *Plac-
cus*. As touching *Tadius* after the Consul elect,
and substitute in the room of another, who be-
fore he entered into government, being terrified
with the minatory threats of *C. Cæsar*, threw
himself down headlong, and so brake his neck,
see *Tranquillus* in *Augustus*.

717

M. Agrippa. L. Caninius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *M. Agrippa*
and *Lu. Caninius*. The Sicilian reg-
isters *Agrippa* and *Gallus*. *Dio*, *M. Vipsianus* son of
Lucius, *Agrippa*: and *L. Caninius* son of
Lucius, *Gallus*. *Josephus* in his fiftenth book of
Antiquities, avoucheth Consuls. *Mar. Agrippa*
and *C. Canidius Gallus*. *Nepos* also in the life of
Asinius, calleth *Vipsianus*, *Agrippa*. In the capitoll
marbles
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marbles and in other old monuments of Rome his gentile name is passed over, and namely, in the forefront of the Temple, called *Pantheon*, wherein is engraven *M. Agrippa* son of *Lucius*, Consul the third time, *Tacitus* also in his first book mentioneth this *Agrippa*.

718

L. Gellius. M. Cocceius.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls this year, *L. Gellius* and *M. Cocceius*. The Sicilian records shew *Publicola* and *Nerva*: *Dio* hath *L. Gellius* son of *Lucius Poplicola*, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*. Out of the capitol fragments it appeareth, that *L. Gellius* was the son of *Lucius*, and nephew of *Lucius*. By the report of *Dio*, this *L. Gellius* was brother to *M. Valerius Messala*. For it is the same man who was pardoned before by *M. Brutus*: whereby it may be understood, that *Poplicola* was his surname by way of adoption: for they were not the *Gellii* but the *Valerii*, that carried the surname of *Publicola*. The same fragments do shew, that the said *Gellius* left his place, and that another was put in his room. And haply it was *L. Munatius*, son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius Planus*: whom *Pliny* in his thirteenth book and third chapter, saith to have been twice Consul: but in what year he was the second time, a man cannot find, unless it were in this.

719

Sex. Pompeius. L. Cornificius.

Cassiodorus and the Sicilian records set this, that this years Consul were *Sex. Pompeius* and *L. Cornificius*. *Dio* *L. Cornificius* son of *Lucius*, and *Sexus Pompeius* son of *Sexus*. This year *Sex. Pompeius*, son of *Cneus* was slain.

720

M. Antonius. L. Scribonius Libo.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *L. Scribonius* and *L. Atratinus*. The Sicilian catalogue Antonius and Libo. *Dio*, *M. Antonius* son of *Marcus* the second time, and *L. Scribonius*, son of *Lucius*, Libo. The same *Dio* saith moreover, that *M. Antonius* the Triumvir, presently upon the very Calends of January gave over the Magistracy, and substituted in his own stead *L. Scribonius Atratinus*: and therefore many there be that affirm how it was not *Antonius* but *Atratinus* that was Consul this year with Libo. That Consuls also were sub-elected to bear out one part of the year, it is to be found in some authors that have set forth the Municipal Annals. And verily *Dio* maketh mention of *Paulus*, *Emilius* Consul, for one part of the year, and that he built a stately porch or gallery at his own charges, and dedicated it in his Consulship.

721

C. Caesar. L. Volcanius.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth unto us for Consuls, *C. Caesar* and *L. Volcanius*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the

second time, and *L. Volcanius* son of *Lucius Tullus*. They who composed and digested the Sicilian registers, very unity set down *Caesar* and *Cicero* for this years Consuls. Of this Consulship of *Caesar*, *Suetonius* and *Dio* speak, saying, that he held it very few hours, as *Antonius* also beforetime. In stead of *Caesar* was *L. Antonius* subrogated, and many other for one part or other of the year, who in the book entitled, *Old inscriptions*, are reckoned in this manner:

Emperor Caesar II. L. Volcanius.

Kal. Januarii. L. Antonius.

Kal. Maii. L. Flavius.

Kal. Iulii. M. Atilius.

C. Fontius.

Kal. Sept. L. Pinnius.

Kal. Octob. L. Lanius.

Of *L. Flavius* made Consul by *M. Antonius*, and deposed, *Dio* likewise maketh mention,

722

Cn. Domitius. C. Sossus.

Cassiodorus nominateth for Consuls this year, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sossus*. The Sicilian records, *Evobarbus* and *Sossus*. *Dio*, *Cn. Domitius*, son of *Cneus*, nephew of *Cneus Evobarbus*; and *C. Sossus* son of *Cnephew of Cnephew*. *Nepos* writeth, that *Atticus* died, when *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sossus* were Consuls.

723

C. Caesar II. M. Messala.

Cassiodorus avoucheth Consuls this year, *C. Caesar* the second time, and *M. Messala*. The Sicilian registers, *Octavius* and *Corvinus*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the third time, and *M. Valerius*, son of *Marcus*, surnamed *Messala* *Corvinus*, and that right truly. For *Cassiodorus* maketh no reckoning of that Consulship of *Caesar* which he bare with *Pedius*, because he was subordinated in the place with another. But *Dio* and *Appian* do witness that *Caesar* and *Antony* were marched together this year, both of them in their second Consulship, at what time as upon peace made with *Sexus Pompeius*, they were appointed Consuls beforehand for eight years next ensuing: howbeit in the first year the people turned *Antony* out of his Consulship, and proclaimed war against him and *Cleopatra*, and so in his place was *Mar. Messala* declared Consul. As touching the Consuls this year inboredained, thus we find written in the ancient inscriptions:

Emperor Caesar III. M. Valerius.

Kal. Maii. M. Titius.

Kal. Octobris. Cn. Pompeius.

724

C. Caesar III. M. Crassus.

Cassiodorus nameth for this years Consuls, *C. Caesar* the third time, and *M. Crassus*. The Sicilian records *Octavianus* and *Crassus*. *Dio*, *Caesar* the fourth time, and *M. Licinius*, son of *Marcus Crassus*. He added moreover, and saith, *Caesar* in the midst of that war crossed the seas out of

of Macedonia into Italy, wherein he was the fourth time Consul with *M. Crassus*. *Orsius* likewise noteth, that *Caesar* called Emperor, was Consul the fourth time with *M. Livius Crassus*. Of other Consuls substituted after *M. Licinius*, this we find in the old inscriptions.

Emperor Caesar IV. M. Licinius.

Kal. Jul. C. Antistius.

Ibid. Septembr. M. Tullius.

Kal. Novembr. L. Sabinus.

Of *M. Tullius* Consul with *Augustus*, *Dio* maketh mention in his story of this years acts. *Pliny* also in his 22 book and 6 chap. and *Plutarch* in *Cicero*. By *Pellius* and *Tacitus* it appeareth that *Antistius* had for addition the surname of *Vetus*; and *Sabinus* of *Savinus*.

725

C. Caesar III. Sex. Apuleius.

In *Cassiodorus* the Consuls be *C. Caesar* the fourth time, and *Sex. Apuleius*. In *Dio*, *Caesar* the fifth time, and *Sex. Apuleius* son of *Sex. In* the Sicilian records, *Octavianus* and *Apuleius*: in the Antique inscriptions, Emperor *Caesar* the fifth time, and *Sex. Apuleius*. *Dio* saith, this was the year 725 from the foundation of the City. Of *Caesar* five times Consul, there is to be seen an old Epigram or inscription in this manner.

Senatus Populusque Romanus.

Imp. C. Divi Julii Fil. C. Quince.

C. Deff. Sex. Imp. Sept.

Relig. conservata.

That is,

The Senat and people of Rome. By Emperor *Caesar*, son of *Julius* of famous memory, Consul five times, elect Consul the sixth time, and Emperor the seventh, the Commonwealth saved.

726

C. Caesar V. M. Agrippa II.

Cassiodorus declareth for Consuls this year, *Caesar* the fifth time, and *M. Agrippa* the second time. *Orsius* and the Sicilian records, *Caesar* the sixth time, and *Agrippa* the second time. *Dio*, *Caesar* the sixth time, and *M. Vipsianus Agrippa* the third time: but it is to be read the second time, as *Sigonius* advertiseth, so as the next year it should be written the third time. And this plainly appeareth by the superscription of that Temple (which he erected and named *Pantheon*) in this form, [*M. Agrippa* son of *L. third time Consul built it.*] For *Dio* saith, that this Temple was finished two years after that he was Consul with *Caesar* the seventh time Consul, in which year himself bare his third Consulship, and not the fourth. For otherwise in the front of the said Temple, he would have written, [*Consul the sixth time.*]

727

C. Caesar VI. M. Agrippa III.

Cassiodorus saith, that the next Consuls were *Caesar* the sixth time, and *Mar. Agrippa* the

third time. But *Dio*, *Caesar* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the fourth time. But what is to be thought of them both, is evident by that which hath been said before. In the Sicilian registers verily it is written, *Octavianus* the seventh time, and *Agrippa* the third time.

728

C. Augustus Caesar VII. T. Statilius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the seventh time, and *T. Statilius*. The Sicilian monuments, *Octavianus* the eighth time, and *Taurus*. *Dio*, *Caesar Augustus* the eighth time, and *Statilius Taurus* the second time. For he had been Consul first, for a part of the year, anno 727, and now is the second time: of whom *Suetonius* writeth thus in *Nero*, *Nero* took to wife *Statilia Messalina*, daughter (in the fourth descent) of *Taurus*, one who had been twice Consul, and also triumphant: he writeth also, that *Augustus* entered upon his eighth and ninth Consul at *Tarracon*.

729

C. Caesar Augustus VIII. M. Silanus.

Cassiodorus sheweth for Consuls next, *Caesar Augustus* the eighth time, and *M. Silanus*. *Dio* and the Sicilian records, *Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Silanus*. A fragment of the capitol, Emperor *Caesar Augustus* the ninth time, and *M. Junius Silanus*. This year *Augustus* *Caesar* was Emperor the eighth time, and shut up the Temple of *Janus* the fourth time that ever it was shut: which he had let open before in regard of certain wars, as *Dio* reporteth.

730

C. Caesar Augustus IX. C. Norbanus.

Cassiodorus putteth down for this years Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the ninth time, and *C. Norbanus*. The Sicilian registers, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *Flaccus*. *Dio* and a fragment of the capitol marble, *Augustus* the tenth time, and *C. Norbanus* *Flaccus*. This *Norbanus* seemeth to be the son of *C. Norbanus* the Consul, anno 716, for he had not the numeral note testifying a second Consulship.

731

C. Caesar Augustus X. Cn. Piso.

Cassiodorus setteth down for Consuls, *Caesar Augustus* the tenth time, and *Cneus Piso*. The Sicilian records, *Augustus* the eleventh time, and *Piso*. And *Dio*, *Augustus* the eleventh time, with *Cn. Calpurnius*, son of *Cneus Piso*. By a fragment of the capitol stone it appeareth that *Augustus* entered the Consulship the eleventh time, together with *Asellus Terentius Varro Murranus*: also that *Murena* died in his Magistracy, in whose stead was elected *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*: and *Augustus* went out of his government. Of which matter *Dio* thus writeth: *Augustus* went to the Alban hill, and there resigned up

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the Consulship. For whereas both he himself and many others, ever since the time that the C.W. was set in frame and established, had born the yearly Magistrats, he thought that from thence forwards he was to forbear the same, to the end, that the honourable dignity of Consuls should be open to as many as might be. And this did he without the City, because he would not be hindered and letted in the Action; and therewith substituted in his place *Lucius Sestius*, a man that of all others most affected and loved *Brutus*: who also wrote of his praises and commendable parts.

732
M. Marcellus, L. Aruntius.

This year had for Consuls, as saith *Cassiodorus*, *M. Marcellus* and *L. Aruntius*: as *Dio*, *M. Claudius* son of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *A. Serranus* son of *Lucius*. In the Capitoll Stone these Consuls are thus set down, *L. Aruntius* son of *L.*, nephew of *L.* and *M. Claudius* son of *Marcus*, nephew of *M.* Whereby it is given to understand, that in the Sicilian records the Consuls are not well put down to be *Octavianus* the twelfth time, and *Aruntius*. In this year, the conspiracy of *Fannius Capio* and *Varro Murena* against *Augustus* was discovered: and the Temple of thundering *Jupiter* was dedicated, witnesseth *Dio*.

733
M. Lollius, Q. Lepidus.

The Colotian Stone and *Cassiodorus* shew for this year Consuls, *Q. Aemilius Lepidus* and *M. Lollius*. *Dio* writeth, when *Augustus* was in *Sicily*, and the people of *Rome* at the assembly for Consuls election, there arose a sedition and commotion. For *M. Lollius* only entred upon the government, by reason that the other place was refect and kept for *Augustus*: but when the place was refused, *Q. Lepidus* was created. Of these Consuls *Horace* in his first book of Epistles writeth thus:

*Me quæ nuda nudo sciat implevisse Decembres,
Collegam Lepidum quo dixit Lollius æno.*

Know be, that 40 winters old and four, I was that year,
At *Rome* when Consul *Lollius*, chose *Lepidus* his peer.

734
M. Apuleius, P. Silius.

After *Cassiodorus*, the Consuls that followed for this year, were *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius*. But in *Dio*, *M. Apuleius* son of *Severus*, and *Publius Silius* son of *Publius Nerva*. In the Sicilian records, *Apuleius* and *Nerva*.

735
C. Sestius, Q. Lucretius.

The Colotian Stone, *Ensebins* in his treatise of Times, *Dio* and *Cassiodorus* set forth as Consuls this year, *Caius Sestius*, son of *Caius*,

Saturinus and *Quintus Lucretius* son of *Quintus Vespilio*. Of this years consuls thus writeth *Dio*, *Caius Sestius* was declared Consul: but for that there was to be given him a companion, and *Augustus* refused the second place of Consulship reserved for him, there arose a sedition, untill *Augustus* pronounced Consul *Quintus Lucretius* one of the Embassadors, whom the Senat had sent unto him about the appealing of the foresaid sedition: notwithstanding he was a man in times past profcribed and outlawed. The same writeth *Velleius* in the second book. In the broken Colotian Stone it is to be read, that the Consul elected instead of *Sestius* *Saturinus*, was *Mar. Vinicius* son of *Marcus Vellitius*, unto *Vinicius* adjoyneth as Colleague, *Agrippa*. In this year, after the fifth ten years were expired, for which space *Augustus* together with *Agrippa* at the first received the Censorial authority and dignity, he was created a second time by the people over-see of mens behaviour for the term of five years; and resumed the Censors power for the same time, and the Consular authority for ever. So as, at all times and in all places, he might have twelve Lictors go before him with their bundles of rods, and be allowed to take his place and sit with the Consuls.

736
Cn. Lentulus, P. Lentulus.

Publius Cornelius son of *Publius*, *Lentulus* and *Cn. Cornelius* son of *Lucius*, are set down for Consuls by the Colotian Stone table; by *Dio* also and *Cassiodorus*. In this year *Marcus Agrippa* by the motion and authority of the Emperor *Cæsar Augustus*, obtained of the Senat and people of *Rome* the Tribunitian power for five years.

737
C. Furrinus, C. Silanus.

Here succeeded Consuls next, according to *Cassiodorus*, *C. Furrinus* and *C. Silanus*. After *Dio*, *C. Furrinus* son of *C.* and *C. Junius* son of *Caius Silanus*. But in the Colotian fragment *C. Furrinus* son of *Caius*, and *C. Junius*. Whiles *C. Furrinus* and *C. Junius Silanus* were Consuls, the solemn plaies, called *Seculares* were now the first time let out by *Augustus*, as *Censorinus* and *Dio* affirm.

738
L. Domitius, P. Scipio.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls, *Lucius Domitius* and *P. Scipio*. The Sicilian records, *A. Nobarbus* and *Cornelius*. *Dio*, *L. Domitius* son of *Lucius*, nephew of *Lucius*, *A. Nobarbus* and *P. Cornelius* son of *P.* nephew of *Publius Scipio*: In like manner the Colotian table, wherein it standeth, that for *P. Cornelius* there was substituted *L. T.*, i.e. *Tarius*: of whom *Pliny* in his eighteenth book and seventh chapter writeth thus, *L. Tarius Rufus*, a man most hateful for his parentage;

parentage, deserved a Consulat under *Augustus* *Cæsar* of happy memory, only for his military service. In this Consul year was the Quinquennial solemnity performed, as writeth *Dio*, in memoriall of the Empire of *Augustus*: and *Agrippa* one of the Quindecenvirs, had the ordering and setting out thereof.

739
M. Drusus, L. Piso.

The Consuls next following, were *M. Drusus* and *L. Piso*, as *Cassiodorus* saith. The Sicilian registers name them *Lilo* and *Piso*. *Dio*, *M. Lucius* son of *Lucius*, *Drusus Libo*: and *L. Calpurnius* son of *Lucius Piso*, *M. Drusus* son of *Marcus*. *L.* according to the Colotian fragment.

740
Cn. Lentulus, M. Crassus.

This year next following, had for Consuls, after *Cassiodorus* and the Sicilian monuments, *Cn. Lentulus* and *M. Crassus*: whom *Dio* calleth, *M. Licinius* son of *Marcus Crassus*; and *Cn. Cornelius* son of *Cn. Lentulus*. The Colotian fragment sheweth *Marcus Licinius* son of *Marcus*.

741
T. Nero, Q. Quintilius.

Tiberius Nero, and *P. Quintilius* were Consuls this year, as *Cassiodorus* reporteth. They are named *Nero* and *Varius* in the Sicilian Catalogue. And *Dio* calleth them *Titus Claudius* son of *Tiberius Nero*: and *P. Quintilius*, son of *Sexsus Varius*. The Colotian fragment, *Tiberius Claudius* son of *T. Suetonius* writeth, that *Tiberius* bare his first Consulship but a few daies. For this is that *Tiberius Nero*, *Augustus* *Cæsar*s wives son, who after the death of *Augustus*, attained to the Empire, having been first by him adopted.

742
M. Messala, P. Sulpitius.

Cassiodorus putteth down for Consuls, *Messala* and *Quirinus*. The Sicilian records, *Messala* and *Quirinus*. *Dio*, *M. Valerius* son of *Marcus Messala Barbatus*: and *P. Sulpitius* son of *Publius Quirinus*: of whom *Suetonius* in *Claudius* and *Tacitus* in his second book writeth. Moreover, this is that *Sulpitius Quirinus*, who by *Josephus* in the seventeenth book of antiquities and first chapter, is said to have born the Consular dignity and was Lieutenant in *Syria*. At which time, our Lord *Jesus Christ* the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind, was born: of whom *Saint Luke* maketh mention, saying, This was the first enrolment or taxation which was made by *Quirinus* President and governour of *Syria*. After these Consuls, others were substituted in their place, as the Colotian Stone sheweth, wherein it is thus read:

*M. Valerius, M. F.
C. Valerius, C. F.
Suff. C. Caninius.*

Likewise in *Cyprian* his Calender, these Consuls are written with their surnames:

*Messala Quirinus,
Rebulus Saturinus,
Maximus Tubero.*

By which it appeareth that *Rebulus* and *Saturinus* were the surnames of *Caninius* & *Volgius*. By a fragment of the capitoll marble, it is evident, that the surnames of *Valerius* was *Amylianus* son of *Volgius*; and *Rebulus* of *Caninius*: and that as *Rufus* was put in the place of *Valerius*, so *Rebulus* instead of *Rufus*. There remaineth also the memoriall of *Rebulus* and *Saturinus* in the Sicilian records. In this year, *Dio* reporteth, that *Augustus* was a second time made over-see for mens manners and demeanours five years more: and that he resumed still the same authority by times, as the Empire and therein *Agrippa* died.

743
P. Fabius, Q. Aelius.

Cassiodorus exhibiteth for this years Consuls, *Paulus Fabius* and *Q. Aelius*. *Dio*, *Paulus Fabius*, son of *Quintus Maximus* and *Tubero*. Of *Q. Aelius Tubero*, and *P. Fabius Maximus* Consuls, *Frontinus* speaketh of in his book of water-conduits: and *Pliny* in his eighth book and seventh chapter, where he writeth, that the Theater of *Marcellus* was dedicated when *Quintus Tubero* and *Fabius Max.* were Consuls.

744
Julius Antonius, Q. Fabius.

Cassiodorus nameth for Consuls this year, *Julius Antonius Africanus* and *Q. Fabius*. *Dio*, *Jul. Antonius Africanus*, and *Q. Fabius* son of *Quintus Maximus*. The Sicilian Catalogue and Calender of *Cyprian* shew *Africanus* and *Maximus*. *Dio* nameth *Julius* the son of *Antonius*, unto him *Horace* writeth in this manner:

*Pindarum quisquis studeat amulari
Iulæ geratis ope Dadæden,
Nilius pennæ, &c.*

With wings devis'd by *Dadæus*
And glew'd with wax, they flie:
Whoftrive (O Iule) with *Pindarus*
To match his Poetry.

And after,
*Tandis (Antony) quotes in dædas
Nilius trallus.*

O *Antonius* so oft
As he doth mount the clouds aloft,

745

Drusus Nero. Titus Quintus.

Here succeeded Cass, according to *Cassiodorus*, Drusus Nero, and T. Quintus; but after *Dio*, Nero Claudius, son of Tiberius Drusus; and T. Quintus, son of Titus Crispinus. Drusus and Crispinus, by Cuspinian Calender and the Sicili-

an registers. This Drusus brother of Tiberius Nero was Augustus Caesar's wife's son: who being Consul, died in Germany, and both he and his children had the surname of *Germanicus*. *Dio* writeth: which addition the Senate gave him first of that Province, as *Emperius* hath. With the death of this Drusus endeth *Germanicus* histories: for thus it is written in the last Epitome, &c. Look in the said Breviary.

To the Reader.

I doubt not but many of them who shall take delight and pleasure in reading the Roman story above-written, will presently grow into a liking of the very place, which hath afforded so worthy persons and rare examples. The love whereof hath moved many a man to undertake a voyage to Rome, only to see the river Tyberis, those seven hills, and the monuments remaining of that famous City. The journey they have found, for way long and tedious; for expense of money heavy and chargeable; for hazard of religion, conscience and good manners, exceeding dangerous: so far degenerated are the inhabitants now from that ancient people so devout, so virtuous and uncorrupt, in old times. To satisfy the Readers in this behalf, and to avoid the perill of that travell, I thought it not amiss to bring Rome (as it were) home to them, even to represent unto their eye the Topography thereof, that is to say, a description of the place, with the memorable edifices, or rather the ruins of those antique buildings, mentioned in the story aforesaid. And forasmuch as Bartholomew Marlian hath herein taken pains, and made a Treatise thereof, worthy in his conceit to be dedicated unto that noble Prince of famous memory, Francis the French King, the first (I take it) of that name: and for that those learned men, who last of late forth in print, have thought good to adjoin thereto, as a necessary dependant, the foresaid Treatise: I for my part, having struggled with the difficulties of the Alps, and in some sort overcome them; I crossed Rhone and the Po; passed over the hills Olympus and Aemus, and in some sort overcome them; I crossed Themopylae and Tempe, from now I would not at my return to stick at the pleasant meadows, Palatine, Capitoll, Aventine, &c. with the plains and valleys between, or the river Tyber and the Marsh field underneath them, beautified especially with such facile Temples, triumphant Arches, glorious Palaces, Theatres, Cirque, Colonnies, and Colosses, wonders of the world. And albeit I found Marlian for walking himself, and the book that goeth in his name much corrupted in the print, yet by conference with other Authors, I have reformed the faults, and endeavoured that our English edition might in some measure be answerable to the Latine.

A Summary collected by John Bartholomew Marlianus, a Gentleman of Millain, touching the Topography of Rome in ancient time.

The First Book.

CHAP. I.

The situation of the City.

Before we enterprize to shew the edifices and buildings of the City of Rome, somewhat would be premised of the site thereof. Begin therefore we will at the very habitation of the immortal gods: with the invocation of whom, the Poets are wont in every hard and difficult work, to lay their first ground and make their entrance.

The Capitol hill, where it is broadest, exceedeth not 800 foot: in length it lyeth out toward the Northwest 1500. It hath a point or wing on either side in fashion of a semicircle, and in compais containeth well-near seven furlongs.

* Stadia.

From this mount as it runneth out in length, the Palatine hill is divided by a valley of the same breadth, or somewhat more; making a square with four angles of unequal sides, containing 1200 paces. For, the one of 600 foot boundeth upon the Capitoline hill: a second of seven hundred foot, bendeth to the Northeast: the third, being almost twice as long, looketh toward the Southeast and the mount Caelius: the fourth, which of all others is biggest, and comprehendeth the list or shew-place, called Circus Maximus, directly regardeth the Aventine. On the second side thereof there is one plain, reaching from the head and top of the Forum Rom. to the utmost skirt of the hill Quirinalis, which bendeth toward the Suburra, and taketh up in breadth 500 foot: but it lieth out in length almost a mile from both sides, between the Capitoll, the Forum Nerva, and the mount Caelius: in like manner from the said mount Caelius and Palatine, Suburra and the Esquilina, as far as to the Church of Saint Marcelline. A second plain there is, under

under the other point and top of the Capitol, near the Theatre of Marcellus, which stretcheth our 500 foot: from the mount it self, as far as to the Tyber; and anon over-against the valley from the crooked reach and course of the river, and the nook whereby the Aventine is divided from the Palatine, it spreadeth broader: but afterwards between the said hills it groweth narrow, until ye come to Caeliolus and the very gate Capena, where the Aventine is parted from Caeliolus only by the breadth of the street or high way. The length of this plain is likewise a mile, having on the right hand, Tyber and the Aventine; on the left, Capitoline mount, the Palatine, and Caelius.

Then followeth the mount Caelius (separate from the Palatine by a plain) resembling a pyramidal form of a spire, so as the Baile thereof containeth 500 foot near to the Amphitheatre. Divided also from the same it is by the street Appia, fast by the grand Cirque, which reaching to the gate Capena, leaveth on the left hand a valley 600 foot broad, between Caelius and Caeliolus, lying out in length 4 Stadia, and within a while to the walls which joyne close to the mount Caelius, as far as to the gate Agnaria. This hill then from thence lyeth along the City wall for 4 Stadia, toward the Northeast. From hence the walls meet afront for the space of two Stadia, unto the gate Navia: from whence as they turn to the Northeast, it is parted from the Esquilina by the street Labicana; and anon shewing it self affront near S. Marcelline, it beareth forward as far as to the Amphitheatre. Thus keeping no certain form, it taketh in circuit about 2500 paces. Moreover the Capitolina is engaged within the said valley, the street Appia, and all along Northeast and Southeast, with the City walls: and hath in compais well-near a mile.

The Aventine seemeth to contain two hills: the broader part whereof toward the Tyber, and in like manner in length from Tyber along the walls, and anon near the gate Hostiensis, is divided and cut with a crooked street-way which leadeth to the angle of the grand Cirque and the mount Caelius: leaving the other part thereof, divided on the right hand from the mount Caelius by the street Appia, until you come to the gate Capena. It had in compais 18 Stadia, as Dionysius also rectifieth: and on the Southeast, a most spacious and large plain of 4 unequal sides: toward the South containing almost 6 Stadia, Westward five, somewhat less Eastward, but toward the Tyber not above four.

The Esquilina on the South part is divided with the street Labicana; on the Northwest, with the valley lying between Caelius, Palatine, and it self: on the North the Suburra; and from the Viminal hills the street called Patritius parteth it, until a man come to the bath of Diocletian. In circuit it containeth about 4 miles, and hath no certain form: inasmuch as Varro (not without good reason) thinketh it two hills, and cutteth it into many parts.

The Viminal hill on the West side regardeth the Quirinal, having about a furlong space the plain Suburra lying between: on the North it hath the valley Quirinalis. Between the same hills there lyeth as it were 4 jugera in breadth, but about a quarter of a mile in length. And anon it joyneth to the Quirinal and Esquilina along the wall of the City, by a continual row of many arches, whereby these mountains are made even. The compais thereof taketh up two miles and an half: the form thereof is long wide, and the breadth not in every part alike, but variable.

The Quirinal mount on the left hand, directly from the tower called [Militarium] for the space of 4 Stadia, over-looketh the level plot of the City which lieth Westward: but on the right hand (as clearly appeareth by that which we have said) it is opposite to the Viminal on the third side Northward, for the space of 6 Stadia it lieth to the hill called Hortulorum. It hath a valley lying between, in breadth 4 jugera, reaching near to the gate Salaria: and in the whole compais it taketh almost three miles.

Next to it is the little hill Hortulorum, although it standeth without the old pomy of the city: for the space of 3 Stadia it beareth over the valley Martia lying between it and Tyber. It carrieth in length along the wall of the City, from the gate Flamentiana to Collina, a full mile more than any other sides. The circumference thereof is much about 18 Stadia.

There remaineth now the mount Janiculum, on the other side of Tyber: the one half thereof and not above, is contained within the walls: from the Vatican plain, for the space of 3 Stadia, whereas it stretcheth toward the South, it adjoyneth to the river: the other part thereof is enclosed within the walls, for the compais of five Stadia.

Moreover above the Vatican plain, there is a little hill of the same nature, which putteth forth two points like horns: the one toward Janiculum, the other Northward, much like a bow full bent: the convexity or outward compais whereof containeth a mile.

Now will we run over the plain and bafe plot of the City: which beginning at the Capitol hill near the gate Flaminia, at this day on the Northeast side (or rather the North) comprehendeth a Diameter or race almost of 8 Stadia, environed with the hills Quirinalis and Hortulorum: but on the West side, the Tyber runneth by it, where along the banks thereof it beareth a greater space. Moreover, by a straight and direct line being drawn for two Stadia from the hill Hortulorum, and namely, where it over-looketh the Piere of Domitian called Numaetia: along the bank of Tyber, over-against the Pile Hadrian, it maketh a quadrangle of four uneven sides, containing within it more than three miles: without which square is left the valley Martia, namely, as much as lieth between the hill Hortulorum, the wall of the City, and Tyberis: so as the breadth draweth narrower still unto the gate Flaminia.

There resteth yet the Transtiberin region, which together with the Janiculum, taketh in compais about three miles. This will be more easily observed and marked by the very channell of Tyberis.

Tiberis; which entering into the city, keepeth his course directly on the right hand of the gate *Flaminia* through the vale *Martia*, and soon after by little and little turneth from the North, Westward, and representeth the form of a semicircle, in the convexity whereof is the *Patican*, and within the concavity, the *Mars* field. Moreover, beneath the *Moles* or pile, *Hadrian* returning to his former course, as far as to the utmost foot of the *Aventine*, winding somewhat crooked into the South, not far from the gate *Portuensis* it runneth forth of the city.

Thus much concerning the situation and form of *Rome*, and the plot wherein it standeth, which at this day is so far changed, that hardly a man may find any token or memoriall of it, as it was in old time.

CHAP. II.

Of the founders of the City of *Rome*, the *KK*, and Inhabitants thereof.

THE region (on which *Rome* was after built) West of *Tyber*, a hundred and forty furlongs distant from the sea, the *Sicilians* (by constant report) first inhabited. Afterwards, the *Aborigines* leaving *Arcadia*, by the conduct of *Oenonius* the son of *Lycaon*, came into the laid quarters: and being grown into a liking of the place for the fertility thereof, they expelled the *Sicilians*, and held it for their own use. In process of time the *Pelagians*, a people of *Greece*, together with the *Thessalians*, who came to aid the *Aborigines* against the nations their neighbor borderers, remained also in these parts (with the good will and contentment of the said *Aborigines*) untill the *Trojan* war: but they all retained the name of the *Aborigines*, which prerogative they held because they were the first, that by arms conquered that feignory and kingdom. Long time after, *Saurn* being chased out of *Crete* by *Jupiter* his son, fled into *Italy*: where he taught *Janus* the King of the *Aborigines* the skill of planting vineyards, with the use thereof, and likewise the handling of the sickle: in regard of which good turn, he was freely scotied by *Janus* in part of his realm, yea, and after the decease of *Janus* enjoyed the kingdom alone. After this, the *Arcadians*, who forsook the city *Palantium* (as weary of their own native country) and by the leading of *Evander*, seeking some other place of habitation, arrived at the place where now *Rome* standeth: received of *Faunus* the K. of the *Aborigines*, a portion of ground: built a fort upon a little hill not far from *Tyber*, and named it *Palantium*, in remembrance of their native city which they had abandoned. After all this, the *Peloponnesians*, *Phanetians*, and *Epians*, by reason that *Elis* their native country was walled before by *Hercules*, were by him brought away into *Italy*, and they planted themselves upon the mount *Saturnine*. These men lived a long time according to their own laws and customs, untill they being vanquished and subdued by the *Aborigines*, were incorporated by them into one commonality. Then reigned *Latinus* the son of *Faunus*, untill such time as *Evander* the son of *Anchises*, after the overthrow and final ruin of *Ilium*, after many adventures and much variety of fortune, which he had endured together with the *Trojans* his companions, came by the instint of the destinies to *K. Latinus*. Whose daughter *Lavinia* he took to wife, and so was by *Latinus* admitted into the society and fellowship with him of the kingdom. When the *Aborigines* and the *Trojans* were thus linked and joynted together, he called both nations by the name of *Latines*. Then was *Evander* warred upon by *Turnus*: for that he had married *Lavinia*, who was espoused and affianced to him before. But *Evander* won the victory, and in single combat slew *Turnus*. At that time also *Latinus* died, and left his son in law *Evander* heir to the crown. certain years after was *Evander* killed by *Mecentius* K. of the *Tuicans*: and *Ascanius* his son succeeded in the kingdom. He built the towns *Lavinium* and *Alba*: and when he departed this life, made over the crown to his brother *Sylvius*. After him followed Kings, *Ascanius Sylvius*, *Latinus Sylvius*, *Alba*, *Atys*, *Cappis*, *Capetus*, *Tiberinus*, *Agrippa*, *Romulus*, *Aventinus*, *Procas*, and *Numitor*. This *Numitor* usurped the kingdom by fraud, which in right of eldership was due to his brother *Numitor*. And for fear lest there might arise from his brothers offspring, some one to make claim and recover the royal seat, and thereby himself be thrust out of his place, he consecrated *Rhea* the daughter of *Numitor* to *Vesta*, for to be a professed Nun. She being thus made a votary, and devoted to perpetual virginity, happened to be with child by *Mars*, and was delivered of two boies, twins, namely, *Romulus* and *Remus*. *Numitor* advertised herof, commanded both the babes to be cast forth to perish. Found they were by *Fausulus* a shepheard upon the bank of the river *Tyber*, and by his wife *Fausula* fostered and brought up among other shepherds. *Remus* being grown to mans estate, was taken by certain thieves and robbers, and brought to *K. Amulius* his great-uncle. Accused he was, for that he used to raise booties and drive away whole droves of *Numitor* his cattell. Whereupon delivered he was to *Numitor* for to be punished according to his discretion. But *Remus* after much discourse of speeches to and fro, was by certain tokens found and known to be *Numitor* his daughters son. And at the very time came *Romulus* also with *Fausulus* in place, purposing to rescue *Remus* his brother. Soon they entred into a conspiracy, and at unawares surprized and murdered *Amulius*: and so restored their grandfater *Numitor*. In the second year of *Numitor* his reign, *Romulus* and *Remus* built the City of *Rome*, in the very place where they had been laid forth to perish, which was the 432 year after the winning of *Troy*, and the twelfth day before the calends of *May*. Afterwards in a fray that arose between *Romulus* and *Remus* striving for the sovereignty, *Remus* came by his death, and then *Romulus* gave name both to the City and Citizens also of *Rome*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The form and bigness of the City of *Romulus*.

Romulus set out the City four square, as *Plutarch* witnesseth: whereupon of some it is called *R. Quadrata*. Others affirm, that the form and compass thereof is uncertain and by reason of Antiquity unknown at this day. The hill *Palatinus* was by *Romulus* first fortified, because therein he was brought up: at the foot thereof began the *Pomerium*. Afterwards the Capitol and the Roman Forum were laid to it.

The City began to be marked and bounded out from the beast-market: from whence in certain places were *Fories* pitched and set between, along the bottom of the mount *Palatine* as far as to the altar of *Consus*: and so within a while to the old *Curia*: then, to the Chappell of the *Lares* and the Roman Forum the bounds were extended, untill a place was assigned for the wals, and a spacious plot to build the City upon.

Titus Tatius began the wall from the rock *Carmentalis*, and brought it to the way, which is not far from *Tyber*: from thence, Southward unto the farthest part of the grand *Circus*: and so Northward he ranged it into the Forum of *Nerva*, and in the end joynted it to one of the points of the Capitol hill, and within it compassed both the Capitol itself, and also the *Palatine*. And finally, to enlarge the City, he set to it the hills *Quirinalis* and *Capitulus*.

CHAP. IIII.

The gates of *Romulus* his City.

Romulus when he died, left the City of *Rome* with three gates, namely, *Carmentalis*, *Romanæ*, and *Pandana*. Others add a fourth thereto, to wit, *Janualis*.

Carmentalis took the name of *Carmentis* the mother of *Evander*, whose Chappel *Carmentalis* stood before the gate. This gate stood under the Capitol on the right hand, between the cliff *Tarpæius* and the *Tyber*, over against the Church now of *S. Katherine*, toward the shep-place *Flaminianus*. This was afterwards named *Scelerata*, for that without this gate, in the Temple of *Janus*, the act of *Senat* passed, for the sending of the three hundred *Fabii* to *Cremera*, who went forth at this gate, and were slain every one at *Cremera*.

Rohidua was so called of *Romulus*: built it was where now the gardens are belonging to the new Church of *S. Mary*, not far from the angle of the mount *Palatinus* in the bottom of the cliff of *Victoria*. Some affirm, that this gate was afterwards called *Mugonia*, of the lowing of kine and oxen: others name it *Trigoni*, of three corners that it had.

Pandana was so named, because it stood open for things to be brought through it into the City. The same also was called *Libera* or *Romulida*. The place for it they assigned where the gate *Saturnia* stood, bearing the name of the old City so called and after destroyed.

Janualis carried the name of the Temple *Janus*, which is not far off, it stood sometime at the very foot of the hill *Viminalis*.

CHAP. V.

The variety of the compass and walls of the City.

WHEN the Romans one while made war upon their neighbor nations of *Italy*, and otherwhiles defended themselves against their violence, it hapned for the most part that they got the upper hand, and ever as they vanquished any and subdued them under their subjection, in the end made them Citizens of *Rome*: by which occasion, the City built by *Romulus*, was not sufficient to receive so great a multitude. *Tullius* therefore after his conquest of the *Sabins* and *Albans* laid to the City the mountain *Capitulus* and the *Esquilæ*, and so enlarged it. Afterwards, when *Politorium* was won, and a number of the inhabitants translated to *Rome*, *Anagnin* made a second enlargement of the City, and granted these new comers the mount *Aventine* to inhabit. The old Romans therefore dwelt in *Palatine*; the *Sabins* in *Capitolium*; the *Albans* in *Capitulus*: and this new come multitude in *Aventine*. But after the *Latines* also were received into the City, they joynted *Janiculum* also to the city by a wooden bridge made over the *Tyber*: and call a trench called *Fossus Quirinius*, about the low and level places of the city. So the *Trans-Tyberine* quarter was united to the city and made it more spacious and largely: last of all, *Servius Tullius* by adjoining the hills *Viminalis* and *Quirinalis* to the five abovenamed, amplified the city. And as before it was mounded about with rubbish, and the same rudely laid, *Tarquinius* the proud was the first that by the posterity that followed, repaired and rectified upon the old foundations. But the city in old time, when as it flourished in greatest glory, extended far more in bounds and compass, for in *Plinius* time the circuit thereof within the wall contained about 20 miles. But in these daies hardly 12. And the whole compass of the city, with the suburbs and buildings about and without the walls (which although they spread far, were comprehended yet under the name of city) in the said *Plinius* time, was 50 miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.
The Pomary of the City.

That void space of ground within and without the walls, which might not lawfully be either ploughed or inhabited, is called *Pomary*. And sometime it is put for the circuit of the whole City. This *Pomary* was oftentimes let out farther, and altered by the Roman Emperors. But none had power granted so to do, save only they that either conquered somewhat to the Roman dominion, or endowed the City with some singular and especial benefit; as the Emperor *Claudius* and many more. And like as the Romans had no certain limits of their Empire, so no certain bounds confined either the City or the *Pomary*.

CHAP. VII.

The gates of old Rome, which at this day are not to be seen: those also that are now extant.

Even as the bounds of the City and *Pomerium* were many times altered, so the gates also; some were left within the City, by occasion that the walls were farther set out and lost their names: others in time were so old, that they fell down, and albeit their name remain, yet the place where they stood is not known. Some again were made new, and took either new names, or else kept their old: others changed the place, and held their old name: and finally, there were some that had two names; and others, more. And these in manner were all the names of the gates:

Flumentana, or *Flaminia*.
Numentana, or *Viminalis*.
Esquilina, or *Taurina*.
Capena, or *Appia*.
Tergemina, or *Hofienfis*.
Ratumena, or *Vientana*.

Quirinalis, or *Agonensis*, or *Collina*.
Janualis, or *Sabula*, leading into the Sabins country.
Nevis, or *Laticlava*.
Calimontana, or *Asinaria*.
Portuensis, or *Navalis*.
Triumphalis, or *Vaticana*.

Carmenalis, *Magonia*, *Pandana*, *Querquetulana*, *Raduscula*, *Saginalis*, *Saucualis*, *Collatina*, *Interaggers*, *Tiburina*, *Gabula*, *Latina*, *Aurelia*, *Caulatua*, *Laurentia*, *Fontinalis*, *Lavernalis*, *Ereentina*, *Minutius Saluta*, *is*, *Mutia*, *Pinaculais*, *Prensina*, *Libitinenfis*, *Valeria*, and *Tarpia*.

Flumentana took name of the river *Tiberis*: for it stood at the first upon the bank of that river, not far from the bridge of *Xystus* in the end of the Broad street, and at the head of the way or street *Flaminia*; but afterwards, translated it was to the place where now it standeth. In time following, it was called *Flaminia*, of the cauley of *Flaminus*: at this day it is named, The peoples gate, and is situate in the hill *Hortulorum*.

Collatina bare the name of *Collatia*, a town not far from Rome: now it is *Pinciana*, of one *Pincius* a Senator, whose name it keepeth. This also standeth in the hill *Hortulorum*: between it and *Flumentana* is a mile space.

Quirinalis took name of the Chappel of *Quirinus*: or because in old time the way lay through it, for them that went to the hill *Quirinalis*. It seemeth to be called *Agonensis*, *quasi agorae*, i.e. without a corner: afterwards, *Collina*: and at the last, *Salaria*; for that by it salt was carried into the City. This name it holdeth still and standeth 6 *Stadia* from *Collatina*.

Viminalis is from *Quirinalis* distant 5 *Stadia*: so named, as they say, of a wood of Ofers, which (as it is supposed) sometime grew thereby: or else, of a Chappel of *Jup. Viminus*. This also men called *Figulensis*, of the potters works made without it: but now they name it the gate of *S. Agnes*, and *Numentana*.

Interaggers standeth in the Plain *Viminalis*, between the gate *Viminalis* and *Esquilina*: it had the denomination of *Tarquinius* his mures and banks, among which it was built.

Tiburina stood between *Esquilina* and *Numentana*, so as it was 12 *Stadia* distant from *Esquilina*, upon the plain of *Esquilis* in the very place where the conduit is of the *Mary* water.

Esquilina took that name of the hill *Esquilis*, the same in ancient time was called *Taurina*, of a bulls head there found: for many a day after was the said bulls head seen painted in the inner front of the said gate. At this day, *S. Lawrence* gate.

Nevis drew the name of certain groves or woods near adjoining. In times past *Laticlava*, and now *Major*. An arch there was so called and erected in the same place by the old Romans.

Calimontana, standing from *Nevis* 8 *Stadia*, seemeth by a finity of name to be so called of the hill *Caelus* in the edge whereof it standeth: and *Asinaria* it was called, of the Asies which were wont to be sent out to *Naples*, by that gate. At this time they call it *S. Johns* gate.

Gabula, built close to the mount *Caelus*, Southeast: which seemeth by all likelihood to take the name of the City *Gabii*, which it directly regardeth. It carried the name also *Metridium*, of measuring and is situate from *Calimontana*, as it were 5 *Stadia*.

Latina is 5 *Stadia* likewise from *Gabula*, seated not far from the Church of *S. John Baptist*: so called, for that men go forth out of it into *Latiun*.

Capena is so named of the *Capenats*, a Latine nation, against which it lyeth. This also is called still *Camena*, of a grove and Chappel of the Muses, built just before the same gate. *Appia* likewise, of the high-way *Appia*, which *Appius* the Censor paved, and so it bare his name. They call it also

also *Triumphalis*, for that in triumph the pomp is that way carried with state. Off some it is named *Forniculis*, for the plenty of springs there. At this day *S. Sebastians* gate.

Tergemina took that name of an old gate so called, at which the 3 twins *Horatii* went forth against their enemies, and gave the first name to it. Some shew remaineth yet of this gate to be seen, near the *Selva*.

Hofienfis was in ancient daies so called, for that it led to the City *Hofia*: now *S. Pauls* gate: situate it is from *Capena* well-near 8 *Stadia*.

Portuensis is a gate beyond the *Tyber*, within half a *Stadium* of the said river: so called, for that it ledeth to the haven of *Hofia*. Now a daies men call it, *Porta ripa*, i. The bank gate.

Aurelia, looketh toward *Janiculum*: distant from the former almost 7 *Stadia*. In this age they call it *S. Paterace* gate.

Malis, was built by *Albius Hadrianus*, of whom it took that name.

Septimiana, bare the name of *Septimius* the Emperor: and because it standeth under *Janiculum*, is at this day called, *Sulani Janum*. Some affirm, that this is *Fontinalis*, because out of the mount called *Aureus*, there issue fountains: for to the said hill this gate standeth close. From it to *Aurelia* are 5 *Stadia*: and to the river *Tyber* 7 *jugera* or acres.

Thus much for the gates of the City of Rome; and their names.

The wall in old time had upon it 360 turrets. Some of these are decayed and gone: others repaired, and many this long time are ready to fall.

Now is it time, and the course of the Story doth require, that leaving the towrs and walls, we enter into the City, and shew the beginning and the place of those edifices, which within the walls, either upon the hills or the plain plot off the City, were built by men in old time. First therefore, begin we will at the worthiest earthly habitation of all their Gods, to wit, the *Capitol*.

The second Book.

CHAP. I.

The sundry names of the Capitol.

The Capitol was by the old Romans called Mount *Saturnus*, either of a City named *Saturnia*, which under the very hill was built in that place where now Rome standeth: or because *Saturn* in times past dwelt in that hill: or else (as some think) for that the mount it self had *Saturn* for the tutelar God and Protector thereof. But afterwards it was named the mount *Tarpia*, of the Virgin *Tarpeia*, of whom *Livy* writeth. Last of all, *Tarquinius Priscus* going in hand to build upon that hill a temple to *Jupiter*, when he digged for to lay the foundation, chanced to find in the bottom of the trench a mans head: whereupon they called it *Capitolium*. And the Augurs being sought unto and demanded, What the finding of that head might signify? answered, That this Castle should be the See of the empire and the head of the whole world. This hill they divide into the Castle and the Capitol. The Castle they build Northward, as a stronger and more fortified place: but the Capitol, toward *Tyberis*, a place naturally defended,

CHAP. II.

Who first laid the foundation of the Capitol: who finished it: how often it was burnt, and by whom reedified.

IN the Sabine war, *Tarquinius Priscus* vowed to build the Capitol temple: but after the war was ended, so soon as he had laid the ground-work, he died. After him, *Tarquinius Superbus*, finished the building, of 4 square stone: and decried the charges thereof out of the pillage of *Pometia*, a Town that he won. When he for his tyranny was banished Rome, *Horatius Pulvillus*, the Consul, dedicated the said Capitol to *Jupiter*. It stood upright and sound for the space of 415 years, until the Marian wars, and then (in the Consulship of *Scipio and Narbo*) it was consumed with fire. *Sylla* re-edified it, and *Q. Cælius* consecrated it: and so it continued until the *Vittellii* an war. During which troubles, it was a second time burnt, at what time it stood with the dores thick, undefended, and not rified, *Vespasian* built it again in his life, a third time it was destroyed by fire: and together with the Capitol, *Vespasian* also himself died. Afterwards, *Domitian* re-edified it in more magnificent and stately manner than it had been ever before, and disbursed therein above 12000 talents. Of the Capitol turrets and pinnacles, the statues and images smitten with thunder-bolts and blasted oftentimes with lightning, divers writers have made mention.

CHAP. III.

The Temple of *Jup. Feretrius*, of *Jup. Ops*, *Max. of Juno*, and *Minerva's*.

The Capitol, *Cicero* calleth The house and habitation of the gods, because it contained the chappels, statues, and images in manner of all the gods: but the first of all other in Rome was
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that of *Jupiter Feretrius*, vowed by *Romulus* in the war against the *Canenians*. After which was ended, and he returned to *Rome* with victory, he reared a temple in the very pitch and top of the capitol hill. But *Jupiter* was by *Romulus* named *Feretrius*, as long would have it; for that *Jupiter* sifted him in striking the enemy, in that very place where he vowed the temple. Or else, because the Romans used in making of peace, to swear by his scepter and the flint. The roof of this Church built down for very age and through neglect of the Romans, *Augustus* repaired. This temple first built by *Romulus*, was afterwards enlarged by *Annius Marinus*.

But the temple of *Jup. Op. Max.* of all others was the greatest and most renowned. This also was called *Capitolium*; and *Targ. Priscus* vowed it. After him, *Targ. Superbus* expended in the foundation thereof 40000 pound weight of silver; but before that he finished it, he was deprived of his Kingdom for his tyranny, and left the work unperfect to be accomplished by the Romans. Built it was upon the hanging of the Capitoline hill toward *Tiberis*, as hath been shewed before. For the form, the greatness and beauty of this temple, read *Dionysius* and sundry other authors, who have written of the Roman acts and of *Rome* it self. Upon the top or lantern thereof, stood *Summanus* the God, made of potters earth, whose head was smitten with lightning and fell into *Tiberis*. It had within it besides, a sanctuary or secret chapel, which no lay person might enter into. Within the said cell or chapel, were two coronets of gold: the one of them the Gauls consecrated to *Jup. Op. Maximus*; the other, the Carthaginians sent to *Rome* in the honor of *Jupiter*, in token of joy for their victory over the Samnites. Moreover, in the said temple were other three chapels, to wit, one of *J. p. Op. Max.*, in the midst second of *Minerva* on the right hand; and a third of *Juno* on the left. And because men in old time attributed unto *Minerva* the invention of numbers, a law was set down in writing, That the chief and highest Pretor for the time being, should drive a spike or great nail near unto her image, whereby the computation of the years might be known. This so rich and costly edifice, was burnt all at once in the Vitellian war. Now at this day the place where it stood, is prophane: howbeit there remain yet to be seen, some tokens thereof, and the foundations; but all deformed and broken peccemeal.

CHAP. IV.

The Temples of Saturn, Jupiter Tonans, Jupiter Custos, of Fortune, of Vejovis, Mercy, Juno Moneta, and of Janus. The sepulchre of Orestes, the common Treasury, the house of Manlius, and chapel of Carmenta.

Since that we have described the temple of *Jupiter K.* of the Gods, in what place it was situate, and by whom built: meet it is to make report also of other gods in order, who had their houses in the capitol: and first of *Saturn*, *Jupiter's* father.

Saturn in old time had an altar erected unto him in the very way as ye go out of the Forum up to the capitol, as some think. There be that would have this temple or altar of *Saturn*, built by the companions of *Hercules*: others again say, that *Tullius* reared it. But of this variety in opinion of Writers, this may be the reason, because some affirm, that there were two temples consecrated to *Saturn*, but reared in divers places; and at several times: one at the rock of *Carmenta*, even before the capitoline cliff (wherein the bones also of *Orestes* brought from *Aricta* were bestowed); the other in that very place, where now standeth the chapel of *S. Saviour*: where yet at this day there is a turret to be seen, which they call the Tower in *Atrium*: for there first was the common treasure house of *Rome*. In the temple of *Saturn*, dedicated by *Caius Lucilius*, there stood *Janus* with four faces; signifying the four times of the year: of whom the first month January took name.

The temple of *Jupiter Tonans Augustus Caesar* first built, on the capitoline cliff or side of the hill, South-east; upon this occasion: It happened, that in the Cantabrian expedition, as he was carried by night in a litter, the lightning slightly glanced thereupon, and killed the servant that was the guide: and therefore he both vowed this temple, and also finished it to the honor of *Thundering Jupiter*. A temple also to *Fortune* was built not far from it.

The temple of *Vejovis*, stood between the castle and the capitol, in that part where now the chapels are to be seen of confederators. In old time they called this idol-devil, *Vejovis*, because he was deprived of all power to help and do good. To him they sacrificed a she goat: because he held arrows in his hand, most men thought he was *Apollo*.

Asylum, that is to say, the temple of *Mercy* stood likewise upon the capitol hill, near a shadowy grove, in the very valley amid the capitol, and the castle. Called it is the temple *Intermontium*, between two ockerows. This, *Romulus* erected; that what offender soever thither fled, he should be privileged as in a sanctuary. But *Tiberius* afterwards, supposing that this place ministered occasion of mischief, deprived it of that liberty. This *Asylum*, by report, the posterity of *Hercules* first erected.

The temple (as also the mint-house) of *Juno Moneta*, was built upon that plot of ground, where sometime stood the house of *M. Manlius*. This chapel, some report that *L. Furius* vowed; others, that *L. Cicereius* the Pretor; and *Ovid*, that *Camillus*. Now was *Juno* called *Moneta*, of giving warning; for that from the very place where afterwards the temple was set, there was a voice heard of *Juno*, admonishing them of the future overthrow by the Senones. In this place now standeth a Senators house of *Rome*.

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The temple of *Janus* keeper of the Capitoline castle, stood in that place, whereat that day is the goal and prison for malefactors and fellows, toward the South-west, over, gainst the *Forum Romanum*. This *Janus* upon the Capitol, *Romulus* and *Tullius* devoted to have two faces peering thereby the two nations. Others would have him to be portrayed a faced; for his cunning and providence; for he was the first that invented the roiall crown; also boats; the skill of navigation; brazen coin and many other things. *Janus* took that name *ab initio*, of going, for that he turneth about the heaven and all things else, for which cause he also named *Verrumini*; in old time they believed there was but one *Janus*; but posterity in later age, have imagined more.

The temple of *Jupiter Custos*, *Domitian* (after he was invested in the empire) build it, and placed his own image in the lap and outcome of that god; It stood where at this day the *Salara* or salt pits are, near to the temple of *Janus*.

CHAP. V.

The temple of gods which have no certain place now in the Capitol.

Among those gods, whose determinat place assigned to them in the Capitol, is not known where it was, the first was *Terminus*, as to whom in all the world throughout, there is no proper place appointed. Now this *Terminus* was a rude and formless stone. Unto him *Tullius* first vowed a temple; and some say, that *Numa* dedicated it. How ever it be; no doubt verily ancient it was, as easily may be collected by that which followeth. But why, that in the Capitol was of men in old time reputed for a god, this was the cause: when *Tarquinius Superbus* determined to build a temple to *Jupiter*, he consulted with the Augurs about the place, because he would begin nothing without the approbation of the birds. They shewed unto him the mount *Tapeius*, but this place was already taken up with other gods, whose chapels there, were consecrated and halowed. These therefore were by certain sacrifices to be conjured out from thence, for to give way to *Jupiter*, and to be transfused into some other quarter. All the gods willingly yielded their places up to *Jupiter* as their *K.* only *Terminus* refused to be displaced; and so remained there still. When he had finished the temple and fore-part of the roof which regardeth the said stone, was left naked and open for that god, as who neither ought nor could be enclosed, the augurs therefore being sought unto and demanded, For what reason *Terminus* alone abode still with *Jupiter*, when all the other gods were gone? made answer, that thereby signified, that together with religion, their empire also was eternal. To this god they sacrificed not but in open air and publicly abroad, as being the god and keeper of bounds. Saint *Augustine* witnesseth, that *Mars* also and *Joveinus* together with *Terminus*, would not agree to give place to *Jupiter*; for that the dominion of *Rome* should not be bounded out, nor yet decay with age and continuance of time.

To *Mars* and *Venus Ericina*, *Astius* and *Q. Fab. Max.* being *Duumvirs*, dedicated chapels upon the Capitol, severed sundry by one vault or cistern.

To queen *Juno*, *C. Flaminius* in the Ligurian war, vowed a temple.

To *Ops*, *Tullius* the *K.* consecrated a temple; for that she is called the earth, and is the mother of all things, as bringing forth all, and receiving all again. The fame *Ops* is called *Mais*, *Fauna*, and *Bona Dea*. This temple was blasted with fire from heaven, as *Levy* telleth.

Mars revenger, *Augustus Caesar* erected a temple upon the Capitol, within the hill *Saturninus*.

To *Faith*, on the same hill, *Astilius Collatinus* dedicated another.

To *Health*, *Concord*, *Liberty*, and *Victory*, they built temples; and many there were within the city erected to *Concord*.

To *Fortuna Præmigenia* and *Obsequence*, *Tullius* dedicated a temple.

To *Venus* also they set up a temple in the Capitol, in memorial and ever lasting praise of the Roman dames, for willingly parting with the hair from their heads, toward the making of engines, that during the Gauls war, were deviled and made against the enemies.

Tarquinius Superbus built a temple to *Jupiter Sponsor*, and *Sp. Postumius* dedicated it. Likewise to *Jupiter Pater* the old Romans consecrated a temple in the Capitol.

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CHAP. VI.

Of the statues which either in old time were or now remain in the Capitol.

OF Statues in old time were sundry sorts, and the same made of divers matter: some of marble, some of brass, some of silver, and others of gold. Many of these were set up in the capitol to the immortal gods for divers causes; and namely, for their benefits bestowed upon mankind; which a long time were honoured and worshipped. To noble men likewise and such as had deserved well of the common-weal, the usual manner was in old time to set up statues and images in the temples, to provoke others by their example to do the like.

To *Jupiter* in the Capitol, *Sp. Carvilius* erected a statue in his temple, after he had vanquished the Samnites, taking the proportion or form thereof by the pattern of *Jupiter Lætarius* his image. *Florus* maketh mention, that this statue was smitten with lightning. He also set up another to *Thundering Jupiter*.

The old Romans set up in the temple of *Jup. Op. Max.* Statues to *Health* and *Faith*, to elicit of them one.

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For *Nemestrus* was an image erected in the Capitol, for that this goddēss punished proud and faithlesse persons. She is named also *Rhamnusia* of *Rhamnus* a village in *Attica*, where she was worshipped; & *Adrastea* of *Adrastus*, who was the first that built a temple in the honor of her. Unto *Hercules*, for his notable and famous act, they erected many statues in the Capitol; and namely *Pub. Sulpicius* and *Pub. Scaevola* one; and *Q. Fabius Max.* another, which he brought from the Tarentines by him subdued.

The images of good Event, and good fortune (the workmanship both of *Fraxinetus*) were within the Capitol.

The image of *Apollo* with a diadem, and his *Colossus* thirty cubits high, in the making whereof were bestowed 140 talents. *Lucullus* translated out of *Apollonia* in *Perusia*, into the Capitol.

An image there was of *Janus* likewise in the Capitol, holding in his right hand the number of 300 and in his left of sixty five, to signify the daies of the yeer.

Two golden statues of *Castor* and *Pollux*, were by the Emperor *Claudius* of famous memory, dedicated in the temple of *Jupiter*.

The counterfeits resembling the rivers, *Nilus* and *Tygris*, half naked, were let up in the forefront of the temple of *Conversators*: the one carry upon the shoulders, *Sphinx*; the other a *Tygre*; two wild beasts: both of them hold in their right hand *Cornucopia*, which signifieth plenty.

The personage of *Hercules* portrayed naked, of brasse and double gault, without beard, holding in his right hand a club, and in the left the golden Apples of *Heperides*, was found near the Greek school and the beast market, in the ruins of *Ara Maxima*.

There be certain portraictures also of the *Partian* and *Dacian* triumphs, enclosed within walls which were taken out of the church now called *S. Marins*.

CHAP. VII.

Statues of famous and noble men set up in the Capitol.

** Cum Claudi- de & crepundi- is, but to [crepundi] read [crepundi] out of Claudi- pro Rebus signifi- fying the Greekish and Asian habie: for the Roman statues were Togate.*

TO *Scipio* they erected in the Capitol, a statue wearing a souldiers cassock and hippers or pants in regard of his victory over *Antiochus*, for an everlasting memorial of his worthy deeds. To *Sylla* there was also a statue erected in the Capitol, in habit of a footman.

For *Emilius Lepidus*, when he was but a boy, the people of *Rome* let up a statue, because he had in a battel vanquished the enemy, and saved a Citizen.

The like honour to the rest they did to *Messius*, for that he had preserved out of the temple of *Vesta*, being on fire, the image of *Pallas*.

They erected an image to *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, in recompence of a benefit of hers for that in a great dearth of corn, she served the people at 3 farthings a Modius. The same they did to *Trebius* the *Adile*.

Fabius Maximus made for himself a cast or molten image, and erected it just by that of *Hercules*.

Unto *Brutus*, for delivering *Rome* from the tyranny of *Tarquinus*, the Romans erected his image in the midst of the KK. statues.

Domitian would not suffer any image of his to be erected, unless it were of molten silver or gold, and of a certain weight.

The emperor *Commodus* took off the head from the coloss of *Nero*, & set upon it his own face which he had in the Capitol. This Colossus is to be seen broken as it was, in the houses of *Conversators*.

In the laid houses of *Conversators*, is extant yet the brasse portraiture of a she-wolf, at whose teats, *Romulus* and *Remus*, the first founders of *Rome*, are to be seen how they hang sucking.

The image of *Romulus* and *Remus* remained in the Capitol, resembling two youths the one standing upon the feet in servile habit and attire: the other sitting like a shepherd or herdsman, bending forwards with the body, plucking a thorn out of the sole of his foot, which rankled and fettered withall.

An infinite number of statues were in the Capitol, of gods especially, brought from other parts to *Rome*. For the Romans robbed the churches of foreign nations, for to enrich and adorn their own.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Capitol cliffs, Tarpeia rock, the stone of Carpenters, and the gate Sacerotaria.

In old time, they called that place and way whereby men go up to the Capitol, *Clivus Capitolinus*: but where that place was in times past, sundry opinions there be. Some affirm, that it lay toward that part of the hill which looketh to the *Aventine*, where now standeth *S. Gregorius* church in *Velabrum*: others between the temples of *Saturius* and *Concordia*, near to the arch of *Severus*; and at the stairs and standings, called *Senatoriis Stabulis*. Now the arch of *Severus* was raised at the foot of the Capitol hill, in the very head and top of *Forum Romanum*: under which they passed, that in triumph ascended up into the Capitol. The Capitol cliff then, was next unto the Roman *Forum*: which by the Censors was paved with flint: who also set up a galleis from the Chappell of *Saturius* unto the Capitol Temple close to the

Samueliam

Samueliam and the *Curia* over it. *Corn. Tacitus* writeth, that in former times there were many avenues and waies upon the Capitol, and thereupon arose (so many and divers opinions concerning the *Clivus Capitolinus*). In the place of the feast *Feralia* was in old time celebrated, whereof some tokens remain at this day to be seen. In it stood *Attila* house, which was full of shields and other armor, *Cicero* maketh report.

That place was called *Tarpeia* rock which standeth over the *Forum Romanum*: from whence in times past felonious malefactors found gully, were pitched down head-long, and wherein at this day offenders are punished.

Caementa stone, regardeth *Tiberis*, just over-against the Senators bridge. The Dung-gate called *Sacerotaria*, stood upon the Capitol cliff afore said; thither was throwed out all the fifth rid out of the temple of *Vesta*, for to be caried away and soon after to be cast into the *Tiberis*.

CHAP. IX.

Of tables, of the brasse columns or pillars, and of the silver Goose.

In the Capitol there were two sorts of tables: the one of Pictures containing the noble acts or battels, with the sieges and assault of Cities, exploited by valiant martial men. For some of them were so deorous of praise and renown, that they could not be content to behold their own statues erected in the Capitol, unless their acts were described also and depicted in tables set up in publick place; and by that means left their glory behind them, commended likewise to posterity. Another kind there was of tables, wherein were written in the most ancient laws, to wit, of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and the other KK. Likewise the statues of the later lawgivers (the publick acts and ordinances) the leagues and covenants with other nations; the sacred rites and divine service, and the ancient records and monuments, which were engraven and cut in brasse tables: of which, some at this day are extant; others by continuance of time, by war, fire, and carelesse negligence are lost and perished. For the keeping of these, there were certain persons appointed; that in so serious and important matters, there should be no forgery or corruption.

Pillars likewise of brasse, were by *Domitian* set up in the Capitol; the which, *Augustus* the conqueror of *Aegypt*, caused (of many brasse beak heads of ships molten together) to be made into four huge columns, and brought them to *Rome*. *Sylla* likewise took out of *Tiphis* temple in *Athen*, certain brasse pillars, brought them to *Rome*, & there consecrated them to *Jupiter* in the Capitol.

The Portraiture of a goose in silver, was set up within the Castle by the Romans for perpetual memory, because a goose by gagging gave warning of the enemies coming, to the warders of the castle and thereby saved the Capitol. For which cause geese long time after, were fed & kept in *Rome* at the Cities charges. There are besides, many other antiquities within the Capitol, cut in tables of brasse and marble both, and namely, Epitaphs, which here for brevities sake are left out.

CHAP. X.

Of certain edifices and buildings upon the Capitol hill, and of other things in general.

Now that we have made declaration of the statues, tables, and columns, worth the noting: something by the way would be said in the place, as touching the ancient houses there. The court called *Calabra Curia*, *Romulus* built the Capitol, and covered it with reed. Into this place the King-lacrificer was wont to assemble the Senat and people of *Rome*, that from him they might learn and know the daies of solemn game, plaies, and sacrifices.

Not far from the said *Curia*, was the cottage of *Romulus*.

And almost the same place stood the stately porch or gallery of *Messius* and *Constantinus*. The Library also called *Majorum*, built artificially upon marbles pillars and besides the publick court-yard.

There was an hallowed place likewise upon the Capitol, from whence they gathered *Ferena*, or sacred herbs, to make garlands for the facials heralds and the *Paterfamilias*: whereof they were crowned when they purposed either to make any accord and peace, or to proclaim war.

The flint stone also was here found, which they held in their hand when they were by *Jupiter*; pronouncing these words, *If I made default with my knowledge, then let Diapler cast me out of all that I have (saying the City and the castle) as I hurl from me this stone*.

The Capitol had certain vaults like celliters, into which were thrown all things overt, word; or so old that they were good for nothing. The fix steeds drawing in one team, were there to be seen, which *Corn. Cornelius* set up, the twelve gilded shields likewise, made of that many wherein the *Ediles* condemned and fined the corn-mongers that hoarded and kept in their corn. The shield also ** Marins*, set out with the image of *Ajdrubal*; and the column garnished with ship beak-heads of brasse, whereof *Livy* speaketh, were here to be seen. Within the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* there was a short cloak or mantle and purple wolle, to which, of other purple gait, monuments were laid, they shewed the colour of shies in regard of the excellent bright galls and lustre that it caried. A present this was (by report) given to *Aurélianus* by a Persian K. who had it from the Earliest Indians. The lintell, cheeks and sill of the Capitol door, were made all of brasse. The brasse tiles likewise upon the roof, *Q. Caius* gilded over the place where *Numa* took his auguries

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* Toward the end of the 15. book.

was on the Capitol; but *Tatius* used rather the cattle cliff: where also stood sometime the house of *Mavilius*; but afterward thereupon was built the chapel of *Juno Moneta*. The books also of *Sylla* were kept in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; by ten Wardens in stone coffer under the ground. Over & besides so many edifices were there, so beautiful was the Capitol, and the riches thereof so great, so many goodly ornaments and shrines of the gods most artificially wrought, that right worthy of men in old time, it was called the earthly habitation of the gods & *Jupiter* himself. For during the upright and flourishing state of *Rome*; so curiously built and richly beautified it was: that heaven surpasseth the earth, so far this edifice went beyond all other works and wonders whatsoever of the world; inasmuch as it seemed to have been built by the gods: so far surmounted it all the device and reach of mans wit. But as excellent as these things sometimes were, now at this day they are to be seen, all naked, forlorn, and desolate.

CHAP. XI.

The Temple of Concord, and Jupiter Stator: moreover what the Curia is.

Between the Capitol hill and mount *Palatine*, there lieth a valley, whereof we have spoken before. The Temples and buildings whereof, as also the places behind the Capitol, by order and course we are now to describe. In this valley therefore the temple of *Concord* delivered to be visited first: which word, being derived (as it were) from the unity and agreement of heart, maintaineth, augmenteth, and preserveth alone, all things in the world whatsoever.

A temple to this *Concord*, *Camillus* vowed, in case he could reconcile the Commons to the Nobles. When as therefore the people were brought into grace and favour again with the Nobility, he built the church of *Concord*, beginning above the *Comitium* and so forward unto the *Forum*. The porch belonging to this temple, are yet to be seen at the foot of the Capitol. From it, there was an ascent of an hundred steps up to the chapel of *Juno Moneta*. That temple of *Concord*, slain in long time to decay, was afterwards by the Senat reedified. Therein many a time the Senat met and sat in council, and orations were made unto the people. In this also there was a vault or shroud under the ground, wherein oftentimes thieves, armed men, cutters and bucklers were kept as in a prison, until the assemblies of the people were dissolved. This house had many statues and images cunningly and cunningly wrought, namely, of *Juno, Apollo*, and of *Latona*, bearing and holding her two babes *Apollo* and *Diana*. Likewise of *Alectryon* and ** Hygiea*, the handy-work of *Nereides*. Also of *Jupiter, Ceres*, and *Minerva*: likewise of the Dames weeping and adoring the laid images all made of *Stones*. Moreover, the images of *Mars* and *Mercurius*; the workmanship of *Pythagoras*. Also of *Marsyas* bound, made by *Zeuxis* the painter, likewise father *Liber* and *Cassandra*, painted by *Theodorus*. As for the image of *Victory* in the porch and entrance of the said temple, it is to be seen how it was smitten with a thunderbolt.

To *Jupiter Stator*, *Romulus* in the Sabine war vowed a temple, that he might stay the flight of the Romans: whereupon he was called, the upholder of the Roman state. Therefore after victory obtained, he built a temple at the foot of the *Palatine* hill, just over-against the church of *Concord*, where at this day be most high battlements of wals. In this house also, like as in that other of *Concord*, the Senat assembled oft. Likewise in other temples. The courts, wherein the Senat gathered together in Council, were temples all, and therein were there also made: but in the sacred churches of the gods, neither met the Senat, nor any orations were made to the people. This temple of *Stator* was burnt to the ground in that fire of *Nero*es making, and never after reedified.

CHAP. XII.

The temple and grove of *Vesta*: the temple of Faith and of *Romulus*.

The temple of *Vesta* was built by *Romulus*, between the Capitol and the *Palatine* hills, not far from the *Forum Romanum*; whereat this day is to be seen, the church of *S. Mary of graces*. Neer unto it the palace of *Numa* was built. The Roman Pontiffes, when they would consult of great matters concerning religion, met in the court-yard of *Vesta*; like as the Senat and people of *Rome*, debated in council of their weightiest affairs within the temple of *Faith*. Now this was a most ancient temple built in *Palatium* by *Romulus*, or as some will have it, by *Numa*.

There was a grove also consecrated to *Vesta*, which reached from the roof of the *Palatium*, as far as to the large street called *Nevevia*. Out of that grove (before *Rome* was taken by the Gauls) a voice was heard, giving warning, that the City should be lost, unless the wals and gates were repaired.

The temple of *Romulus* was seated at the foot of mount *Palatine*, in the midst of that side which regardeth the Capitol, in that very place where now the church is of *S. Theodore*. In this again temple, there is a most ancient monument, the portraiture of the she wolf, yielding her teats unto the founders of the City, to be sucked.

CHAP. XIII.

Lupercal, and the figure *Ruminalis*.

The *Lupercal* was a cave at the bottom of the *Palatine* hill, overspread and covered with trees, having springs deep beneath under the rock. In the most inward and secret place of this cave there

there was an altar consecrated to *Pan*. But as touching the etymology and derivation of the name, as also of the situation thereof, there go divers opinions: for in times past the place was, close hidden and unconspicuous. To now, it is inhabited on every side, inasmuch as there remaineth no milk and taken at all where *Lupercal* was. However the greater part of writers affirm, that it was in that quarter of the City, where at this day *S. Theodorus* church is seen. For to this place upon a time the *Tyber* overflowing, made a creeke thither: and hard by it was, where the two infants were cast forth. In the *Lupercal* therefore, certain authors confidently avouch, that *Romulus* and *Remus* were laid to perill, and so carried by water to the place called afterwards *Ruminalis*, were under a fig-tree there, nourished by a she wolf. This wolf haunted & kept in the den called *Lupercal*; and from thence ran to the bank side under the fig-tree *Ruminalis* for to the suckle the said babes, and so gave the name unto the cave to be called *Lupercal*, as it were the lurking hole and den of the wolf. There be again that would have *Evander* to give the name to the same hollow cave: for he, as is before declared, was defended from *Arcadia*, where the people after most ancient rites and ceremonies, do right devoutly worship *Pan*, the god of herdmen. Unto whom also a mountain in *Arcadia* to him dedicated, was called *Lycium*, for that he keepeth, as it were, the wolves from the sheep, and preserveth the flocks and herds. This *Evander* therefore coming upon a time into *Italy*, and resting in these parts, consecrated both this grove and cave to *Pan*, and according to the manner of his country, there honoured him. In the said cave, therefore, reared was an altar, and a goat thereupon sacrificed unto him, as to the god and preserver of the flocks: and seeing that he called wolves from them, therefore the place wherein he was worshipped took the name *Lupercal*.

Now the least *Lupercalia* was by *Romulus* and *Remus* instituted. For they having obtained of *Numerus* a plot of ground to build them a City on in that very place where they had been cast forth, called all their companions to a feast and merry meeting: where, after they had killed sacrifices, and refreshed themselves with meat, and withall taken their wine liberally to the full, they grew to disport, and in the merry fit clad themselves in the skins of the goats which they had sacrificed, and then fell to hopping and dancing full boundly. Hereupon their posterity, celebrating the memoriall thereof, held a festival solemnity called *Lupercalia*, which retained the name of the place where first they began. Hereof see more in *Quintus Maximus, Servius*, and *Plutarch* in the life of *Numinus*. As for the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, it was so named of the river *Tyber*, called at the *Rhinion*. Some would have it take the name of *Romulus*. Others of the milk given to the laid infants, for that part of the throat which draweth milk, is called *Ruma* in Latines. This place was over against the house of the two lords *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, on the side of the mount *Palatine*, opposite against the she-wolf, called *Circus Maximus*, *Romulus* and *Remus*: thus laid forth about *Lupercal*, and carried by the water to this place, were soltered for a while under the fig-tree *Ruminalis*, in the place where the *Comitium* after was. The tokens of this tree remaineth unto the time of *Augustus Caesar*, as *Ovid* testifieth.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the new way, the streets *Jugarius*, and *Tufcan*.

The street called the new way over against the temple of *Jupiter Stator* goeth along the valley between the Capitol hill and the *Palatine*, and reacheth to the *Forum Romanum*. This, howsoever it be called new, was well known to be most ancient, and is different from that, which *Cacullacalla* repaired under his bins.

The street *Jugarius*, otherwife called *Thurarius*, leadeth from the gate *Carmentalis*, along the foot of the Capitol hill, to the *Forum Romanum*. In it was the altar of *Juno Juges*, who was thought to make marriages, and to couple folk in matrimonies, and thence it was that gave the name to *Vincut Jugarius*.

Vicus Tufcanus beginneth at the *Forum*, and along the foot of the *Palatine* sheweth the way to *Velabrum*. The reason of the name was this. The *Tuicans* upon a time fighting against the *Aricians*, were by them overcome; and after many thousands of them slain in battel, the rest being few in number fled to *Rome*: who taking delight in the pleasant seat of the City, & the commodiousness of the place, determined there to remain. Whereupon having a plot of four *stadia* granted them by the Senat, between the Capitol and *Palatine*, they inhabited the same. Herupon the street was called by them *Tufcanus Vicus*, and many a 100 year after retained that name. In it afterwards there kept bawds and such kind of people, whereupon it grew out of credit, and lost also the first name.

CHAP. XV.

The Arches of *Romulus*, the *Senaculum*, and the dwelling house of *Ovid*.

The old arches (whom some think *Romulus* erected) continued a long time built of brick, neither would the Romans suffer that any man should make them of marble: to the end, that the memoriall of their City founder, should remain more firmly in the minds of men. But in continuance of time long after, they decayed and fell down, in that very place where now is the church of *S. Mary of Grace*, and were never afterwards reedified. The Romans named that place *Senaculum*, between the Capitol and the *Forum*, wherein the Senat kept a consistory for council and consultation.

That *Ovid* mansion house stood under the Capitol, himself witnesseth, even where as now the church is of *S. Mary of Consolation*. Thus much of the buildings of the Capitol and the valley to it. Now followeth the mount Palatine.

The third Book.

CAAP. I.

The divers etymologies of Palatine.

Albeit the hill Palatine were along time inhabited before the City was built, and namely, first by *Valentia* the daughter of *Italus*; then by *Evander*, who also therein let up a castle; whom there succeeded after the City was founded, *KK* and Emperors; inasmuch as scarcely any one place of *Rome* is more renowned by writing, then this hill: yet the certain reason of the name why it should be so called, and which a man may be bold to follow, can hardly be set down. Some would have it so called, because the Arcadians wandering with *Evander* disorderly, and the Palatines out of the *Rheatin* territory (called likewise *Palatium*) came to that mount and it inhabited; others of *Palas* the great grandfather of *Evander*. *Livy* thought, that of *Palantium* a City of *Arcadia*, it was first called *Palantium*, and afterward Palatine. There are besides, who of *Palatia* the wife of *Lavinus*, fetch the original of the denomination: or of *Palatib*, the daughter of *Hyperboreus*, who bare *Latinius* unto *Hercules*, and inhabited this mountain or of *Palatia* the daughter of *Evander*, who there was buried: or of *Palas*, who was himself inhabited in it. Some there was also, of the bleating of sheep, which pastured there in times past, before the hill was by men frequented and peopled, imagine it was so named: or else because *Ro*cks were wont there *palare*, that is, to wander and graze up and down. And hereupon it is, that *Nero* were called it *Balanium*, of *Balanus*; or *Palatinum* of *Palas*. *Terentius* calleth it the mount *Romulus*, of *Romulus* his image, found at the very foot of the said hill. This may suffice of the derivation of the name.

* *Palatinus*, it, Bleating.

CHAP. II.

The temple of Victory, Ceres, Juno Sospita, and the mother of the gods: the temple of Liberty and the porch thereof, as also the house of Celsus.

NOW that we have declared the reason of the name of *Palatinum*; we will go forward to shew the temples and houses of the mountain, like as we have done in the description of the Capitol hill.

When the Romans had performed fortunately many martial exploits, and oftentimes returned with victorie over their enemies, because they would not be found unthankfull to the gods, unto whom they were beholden for their happy achievements, and thereby afterwards misse of the like fortunate success: they consecrated unto the goddess *Victoria* a temple in that part of the Palatine, which looketh toward the hortyards and gardens of *Maria Nova* in the very bottom of the descent, hard at the gate *Romanus*. *L. Posthumian* an *Edile Cursus* took order for the building thereof, out of certain money raised by fines and penalties; and when it is finished, he dedicated it to the goddess *Victoria*.

Neer thereto there was a chappel, consecrated to *Victoria*, which *M. Porcius Cato* vowed, Besides in the same place was the temple of *Juno Sospita*.

The Arcadians, which with *Evander* came to the Palatine hill, built a temple also in *Palatinum* to *Victoria*, but as different from this above-named, as far more ancient and to the honor of that goddess, solemnized yearly sacrifices.

They built a temple also to *Ceres* in the Palatine.

In the fatall book of *Sibylla* there was a prophesie found, That the forrein enemy and strange born should be chased out of *Italy*, in case the mother of the gods might be brought to *Rome* from *Passionus*. Now a time it was, which the inhabitants of that country so called. Sent therefore were Embass. into *Asia* as far as to *Passionus* a town at *Phrygia*: who brought with them that Great mother of the gods in *Italy*. Then *P. Cornelius* carried it from the sea into the Palatine, and bestowed it into the temple of *Victoria*, until such time as one was built of purple for her. Afterwards, *M. Livinus* and *C. Claudius* the Censors took order for a temple to be made to this great mother of the gods, & the same let out with statues, pillars and pavement of divers stones of great price. And *Junius Bruns* dedicated it. The plaies also and games called *Megalothia*, whereof *Cicero* speaketh, were first instituted at the dedication thereof.

Unto *Liberty*, *P. Clodius* built a temple and stately gallery in part of *Celsus* his house, neer the temple of *Jupiter Stator*.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

Of the Chappell and altar * *Febris*: the temple of *Lares*: the chappel of the goddess *Virtutis*, of Faith, and *Jupiter Victor*.

* The fever;

NOT to those gods only that did good to mankind the Romans consecrated temples, but dedicated chappels to those also that did them hurt, to the end, that they should do less harm, and punish them more gently. For certain it is, that on the hill Palatine there was a temple & altar both consecrated to the *Fever*: likewise to *Nemesis* the goddess of vengeance; whereof before in the second book.

Besides, they erected a chappel of the *Lares* in the Palatine.

In like manner, there was a chappel in the Palatine, consecrated to the goddess * *Virtutis* into which, if man and wife came together, although they disagreed and were fallen out before, they returned home again good friends from thence, and all was well.

After that *Ennius* with his son *Africanus* and daughter *Roma* came into *Italy*, they reared a temple to *Faith*, in Palatine; they which was dedicated notwithstanding in the name of the daughter, and the same was written in the forefront of the temple: and therefore many years after, when *Romulus* and *Remus* strove who should give name to the City, the Senat and people of *Rome* reading the name of *Aeneas* his daughter in the frontispice of the said temple, resolved to name the City after her, *Roma*.

Q. Fabius in the Sabin war, vowed a temple to *Jupiter* conqueror: and afterwards built it on the Palatine hill, and there dedicated it.

CHAP. IIII.

The temples of *Heliogabalus*, *Apollo* and the *Penates*: the house of *Orcus*; the place of the *Paladium* or image of *Minerva*; and the temple of *Augustus*.

Antonius *Heliogabalus* consecrated a god in the mount Palatine, which he called *Heliogabalus*, and built a temple in the place, where before stood that of *Orcus* or *Pluto*. But to who credit and name to this new and counterfeit god with great reverence and worship, he endevoured to translate into this temple of his, * the sacred cup of that great mother of the gods, the fire of *Vesta*, the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, the heaven, the earth, and all things else which the Rom. honoured above the rest. The Christian and Jew with religious awe there consecrated, to the end, that no man in the religious worship of that temple and god, might allege any pretence why he should not with good conscience so do.

Moreover, in the Palatine, there was built a most ancient temple of *Apollo*. This chanced to be overthrown by thunder and lightning; and when the fourtieth gave out, that the god misused it & required another, *Augustus Caesar* adjoined a porch to the ruin: the god and dedicated the temple a new that there stood: wherein himself, when he grew aged, many a time sat in council with the Senat, and empannelled the decuries of judges. In it likewise were pendant candlesticks branched with arms like trees, whereon the approved poets bestowed their writings. Certain marks and tokens of this temple are to be seen (although obscurely) neer to the vineyard of *Edra*, where the house of *Tiberius* stood. Unto him were intimated the Apollinare games, whereof read *Cicero*.

The temple of the City-protectors, called *Penates*, stood in that part of the Palatine which looked into the North, even to *Velia* not far from the *Forum*. In it were the images of the Trojan gods in the same are portrayed two young men sitting together, and holding a ball in their hand. In like manner, the crooked augurs flaves called *Lusini*, from root and brail. Besides, an earthen Trojan vessel of potters work, *Apollo* also and *Nephele* were there to be seen.

When the temple of *Vesta* was on a light burning fire, the image of *Pallas* being saved out thereof, was transcribed into *Velia*, and gave the name unto temple of *Palas*, now *S. Andrews* church, standing in the same place.

Some report, that there was a temple built in *Palatinum* to *Augustus Caesar* of famous memory by his daughter *Livia*.

CHAP. V.

The Palatine houses, and the court of the *Salii*.

That *Romulus* and *Remus* being shepherds shod some time in these parts, the flocks and cottages, which long time after were found here, made of light wood & reed, do testify which as any of them in continuance of time decayed and fell down, the shepherds repaired with the like matter to their ancient form, that the perpetual memorial of *Romulus* and *Remus* the City founders, what kind of persons they were, and what manner of houses they lived in, might be delivered to posterity. In that corner of the Palatine hill, which leadeth unto the grand cirque or show-place, there stood (many ages) the cottage which they called *Casa Romuli*.

Tullus Hostilius, before he built his court dwelt upon *Velia*, in that very place where afterwards the chappel of the *Penates* stood.

Not far from thence, even in that part of the Palatine which regardeth the *Forum*, *Caesare* (by report) had his house built.

* Not much unlike, but somewhat better faim, then *S. Zynobius* of *Paula*.

* *Scaphium* got Father *Hyphos*, the figure?

Moreover, between *M. Scævus* his house and *Capitulum*, there was but a small step over, *Cicero's* house purchased of *Crassus*, was in the most frequent and conspicuous place of the mount Palatine, above the Church of *Jup. Stator*, near the *Palatium*. *Pliny* testifieth, how the houses of *Crassus* the Orator, and *Puerbini*, in the *Palatium*, were in old time overturned.

One Captain *Favus* likewise had a house in the *Palatium*. *Alfo Tiburtus*, whereof we have written in the former chapter. *Augustus* (born in the region about *Palatium*, in a place called *Capita bubula*, i. the ox heads; and where after his death, they erected a chapel unto him) dwelt first near the Roman Forum, above the round stairs called *Scala anularia*, in the house sometime of *Calpurnius* the Orator. Afterwards he built the stately *Palatine* at his own charges and gave it to the City, and himself dwelt on the *Palatine* hill in the small house of *Horatius*.

The Guild, or religious court of the *Salii*, built in the mount *Palatine*, chanced to be burnt; and in the ashes thereof, the staff of *Romulus* called *Livinus* was found, without any hurt. *Publius* dwelt in an house flanking over the *Forum*, which was called *Subvotia*.

That the dwelling house of *Tarquinius Priscus* was near unto the Temple of *Jup. Stator*, may soon be proved out of *Livy*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the top of Velia; the statues in Palatine, and other things in general.

THE pitch of the hill called *Summa Velia*, was in that higher part of *Palatium*, which looketh into the South-east, whereas now is the Temple of *Mary* the new. Called *Velut* was, because in old time before the device of shearing sheep, the shepherds were there wont to pluck the wool from the sheeps back.

Augustus set up a Library of Latine and Greek books in *Palatine*, and adorned it with the money raised of the most excellent brasts of that huge colossus of *Tukan Apollo*. He adjoynd thereto a porch or gallery, which they call *Palatium*.

In it was erected by the Senat, a statue unto *Numerianus* the Emperor, and a singular oratory. In the same porch, the Romans also let up a statue unto *M. Varro*, whiles he lived.

The *Auguratorium*, which was a place where they used to take auguries, was upon mount *Palatine*. *Capitulum Palatinum* likewise, the workmanship of *Scopas*, was in *Palatium*. *Ladona* in the same was placed.

Titus the Emperor set up a golden statue in *Palatine* to *Britannicus*.

Moreover, the tree which grew out of *Romulus* his spear was in the *Palatium*. For he, after he had taken his auguries in the mount *Aventine*, lanced his spear from him into the *Palatine*, which sticking in the earth, budded forth leaves and grew to be a tree.

Likewise the bay tree, which the same day that *Augustus* was born, sprung with him and suddenly appeared, was in *Palatium*. Of this laurel tree, they that afterwards triumphed, were wont to wear their wreathed garlands.

The *Palatine* baths, whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration for *Refois*, were in the same *Palatium*; and of them there remain yet some tokens, above the *Circus maximus*, not far from the vineyard of *Fedra*.

In the same mountain also there was a place called *Sicilia*, and *Iupiters* parlor.

The most beautiful streets called *Atronia* &c. paved with *Lacedæmonian* and *Porphryet* stones, were in *Palatium*. The streets also of *Padus*, and *Fortuna* respectively, were to be seen in *Palatine*. And there were the games and pastimes celebrated, which they call *Palumal*.

CHAP. VII.

The Palatium now called the Greater: the court-yard of the Palatium; and the old gate of the very Palatium itself.

HOW great a compass the *Palatium* took up in old time, how gorgeously it was built, how rich, how frequent and full of houses, the huge ruins, the pictures, statues, and most precious pillars there found, do easily declare. For no man ever hath left in writing, who first built so great and stately edifices; who afterwards enlarged the same, and in so conspicuous a place erected those houses. By little & little it grew to so great an height, as if all writers should be ignorant of those antiquities: neither was any thing at one time done at once, which seemed worth the memorial. For Historiographers are wont to deliver unto posterity those things only which are rare and worthy of admiration. The mount *Palatine* at this day is called *Palatium majus*, and setting aside the Church of *Saint Andrew*, hath scarce two houses inhabited. The rest being either replenished with vines or fit for pasture, yieldeth grafs and food, for sheep, caples and goats. So as it seemeth it may be called *Palatium* of the bleating that sheep make, rather than *Palatium*.

This *Palatium* had also a place therein called *Arrium*, built in old time and hallowed by Augury: in it the Senat gave in council, because they might not assemble in any place unaugurate or unhallowed. Therein also rains were sacrificed.

The old gate of the *Palatium* was near the *Roftra*, over-gaint *S. Laurence* Church in *Miranda*. Some would have this to be called the gate of *Romulus*, in old time.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Temples of Janus, Augustus, and Faustina.

AFTER the description of the Temples and edifices of *Palatium*, the third part of the city, now followeth a fourth: namely, the Roman Forum. Therein is the most stately Temple of *Iannus* (for me thinks we do well to begin at *Iannus*, who is counted the dore and entrance as it were of all things) having four gates. For *Iannus* himself, who was therein worshipped, had four faces; and from *Falisci* a city in *Tuscan* forced by the Romans, he was translated to *Rome* into the Forum, named after *Transitorium*. His Temple was built in that part of the said Forum which looked toward the Roman Forum. *Procopius* saith, that in his daies it was built in the midst of the Forum over-against the Capitol, a little above the place which the Romans called, The three Destinies. Other Temples there were besides of *Iannus*, and namely, in the Capitol near the theatre of *Murcellus*, with two fronts all of brasse, and had two brasse dore, which in time of peace were shut, and against war, were let open.

The temple of *Augustus* was built in the Roman Forum. This was begun in the time of *Tiberius* the Emperor, but left imperfect. *Caligula* finished it. Above it, he made a bridge which joynd the Capitol and *Palatine* together.

There remain yet to be seen certain monuments and marks of the temple of *Faustina*. *Hadrianus* the Emperor her husband founded it at the foot of the *Palatine* hill (where the brazen image of a bull standeth) for her sake that she might be honoured as a goddess. The same, his son *Antoninus Hellogabalus* afterwards would have to be a temple for himself, or *Iupiter Syrius*, or else the Sun. At this day it is the church of *S. Laurence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. IX.

The Temple of Castor and Pollux, and the Roftra.

NO man doubteth but that the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* was sometime in the Roman Forum before the *Roftra*, near to that above-said of *Faustina*. This sacred house *A. Posthumus* the Dictator dedicated: and *L. Metellus* afterwards repaired and beautified it, with the *Dalmatian* spoils. In it, as in many other, the Senat used to sit in council, and therein were publick Orations made to the people. *C. Metellus* adorned the same with statues, pillars, and excellent painting: wherein also he let up the portraiture and resemblance of *Piora*, a picture of singular beauty. A table besides, which contains the records and monuments, touching the free bourgeoisie granted to the horsemen of *Capua*. The steps and greeces going up to this temple, *Cladius* afterwards plucked up, as witnesseth *Cicero*.

There was a temple or consecrate place called *Roftra*, at the foot of the hill *Palatium*, over-against that before-named of *Castor* and *Pollux*, whereas now is the little chappel of *S. Mary de Inferno*. From these *Roftra*, were the sentences and acts of the Senat, brought and propounded to the people.

CHAP. X.

The Temple of Castor, Venus Genetrix, and Mars revenger: and the court of Venus.

Castor of famous memory had a temple near his own Forum, at the broad-street called *Sacra*, behind the temple of *Faustina*. In it were let up as *Saints*, *Victory* and *Castor*.

In the same *Castor's* Forum, there stood a chappel of *Venus Genetrix*, behind the said temple of *Faustina*. This, *Castor* vowed in the *Pharfallian* war, and dedicated it. After victory in the war against *Pompey*, *Castor* enclosed the temple of the said *Venus*, within a court-yard and a cloister, which *Hadrian* afterwards repaired and built new.

Augustus *Castor* in the battle of *Philippi*, vowed a temple to *Mars* the avenger, which afterwards he edified in his own Forum, wherein were certain iron pots dedicated to *Mars*: and two statues, bearing up the tabernacle of *Alexander* the Great. This is thought to be at this day the church of *Saint Martina*.

CHAP. XI.

The Temples of Vulcan, Concord, Peace, Romulus, and Venus Cloacina.

THE temple of *Vulcan*, *Romulus* founded, above the *Comitium* and *Forum Romanum*, at the bottom of the *Palatine* hill: but *Tatius* dedicated the temple of *Vulcan*, as also of the Sun and Moon, of *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, *Diana*, and *Quirinus*. In the temple of *Vulcan* there was dedicated unto *Vulcan*, the brazen chariot of *Romulus*, wherein he rode in triumph a second time. Therein remained also the statue of *Cocles* there erected. Many a time were Orations made to the people in this time.

In the yard belonging to *Vulcan's* temple, *Fulvius*, the son of a *Libertine* or enfranchised citizen, 303 years after the building of the capitol, vowed the temple of *Concord*, if he could reconcile the States of Senators and Gentlemen to the people. Afterwards he built it of the amercements and penalties that he took of *Uiters* condemned, at the foot of the mount *Palatine*. *Optimus* the Consul

Consul afterwards repaired it anew. In it, *Pliny* testifieth that an altar ran blood for two daies. *Livia Drusilla* in her open gallery, erected a chapel of *Concord*, in regard of the mutual and loving agreement between her husband and her: which afterwards *Tiberius* dedicated.

In that place where *Drusilla* first founded the said chapel of *Concord*, *Vespasian* afterwards with wonderful celerity and speed, (after the civil wars ended) finished the Temple of *Peace*, begun before by *Claudivius*. A large building this was and four square, set out with most stately and fair columns, and of all other Temples the richest. In it *Vespasian* bestowed the holy vessels and precious ornaments of the Temple in *Hierusalem*; which *T*. had shewed in triumph. It had also the statue of *Granvader*, and an infinite number of other ornaments wherewith it was decked and beautified. This Temple caught a fire, and at once suddenly was consumed whole: and never was it known to this day how this fire came: unless it were (as some imagine) by reason of an earthquake which happened the same hour, the stones rubbed together and struck fire.

An altar of *Pedeus* was by *Augustus* first reared: but in what place, the posterity knoweth not. The same, *Agrippa* afterwards enlarged and adorned. Between the Temple of *Peace* and *Faustina*, there is at this day a most ancient Temple, and two pillars of the porch to it, which now is dedicated to the two brethren *Saint Cosmas* and *Damian*. Some think it was the Temple of *Romulus* and *Remus*, the same that *Caracalla* the Consul, after he had subdued the Samnites, dedicated, and of the infinit mals of spoils adorned it.

That the Temple of *Venus Cloacina* stood near the broad street *Sacra*, *Ovid* testifieth. Now the image of this *Cloacina* was found in a privy or draught, called *Maxima*, and *T*. is consecrated. And because it was not known whole resemblance it was, it took the name of the place wherein it was found.

CHAP. XII.

The Temple of *Tellus*, *Salus*, *Victoria*, the *Sun* and *Moon*, the house of *Cassius*, and the *Army*.

Where the Temple of *Tellus* stood, some say it is uncertain: others think it was not far from the *Esquias*, near the rising of the hill that leadeth to *S. Peters* Church in *Vincula*, whereas now standeth the Temple of *Panteon*. *Sempronius* vowed it: for whiles he fought a battail with his enemy, at *Asculum* the head Town of the *Picentes*, the earth quaked: and because he would pacify the goddess *Tellus* (i. the earth) which he thought was angry, he vowed this Temple unto her. Built it was in the same plot of void ground, where the house of *Spurius Cassius* (who sought to be a King) was overthrown. Near unto this Temple of *Tellus*, there was an *Atrium*: where of *Cicero* also maketh mention in a certain place. Within the said compass, *C. Junius Bibaculus*, the Consul, vowed a chapel to the goddess *Salus*, in the time of the Samnites war. The same was by him put forth to building when he was *Censor*, and dedicated by him Dictator.

A. Valerianus an *Aedile*, caused the Temple of *Victoria* near the Roman Forum to be made, of the penalties and fines taken.

In this place also was the altar of *Apollo*.

Some would have, that the Temples of *Concord* and *Aesculapius*, were near the Amphitheatre, in the place where the gardens be of *S. Mary* the new.

The Temple of *Mercury* also was in the Forum.

The Temples likewise of *Iris* and *Serapis* were in the Burse called *Emporium*. And some think, that these were the Chappels of the Sun and Moon, dedicated by *Tatius*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Forum of *Trajanus*: the things now therein, or that have been heretofore.

Thus much of Temples, of holy and religious places, which seemed worth the noting, hath been briefly written. Now from hence forward we will speak of those things, which shall concern the honour and memorial of moral men, and first begin we will with that excellent Prince *Trajanus*.

Forum Trajani was built (with wonderful Art and industry of man) by *Apollodorus*, between the *Forum of Nerva*, the Capitol hill, and the mount *Quirinal*. The same workman built also (at the commandment of *Trajanus*) *Meiodemus* and *Gymnasium*. The roof of that *Forum* or Hall was of brass, within round about in every place the forms and images of horses, and military ensignes all gilt. Now were these foreaid images erected there at the cities charges in memorial of them that had deserved well of the common weal, or otherwise of some notable act.

The triumphant arch in like manner with many other monuments reared to the praise of *Trajanus*, adorned this *Forum* or hall of his.

The porch of this *Forum*, built upon most mighty and high pillars, and resting upon large characters, yielded to great admiration to the beholders, that they seemed rather the works of giants than men. Into this, *Alexander Severus* in the honor of *Trajanus*, translated most beautiful statues of singular men.

Trajan horse in like manner stood in the mids, bearing upon high columns.

In a coin also there is found the image of *Trajan*, with this inscription: S. P. Q. R. *Optimo Prin*.

Principis. The *Senat* and the people of *Rome* to the best Prince. But hereof *Lampridius* writeth much.

He likewise is reported to have adorned the palace, made of sundry marbles, with pictures and statues within.

In the midst of the *Forum*, there stood the column of *Trajan*, built with winding stairs. This had round about it the summary of the acts of *Trajan* engraven and chased most cunningly; but above all the *Dakes* war: within there be 185 steps up to the top; and it hath 40 little windows to let in light into them: that shall go up: 120 foot high it was, or (as *Eutropius* writeth) 140. In the lower of lantern thereof were the bones of *Trajan* kept within a golden ball. This pillar *Trajan* himself never saw: for whiles he warred against the *Parthians*, the *Senat* dedicated it unto him in his absence. But he in his return from the *Persians*, died in the way at *Seleucia* a City in *Syria*, of a flux of blood. His dead corps was brought to *Rome*: and of all the Emperors, he alone (as *Eutropius* writeth) was interred within the City. The reason why his bones are left in that Column is this: The manner in, old time was, for Princes and Noblemen to be buried under hills: but there being not mountains enough wherupon to raise sepulchres in every place, it hapned that such steeples and high pillars were set over their dead bodies instead thereof.

CHAP. XIV.

The *Forum*, the *Palace*, and porch of *Nerva*.

Next to our sight cometh the *Forum of Nerva*, and it is behind the Church of *S. Hadrian*. In the midst of it there stood a Column of brass of an huge bigness: covered with plate of silver or copper, and hath within it light every way. This *Forum* was garnished with divers statues and Columns, containing the whole order of the acts of *Nerva*. This was afterwards called *Forum Transitorium*, for that from it there was the way to the *Forum of Augustus*, and the Roman.

There appeared as yet some part of the Porch or gallery belonging to the *Forum*: for being consumed by fire, yet it left certain obscure tokens, witnessing, that in the same place was the *Forum of Nerva*.

Part also of the Palace of *Nerva*, built of 4 square stones and pillars, together with the Church of *S. Blaise*, are yet seen enclosed between the *Comitium* and the tower of *Milvia*.

CHAP. XV.

The Roman *Forum*, the *Comitium*, the prison *Tullianum*, and the Image of *Marforius*.

The Roman *Forum*, which also is called *Latinum*, began at the foot of the Capitol, and reached in length to the Church now of *S. Mary* the new, which is in *Velia*. But at the first, the circuit and bounds thereof were much narrower. For from the head thereof abovenamed, it went no farther than the nearest foot of the mount *Palatine*. Many a year after, *Augustus Caesar* enlarged it.

The *Comitium* joyned to the *Forum*, or rather it was a part thereof: for it beginneth at the gate of *Palatinus*, and endeth at the Church of *S. Mary* the new.

At the foot of the Capitol hill, South-east ward, *Ancus Martinus* built a prison for malefactors to be laid up in. After him *K. Tullius* adjoyined to it that part which is under the ground, and called that dungeon, *Tullianum*. Made it was of huge and mighty big stones, with narrow long holes, for to receive the shadow, as it were, and resemblance of a light. The dungeon within was vaulted with stone, only for darkness, and loathsome by reason of a strong and stinking lent. This whole prison was divided into two parts, the upper room and the nether. *Carcer* it was called in *Latine* *Carcerendo*, because it kept them there enclosed from coming forth.

Just before this prison there lieth a huge marble-idol which they call *Marforius*. Some think it was the Image of the bakers god, others of *Jupiter*, surnamed *Panarius*, of the tumours that bear upon like to loaves of bread. For the Romans in times past, when they were besieged by the Gauls in the Capitol, had warning by *Jupiter* in a dream, to make bread of all the corn that they had left, and to throw it into the enemies camp. Whereby the Gauls despairing that the Romans could possibly be tamed with hunger, brake up the siege. Whereupon the Romans in perpetual memorial of this benefit, erected an altar and a statue to *Jupiter* *Pistor*.

This image is thought to be the resemblance of the river *Rhenus* in *Germany*, because it is upon a rock. But why it should be called *Marforius*, I know not, unless it be because it standeth in the *Forum of Augustus*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Secretary of the people of *Rome*: the arch of *Septimius*; the Temple of *Saturn*. Of the *Treasury*, and the mint-house where they coined money.

Behind the image of *Marforius*, over against the arch of *Septimius* is the Church of *S. Martina*: where, as it appeareth by an evidence engraven in marble, was sometime the place called the Secretary of the people of *Rome*.

Right against the said Church of *S. Martina* at the bottom of the rock *Tarpeia*, standeth the arch

arch of *Septimius*, which in both the fronts thereof containeth the deeds of that Emperor both by land and sea.

Directly there followeth the Temple, sometimes of *Saturn*, now *S. Hadrian's Church*. The said Temple was of great antiquity. Some report *L. Lartius* for the builder thereof; others *L. Targuinius*: albeit more likely it is that *Lartius* dedicated it. *Livy* writeth, that when *A. Sempronius* and *M. Minucius* were Cōnsuls, *Numantius Plancus* rededicated it. The treasury of the people of *Rome*, no writer denieth, but that it was translated out of the Capitol into this Temple. But why men in old time would have the treasure to be within *Saturn's* Temple, there be divers opinions. Some say, because in *Saturn's* daies there was no theft committed: for under him all things were common; no covetous miser nor lewd person laid wait for his neighbour, but all things were administered with righteousness, faith, and love. *Cyprian* alledgeth this cause, because *Saturn* was the first that in *Italy* ordained money to be coined. Moreover, in this treasure-house were kept the public ordinances. Also the books called *Elephantini*, containing the five and thirty tribes of the people of *Rome*. Moreover, all the books of the *Cities* accounts: also the ancient writings and records of the old *Atrium* and the City debts. Furthermore, the standards and ensigns of war. Over and besides, whatsoever was by the Generals and Captains after the conquest of Provinces carried in triumph, was thither brought. Lastly, whatsoever was expedient and profitable for the common-weal to be relieved, as laws, letters, and other common registers of a City. The Censors likewise were put to take their oath in the Temple of *Saturn*.

Between the church now of *S. Hadrian*, and that which sometime was the Temple of *Cæsar* and *Pollux*, stood in old time the work-house wherein they coined money.

CHAP. VII.

The golden Miliarium the bridge of *Caligula*, the *Rostra* and the *Curia*.

Miliarium aureum stood in times past at the head of the Roman Forum, under the Temple of *Saturn*, near to the arch of *Septimius*. A pillar it was, so called, wherein all the high-ways of *Italy* were cut and engraven, and there ended, and from which the measures began and went on to every gate of all quarters.

Caligula brought a bridge of marble through the Roman Forum, from the mount Palatine to the Capitol. A more stately and curious piece of work there never was throughout all the City: the bridge was sustained with four or five mighty pillars of most white marble: whereof at this day three are to be seen at the foot of the one hill, and as many at the other, in such manner as they were in times past by *Caligula* built for the bridge. In the midst of the Forum, over-against *S. Hadrian's Church* there standeth a pillar, which is verily thought to be one of them that supported the brazen horse of *Domitian* gilded all over. At the foot of this horse was the resemblance of *Rhene*, a river in *Germany*: for that *Domitian* the Emperor had triumphed over that Province, and this is the Image which afterwards they called *Marforius*.

Of the beakheads of the Antiat ships, a pulpit was built in the Roman Forum by the Romans at the foot of the mount Palatine, which Temple they called *Rostra*: that therein the acts of the Senat should be made. Now of this *Rostra* there were twain, the new at the bottom of the Palatine as is before said, and the old near the *Curia* in the Comitium. In this *Rostra* were laws published, causes pleaded, and Orations made to the people. On the same manner was also to erect the Statues for most famous and noble men.

In the most conspicuous place of the Forum Romanum, before *Rostra*, upon a lofty stone was the portraiture let or *Faustulus* the fosterfather of *Romulus* and *Remus*. For he, whilst he was detestful to part the fire between *Romulus* & *Remus* the founders of the City, was there slain, where, afterwards they erected unto him his statue. Behind the *Rostra* was the sepulchre also of *Romulus*. Moreover, before the *Rostra* stood the statue of *Hercules*, clad in a coat after the *Eleans* habit, with a grim and stern countenance. Three statues also of *Sibylla* in the same place. The manner of the Romans besides, was to set up the heads of those that were put to death, there to be seen.

Two *Curia* or Council-houses at *Rome* there were: one near the Forum, built by the Temple of *Peace*, named *Hofilia*; the other in the mount *Calvus*, whereof we will speak hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Lake *Curius*, the great sinker town ditch, and the *Doliola*.

The lake *Curius* was in the midst of the Rom. Forum, near *Domitian's* his horse. This lake took that name of *M. Curius*, who to save the common-weal, willingly of his own accord cast himself headlong, armed as he was, together with his horse into a chink of the ground in the midst of the Roman Forum. Some would have it so called of *Metius* a Sabine, who through this lake escaped safe to his own company.

The vault or sink called *Clauca Maxima*, was made by the commandment of *Targuin*: for by reason that the hills were digged under, and the City stood hollow upon arches, it received & carried away all the filth thereof. At the Temple of *Jup. Stat.* divided it was into three conveyances or channels, whereof two of them are now stopped up, the third runneth with most clear water by the Lake *Curius*, under the Roman Forum, along the foot of the mount Palatine into *Velabrum*, and from thence in a sink made of four-square stone, it dischargeth it self into *Tiber*. In old time there

there were many such vaults, and those for public use. But after the City was won by the Gauls & burnt, whilst every man made haste to rebuild his house, where he could meet fast with a convenient place: they took no heed to the streets as they were before: so as neither the City was divided as aforetime into quarters, nor yet the finks which in times past went under the streets, were marked where they lay: but afterwards were conveyed under private mens houses, whereby it came to pass, that each house almost at this day hath a sink or privy belonging to it. Hereupon also it is, that this author, whose epitome or abridgment we write, hath not divided the regions of the City agreeable to the old writers. But to the end that those things which the fethers down might be sooner understood, and better remembered, he hath parted it into those quarters as now it standeth and when he sheweth in what part of the city any place in times past was, he declareth them in those coats which at this day are known to the inhabitants. But as at first these finks were common (as I have said) so there were appointed public overleers to look unto them.

Near the foresaid great sink there was a place, which of certain barrels under the ground was called *Doliola*. This place was reputed so holy, that a man might not spit thereupon, in it were supposed to have been certain secret mysteries of *Numa*. And yet, there be that think verily the ashes of the French Senones were there bestowed.

CHAP. XIX.

The Comitium, the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*, The Statues and Images that were in the Comitium and Roman Forum, *Cæsar's* statue and pillar.

VHere the Comitium was, from what place it began, and in what part of the City it ended, we have shewed before, in the fifteenth chapter of this book. Called it was Comitium, as *Plutarch* saith, for that *Romulus* and *Tatius* were wont to meet together in this place, to make covenants between them. In which place afterwards, the Senat and people of *Rome* assembled, when they would decree any thing for the good of the C.W. and namely, when Cōsuls, Tribunes Cōsular, and such Magistrates were created, and other affairs concluded, whereof authors make mention in all their writings. That place was near the *Senaculum*, at the very foot of the mount *Palatine*. This Comitium was open above-head for many years: whereupon oftentimes, albeit assemblies were summoned, yet they were impeached holding for them, fearing some tempestuous weather toward. Long time after, when *Annibal* came into *Italy*, they set a roof over it: and afterwards *Cæsar* repaired it again. In this Comitium the plaies were many times exhibited. In the same (as *Livy* reporteth) the books of *Sibylla* were burnt. In like manner many lewd and outrageous acts were committed in the assemblies there, whereof elsewhere we will speak.

In the Comitium stood the statue of *Cæsar*: which being afterwards stricken with fire from heaven, was translated into the court-yard of *Vulcan*. In the cantons and angles of the Comitium, were the statues likewise of *Pythagoras* and *Alcibiades*: Also in the ascent and stairs thereof, on the left hand of the *Curia* stood the Image of *Accius*, together with his whetstone and razor.

The Image resembling the Mother goddess, was set up in the Forum. They that worshipped this goddess were of this opinion, that the stone whereof she was made, could not possibly be consumed with fire: yet they guessed hereby, for that albeit many fires were made, in the night especially at her Image, yet it took no hurt thereby: and therefore gave they out, that there was such virtue herein, as I have said, and from thence it came, that in all streets almost they began to worship her, and to erect altars and little chappels unto her.

The Temple of *Venus Genetrix*, as is shewed before, was in the Forum: Just before this Temple stood the statue of *Cæsar*, carrying a blazing star upon the head. In like manner a Column of *Cæsar* made of Numidian marble 20 foot high there remained. Before the Temple of *Cæsar* there was the statue of *Q. Marcius* in horsemans habit: of *Tremellius* clad in a side gown; of *M. Atticus* covered with a veil.

CHAP. XX.

The column called *Mœnia*: the pillar *Horatia*: the houses of *Cæsar*, *Constantine*, and *Domitian*, The Temple and court-yard of the said *Cæsar*.

In that part of the Forum was the Column *Mœnia*, where stood the palace of *Porcius*. Called *Mœnia* it was, of *Manius* the Censor: for he (when as he sold unto *Cæsar* his house, and when *Plautus* the other Censor gave order, that the palace aforesaid should there be built, reserved in the sale so much space for himself, as pillar or column would take up: upon the which he might put out aloft to jut forth, made of joists and boards upon them: from which place both he and his posterity might behold the sport of sword-fencers. And this privilege he obtained: whereupon, others also, as many as might be allowed, were as industrious, and built them columns in the Forum.

There stood a rock of stone in the Forum, whereupon the spoils of the three twins *Christi* were hanged.

In like manner the pillar called *Horatia*.

The houses of *Cæsar*, *Constantine*, and *Domitian* beautified the Forum.

Likewise the court and cloister of *Minerva*; and the shops [of Bankers] as well old as new.

The dead corps of *Cæsar* was brought out of the *Curia* into the *Forum*, and interred in that place, where afterwards they built unto him an altar and Temple.

Likewise in the *Forum* the manner of the Romans was, to lay down their Magistracy.

CHAP. XXI.

Cæsar's Forum: the Palace of Paulus, and his Library.

BESIDES the Temple of *Saturn*, or the common treasury (whereof we have written before in the 16 chap. of this book) in the Roman *Forum* toward the Northeast was *Cæsar's Forum*, even in that very place which seemeth lower than the rest, behind the Temple of *Faustina*. There, was the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*; about which, *Cæsar* made a cloister and a *Forum*, not of wares and merchandise to be sold, but for them that repaired thither for justice in law matters. In this *Forum*, among other statues (whereof there were many and thole most fair and beautiful) he suffered his own to be made, all armed. The *Forum* it self contained but a small compass, but it was most excellently set out. The very level of the plot stood in an hundred millions of Asles and above.

Cæsar purchased with 1500 talents, *Paulus Æmilius* the Colleague of *C. Marcellus* in his Consulship, to be his friend and to stand with him, *Paulus* having received this sum of money, built in the midst of the *Forum* near to the Temple of *Cæsar* and *Pollux*, a most excellent and wonderfull Palace, of Phrygian columns, which afterwards they named, *Basilica Pauli*, A Library also the same *Paulus* erected, near unto his own *Basilica*.

CHAP. XXII.

The Forum of Augustus: the galleries of Antonius, Faustina, and Livia: Cæsar's house.

THE Roman *Forum*, those also of *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*, were (as it is well known) near one to another. That of *Augustus*, they affirm to have been at the image of *Marforius*, in the most frequented place of the City: it was but in little compass, as the other of *Cæsar*, but excellently well adorned with brave statues and other things. For it had the statues of *Cæsar* and *Pollux*, with the victory of *Alexander* the Great: the image also of *Corvinus*, and of the raven that upon his helmet fought. Also *Apollo* in Ivory: and besides these, other ensigms and ornaments of vertue and valour.

In this Hall or *Forum* publike justice was administered: and the judges from thence were empanelled: herein they debated in counsell, of wars, of triumphs, and other weighty affairs. From hence they used to go when they took journey into their Provinces with foveraign command. Hither, they that returned victors, brought the ensigms and tokens of their victory. This *Forum* being by time decayed, *Hadrian* reedified.

This *Forum* had two porches, wherein were the statues set out & decked in triumphant manner. *Augustus* dwelt in the street *Sacra*, in a house not so large and stately, but marvellously furnished by his neece *Livia*. And *Augustus* not able to abide this wastfull superfluity of riches, pulled it down and laid it even with the ground: in the void place and court-yard whereof, was afterwards built the gallery of *Livia*: which also was called *Claudia*. *Nero* cast it down, but *Domitian* built it up again under the old name.

The goodly galleries of *Antonius* & *Faustina*, adorned with divers and sundry marbles well built in old time, were whereas at this day standeth the Church of *S. Laurence* in *Miranda*.

CHAP. XXIII.

The raster or beam, called Sororium Tigillum: the Street Cyprinus, Sceleratus, and Patritius: the house of M. Antonius.

SORORIUM TIGILLUM was a place hallowed for the expiation and assailing of *Horatius* for killing his sister, set up near the street *Carina*, to the honour of *Jupiter*.

The street *Cyprinus* is near to the cliff or rising of the Capitoll, which leadeth to the Church of *S. Peter* in *Vinculis*, so called of *Cyprus*. In it dwelt the *Sabins* first, when they were afranchised and made free denizens, Surnamed afterwards it was *Sceleratus*, upon the wicked and devilish act of *Tullia*, whereof *Livy* speaketh. Some think this was one with the former: others say, it was divers from it.

The street *Patritius* was so called, because of *Patritii*, who were by *K. Tullus* commanded there to dwell. For this was a place raised somewhat higher than others: from whence as from the upper ground, they might easily defend themselves against the sudden violence of others, if it should be offered.

M. Antonius dwelt in that house, where sometimes stood the Temple of *Tellus*. After *Antonius*, the Church of *S. Pantalon* was in the same place built.

CHAP. XXIV.

Busta Gallica, and Æquimelum.

BUSTA GALICA, was a place, in the heart of the City, where the dead bodies of the Frenchmen that held *Rome*, were burnt and buried. It was in that part of the City where at this day standeth the

the Church of *S. Andrew* (in *Busta Gallica*.) Now they call it by an awk name, *Portugallo*: and it is not far from the Amphitheatre. *Varro* setteth the *Busta Gallica* near the *Æquimelum*. As for *Æquimelum*, it was so called, because the house of *Melinus* who fought to be *K.* was there laid level with the ground.

CHAP. XXV.

The street called Via Sacra: the arch Fabian and Vespasian.

THIS street beginneth at the old *Curia*, in the angle of *Palatium* near the arch of [Great] *Constantine*. *Varro* suppoeth that it began at the *Carina*, and the chappel of *Sternia*. Whereby a man may gather that the *Via sacra* sometimes went through the gardens now of *S. Mary* the new, to the Temple of *Peace*, the *Forum* of *Cæsar*, and so directly up to the Cattle of the Capitoll. The name of *Sacra* it took for that the *Augurs* when they came from the Capitoll hill, went through it as they took their Augury: or because monthly, they went in procession with sacred reiques along that way: or last of all in regard that in it there was a league and covenant made between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. At the head and top of it, *Ancus Martius* in times past dwelt, near the chappel of the *Lares*.

In this street was the famous statue set up of *Cladius*.

The arch *Fabian* likewise, near the Kings Palace, fast by the *Basilica* of *Paulus*, was reared by *Fabius* the Centor, who subdued the *Allobroges*. In which arch was the scutcheon with his arms, and other tokens of the victory engraven. Fast by it, *Scirionius Libo* erected a seat and Tribunal for the *Pætor*, named *Puteal*.

In the time street-way was the marble arch of *Vespasian*, (the ancientest of all others that are now to be seen) erected by *V. Vespasian* after he had won *Hierusalem*. In it were his victories cut and engraven, with the ark of the covenant of one side, and on the other, his triumphs and spoils; and namely, the golden candlestick; the seven other lights the two tables of *Moses*, the vessels of the Temple of *Hierusalem*; the golden table, weighing one great talent; and many things else, whereof *Josephus* writeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

Græcoflafis; Senaculum; the Curia: the Palaces of Opimius and Porcius.

GRÆCOFLAFIS is a place on the right hand of the *Rostra*, as men go forth of the *Comitium*; where, the *Embassadors* of forrain nations being sent unto the Senat, used to stand and give attendance until they were admitted to audience.

The Palace of *Opimius*, and the *Curia*, stood near unto the *Græcoflafis*. Above the *Græcoflafis* was the *Senaculum* at the Temple of *Concord*, Called it was *Senaculum*, because the Senat or the elders were wont there to meet. In Greek it is named *ἑστιάριον*.

Curia was in the *Comitium*, and some think it is all one with *Senaculum*; so called, because the affairs that required publike care were there debated. There was a *Curia* also of *Priests*, where Church-matters were handled and treated of. Now this *Curia* where the Senat met, was a Temple or hallowed place: for neither might the Senat meet, nor act of Senat pass, but in the place set out and appointed by augury. Hereupon *Curia Hostilia*, *Pompeia*, and *Julia*, being profane places before, were by inauguration consecrated Temples. In this *Curia* was the altar of *Victory*: and upon the stairs of the said *Curia* stood the image of *Victory*, made of fine pure gold.

Cato the elder in the time of his Ceniorship, built (with the City money) a palace near to the *Forum*, under the *Curia*, which after his own name he called *Portia Basilica*.

The palace also of *Romulus* (as men think) stood where the Church is now of *S. Mary* the new. These places therefore which have been thus described in the fourth region of the City, joyned together in one place in a manner, and were all contained within this circuit, as you go from the *Centurion* toward the Temple of *Peace*, and the Church and gardens of *S. Mary* the new almost as far as the *Esquilia*.

The fourth Book.

CHAP. I.

The Temple of Janus and Piety: of the publike goat of Rom. Commons.

SEEING that four parts of the City are described, the sixth ensueth; which in lodeth those places that comprehend *Tyber*, part of the *Arventine* on the right hand, and the rock *Capitol* on the left: the valley also which lyeth between those very hills. Wherefore begin we will at the memorable places, which are next after the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and so run through the plain and level plot of the City. And with *Janus* first, whom men in old time believed to be the very doo; and as it were the entrance of all things. Unto *Janus Numa* built a Temple at the gate *Carmentalis*, (afterwards the chappel of *S. Katharine*) at the bottom of the *Argiletum*, close

close unto the theatre of *Marcellus*. This Temple had two doors: in time of peace they were shut, but in war opened by that Consul, who, as the worthier person, was first created. It is found in records, that this Temple was shut but only thrice. First, by *Numa* himself: secondly, by *T. Manlius* the *Coel*, and a third time by *Augustus*, after the battel of *Actium*. But why in time of war it stood open many reasons are given: and this is thought the chiefest, namely, an accident that befell when *Romulus* warred against the *Sabins*: for when the *Sabins* were now possessed of the gate *Carmentalis*, and about to rush violently into the City, all on a sudden unlooked for there issued forth upon the enemies a pious river and stream of hot boiling water out of the Temple of *Janus*, which stood near to the gate: whereupon they were driven to flee, and so the City was saved. From hence it is that posterity coming after, open the doors for *Janus* that he might be at liberty, when he is called forth, as it were, to help in time of war.

Others report that *Tatius* and *Romulus* both were the founders of that Temple: as who, when the covenant was made betwixt them, agreed together of that two-faced god as an indifferent and common witness to them both of the accord contracted between two Kings and two nations: and so erected unto him this Temple in that very place where now the ruins of *S. Katharine's Church* are to be seen.

Moreover there be who affirm, that *Cn. Duilius* vowed it, and *Tiberius* built it: but the variety of these opinions kemeteth hereupon to arise: for that it is received and held for certain, that there were many *Janus* worshipped as gods by the posterity: whereas they in old time believed but one: so as that which is spoken of divers is fully supposed, as said of one. Which may be seen before, whereas we wrote of *Janus* with four fronts or faces, whose Temple was erected in the *Forum*. For it is said, that *Janus* was the first who erected Temples and ordained divine service and ceremonies for the gods: and therefore in sacrifices deserved the first place.

Portraied he is with a key and a wand: as who is the porter to keep the gates, and the guide to direct the ways.

Augustus besides, brought his image out of *Egypt* to *Rome*; and in the herb-market built a Temple in the honour of him.

To *Prius* in the said herb-market, *M. Artilius Glabrio* dedicated a Temple in that very place where at this day standeth the Church of *S. Nicholas* in the prison: for even there *Ap. Claudius* the Decemvir by a decree of the Senat built a Prison, for that the common goal (whereof we have written before) was not sufficient; and called it, The prison for the Commons of *Rome*: wherein himself afterwards being found guilty wrought his own death. In which also many years after, a certain filly poor woman of bale and obscure parentage, being newly brought a bed, being apprehended for an heinous offence, was condemned to be starved to death. Her daughter, being a milk woman and delivered lately of a child, made humble request to the goaler, that she might have leave to go to her mother: and when he had made straight search before, whether she brought with her any food: and saw her have nothing about her, let her in: and so she went and came many times. At the last, known it was that the prisoner within was nourished by the breast-milk of her daughter: whereupon the mother was delivered and set free: and both mother and daughter were allowed their food ever after by virtue of a decree, at the Cities charges: and in regard of that kindness and affection of the child to the mother, they consecrated this place to the goddess *Prietas*. *Livy* supposeth, that it was not the mother but the father that in this manner was by the daughter nourished.

CHAP. II.

The herb-market: the Temple of Juno Matuta, and of Hope: the Oratory or Chappell of *Numa*: the Column called *Lactaria*: the Altar and Chappell of *Carmenta*.

His place hath the name of *Forum Holitorium*, for that therein is great store of worts and pot-herbs without the gate *Carmentalis*; where, where, in times past was the old market kept: and at this day called it is the street *Montanaria*.

Within the compals or the said market-place, *C. Cornelius* the Consul, in the time of the Gauls war, vowed a Temple to *Juno Matuta*: which afterward being Cenfor, he put out to building, in that very place where afterwards stood the Church of *S. Andrew* surnamed in *Matutina*.

The same *C. Cornelius* built in the *Forum Holitorium* the Temple of Hope, and the same adorned with divers and sundry marbles: which afterwards *Collatinus* consecrated. Many a day after, it was smitten with lightning: and in the end set on fire and burnt.

A Column also there was in the same market-place, named *Lactaria*: unto which the sucking babes that were to be nourished with milk, were presented.

The Oratory of *Numa* stood in the bottom of *Argiletum*, near the theater of *Marcellus*. The Altar *Carmentalis*, consecrated by *Evander* to his mother *Carmenta*, stood before the gate *Carmentalis*.

In the same place also was the Chappell of *Carmenta* built by the matrons of *Rome*. At the first, she was called *Nicostrata*: but for that she delivered Oracles in verse, she took the name of *Carmentis*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fish-market, and Temple of Fortuna Virilis.

The fish-market standeth along the *Tybre*, near to the [Forum] *Junius*, between the Churches of *S. Mary* in *Porticu* and *Egyptiaca*, within the gate *Carmentalis*, not far from the *Forum Boarium*, i.e. the ox-market.

The Church of *S. Mary Egyptiaca* is at this day near the *Tybre*, and a bridge of the said name. Some go about to affirm and prove that this was sometime the Temple of *Mercy*; others, of *Fortune* and *Chastity*; but all in vain: for those Temples were not in this place, but in the ox-market: as for this Temple of *Fortuna Virilis*, whereof we now speak it was near *Tybre*. In it stood the statue of *Serv. Tullius* made of wood and guile all over, which in a great fire when all things else were burnt, remained only safe and sound.

CHAP. IIII.

The Temple of Vesta, the Salinae, and the arch of Cocles.

Near the Church of *Mary* surnamed *Egyptiaca*, there remaineth at this day a most ancient Temple, now dedicated to *S. Stephen*, the frame whereof is circular, and the pillars are set round about and bear up the roof which being one entire piece of work, carrieth the whole Temple. Consecrated it was in old time to *Vesta*: and *Numa* taking that circular platform, from the Temple which was at *Alba*, made it with a lover in the top, having a hole to give light.

Howbeit, of this goddels her self there is no image nor resemblance; for that fire, whereof she is the goddels, can have no certain and permanent form. As for *Vesta*, the Latines call her so, because she is arrayed with divers and sundry things. Of the Greeks she is named *Isia*. For that her force and power appertaineth to altars and hearths where fire is kept. This is not the Temple wherein the sacred fire is preserved: but that whereof we spake before, which *Romulus* built between the *Capitoll* and *Palatium*.

Salinae were the store-houses of the salt which served the City: and they stood upon that bankside of *Tybre*, which from the foresaid Temple of *Vesta* reacheth into the *Aventine*.

The arch of *Horatius Cocles* stood at the very foot of the *Aventine* hill, where the rising thereof beginneth between the mount and the *Tybre*.

CHAP. V.

The Forum Boarium.

Hitherto from the beginning of this fourth book, are described those things which on the right hand of the *Tybre* were worth the noting. Now forward we will alter our manner, run through all the memorable things which are on the left side of that river: and first, as concerning the beast-market.

The beast-market was near to *Velabrum* and *Janus*, between the mount *Palatine* and the Greek school, close to the Temple, now called *S. Gregories* Church. In it there was a most ancient image in brass of a bull, whereupon some think it took the name *Boarium*. Others, for that oxen were there sold: or because they used in old time to sacrifice those kind of beasts there: or else for that *Evander* in that place killed an ox in sacrifice to *Hercules*, for killing *Cacus* and recovering again his kine and oxen. In the same place were kept the instruments wherewith the Ministers belonging to sacrifices the sacrificers also themselves, were furnished when they went about their sacrifice. In this market-place was the first fight exhibited of sword-fencers.

CHAP. VI.

The Temple of Hercules Victor, and the Altar called *Maxima*.

The round Temple of *Jupiter Victor* was built in the beast-market, near the Greek school: where sometime *Evander* reared unto *Hercules* the altar called *Maxima*. This Temple (as they say) was so religious and venerable, that neither fire nor dog would enter into it. For *Hercules* at what time as he distributed a dole of flesh to his followers and ministers in his sacrifice, prayed unto *Asygius* [the god that gathereth flies.] He it is therefore that driveth away all flies from this Temple: and at the door thereof he left his club behind, which as soon as the dogs see they run away far off: and thus unto the daies wherein *Pliny* lived it was free from flies and dogs. At the sacrifice and divine service of this *Hercules*, neither women nor bondslaves, nor yet freed men that had been in villenage might be present. At the last, this Temple was consumed in that fire which *Nero* the Emperour made.

Ovet and besides, *Evander* erected unto *Hercules* a statue, which was called, *Hercules Triumphant*, because so often as there was any triumph in the City it was clad with a mantle, and other habiliments of triumph.

All the time that *Evander* reigned *Hercules* had no more but an altar which they called *Maxima*: and this *Evander* reared unto him for killing of *Cacus*, and restoring his kine and oxen again. Upon

Upon this altar he sacrificed the tenth part of the fruit of his kine: for *Hercules* had given out and promised, That they should live an happy life who dedicated unto him the tenth part of their goods. Hereupon cometh the name of *Decima Herculeana*, i. e. *Hercules Tithes*.

CHAP. VII.

The Temples of Chastity, Prosperous Fortune, Matuta, and Fors fortuna: of the place called *Vicus Publicus*, *Velabrum*: and the sepulchre also of *Acca Laurentia*.

Near to the Temple of *Hercules*, well known it is that a chappell was built by *Amulius* to *Pudicitia* *Patritia* i. e. Gentlewomens chastity. Now the image that represented this Saint, stood in the beaſt-market. To the service and ſacrifices celebrated unto this godelle, virgins that were Commoners daughters might not come. And therefore a certain maiden of commoners degree, reared a chappell also to *Pudicitia* *Plœbeia*. From the service and ſacrifices thereof, the *Patritia* virgins were likewise debarred. Many other places & Temples besides were consecrated to *Pudicitia*.

The Temples of *Prosperous Fortune* and of *Matuta*, *Servius Tullius* consecrated in the beaſt-market: And that *Fortune* he called *Proſpera*, which was not blind. In that place (say they) an Olive tree sometimes stood, and upon a time when honey dropped and flowed from it, the Soothsayers gave order, that a little coffer or box should be made of the wood thereof, wherein those lots were put and laid up which by the direction of *Fortune* were either handled or shuffled together by the hands of young boys: as if such should prove happy fortune, & excellent. *Servius Tullius* described all his acts whatsoever to *Fortune*, who being born of a bond woman, had many times for need and by her, and was in the end advanced to princely dignity. And hereupon he dedicated Temples to *Fortuna* *Primigenia*, *Majoula*, *Comertens*, *Bona* *ſperans*, and *Vident*, as who would say, she ruled and did all. Likewise, a Temple he consecrated to little *Fortune*, signifying thereby, that nothing can happen unto us, be it never so small, but we must attribute it, as coming from the gods.

A Temple to *Matuta* *Camillus* vowed in the Veientian war and dedicated it: which long before that time *Servius Tullius* had erected. To *Matuta* and *Fortuna* *Primigenia* the Romans did sacrifice upon one and the self same day: and likewise in one and the same day both their chappels were burned and consumed with fire together. *Corvulus* the Consul caused a Temple to be made unto *Fors Fortuna*, or *Fortis Fortuna* near unto that of *Matuta*, of the money sailed out of the spoil gotten from the *Tuſcans*.

The street called *Vicus P. blicus* began at the *Forum* *Boarium*, and went from thence unto the *Aventinas* as far as to the Temple of *Juno*. In this street near the said *Forum* was the Chappell of *Velabrum*, in that very place where now standeth the Church of Saint *Gregory* in *Velabrum*, so called.

Aventine hill was sometime separated from the other mountains by the *Tiber* between: wherefore that *Tarquinius Priscus* turned the channell of *Tiber*, it brake out mountains, and having found a Irish or creek it beat upon the foot of the *Aventine*. And therefore of necessity, whosoever would go to the *Aventine* was to make a fare, that is to say, by paying his quadrans, ferry over thither in a Wherry. Hereupon that place is at this day called *Velabrum*, i. e. *vehendū*, i. e. ferrying over, where sometimes the *Tiber* had wrought out a Irish.

Antia hath left in writing, that the sepulchre of *Acca Laurentia* was in *Velabrum*.

CHAP. VIII.

Vertumnus and his Temple: *Janus* with four faces: the house of *Africanns*: the Court or Palace *Sempronia*, and the wooll-shops.

Men in old time called *Vertumnus*, not only the god of buying, selling, and of fruits; but also him that ruled mens minds, so named *à Vertendo*, for that oftentimes he turned & changed at his will and pleasure the purposes and thoughts of men another way far divers. His Temple & image they erected in the *Tuſcan* street, near to the altars of *Ops* and *Ceres*. The festival daies of this god, celebrated in the month of *October*, are called *Vertumnalia*. Some there be that would have *Vertumnus* and *Janus* with four faces to be all one: upon this reason, for that they affirm the Temple of *Janus* afore said to be in *Velabrum*, whereas they build that of *Vertumnus*. But now that Temple whereof we have before spoken, upon four pillars beareth up one roof, and hath four gates & sides, and in each forefront twelve little windows, which signifye the four quarters of the year, and the twelve months. In old time they put *Janus* before, in all sacrifices, and gave him that name *ab eundo*, i. e. going, and hereupon the entries and doors of houses be called *Janua*.

Near the image of *Vertumnus* *Pub. Africanns* had an house, which *Sempronius* afterwards bought together with the wooll-shops, and built the palace which they call *Sempronia*, near the Temple of *S. Gregory* in *Velabrum*.

CHAP. IX.

Argiletus: the house of *Cornelius*: *Æquilibrium*: the Chappell of *Surguendy* or *Boath*.

The *Argiletus* beginneth at the bottom of the *Tuſcan* street, and endeth at the Theatre of *Marcellus*. But *Ædinius Pithus* saith, it began at the head of the said *Tuſcan* street, under *Cælius*, between

between it and the great *Lutis*, and so reacheth to the *Aventine*. The name it taketh of a kind of clay or loame, whereof there is plenty in that place: or else of one *Argus* who being entertained as a guest by *Evander*, laid wait for his life, intending after he had murdered him, to be King and rule himself. But the friends and company about *Evander* discovered his traips, and to be was by them slain. Unto him therefore *Evander* reared a tomb even there, and consecrated the place.

Now *Imus Argiletus* is juit by the Theatre of *Marcellus*. In this street were divers shops of artificers or artificers, and especially of stationers or bookellers, and those they commonly called the *Argiletan* shops.

Cornelius Domitians is said to have dwelt in *Velabrum*.

Æquilibrium is between *Velabrum* and the Capitol, near to the staplers and wooll-shops. The name arose hereupon, for that *Sp. Melius* a Roman Citizen who aspired to be King, sometime there dwelt: who being detected of that crime was killed, his goods confiscated, and his house laid level with the ground, and the plot where it stood by the Romans was made a void-yard.

The Temple of *Murtia* goddess of Idleness was under the *Aventine* upon the ascent of the hill called *Civus Publicus*, in that part whereas folk go up to the Church of *S. Prisca*. Hereupon the mount *Aventine* was sometimes called *Murtius*.

Moreover, some there be that in this place would have the *Asylum* to stand; but we have shewed before that *Asylum* was first built by *Rom*, upon the Capitol. But in process of time, after that so great riches and wealth was gathered and laid up there in the Capitol, and that otherwhiles the Senate used there to meet and sit in council: the *Rom*, thought it not with the safety for them than thieves, fellows, and other lewd infamous persons of all sorts, should come for refuge thither, and there abide: and therefore they supposed it better for their security to translate this privileged sanctuary to some othere place. Whereupon not there alone, but in many other parts afterwards there began sanctuaries to be set up, not at *Rome* only, but also in other quarters of the world.

CHAP. X.

Circus what it is, why it was so called, and for what cause ordained.

The place where games & exercises of disport were performed, was called the *Cirque* so named, for that the scaffolds were built in circuit round about to behold the pastimes: and within that compass the said solemnities were exhibited: also for that the pomp was carried in show, and the horses ran about the goals there. Built it was round, but long-wile like an arch or bow, having in the circuit about it steps one above another, with apt seats for the beholders, that one should not hinder the prospect of another: in the midst were two marks or goals distant alike one from the other. Also the barriers or *cavercus* so called, because the horses stood there pent and kept in until the Magistrate gave the signal to begin the course.

Now these solemnities of games and plaies are festivals in the honour of their gods: for ordained they were first, and still are observed and kept, either for their birth daies & nativities, or dedications of Temples. And at the very first verily were hunting and baiting of beaſts, which they called (*Munera*) to the honour of *Saturn*. But the stage-plaies were due to *Liber*: the *Circenian* games to *Neptune* and *Ceres*. Thus these pastimes were assigned, some to the gods, and others to hoſe: and in honour and memoriall of them yearly solemnized. As for the games *Circenian*, they were so called, because when they were to be performed, they had the bank of the river of one side, and swords set to flank the other. But of these games, plaies, and solemn fights, *Silius* hath written at large.

CHAP. XI.

The great show-place called *Circus Maximus*.

Tarquinius Priscus instituted first this large circuit for running of races, and laid the foundation thereof between the two mounts *Aventine* and *Palatine*. But *Cæsar* was he that enlarged it, and made it more magnificent and stately. For being (as it was) three furlongs and an half in length, and four acres broad: it is thought that it was *Cæſar*'s and not *Tarquinius*' who 'erected it out to that largeness: and this foundeth like to a truth, considering that in *Tarquinius* daies the City was not so populous, neither given so much to these shews and fights, as in the time of *Cæsar*, and therefore the place required not so great a compass of ground. Now this *Cirque* for three parts thereof to wit the two sides and one of the ends had a ditch digged ten foot deep, and as many broad: behind that ditch were galleries built three stories high: and these had seats made beneath with stone, and above of timber: all which galleries had one and the same bases for they closed together round like a globe. Able they were to receive a hundred and fifty thousand men. Seemore thereof in *Dionysius*, *Pliny*, *Livy*, and others who have written of the Roman Edifices. This *Cirque* *Augustus* adorned and beautified afterwards: for he made the barriers of marble, and guided the goals, and many other ornaments he set it out withall. Lastly, when it was decayed and fallen down, *Trajan* rectified it, made it more ample, and trimmed it up. Yea, and after him, *Heliogabalus* set thereto besides most fair and goodly Columns, and garnished them with gold, and paved the very floor with *Chrysocolta*. But as touching the beauty of this *Cirque*, *Nazarius* writeth much. For, by report, so elegant it was, that men resorted to it, not so much to behold the exercises and maſteries there, as the pleasant and delectable beauty of the place. *Maximus* therefore it was called, either because consecrated it was to *Fortunus*, the

the greatest of the gods, or for the excellency and impronovousness of the games: or else because in comparison of other Cirques, to wit, *Flaminia*, and the other called *Intus*, i. e. the inmost, this was the biggest. For *Pliny* hath left in writing, that it lay out in length three furlongs, and once its breadth, so as it would well serve for two hundred and sixty thousand men to sit within it.

CHAP. XII.

The Temples and Altars which we read to have been in the Circus Maximus, or about it.

Consius is reported to be the god of Counsell, either for that he concealeth mens counsels, or Copeneth them unto men. This God had an altar in the great shew-place covered over which betokeneth, that counsell ought to be close and covert. For which cause, this altar as we read, was by the old Romans to him consecrated. For they at what time as they consulted about the ravishing of the Sabine maidens, fearing lest they should have been detected before the time, dedicated this altar to this god, and erected the portraiture and image of him thereon. Which altar verily, either by some injury of the times, or through mens neglect of the gods, continued so forlorn, as it the end it was altogether unknown where it stood. At length found it was again, and at all other times remained covered, but in the time of horse-runings, and then it was uncovered and set open. To this god was the feast also instituted, called *Consualia*. And those disports and pastimes which they devoyed for the ravishment of the Sabin Virgins, were celebrated at this altar by certain Priests belonging to that god.

In like manner *Neptune*, surnamed the Chevalier, had a Temple in this *Circus Max.* which in the year of our Lord 1526 was found behind the Temple of *S. Anthonis*, at the foot of the mount *Palatine*, in the very foundations of the *Circus*: for such marks and tokens were there to be seen, that by good evidences it appeared that this was the very Temple of *Neptune*. For the honour of this *Neptune*, the games *Circenses* were by men in old time solemnized.

Allé to *Genius* the guide and director of secret plots, they directed an altar in the great Cirque; Over and besides these, this Cirque contained three other altars: one to the Great gods; a second to the Penates; and a third to those gods of heaven and earth, from whom all things arise and have their beginning. These gods above said, the Romans called *Genii*, *Penates*, *Presidents*, and keepers of the City.

Liber, *Libera*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*, had their Temples about this place called *Circus Max.* which *Posthumius* when he warred against the Latines, vowed and the same man upon his return with happy victory built and dedicated them accordingly.

To conclude, in the same camps were the Temples of the sun, and of *Flora*. Moreover, a Temple there stood near this *Circus*, unto *Venus*: which *Q. Fabius Gurges* the Consul, caused to be made of the money raised upon the fines of certain wives that were condemned for playing false with their husbands.

Lucius dedicated a Temple to *Juventus* without the great cirque, not far from that place,

In like sort, *Mercury* had a Temple near this *Circus Max.*

In *Plinius* daies there was seen in the *Circus Max.* the image of *Fortuna Seia*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Naumachy of the great Cirq. ne.

Naumachy is a place so called *ἐν ναυτίᾳ τῶν ποταμῶν*, i. e. for that in it they used to skirmish with ships. For there were places digged deep like ponds, where were represented some shews of navall fight, for the exercise of the Roman youth, that they might know how to charge and annoy the enemy at sea also. And these kind of sports were exhibited and practised not in the cirques only, but also in the Amphitheatres.

CHAP. XIV.

The two Obelisks of the Circus Max.

The Obelisk (as *Marcellinus* testifieth) was a very huge and rough stone rising like a spire or brooch, by little and little to a mighty height: and that it might resemble a ray or sun-beam, it grew with smaller and smaller in fashion of a steeple, with four sides or edges, and in the top it is very narrow, and there made plain and smooth right artificially. In most of them are engraven and cut certain Hieroglyphick notes, and namely, such as testifie either the founder thereof, or else other memorable matters. Of these figures and characters, the same *Marcellinus* speaketh in this wise: Moreover, the infinite variety of forms and characters, called Hieroglyphicks which all about we see engraven, the ancient authority of the first learning did set forth and mark to. Thus much saith he. Now they drew and portrayed therein sundry forms and shapes of living beasts and birds, and oftentimes devised new and strange resemblances, whereby they reserved and kept for their posterity whatsoever was memorable and worth remembrance. This manner continued not in *Aegypt* only, but also in other parts of the world, until such time as letters were found: and then this was given over. At the first one letter implied a whole word, and one word went for a whole sent ence. But heretofore shall find much in authors that have written of these characters. Moreover, as *Pliny* witnesseth, these Obelisks were made of the stone *Simitar*. Then they erected and consecrated

consecrated to the gods, and principally to the Sun: and therefore in hewing and cutting them, they resembled the sun-beams, as we said before. The first that ever devised these Obelisks, was *K. Methres*. At *Rome* were none of these Obelisks wrought and cut out, but brought thither from other parts, and so for beautifull shew and to wonder at were erected. Therefore in the Cirque aforesaid, called *Maximus*, two Obelisks were seen, one standing upright aloft 80 foot high: the other lying along in the *Naumachy*: it carried in length a hundred and thirty foot and 8 inches, besides the base or footstall, which *Augustus* translated to *Rome* out of *Hieropolis*, a City of *Aegypt*: but when he would have set it up on end it fell down and brake in twain. This was bewyn out of the quarry, by King *Sannefretus*, in whose reign *Pylagorus* was in *Aegypt*.

CHAP. XV.

The arch of Settinus in the Cirque, The place of the Tuberos in the Cirque. The stews, the house of Pompey, and the fountain of Juturna.

Sertinus having made conquest of *Spain*, brought great store of money into the City chamber: and of the spoils taken from enemies, he reared two arches: the one in the beast-market, called *Forum boarium*; the other in the great shew-place, named *Circus Maximus*. Upon these arches he set golden images, and other ornaments to beautifie them.

The house and family of the *Julii* was none of the wealthiest, but yet of great credit and estimation with the Romans. Among whom there was so great concord & unity, that 16 of them at one time dwelt and agreed well together in one and the same house. For their singular prowess and worthy acts they were allowed by the Senat and people of *Rome* a scaffold by themselves in all the shew-places and Theatres, to behold all fights and maneries of activity.

About the *Circus Maximus* stood the stews and brothel-houses, where sometimes harlots and naughty-packs kept, such as made profession of whoredom. But this place was afterwards laid even with the ground, and is now a void place.

The house of *Pompey* was near the *Circus Max.* and therein was the statue of *Hercules* erected.

The fountain or well of the nymph *Juturna*, is yet (as some think) to be seen, boiling up in the *V. labrum* near the common sink or vault called *Maxima*.

CHAP. XVI.

The Septizonium of Severus.

Here should follow by course after the great Cirque, the fix part of the City, namely, the mount *Calvus*. But because we meet with the *Septizonium* of *Severus*: and the arch of *Constantine* (before we come to *Calvus*) between it and the mount *Palatine*, something would first be spoken of them, especially being so excellent building as they are. The *Septizonium* therefore is a mighty mount or terrace raised from the plain ground 4 square, compassed about with seven articles, that is to say courses of rows of pillars one above another, yielding as it were as many porches or galleries: and in this order they are disposed, that the higher the pillars stand, the lesser and shorter they be. In the midst hereof, four walls arise, containing within them certain low places like cabinets. In the top thereof were bestowed and laid the ashes of Kings and Emperors deceased. *Jul. Capitolinus* nameth this mount *Septidionum*, for the Greeks call places much frequented, whereunto many waies lead. *Hepodius* of *Syracuse*, seven and 10 ways. *Pliny* calleth it *Syprisidionum*, of seven lots or furlows. For in every course thereof the columns meet together in the head with marbles trankles. Other beams there be besides, reaching inward from them to the mount itself, so as every such course yielded a stage like a gallery or walking place. Two of these *Septizonia* we read there were at *Rome*, to wit, the one of *Titus*, in the street called *Via nova*, of right great antiquity, not far from this of *Severus*: of which at this day there is to be seen no shew or token at all. The other of *Severus*, whereof there remain still, over against *S. Gregories* Church 3 Zones or girdles (as it were) of curious work: for the beauty and maneries of the pillars worth the seeing, and pleasant to behold. Reared it was in the broad street called *Appia*, and built by *Severus* himself. That which now is left thereof, leaneth out so, as it seemeth ever and anon ready to fall.

CHAP. XVII.

The triumphant arch of Constantine the Emperor.

These triumphant arches were erected for them only, who having subdued whole Provinces or conquered Iorran nations & obtained brave & fortunate victories, seemed worthy of triumph, and thereupon they are called Triumphant arches. Upon these arches for the perpetual and everlasting memorall of acts atchieved, were cut and engraven the portraitures of the very places where the war was performed: the resemblances of Fabricks and ranged battels, if the service was on land; and of ships, if it were at sea. Howbeit until the time of the Emperors no man raised any arches, and in *Plinius* daies they began first to be built: so that of *Titus* is of all others most ancient. For before their age, only statues and trophies were set up. But in process of time following, many of these arches were raised: among which, that of *Constantine* is to be seen above the rest, at the corner of the mount *Palatine* near the Theatre, beautified with triumphall ornaments, and

and remaineth at this day in a manner sound and whole without any hurt. This arch *Constantine* erected for himself upon the victory which he obtained over *Maxentius* at the bridge *Milvian*.

CHAP. XVIII. Caelius the mount, and Caeliolus.

The mount *Caelius* in old time was named *Quercetulanus* for the number of oaks there growing; but afterwards it was so called of one *Caelius Vibennus*, a Duke of the Tuscan nation, unto whom the Romans granted a place in that mountain to inhabit. For when as the Tuscan people, by reason of their multitude, and the strong fenced places which they held, were suspected, commanded they were to remove into a street which of themselves was named *Thufew*. But such as were without suspicion, kept the hill *Caelius* or *Caeliolus*, i.e. the little *Caelius*; a place where sometime the goddess *Diana* was worshipped: and at this day there standeth the Church consecrated to *S. Evangelista* the virgin. This mountain afterwards by *Tiberius* was named *Augustus*.

CHAP. XIX.

The Temples of Faunus, Venus, and Cupid: the Court Hostilia: the forrain camp: the house of the Laterans: the Palace of Constantine, and Caelotians: the horseman statue of L. Verius.

Vpon the ridge or side of the mount *Caelius* there standeth a round Church, now patronized by *S. Stephen*, but hallowed and consecrated in times past to *Faunus*, *Faunus* he was called, in *gods*, for that he foretold things to come by voice and not by signs. The Albans in old time inhabited that part of the hill, where at this day the Church stands of *S. Mary Dominick*.

In the hill *Caelius* stood sometimes the Temples of *Venus* and *Cupid*, not far from the gate *Navia*, where now is the Church of the holy Cross in *Hierusalem*.

The Court *Hostilia* was in two places of *Rome*, the one in the common *Forum*, hard by the Temple of *Peace*, where King *Hostilius* first dwelt, the other in that place, where afterwards the Church of *S. John* and *S. Paul* was built.

A place there was in the mount *Caelius* called *Castra Peregrina*, toward the Northeast and the *Esquilæ*, where at this time the Church of the four crowned Saints is frequented.

The house of the Laterans also was built upon the same mount, at the Palace or stately Hall of the Laterans.

The Palace of *Flavius Constantinus*, near the house of the Laterans, stood between the gates *Capitominus* and *Gabina*.

The Palace of *Caesarianns* was built at the gate *Navia*, and the Church of *S. Holy-croft* in *Hierusalem*.

In the street called *Lateranensis* stood the statue on horseback of *L. Verius*. Some say it was made for *M. Aurelius Antonius*, others for *Septimius Severus*.

CHAP. XX. Of the Amphitheatres, and first of that of Statilius Taurus.

Now it followeth to speak of the Amphitheatre of *Statilius Taurus*, but before we write thereof, let us be briefly shewed what an Amphitheatre is. Now this word *Amphitheatrum* cometh out of *Amphi*, *g*, *g*, *g*, i.e. of looking round about: for two prospects joyned in one, make the form of an hemisphere or half circle. Some think, that *Titus* devised the Amphitheatre first, but some avow and prove, that *C. Caesar* built the first that ever was in *Mari* field: but by the authority of *Suetonius* it is proved, that *Statilius* reared one Amphitheatre before *Titus*.

In these Amphitheatres were prizes and rewards propounded to them that would fight with beasts. Condemned persons likewise yielded there to the eyes of men a horrible and fearful sight to behold; for thither were those prisoners brought by the *Lictors*, within that enclosure to wrestle and maintain conflict with wild beasts.

Moreover, the Emperors before they took their journey to any war or expedition, exhibited unto the people in these Amphitheatres shews of sword-fencers at the sharp for life and death: to the end, that the soldiers should be acquainted with fight, and learn not to be afraid of weapons, of wounds, no, nor of bloodshed, nor to draw back and avoid the perils of war to come; for the novelty and strangeness thereof. A great part of *Statilius* his Amphitheatrum, is yet to be seen near the walls at *S. Cross* Church in *Hierusalem*. And at the same time he built it, when *Augustus Caesar* encouraged and exhorted the Citizens of *Rome*, every man according to his ability to beautify and adorn the City.

CHAP. XXI.

The water conduits why they were devised, by what means waters were conveyed into the City, so what purpose, by whom first, and how many.

The City of *Rome* in the beginning, as hath been said in the first book, was but narrow of compass, and confined within small bounds: and the people for commodity and store of water, fet

setled upon the river *Tyber*. But as the city daily more and more increased, necessary it was that some should build them houses and habitation in other place, some in another, farther from the river: whereupon distressed it was for want of water, which was to be fetched so far off and that with great pain and labour: besides, those places which had no current of running waters to walk away the filth, and carry it into *Tyber*, became (by the noisome air which was infected with their loadsome and stinking smells) unwholesome, and the subject many times to the pestilence. Prince *Nerva* therefore (the Emperor) undertook to redress and remedy this mischief; and others after him by his example) and devise by the wit and subtle invention of men, conduits-pipes, to bring water into those parts of the city which otherwise had none. And this verily they did two waies, the one by arches, when by digging certain rills or rivulets the water was carried level above ground, forced by certain weights, ballasts, and counterpoises the other by vaults under the ground, bringing water into the city by secret under-waies through pipes, spouts, and rocks. By which means it came to pass, that in the city every where such there was of water, that each house almost had a well in it, but especially at the bottom and foot of the hill *Quirinalis*, and all the side thereof, in the street *Parianæ*, *Numeræ*, the *Latine* way, the *Aventine*, the *Jews* street, and in many other places: so as in this our age full it is of such water-works under the ground. Now were these waies conveyed from divers places, and some conduits especially, such as were devised by arches were higher or lower than others. In the beginning and all the former times, there were by report five heights or depths: The highest of all was new *Anio*; next, the waters *Claudia*; in the third place the waters *Julia* *Tegula* in the fourth; then *Martia*; and after it old *Anio*, the level of current whereof, *Virgo* followeth and *Appia*, and the lowest of all others, *Alfentina*, which serves that quarter of the city beyond *Tyber*, and other low places built upon the plain. These waters were first brought into certain great conduit-heads, and from thence they were by a certain measure distributed by the conduit officer, and so ran into places appointed. Now that great conduit-head was called *Cassellum*, which receiveth first the common water, and afterwards sendeth it out into divers and sundry parts: and the keeper or officer that overseth it is named *Cassellarius*. There were besides level or above ground certain cisterns or receptacles of water, which kept water to serve curriers, fullers, and other such artificers for their necessary use. Over these waters were appointed certain wardens and keepers, and a set number of labourers and workmen to fee thereto. Finally, a grievous punishment was to be inflicted upon them that either marred and hurt the conduit-heads, or devised and conveyed water to other places than the laws or publicke ordinances, or the Censors or Ediles permitted: or took more water than at the first was allowed them. *Appius Claudius* (by report) was the first man that brought water into the city by arched work. But of the Roman waies, of the conduits, and other matters ordained thereabout, of the manner of conveyance, the instruments, measures, and weights thereto belonging, read *Frontinus*. Who of these things hath written truly and at large. Also have recourse to *Sex. Rufus*, who of the same argument hath made a good treatise. In the time of *Frontinus* there were but nine waters and no more brought into the City, namely, *Appia*, old *Anio*, *Martia*, *Tegula*, *Julia*, *Virgo*, *Alfentina*, called also *Augusta*, *Claudia*, and new *Anio*. *Rufus* reckoned ten more, whereby it appeareth, that he wrote long after *Frontinus*.

CHAP. XXII.

The conduit or conveyance of aqua Claudia.

Claudius began two conduits, but left them unfinished when he died. *Claudius* the Emperor of famous memory, took them in hand again, and in most magnificent manner made an end. To the one of them, namely, which beginning at the sources or springs called *Carsina* and *Curtius* was drawn to the City, he gave the name *Aqua Claudia*: the other, for difference sake of the two conduits of *Anio* he called his own, or the new *Anio*: and distinct it was from that which is named old *Anio*. The water *Claudia* therefore was brought from the gate *Navia*, along the side of the mount *Caelius* into the *Aventine*. A part also thereof *Cavacalla* derived into the Capitol hill.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the thing which now in mount Caelius are not known where they stood.

Before the Consul having expelled *Tarquinus*, built a Temple to the goddess *Carna* in mount *Caelius*, to which goddess also, upon the accomplishment of his prayer and vow, he offered sacrifice. They in old time supposed that she had power over the vital members of the body, and to her devotion they committed those parts, and that she should preserve them safe, they did sacrifice upon her altars, and presented oblations.

Agrippina likewise began to build a Temple to *Claudius Caesar*, which after her death *Calpurnia* finished, and *Nero* utterly destroyed to the very foundation: this also was erected in the same hill. *Mammaria Formiana*, Master of *Caesars* Carpenters in *France*, was the first Roman that adorned and set out his house which he had in *Calius* hill with marble rough-cast. Moreover, the house of *Claudius Centimalis* stood upon the said hill. Also the house of the *Tartius*, who were two of the thirty tyrants. Likewise the house of *Junius Sencor*, wherein, when as all other edifices and buildings upon that mountain were consumed with fire, the image of *Tiberius* remained unhurt. There also it is said of *Titus Claudius Cyprianus*, the maker of hymns. In this hill was the great *Macellum*, the cave or den of *Cyclops*, the *Spoliarium*, and the army.

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CHAP.

CHAP. III.
Cacus, and his hole or Cave.

Cacus, by report of the Poets, was the son of *Vulcan*, whom they believed in old time to breathe out of his mouth fire and smok. This *Cacus* infested the places near unto him with robbing and spoiling. But more probable it is, that he was a most lewd and thievish servant of *Evander*, and therefore the Arcadians called him *κακός*, i.e. naughty. A cave he haunted, as by very good conjectures is certainly gathered, in *Aventine* toward *Tyber*, over-against the Church of *S. Mary Aventine*, whereas the river runneth nearest to the hill, and whereas there hangeth over a vast and huge craggy rock, as fit a place as might bemo make a starting hole and cave for such an one, and near it is to the gate *Trigemina*. Him when *Marcellus* had killed and sacrificed, he reared an altar unto *Jupiter Juvencor*, near to the said cave or den.

CHAP. IIII.
The *Armilustrum*, and some other things in generall.

A*rmilustrum* was a place where fouldiers shewed themselves and their armor, and where they used to muster: where also in their arms they sacrificed and did service to their gods, with resounding loud trumpets. Some would have it to be in the *Aventine*, others in the *Cirque Maximus*: but that matters not much. Hither the fouldiers used to repair when they were returned from war, and here they laid up their harness and weapons. For armor of their own and in their privat custody the Romans had not, to use in the wars: but delivered all up to be kept safe either in the *Armilustrum*, or the tower or castle upon the rock *Tarpia*.

In *Aventine*, near the Temple of *Juno Regina*, were the *Scala Cermania*, that is to say, a steep place with a downhill; where wicked malefactors, drawn with a crook, were most miserably executed and killed.

There stood sometime this hill, near the Temple of *Diana*, the house of *Phyllis*. A part of this mountain was called *Kemuria*: which *Remus* chose to dwell in: and being there by his brother *Romulus* committed to the earth, he gave it his name.

The Senat and people of *Rome* built in this mountain, to the honour of *Decius* the Emperor, the baths called *Deciana*, and others also near them, named *Variana*. Moreover, the bairns of *Trajan* were in this place, where now the vineyard of *Francis Albertinus* is.

The caves of *Favvus* and *Picus* also were in the *Aventine*, as *fabius* report, *Italia* likewise dwelt in the *Aventine*, as *M. Cato* recordeth.

The Temples and edifices of this hill all in generall were (by report) burnt in the daies of *Tiberius*, sometime Emperor.

CHAP. V.
The sheard hill, and other things within that compass.

The plain and level ground between *Aventine*, *Tyber*, and the City wall, hath four sides, but uneven: in which there riseth a little hill, commonly called *Tellacens*. The whole compass hereof will hardly be measured with 2000 paces: the height is about 160 foot. It resembleth in shew the form of a gourd: and the one side of it which regardeth the *Tyber* is broader than the other. Near to this hill was the glais-makers street (and the potters) also the carpenters habitation. And no man doubteth, but hereupon arose and grew the mount called *Tellacens*. For in old time, at *Rome* and elsewhere, as also in some places now adies, much use there was commonly of earthen vessels made by potters: which even by this may be certainly collected, for that in *Numa's* daies there were four colleges or societies of potters: and these made of clay not only vessels, but also the images of the gods, and ornaments to beautifie and set out their Temples: pillars and wals were by potters work seeld in the outside, nay, the very dead bodies were bestowed in coffins of baked clay. Since then, in so great sort of earthen vessels and potters work, much of necessity must needs be broken, which if they had been cast abroad in the corn-field and pasture grounds, would have made all barren and unfruitful: again, if they had been thrown into the water, would in time have choaked up the channell of the current, and forced the river to swell and overflow the banks: *Numa* therefore commanded this kind of workmen to dwell in one place, and gave order to sling all that was good for nothing, as filth, ruff-raff, and broken sheards into one place: whereupon, in process of time arose a mount which they called *Tellacens*. Among these potters there was a place hallowed to *Venus Myrica*, as we find in some records.

CHAP. VI.
The Pyramides; the sepulchre of *C. Cestius*, and the garners of the people of *Rome*.

The *Pyrimides* were huge towers four-square, rising up in height, sharplike to a flame, whereof they have the name *πύρ*, i.e. of fire. But *Stephanus* suppoeth they were so called, *πύριον*, i.e. of wheat; because into that place where they were erected, wheat was brought out of

of all *Egypt*; which made a great dearth of corn. These at the beginning were reared by the Kings of *Egypt*, thereby to spend and consume their superfluous wealth and substance, whereof they had no use; for fear lest if they had gathered goods, and heaped up a deal of gold, silver, and other riches, they should thereby have given occasion unto some for to lie in wait to take their lives away: also, that the common people should not live in idleness. Afterwards, at *Rome* likewise they bestowed their money thereupon, for to make the world wonder, and to shew their vain-glory. There is yet one of them to be seen, standing upright at the gate *Hofstiensis*, enclosed within a wall. And commonly it is said, that it was the monument or sepulchre of *C. Cestius*, one of the seven *Septemvirs*, called *Ephlones*. But *Blondus* would seem to prove, that it was the place for buriall of the whole College and Society of those *Septemvirs Ephlones*. Now were they called *Ephlones*, who had the power to ordain and make feasts and solemn bankets to the gods.

It is written, that there were 140 garners of the people of *Rome*, between the mount *Tellacens* and *Tyber*.

In the same compass of ground near *Tyber* was the lake or pool *Hylerna*. Some also affirm, that there stood sometime in that quarter a little town called *Capena*.

CHAP. VII.
The sweating steeple, and the image of *Jupiter*.

By cause the *Esquilis* should next follow: but because it lieth between the way *Laticana* on the Southeast side, and the valley (which for the breadth of 400 foot enleotheth that way) on the West: we will rehearse what memorable things have there been in the *Laticana* way and the valley afore said, before we come to the mount *Esquilis*. In our return therefore to the triumphall arch of *Constantine*, whereof we spake before, we will as we go discourse of the rest. Near then unto this arch there appeareth the half rundle or circumference of an old steeple made of brick, which *Villoz* calleth the sweating steeple: for that the report goeth, how sometime there gushed water out of it: whereby the common people, standing to behold the games and plaies in the next scaffold of the Theatre until they were thirst quenched their drought.

In the top hereof stood the brazen image of *Jupiter*, because their ancestors in old time were wont when they made solemn leagues to use the image of *Jupiter*. But for that it was a trouble either to carry with them or to send the said image, especially if they were to contract and establish any accords in far remote countries, therefore instead of the complete image they took the steeple only: which might betoken *Jupiter* the King of the gods, as well as if he had been there present full and whole.

CHAP. VIII.
The Amphitheatre of *Titus Vespasianus*, The Temples of *Fortune* and *Quirites*.

Between the two hills *Calvus* and *Esquilis* was there an Amphitheatre. This *Vespasian* built first, and afterward *Titus* his son dedicated and beautified it with the bairns, built near unto it with right great celerity and speed. This Amphitheatre was commonly called *Colosseum*, of *Nero's Colossus*, which was set up in the porch of *Nero's* house. In the same place of the Theatre were the pools before time of *Nero*, whereof we will speak hereafter in this very book. This Amphitheatre they called also *Arena*, i.e. the Sand-floor, because the ground was spread over and laid with sand, that the wrestlers might fall softer and take less hurt, also that the blood should be drunk up, to the end that the sword-centers in combat might not be afraid upon the sight thereof, and so with less chearfulness and courage set upon their concurrent: and last of all, that the champions, whose bodies were anointed with oyl, being betwexed with the sand, might with more ease take hold one of another. The whole Theatre and place it self within (which during those daies of the games was covered over with tent-cloth) would receive 80000 men. But hereof see more in *Pliny*, *Pompeius Laetus*, and other writers of the Roman acts.

Eulvinus Flaccus built unto *Fortune* (fast by this Amphitheatre) so goodly a Temple, as for state and magnificence there was hardly another in all *Rome* comparable unto it. Besides it, there were many other chapells at *Rome* consecrated to *Fortune*.

Likewise a Chappell of *Quintus* and rest was built in the broad street *Laticana*.

CHAP. IX.
Of *Esquilis*.

The mount *Esquilis*, as well by *Varro* as others, is divided into many parts, and each part thereof took name of those captains who in times past, before the City of *Rome* was built, there inhabited. For one was called *Cispina*, another, *Oppia*, and a third, *Septius*. But hereof *Varro* writeth at large. The posterity following changed those names, as we shall hereafter hear. Some think that *Esquilis* took the name of *Excubias*, i.e. watch and ward. For when *Romulus* had no very great troth in *Tiberius*, he used to have a standing watch by night, for fear he should be secretly forsaken and killed, or else turned out of his kingdom. Others suppose it was so named of foulders, who there used to cast forth chaff, and such refuse of light corn, to beguile and catch the poor birds.

The side of the hill toward the broad way *Laticlavia*, which lieth between the Churches of the 40 martyrs of *S. Clement*, *S. Peter in Vincula*, and *S. Martin*, was called by the name of *Carinae*, as *Livy* seemeth to testify, from that part therefore, because it was first inhabited, we shall do well to begin our treatise.

CHAP. X.

The Carinae, the old Curia and the new.

These *Carinae*, according to their model and form were houses like to keels of ships, standing within the Temple of *Tellus*. Their ruins are yet to be seen near the Church of *S. Peter in Vincula*, i. e. in bonds.

Near to that place was the old *Curia* built by *Romulus*; but the new was erected near to *Comptinus Fabricius*, i. e. the Quarrefour or cross way of *Fabricius*.

CHAP. XI.

The bairns of Titus and Philip; the statue of Laocoon; the Palace of Vespasian; the houses of Balbinus and Pompey.

Here remain yet to be seen the tokens and prints (as it were) of *Titus* the Emperors bairns, not far from the Church of *S. Martin* in the hills: for there be great cisterns to receive water, which at this day be called *Septimius Sella*, according to the number of those cisterns: and so far reached the house of *Nero*, called *Aurea*, i. e. golden.

Not far from thence in the year of our Lord 1506, one *Felix* a Citizen of *Rome*, chanced to find in his vineyard the statue of *Laocoon*, made by those excellent workmen, *Aggesander*, *Polydorus*, and *Athenodorus*, Rhodians who with wonderful cunning portraited and cut most artificially in one intricate stone, *Laocoon* himself, his children and the admirable windings and foldings of the serpents about them. And now at this day is to be seen at the Vatican in the palace of *Vesphasian* near the said bairns of *Titus*. See more of this you may in *Pliny*. As for the story itself, most learnedly and lively it is set out by *Virgil*, and there to be read. Behind these bairns of *Titus*, between East and North, the ruins of others besides are thought verily to be those of *Philip* the Emperor.

Above the bairns of *Titus* some set *Hadrian's* bairns; for that this place is yet called *Hadrianetulus*. By the testimony of *Lampridius* it appeareth that *Balbinus* his house was in *Carina*. There also was *Pompey's* house, in which *Lenaxus* his freed-servant taught grammar.

CHAP. XII.

The cliff Virbius; the house of Servius Tullius; the golden one of Nero, and that of Virgil, Mecenas his tower and hortyards; the Temples of Fortune and Felicity.

That part of the *Esquilie*, which overlooketh the Church of *S. Laurence* in *Fontana*, is named *Clivus Virbius*; there also is the grove *Fagualis*, wherein stood the mansion house of *Servius Tullius*.

Nero's house, called *Golden* took up all that space, which from that quarter wherein now *Saint Gregory's* Church standeth, lay between *Constantine's* arch, the *Colosseum*, the *Carina Esquilie*, and *Mecenas* hortyards. His house before was in his own fire wherewith he burnt the City, consumed also: and when he re-edified it anew, he called it *Aurea*. The spacious largeness wherof was such, that it had about it three porches of a mile compass apiece. It contained also a pool like another sea: walled it was about, and resembled a very City. There were to it belonging holts and hamlets country like, vineyards pastures, woods, and beasts both tame and wild of all sorts. The holts and the porches were double gilded all over, and set out with precious stones. And in one word there was nothing wanting that might serve for pleasure or prodigal riot.

In the entry of this house there stood an huge image giant-like, called a *Colossus*, 120 foot high. After *Nero's* death, dedicated it was to the sun, and then changed the name. Now men think it was called *Colossus* after his name who was the first deviler of all such statues.

Within the same house, *Nero* included also the chappell of *Fortuna*. This goddess being made of the stone *Phengites*, when all the doors were shut, gave light to the whole house within: such raies of radiant brightness casteth this kind of stone from it. This goddess *Servius Tullius* first consecrated, and of *Segetes*, i. e. standing corn, called her *Seia*.

At the bairns of *Dioclesian*, there is a street-way leading up to *S. Antonies* Church in *Esquilie*, where stood sometime a most noble tower of *Mecenas* within his own hortyards: for those most pleasant hortyards were in the plain of *Esquilie*. Here within was *Prapus* worshipped: upon which ill-favored Idol *Virgil* hath played much in verse.

Near the hortyards of *Mecenas* stood the said *Virgil's* house.

The Temple of *Felicitie*, which took up a part of that plot where *Nero's* Gold-house should stand was by him burnt.

Above those gardens or hortyards of *Mecenas* was raised a wonderful piece of work, called *Aggeres Tarchinius Superbi*, i. e. *Tarchinius* bulwarks.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Palace of Silius; the plain and market place of Esquilie; the grove Querquetulanus; also that of Juno Lacinia, and of Mars; the chappell and altar of Ill-Fortune.

The palace of *Silius* in *Esquilie*, stood (as they say) where the Church of *S. Mary* the greater now is.

The plain or field *Esquilie*, near the tower of *Mecenas* (called *Inter montes*), among the hills, is between the fore said bulwarks and the City wall. This plot of ground was in times past called *Foculus*; because dead bodies were therein burnt. But when the stinking steam thereof was noisome to the City, the Citizens and *Augustus* (as by a general consent gave the field unto *Mecenas*, where he made his goodly hortyards and most dainty gardens. Of which *Cicero*, with others, speaketh much.

In like manner, the market place *Esquilinum* was in the same hill.

That side of the *Esquilie* which looketh toward the grove *Querquetulanus* had in it the grove of *Juno Lacinia*.

In the same *Esquilie* was the chappell and altar of *Ill-Fortune*.

In the way which goeth to the gate *Interagere*, even in the very bulwarks or rampiers of *Tarchinius* stood the arch of *Gordian* made of marble, garnished also and set out with ornaments of triumph. Of the ruins thereof was *S. Gregory's* Church in *Damasus* built.

CHAP. XIV.

The cliff Suburrans; the arch of Galienus; the shambles or flesh-market of Livia, or as some would have it, Livianum; the Praefectine way, and the Trophees of Marius.

At the top or upper end of *Suburra* was the *Clivus Suburrans*, so called of *Suburra*, yielding an easy ascent from thence up into the *Esquilie*.

Among you meet with the triumphal arch of *Galienus* the Emperor (where now standeth the Church of *S. Peter*) making a goodly shew of the *Tiburtine* Stone, wherof it was made. Near unto it was the shambles or market-place, called *Macellum Liviae*, or *Livianum*. This, as some think, took the name of one *Macellus* who being a notorious thief, and practising much to steal into the City, was in the end apprehended, and by the Censors condemned: and his house being seized as confiscate to the City was converted to a place wherein they sold meat and all other victuals; and so it kept still the name (as is said) of *Macellum*. Some are of opinion, that the said house was pulled down, and another built in the ruins thereof, which retained the name still of the former.

From thence beginneth the port-way *Praefestina*, and leadeth to the gate *Esquilina*.

In this way you shall meet on the right hand with a huge bank of brick, half ruined; upon which were erected two Trophees of marble; that is to say, certain posts like *Quintus* standing upright with spoils of enemies hanging thereupon; and they resembled men that were taken prisoners. It is said, that these Trophees were set up by *Marius* in his triumph for the Cimbric war: which when *Sylla* had cast down and overthrow, *C. Caesar* (afterwards Dictator) erected again. The place of the inhabitants thereabout, is at this day called *Cimbrum*. As touching Trophees, look to read more in *Plutarch* *Valerius Max*, and others.

CHAP. XV.

The house of the Elia; the chappell Marianum; the region or quarter called Tabernola; the bairns and dwelling house of Gordian; the Palace of Caius and Lucius; also the Palace Licinianum.

The house of the *Elia* stood in that place where now be the monuments *Mariana* and the chappell of that name.

The plain part of the *Esquilie*, between it and the mount *Calvus*, and the *Basilica Laceranensis*, is at this day called *Morulanus*, for *Mariana*; and in old time, the region of *Tabernola*.

Near the Church of *S. Eusebius*, in the way of *Praefestina*, was built the bairns and habitation of *Gordianus*. The ruins of those hot-houses are yet to be seen, whereby a man may soon give an estimate, how fair, how rarely, and large they were at first.

Between the gates *Esquilina* and *Navia*, not far from the walls, there be to be seen certain notable ruins: this they commonly call, the bairns of *Galatius*. But in that place stood, in old time, that beautiful and famous palace which *Cesar* erected under the name of *Caius* and *Lucius* his nephews. Hard by the Church of *S. Balbina*, whereas now is the Bear called *Pileatus*, stood sometime the Palace *Licinianum*.

CHAP. XVI.

The water Martia or Trajana; and the Temple of Ius.

The current of the water *Martia*, passing by the gate *Trajana* through the plain of *Esquilie* went as far as to the bairns of *Dioclesian*, unto the hills next adjoining. This in old time was called *Ansera*. It riseth out of the spring *Piconia* in the mountains of the *Pelignis*, and passeth by the

the Martians country and the lake *Fucinus*, and so runneth to *Rome*; the coldest and most wholesome of all other waters that run into *Rome*. This water *Ancon Martius* began first to bring into the City: afterward, *Q. Martius* furnished *Rex*, took it in hand; and a long time after *Agrippa* repaired the conduit thereof. Of it read more in *Pliny* and *Frontinus*.

The Temple of *Isis* is by *P. Vitell* placed in the quarter *Esquilina*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of *Suburra*; the house of *Cæsar* and *Lælia*; and the street *Patricius*.

Suburra is a street of all other most frequented: it beginneth at the *Forum Romanum*, and goeth on forward directly by the *Forum Nervæ* up to the hanging or rising of the hill called *Cilve* *Suburrana*, whereof we have written before in this book; and it endeth where the way *Francia* beginneth. Called it was *Suburra*, either for that it sustained and bare up the *Carina* and the wall under it; or because it lay under the old City; or as *Varro* thinketh, of the burrough or street *Succursus*. In this street *Suburra* was the house of *Cæsar*, so long as he contented himself with a mean estate.

In it were sometimes certain stews and brothel-houses, as *Martial* writeth.

The street *Patricius* windeth crooked from the hill *Viminalis*, and endeth at the baths of *Diocletian*. Of it more hath been said in the former book.

The house of *Lælia* likewise was in the same street, as *Martial* witnesseth.

CHAP. XVIII.

Suburra in the Plain; and the Temple of *Sylvanus*.

The mount *Viminalis* on the West-side of it hath part of the *Quirinalis* opposite against it: and the vale lying between was named *Suburra* the plain.

In the same valley in times past were the ten *Tavernæ*; so called of the number.

The pit also of *S. Proba* was in the same hill; which *Proba* her self made near to the Church of *S. Marci* in the field.

At the foot in manner of the hill *Viminalis*, over-against *S. Agatha's* Church there stood the Temple of *Sylvanus*, as appeareth by many good tokens.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the hill *Viminalis*; the Palace of *Decius*; the *Laver* of *Agrippina*; the baths of *Olympias* and *Novatus*; the dwelling houses of *Q. Catulus*, *Craffus*, and *C. Aquilius*.

Varro reckoneth the hill *Viminalis* among the *Esquilæ*. *Viminalis* it was named of *Jupiter Viminalis*, whose altars were in that hill; or else of plenty of Officers there growing.

In the highest rising and ascent of that hill, there stood in old time, (where now is the Church of *S. Lawrence* in *Panisperna*) the Palace of *Decimus* the Emperor, as may be shewed by the ruins thereof.

Not far from the same place, toward the Church of *S. Vitalis*, were the lavers or washing places of *Agrippina* mother to *Nero*.

The baths of *Olympias* were situate toward *Suburra*; the tokens whereof are now found in the brow of the hill.

Likewise the baths of *Novatus* were built upon the hill *Viminalis*, where the Church of *S. Prudence* standeth.

The hill *Viminalis* had also three goodly houses of most noble personages, to wit, of *M. Craffus*, *Quintus Catulus*, and *Caius Aquilius*; the marks whereof are evident to be seen in the side of the said hill.

Upon the same hill in times past a certain feastivall sacrifice was solemnized, which the dwellers and inhabitants there, call *Fagual*.

CHAP. XX.

The baths of *Diocletianus*; the Library *Ulpia*; the plain *Viminalis*; the gate *Interaggeres*; and the vale *Quirinalis*.

The baths of *Diocletian* are to be seen all ruinate on the side of the hill *Viminalis*: and by their ruins a man may easily gather how stately and magnificent they were sometime. These were begun by *Diocletian* and *Maximinian Hercules*; in the building whereof 40000 Christians were held to work many years together in most slavish manner.

These were afterwards finished and dedicated by *Constantine* and *Maximinian*, new Emperors. Of the vain and superfluous expenses which the Romans laid out upon Baths, read *Seneca*, who depaينتeth out their wastfulness most excellently.

In the same baths was the Library *Ulpia*, which by *Hadrian*, or (as some think) by *Trajan*, was thither translated; wherein were the liest records, and those huge volumes, called the *Elephantine books* in which the acts of the Emperors, and all the sanctions and ordinances of Senat were, as *Pollio* witnesseth.

Behind

Behind these baths, from above the rampier or bulwark of *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the plain field *Viminalis*, which spreadeth out as far as to the City wall. There is seen as yet the gate *Interaggeres* shut; albeit it seemeth more probable and like to a truth, that it stood in the plain *Esquilina*.

In that very place there was a pit or well of spring running water, which the neighbours dwelling thereby called the pit of the *Vivarium*, or the park pit, within which park they kept enclosed divers and sundry kinds of wild beasts. The harbors and dens of these wild beasts are yet to be seen: whereupon it cometh, that those places or parks which are set out and appointed for feeding of Deer, we like to call *Vivaria*.

The space between *Diocletian's* baths and *Constantine's* arch is named the vale *Quirinalis*: in which they say, that *Romulus* met with *Proculus*.

In the same was the sacred chappell of *Fortuna Publica*.

CHAP. XXI.

The mount *Caballus*: the Etymology of *Quirinalis*: the tower *Militarium*: the baths of *Paulus*: the chappell of *Neptune*: the baths of *Constantine*: the house and street of the *Cornelii*.

The hill which at this day they name *Caballus* was in old time called *Quirinalis*, as by many signs and reasons may be proved; so as no man skillful in the Roman story, need to doubt thereof.

This *Quirinal* hill, the six in order of the mountains of *Rome*, (as *Varro* testifieth) taketh that name of the Temple of *Quirinus*; after others, of the *Quirites*, who coming with *Tatius* from *Cures*, there pitched their tents and lodged. This mountain is shaped long, for it comprehendeth that little hill which is between the gate *Collina* and *Colatina*. Upon it standeth the Obelisk of the Moon, engraven with Egyptian hieroglyphick characters. In breadth, from the North Southward, it reacheth to a tower, now called *Comitium*.

In the pitch and top of the hill, above the *Forum of Trajanus* you shall see the tower called *Militarium*; where in old time the souldiers of *Trajan* kept their standing guard, and gave the tower that name.

On the same ridge were the baths of *Paulus*, built: which place at this day by a corrupt name, is called *Bagnana-Poli*.

In the descent and hanging of the *Quirinal* hill toward *Suburra* stood sometime the chappell of *Nephtis*, which appeareth by the pictures and other reliques there found.

From hence toward the North were the hot-houses of *Constantine*, as the ruins of the place do testifie.

The house of the *Cornelii* was built in the street so called, and at this day the name it keepeth still, but more hereof eliewhere.

CHAP. XXII.

The Temples of *Saturn*, the Sun, and *Bacchus*: *Quirinus* his Temple and porch: the old Capitoll: the Chappells of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*: the house of *Pomponius Atticus*.

In the *Cornelian* street (whereof a little before we made mention) were two gyant-like images; I called *Colossi*, resembling two old men, naked, and holding *Coronæ* in their hand. It is commonly received, that these were the Statues of *Saturn* and *Mars*; for that certain it is how their Temples stood hard by: and many evidences there are, besides the very ruins thereof, which testifie so much.

Over-against the hot-houses of *Constantine*, upon the very brow of the hill, there standeth to be seen one half of a marble tower, which the people dwelling thereby call *Mæsa*. This men think, was the tower of the Sun, by the ornaments there reared and set up by *Aurelian*: for this Emperor worshipped the Sun above all other gods; and therefore you shall see stamped in his coin this inscription: *Soli invicto*, To the invincible Sun. His mother also, a Priest of the Sun, thereupon reared a Temple unto the Sun.

In the side of the hill near the foresaid baths are two horses seen standing; the handy-work of *Praxiteles* and *Phidias*. These were (by report) *Tiridates* the Kings, and translated to *Rome*.

That part of the *Quirinalis* which boundeth upon *Palus Martia* was called the mount and Temple of *Clæva* and *Apollo*.

Not far from thence behind this hill, there is another rising and ascent: where, by antique letters it is evident, that the old Capitoll stood, together with the chappell of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*.

Over-against these places, inclining toward the right hand, where now standeth the Church of *S. Vespasiani*, *Pomponius Atticus* dwelt in an house which came to him by inheritance from his grand-father and was called *Pamphiliæna*. They write, that this was a most sweet and pleasant seat, by reason of a wood near unto it.

In the same place was built afterwards the Temple of *Quirinus*, kept always shut, to signify that it was an unknown secret: whether *Romulus* were entered and lay in the earth, or were translated into the number of the gods in heaven.

There was a porch or walking place there of that name; where folk used commonly to meet, to dispatch businesses and contract cōpulsals.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The path-way or causey called *Alta*; the house of *Sabinus*; the street and statue of *Mamurnus*; the Court and gardens of *Salust*, and the field or plain *Sceleratus*.

The high causey reaching from the Baths of *Constantine* to the gate *Viminalis* along the side of *Quirinalis* was paved with four-square Rome.

Upon that causey, at a place called the *Pomerian*, *Flavius Sabinus* had an house, wherein, by report, *Domitian* was born.

It is avouched in old time there was a street of *Mamurnus*: and that his statue there stood where now is *S. Salsus* Church.

Not far from that Church was the Court of *Salust*, and his most neat and fine horticards, where the field called *Sceleratus* lay, and reached near the gate *Collina*. Of those horticards, as also of the hamlet *Tiburina*, there yet continue some marks and remnants in the bottom of the valley, between the very hill and the way which bringeth to the gate *Salaria*. On that little hill is seen the very house of *Salust*, which the people there inhabiting call *Salustrium*. Of this matter see more in *Cicero* and others.

Beyond the horticards of *Salust*, near the gate *Collina*, there is an high place like a mount, where in times past the vestal votary Nuns, such as were condemned for incontinency and incest, were buried quick; and thereupon all the plain about it was called *Sceleratus*, together with the way that leadeth thither.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Temples of *Salus*, of *Dius*, *Fidius*, of *Fortuna Primigenia*, of *Honor*, *Hercules*, and *Quirinus*; also the *Senat*-house of women.

The mount *Quirinalis* had very many Temples & Chappels, although the certain place where they stood is not so well known as this day, namely one of *Apis*. That of *Salus* was painted by *Fabius Pittor*, and burnt in the time of *Claudius*. By *Junius Bubulcus* Dictator when he triumphed over the *Æquians* it was vowed by him (Censor) put to making, and in his second Dictatorship dedicated.

* *Dius* *Triominus* *Sabinorum*.

* *Salustius*, *Dius*, and *Fidius*, were the *Sabins* gods, which, when they left their native country and home, with all their other household gods, they carried with them into mount *Quirinalis*. This god (forsooth) was in words and name three, in deed and truth but one, as they said. These three therefore had one temple built them upon this hill, and were called by one name, *Sanctus*. The opinion received of which godhead was such, that an oath was thought to carry a great power of sanctity and holiness, whereby a man in that threefold name and one Deity avowed and swore these, *Me*, *Dius*, *Fidius*.

Domitianus, a Prætor or Lord Chief Justice within the City of *Rome*, built a Temple upon that hill to *Fortuna Primigenia*.

Besides, in that mount were the Temples of *Honor* and *Hercules*. Likewise the Council-House of women was in the mount *Quirinalis*, at which in former times the wives and dames of the City met yearly upon certain solemn set daies. Moreover, it is recorded, that the feast *Ægonalia* was celebrated in *Quirinalis*.

CHAP. XXV.

The Court or Forum *Archimonium*; the pillar *Tiburina*; the house of *Martial*; the Cirque of *Floralia*; the Temple of *Flora*; the shops of *Minium*, and the common ascent called *Clivus Publicus*.

Between the hill *Hortulorum* (whereof ye may read before in the first book and the chapter next following) and *Quirinalis* there is a valley four-square, but lying somewhat in length. In that part thereof which lieth under the mount of *Clara* and *Apollis*, was the Court called *Archimonium*. For the very Church of *S. Nicolaus*, which at this day standeth upon that place is named *De Archimonio*.

Not far from it there is another place, so wit, *Pila Tiburtina*: There stood the house of *Martial*, as he himself witnesseth.

Next to it followeth the round Cirque (*Floralium*) where yearly to the honour of the goddess *Flora*, the feastvall *Floralia* is celebrated. Now this *Flora* was a famous courtesan or strumpet at *Rome*, who having by her whorish trade gathered a mighty deal of goods together, in her last will made the people of *Rome* her heir, with this condition, That every year they should celebrate the memorial of her birth day. But the *Senat* thinking this a ridiculous mockery, to honour and dignifie so fitly a thing with such a remembrance, they devised a goddess of flowers, forsooth, called *Flora*, and her upon those holidays they seemed to please and content, that the would be good to the growth of trees and corn, and that they might do well in their flowering and blooming time. To this goddess we read that a Temple likewise was consecrated: Anon you meet with the work-houses where they make *Minium*, i. e. *Vermilion*. Near unto which was the *Clivus Publicus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The hill *Hortulorum*, the Temple of the Sun, and the sepulchre of *Nero*.

This little hill (*Hortulorum*) containeth but a few things worth the writing. Among which is the house of *Pincius* a Senator, who gave the name both to a gate and a mountain, which in these daies are called *Monte Pincius*, and gate *Pinciana*.

The reliques and marks of his house are seen in that very place, near the old wall. And about the same walls we meet with an huge building in form of an hemisphere or half circle, which men imagine was the Temple of the Sun.

Upon the same hill over-against the tomb of *Marcellus* in the very port way *Flaminia*, fast by the monument of *Domitian* stood *Nero's* sepulchre also.

Now this hill *Hortulorum* took the name of certain horticards and gardens under it, which in old time, by reason they were continually so well watered were most fruitful. Down this hill all they were wont (in times past) to descend into *Campus Martius*, who meant to sue and stand for any Magistracy.

The sixth Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the flat plot of the City, and the Theatre in general.

That it may be understood more certainly in what place of the plain and level part of the City every thing stood, let there be a straight and right line drawn from the Capitoll, through *Panthæon* to *Tyber*, near the Church of *S. Roch*. So shall the City be in manner divided into two equal parts. The one shall lie from the front and side of the *Tyber*, the other from the Forum of *Trajanus* to the gate *Flumentina*, along the foot of the two hills *Quirinalis* and *Hortulorum*.

Begin we will therefore at the Theatre of *Marcellus*, and recount the places in order, as hitherto we have done. As for *Theatrum*, a Greek word it is, and in Latine may be aptly translated *Forium*. The first Theatres were appointed among the Athenians, and those in regard of husbandmen, who on festival daies visited the Temples of the gods: afterwards, at *Rome* they began to be taken up. The first, and that the greatest of all others was, built of timber by *M. Scæurus*: for, the concavity within would receive 30000 men. After it, were Theatres made to turn about and on their feet front one while this way, another while that. But as touching Theatres, see more in *Cassiodorus* and *Vitruvius*, who have written plentifully thereof, and namely, by whom they were first ordained, and in what manner built.

CHAP. II.

The Theatre of *Marcellus* and the Library: the gallery and court of *Octavia*.

Augustus built many things under the name of others, as we find written by authors in sundry works. And among the rest was the Theatre of *Marcellus* his nephew or cousin by his sister *Octavia*. A part hereof is yet to be seen between the Capitoll and *Tyber*, where now standeth the palace of the *Sabelli*. It was able to contain 80000 men. See more thereof in *Alconius*.

Hard by the very same Theatre was the gallery of *Octavia*, reared by the said *Augustus* for his sister *Octavia's* sake. Therein were certain curious pieces of work wrought by *Praxiteles*, and namely, the ravishing of *Proserpina*. The portraiture of *Bacchus* & *Satyrus*, *Allo*, *Apollis*, *Diana*, and the nine mules; the workmanship of *Timarchides*. Within this gallery on walking place, *Pliny* saith, there stood a chappel of *Juno*, and the image of the said goddess. Fast by the said gallery stood the court or palace of *Octavia*, and in it *Cupid* portraied with lightning in his hand. It took up in times past as great a space, as at this day the Churches of *S. Nicolaus in Carcere*, and *S. Mary in Portico*.

After the death of *Marcellus*, *Octavia* his mother set up a library near his Theatre. Now the first that ever ordained. That books of all learning should be in some public place bestowed for to be read of all that would come; was at *Athens* *Pisistratus* the tyrant, and at *Rome* *Afinius Pollio*.

CHAP. III.

The Cirque or new-place *Flaminius*, and the Temple of *Apollo*.

That this Cirque *Flaminius* stood in that place where at this day the dark store-houses and cellars be, heard by *S. Kiburnus* church, the marks yet remaining testifie *Flaminius* it was called, either because it was built about the plain called *Campus Flaminius*, or else by *Flaminius* the Consul, who was slain at the battell of the lake *Thrasymenus*. In it were the plaies and games exhibited, which they call *Apollinæ*; and therein the horle-runnings were performed. To it the *Senat* used oftentimes to come down from the Capitoll to sit in council. *Neptune* also had a chappel there.

Apollis

Between the *Mausoleum of Augustus*, and the hill called *Horodorum*, were the Trophees of *Marius* over *Jugurtha*, Trophees as *Varro* witnesseth; were so called of *εἰσπῆ* Greek word, which significth, flight; for that the manner was to hang up the spoils and disrobings of enemies put to flight and slain, upon trunks and poles.

In *Mars field*, were the sepulchres of *Sylla*, *Hirtius*, and *Pansa*, of *Italia*, *Brianninus*, *Drausus* the Emperor *Claudius*, and other right hardy and valiant knights, beside infinit ornaments more, whereof we have written before in this book.

The seventh Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the river Tybre.

IT should follow by due course and order, to treat of *Laniculum* and all that quarter of the City on the other side of *Tybre*: but because these parts are separate from the rest of the City by the river *Tybre* between; thereof also it is meet to say somewhat briefly. And first weily the reason of that name should be shewed. Some think therefore, that the river was called *Tyberis*, *San. Tit. Ubijus*. For the Sicilians when as in old time they had overcome the Carthaginians in battell, and taken a number of them prisoners, enjoined them for the better fortification of their own City, to cast a trench about it, and to let water thereinto: and this ditch in reproach of their enemies, they called *Ugyn*. And the same men upon a time afterwards, when as they encamped near *Rome*, gave this very name unto this river (also, whereas before it was called *Albulis*. Some think it was named so of *Tyberus* a King of the Talcans, slain upon the banks thereof. *Varro* is of opinion, that it took the name of *Tiberinus*, a neighbour Prince of the Veitians. In holy writings we read it *Tyberinus*. In vulgar speech they call it *Tyberis*: in poetry, *Tybris*. In old time it was termed *Runon*, as it were, gnawing and eating the banks thereof. Also at one side of the City it was termed *Tarentus*, as a man would say, wearing the banks. It springeth from the Appennine, above 40 other rivers) is increased to such bigness, that ships of burden and the greatest hulks, may come up in it as far as *Rome*. This river divideth *Tuscan* from *Embrina*, the Sabins country and the Latins, entreth at the North part of the City, and so passeth through Southwards, between the gates *Hofiensis* and *Portuensis*, leaving *Laniculum* on the right hand and the City on the left, and so near unto *Hofia* is discharged into one mean broad stream, and falleth into the Tyrrhene Sea. Upon the banks thereof, as if they were consecrated to some divine power, it was not lawfull to set up any building. Certain warders and keepers there were appointed, for the chancell and the banks. But of this river, *Pliny* and others have left much in writing.

CHAP. II.

Of the bridges built upon Tybre.

THE *Tybre*, as is above said, being so deepe, as that it is navigable, and beareth the greatest ships, hath no foord in any place that can be waded through; and therefore necessary it was to make bridges over it, and so to join that part on the farther side of *Tybre*, to the rest of the City. *He. cules*, after he had killed *Geryon*, built a bridge, where afterwards flood that which they called *Sublicius*. Also before the foundation of the City, there was a bridge over *Tybre*, called *Saevus*, upon which they sacrificed men to *Saevus* by throwing them down into the river. But when *Hercules* afterwards had put down that manner of sacrificing, he gave order, that mens images made of the City was built, there were other bridges made to the number of eight; to wit, *Milvius*, *Elivius*, *Palatinus*, *Laniculensis*, *Cestius*, *Fabricius*, *Palatinus*, and *Sublicius*. And all these, save the *Sublicius* only, *Vestius* overthrow.

CHAP. III.

The bridge Milvius.

THE bridge *Milvius*, which men now call *Melvius*, standeth upon the way *Flaminia*, a mile and more from the City. Built it was in the troublesome times of *Sylla*, by *Seamus* when he was *Centor*. Many a time they say it was cast down, and as often set up again.

CHAP. III.

The bridge *Elivius*, now *S. Angel*, the *Vatican* or *Triumphal* the *Laniculensis* or *Aurelianus*.

THE bridge at this day called *S. Angel*, in times past *Elivius*, took that name of *Elivius Hadrianus*, for he built that bridge, and neer unto it a sepulchre, which they call *Moles Hadriani*. Beneath

CHAP. V.

The bridges *Fabricius* and *Cestius*.

Beneath this is another which giveth passage into the mount *Vatican* and the plain thereof, and thereupon they named it *Vaticanus* also *Triumphalis*, for that over it they went up in triumph to the Capitol, to give thanks to *Impiter* and rejoice. The piles are yet to be seen in *Tyber*, over against the spittle or the Capitoll of *S. Spirit*. The third bare the name *Laniculensis* of *Laniculum* neer unto it, and *Aurelianus* of the port-way *Aurelia*, or the gate so called. *Antonius Pius* paved it over with marble, and being demolished in the civil wars, was called the broken bridge. Afterwards *Pope Xystus* the fourth reedified it, and gave unto it his own name.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Island *Tiberina*.

OF this Islands beginning, we have treated before in the description of *Mars field*. *Le. on. 1* *Dionysius* also let down this story at large. It resembleth the form of a bireme gally, and where it is broadest, it is not above a dart shoot over, in length it containeth about two *stadia* or a quarter of a mile. This was in times past called *Lycania*, and was hallowed to the honour of *Aesculapius*, whole image from out of *Epidaurus* was thither brought. Of *Aesculapius*, and his temple read *Pliny*.

A temple also of *Jupiter* standeth in it, dedicated by *C. Servilius* the Daunwir, which had been vowed by *L. Furius* sixty years before the Gauls war.

In the same Island were sick folk presented unto *Aesculapius* (in the field,) And neer unto the temple of the said god, was a lazar-house, for that this god was the inventor and maintainer of Physick.

In it also stood the chappell of *Faunus*, neer to the very river: but scarcely remain there any tokens thereof. This *Faunus* (as men say) was reported to have been the first that consecrated chappels and temples to the gods; and for this cause, all such places consecrated to the gods were called *Fana*. By the testimony of *Cornelius Tacitus* and *Suetonius* the statue of the emperor *Tullius* stood there.

CHAP. VII.

The Senators bridge called also *Palatine*, and that which is named *Sublicius*.

Beneath the abovesaid Island, as it were a darts cast off, was the seventh bridge, *Senatorum pontis*, of the Senators, also *Palatinus*, in the mount *Palatine* neer adjoining: and at this day named it is the bridge of *S. Mary* in *Aegypt*, by reason of *S. Maries* church neer by.

Now followeth the last bridge *Sublicius*, and which also is counted the most ancient of all others. This was first made of timber by *Anens Martius* at the very foot of the Aventine mount: framed only with a floor of planks without any iron spikes and nails or props to shew against it, so as in times of war and trouble it might be taken in peeces one from another. Now *Sublicius* it was called a *Sublicus*, i. great strong posts. But afterwards *Emilius Lepidus* made it of stone, and thereupon named the marble bridge. Upon it in old time sat beggars craving of alms of the passengers. From it also leud and wicked malefactors, were thrown down headlong into *Tyber*. This bridge as well as other, was often demolished and built up again by one or other.

CHAP. VIII.

Of that side of the City which is beyond Tyber. The City and temple of the Ravens and Fords Fortuna: the basis of *Severus*: the hort-yards of *Calixtus* the water *Alicetina*, & the meadow of *Mutius*.

THE region beyond *Tyber* in old time had the name of *Laniculum*, the hill which overlooketh and commandeth the greatest part thereof. We find it also called of men in those daies the City of the *Ravenates*, who with a fleet having aided the Romans, were permitted to dwell in the *Laniculum*, for fear lest at any time that mountain and hold should be seized and kept by the enemies. Now for as much as this quarter was inhabited by base people (such as followed vile occupations, there were in it but few things worthy of any remembrance. *Severus* therein built certain baies: *Casus* made hort-yards and prepared also a fair pool called the *Naumachia* for the fight there. Also the temple of *Fors fortuna*, was (in *Tib Casus* daies) dedicated in that quarter. The water called *Alicetina*, was derived out of the poole *Alicetinus*, by the high way or cauley

Claudia into the foresaid *Naumachie*, and served all those parts. This water was also called by some *Angustia*. See *Frontinus*, who hath written much of the Roman waters.
Marius, who willingly had exposed and offered himself to die for the love of his country, was for that good service endowed by the people of *Rome* with land on the other side of *Tyber*. The place at this day is yet called *Prata Mævia*. Neer unto the Arsenal and ship-docks on the side of *Tyber*, were the plaies and games of Fishermen in times past celebrated.

CHAP. IX.

The sepulchre of Numa, and Cæcilius the Poet. The Tribunal of Aurelius, the Ianiculum, and the bury-yard of Marcellus.

That the sepulchre of King *Numa* was under the hill *Ianiculus* a chift of this, with his books long time after digged there, do sufficiently prove. See *Livy*, *Solinus*, and others.
 The Tribunal *Aurelia*, and the Arsenal was on that side of the *Tyber*, as appeareth by those authors.

The hill *Ianiculus* took the name of *Ianus* who there dwelt. & therein was afterwards buried. He also built a town or City there, as they say, so called. This *Ianiculus* was also called *Anipolis* as *Rome Saturnia*.

Commonly also it is received, that *Cæcilius* the Poet was under the same hill *Ianiculus* buried. *Marcellus* the Poet, as himself witnesseth in his first book, had most pleasant and delectable bury-yards in the same *Ianiculus*.

CHAP. X.

The hill and field Vaticane, the temple of Apollo and Mars, the Naumachie, the cirque bury-yard, and Obelisk of Cæsar.

The mount *Vaticane* and the plain thereto, were without the City, 'in the parts beyond the *Tyber*, and in that very place, where at this day is the church of *S. Peter*, and the Popes palace. Called it was *Vaticanus*, of the god *Vaticanus* by whose instinct & inspiration it was beleev'd in old time that prophecies were delivered. And this god they called *Vaticanus*, for that in power was the beginning of mans voice, for as much as infants, so soon as ever they come into the world, presently pronounce and utter the first syllable of his gods name, * *Va*.

The temple of *Apollo* was in *Vaticane*, in that very place, as men think, wherein at this day is *S. Petroni* or *Parnali* church, also another of *Mars*, wherein standeth *S. Marces* in *Fabrizius*, upon the port-way called sometime *Triumphalis*. *Gellius* writeth, that *Iulius* *Pavlus* the Poet had hort-yards in the *Vaticane*.

The vale *Vaticane* is there also to be seen, wherein *Nero* enclosed a compasse of ground like a ring for to ride and break horses in. The conventicles also and wine-taverns there he adorned. Moreover, *Nero* had hort-yards in that place, which he let forth for divers andundry punishments and tortures of Christians. All this place thus enclosed, he called the *Cirque*. Also the pools made for ship-right, called *Naumachie* were there, and the Obelisk of *Cæsar* in the way *Triumphalis* is yet to be seen standing upright.

CHAP. XI.

The way or streets Triumphalis, the water Sabbatina, the sepulchre of Scipio.

Of the *Triumphall* way, there hath been some mention made before. Called to it was, for that the solemn pomp of triumph used to go that way up into the Capitol. This as well as others was paved with flint stone. It went on still to the back porch of *S. Gelsus*, towards the plain field of *Flora*: and so forward to the temple sometime of *Jano*, now *S. Angelo*, and from thence to *S. Georges* church in *Velabrum*. In the pontifical hort-yards there be many antiquities found, brought thither from other places: and namely, the protiture and counterfet of *Nilus*, all of sorts of creatures living and encreasing there. Likewise of *Tyber*, with the yielding her teats to be sucked of the founders of *Rome*. *Apollo* with his bow and arrows; the statue of *Læcoron*, whereof hath been spoken before; *Cupid* hard by *Venus*. Many other things before appear in the gallery, and those hort-yards.

The water *Sabbatina*, was derived to *Rome* from the Sabbatine pool, called *Anguillarum* and afterwards when the conduct and conveyance thereof was by *Hadrian* restored, it was brought into the palace of *S. Peter*, to serve the priests there.

In *Vaticane* plain, not far from the mountreaved by *Hadrian*, there stood a *Pyramis* or *Pisces* in times past, under which they say *P. Scipio Africanus* lay entombed.

CHAP. XII.

The mount of Hadrianus, and the meadows called Quintia.

Aelius Hadrianus reared a huge and mighty mount for his own sepulchre neer the bridge *Ælius*, over against the *Mausoleum of Augustus*. In which were bestowed first his own ashes, and afterwards the relics of all the *Antonines*. This is at this day the fort of the Popes. The same also is called the tower of *Crescentinus*, because one *Crescentinus*, a famous captain, held it a long time. See more in *Procopius*.

The meadows *Quintia* in the plain *Vaticanus*, took the name of *Quintus Cincinnatus*. Read *Phiny* hereof. Now they be called *Aprata*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of those things which either have been, or remain now without the gate Flumentana.

The first thing presented to our sight when we are out of the gate *Flumentana* is the port-way or causey *Flaminia*: which, as we have before shewed, was by *Cn. Flaminius* brought as long as far as *Ariminum*. Within the City he paved it with flint or peble: without he laid it with gravel. And in that order be all the port-ways laid about *Rome*. Upon this way *Augustus* made four bridges, whereof at this day there remain scarcely any tokens. Neer unto the causey *Cæsar* had a farm or manor house, which he called *ad Gallinas*. The reason of that name *Livy* sheweth. To the way *Flaminia*, another named *Claudia* joined upon which were the Hort-yards of *Ovid*.

The way *Æmylia*, made and paved by *Lepidus* the colleague of *Flaminius*, leadeth from *Ariminum* as far as *Bononia*. Now two causeys there were of that name, the one which met with *Flaminia*: the other which *Scævus* laid and made, which went through *Pisæ* and *Luna* to the Sabati. In likemanner there was a way called *Tyberina* and *Cælia*, without the gate now called *Pyramidaria*, which passed along time by *Sutrinum*, *Tetrella*, and *Viterbium* into the way *Vulturnensis*.

Certain places there be in the way *Flaminia* somewhat hollow and flat like saddles, called therefore *Collata*.

Without the gate *Collatina* there is a causey of the same name.

CHAP. XIII.

Of those things that are reported to have been without the gate Collina.

The port-way from the gate *Collina* is called *Salaria*, because the Sabines at it brought salt into the City. There upon stood the bridge *Salarum*. And it reached to *Numantina*. In it was the temple of *Pennus Erycina*, vowed by *Fabius* the Dictator, and dedicated by *L. Porcius*. There stood the image of *Pennus Verticordia*, so called for that she averted mens minds from wanton lust. Likewise the temple of *Honor*, and an altar in it. Finally, the monument or tomb of *Licinius* the barber of *Augustus*.

CHAP. XV.

The things that either were, or at this day are without the gates Numentana and Intragreges.

Without the gate *Numentana*, there beginneth a causey of the same name, by which men go to *Numentum*. The same is called *Figulensis*, of the potters furnaces there standing. The goddess *Nenia*, which was wont to wait & attend upon funerals with doleful plaints and lamentable moans, is reported to have had a temple without this gate. In like manner, other gods and goddesses, which are supposed to hurt mankind, they erected temples, but without the gate, because they should do the lesse harm: and namely, to the *Fœces*, to *Mars* the revenger, to *Nemesis* about such other. Upon this way *Numentana* there appeareth a most ancient temple of *Bacchus* about *S. Agnes* church, and over the same standeth the bridge *Numentana*, built by one *Naseter* an *Etruscan*. Between this way and *Salaria*, was a withdrawing house in the country of [Phanotus] *Nero* freedman, in which *Nero* killed himself. Without the gate *Intragreges*, was a tower or castle called *Cæstidia*, where the souldiers of *Dioclesian* kept a corps de guard. There also is a park called *Frumentum* (now *Frumentum*) to be seen, where divers wild beasts were kept, more for pleasure and delight, then profit and use.

CHAP. XVI.

Of those things that without the gates Esquilina, Navia, Calimontana, and Gabina, either have been or now are.

From the gate *Tiburina*, there goeth a way of the same name leading to the City *Tyber*. Upon it there is a bridge *Mamianus*, commonly called *Mammia*, and bearing the name of *Mamianus*, Alexander the Emperours mother, who repaired it. A place there is by it called *Phiscola*, of a multitude of pits there. Also the bridge *Lucanus*, without the said gate standeth over the river *Anio*. And without the same gate, the two riverets called *Anio* the old and new do gather a current and run to *Rome*.

Without the gate *Esquilina* are waies *Labicana* and *Prænestina*. In this way the water *Appia* hath his head and beginneth, which by *Appius Claudius* was brought into the City.

The water *Virgo* likewise, which in time past was shewed by a maid to the souldiers, is thus way, and from thence is conveyed to the City.

But the Roman waters see *Frontinus*, who describeth right excellently, the source and beginning the conveyance and cartage, the end also and use of every one of them.

At the end of the way *Calimontana*, beginneth another called *Campana*, which closeth with *Latina*, the Between the gate *Calimontana* and *Latina*, standeth the gate *Gabinia*. From which there

there went away some time called *Gabina*, leading to *Gabis* (but it runneth soon into *Preneſtina* for that the *Cabians* dwell upon it.

CHAP. XVII.

Of those things which were or are without the gates *Latina* and *Capena*.

The gate *Latina* gave both name and beginning to the cauley *Latina*, which through *Lavinium*, now called *Val-monture*, and *Ladium* reacheth to *Campania*, in which there stood in old time, the temple of *Pomona*, fortune, and the image of the same goddess. Of which writeth *Valerius Max.* In the said way the water *Tepala* gathereth to an head and current. From the gate *Appia*, beginneth a cauley of that name, paved by *Ap. Claudius* as far as to *Capna*, whereof look in *Sirabo*.

At the gate *Capena*, was the temple of *Mars* the warrior, or *Grandivus*; and therein the fountain of *Marr*. Hard by the same temple was the stone *Manalis* brought into the City of Rome in time of a drought, and presently there arose a shower of rain; whereupon he was called *Manalis*. In the way *Capena*, stood the oratory or chappell of *Dea bona*: and neer to it, they say, that *Clodius* and *Papirius* were slain. Neer to the gate *Capena*, was the altar of *Apollo*, the sacred grove of *Honour*, and the temples of *Hops* and *Minerva*. Likewise of *Tempest*, built by *Marcellus*. Moreover, another of *Ridiculum*: because *Anibal* having there encamped, was enforced to depart from thence mocked and scorned. Upon the way *Appia* was the bridge *Valentinus*, built by the Emperor *Valens*, and thereupon, neer the hill *Messica*, standeth the town *Sinnessa*.

This way had certain notable sepulchres, namely of *Collatinus*, the *Scipies*, the *Servillii*, *Metelli*, *Tullii*, of *Ennius*, *Pompeius*, the *Horatii*, and other. And in that part is to be seen the plain, whereupon the *Horatii* fought that famous combat to the utterance. In it also there is a water and well-spring, consecrated to *Mercurius*. To it upon a time when the people of Rome ran, every man dipped therein his branch of laurel, and therewith besprinkled them that were next, with an invocation to *Mercurius*; that as many as had this alperfon and sprinkling, might be spoiled of their finnes, and of perjurie especially. The grove also of *Egeria* was this gate. The way *Laurentina* fell into *Appia*: wherein *S. Sebastian* (by report) suffered even in the very place where they used to solemnize the feast *Terminalis*, to the god of Meers and Bounds *Terminus*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of those things that be without the gate *Hortensia*, and others in generall

From the gate *Hortensia* beginneth the way *Hortensia* which leadeth to *Hestia*, built by *Aneni*. This was called in old time, the gate of the three twins brethren, or *Trigemini*; and with-out it, *Livy* fetterd the purse or merchants hall, *Emperium*.

In that part of the City on the other side of the water, were three gates, *Portuensis*, *Aurelia* *Fontinalis*. At *Portuensis*, beginneth away of that name, and leadeth to the port town *Offia*: where there was a temple of *Portunus*, the god of havens: and wherein the feast *Portunalia* was celebrated to the honour of that god.

From the gate *Aurelia*, the way also *Aurelia* taketh beginning; which along the sea-coast of *Tuscania*, leadeth to *Pisa*. The same was called *Trajana* of *Trajanus* who repaired it: wherein were the hort-yards of *Galba* the Emperor; and there also was his sepulchre.

[At the gate *Fontinalis*, was the feast *Fontinalis* celebrated at Rome, namely, to the goddess of fountains, as saith *Sext. Pompeius*.

To the Reader.

For as much as *Titus Livius* is prolix and full of variety: and howsoever otherwise willing enough to speak our language, yet most loth to forbear and forget certain Roman words wherewith so long time he had been acquainted: also for that now & then he saith one in his English tongue and in his French and Italian another; whereby he may be thought either to trip or to have forgotten himself, and the faults imputed to his teacher: in these regards (me thought) I owed thus much for their sake and converse with English *Livy*, as to satisfy them in that behalf. A twofold Index therefore I have digested: the one dwelling and leading readily to the most material and principal matters contained in the whole body of the History: the other expounding those things that may seem at first strange to the most; and with all, shewing here and there the reason of the foresaid disagreement, hoping that as use will make them more familiar in those strange phrases: so deeper and surer conference with him in the primitive *Latine* (the only touchstone of his true speech) shall excuse and acquit me of just blame, who have endeavoured that he might deliver his mind in English, if not so eloquently by many degrees, yet as truly, as in *Latine*.

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A Second Index,

Containing the exposition of those terms in *Levy* which are not yet familiar in English, and of some places omitted in the Marginal notes.

Wherunto the Reader may have recourse, when he meeteth with any such difficulty in the History.

A *ulus*, the surname to divers families in Rome.

A *Adile*, certain inferior magistrates in *Rome*; who were of two sorts: *Plæbeii* and *Censures*; *Plæbeii*, of the *Commons* only, two in number more ancient than the others, chosen by the people alone to second and to assist the *Tribunes* of the *Commons* as their right hands. This name they took of the charge they had of temples, chapels, and ornaments: albeit they registered the *Sancions* and acts of the people called *Plæbiscita* and kept the same in their own custody, and were clerks of the market: also they exhibited the games and places called *Plæbii-Curules*; were likewise twain elected out of the order and degrees of the *Patritii*: so called of the ivory chair wherein they were allowed to sit, as officers of greater state. They set forth the great solemnities called *Ludi megæi*, or *Romani*; were overseers of the buildings throughout the City as well public as private, in manner of the *ædiles* in *Atheni*; they had regard to the *Publick* vaults, finks, conveiances, and conduits of the *City* waters; looked to the *Arsenal*.&c. Moreover, they had power to attach the bodies of great persons; and were charged to see unto the provision of corn and victuals. At the first, none but *Patritii* might be advanced to this place: but in process of time, *Commoners* also attained thereto. These as well as the *Plæbeii* were *Sacrosancti*, unviolable.

Erarii, they were, who being citizens of Rome, were by the Cenſors deprived of giving their voices in their Century or Tribe; paid all tribute with citizens according to the valuation of their goods; and ſerved in the wars of their own charges: and either becauſe *era pendebant*, or, *era non mitterant*, it ſeemeth they took that name.

Agmen quadratum: *Agmine quadrato ductus* taken in a three-fold fence. First, The same that *infesto exercitu infestis agmine*, or, *infestis signis*: which signifieth the ordinary manner of enemies marching with banners displayed, either to a battail, or to the sieg and assault of a fort: and this manner of phraise addeth a grace only to the sentence. Secondly, To march or fight in a four square battailion, though not always with equal sides & right angles: and the same not charged with the carriages at all. Thirdly, When an army is

spread and displayed at large, enclosing the impediments or baggage in the midst, for safety and security.

Agraria, were laws preferred by the Tribunes of the Commons, as well for division of lands (conquered from the enemies) among the Commons; as to restrain the possessions of the Nobles within a certain limit and compa-

Ambition; The inordinat and excessive desire to be in office of state, appearing by indiest and unlawful means : either to their friends and kinsfolks, or to the people : against which, many laws in *Rome* were provided : namely, *Acilia*, *Bibia*, *Emilia*, *Clodia*, and others.

Anclite. *Anclite* was a buckler or cushion, that (as they say) fell from heaven into the hands of K. *Nimian* time of a plague: and he being advertised by *Egeria*, that it was for the health of the City, and ought to be kept safe; caused it more to be made unto it, so like, as they could not be known from the pattern: which hereby was preserved. The keeping hereof was committed to the twelve *Sold.*

Annales, were brief memorials, Chronicles, or commentaries, containing the names of consuls every year, the date of times, and all memorable occurrences hapning therein. The high Priests, called *Pontifices maximi*, had the charge by their place to gather the same into tables, and to fet them up in their houses for to be seen: and hereupon they were called *Annales maximi*, A Maximis *Pontificibus*; and not of their greatness, as those huge volumes, named *Libri Elephantini*.

App. Appius, a forename appropriate to the House of the *Clandii* in Rome.

Appia vna. A notable street or high-way begun by *Ap. Claudius*, reaching from *Rome*, as far as *Capua*; and afterwards by *Julius Cæsar* and *Trajan*, it was extended to *Brindis* in *Calabria*. Of all other it seemeth to be the principal, by the testimony of *Papinius* the Poet, who writeth thus of it:

Called it was *Triumphalis* (as also the gate *Caperna*?) because through it the triumphs ordinarily passed at the said gate.

Ara maxima. The great altar reared by *Hercules*, and took the name of a great heap of stones about it.

Arbor infelix, Is commonly taken for a tree that naturally beareth no fruit.

Argileus imus, is the base or low part of a
 street in Rome; in regard of the upper end
 thereof, called *Sutrinus*: in like sort as *JANUS*
 (JANUUS & JANUS).

Arx, is taken for some void place, whereupon nothing groweth, *quia arces Forum boarium* in *Rome*. *Arx* againe is of two names, habes and differeth from *Campus*, for that it is less. Alio a plot of ground made level and clean for to build upon: as in *Suetonius* 26. *Forum Caesar de manibus inchoavit* the *Arx* whereof, (I say), the trimming and levelling of the plot cost *H. S. millies*; id est, 100 millions of *Sesterii*. Last of all, the broad yards before temples, nor covered but compassed about with columns, like a cloister with an altar in the middle, be called *Aræ*.

Aruspices were wifards or fouth-fayers, directed by the bowels and inwards of beaſts killed for ſacrifices, called alſo **Extiſpices**, and in Greek *ἐρσπισται*, who prying into them, had eſpecial regard of the liver: whereupon their whole Art and learning was termed *ἰντασκορία*, albeit they obſerved alſo the heart, lungs, ſpleen, and kidnies.

As or *Aſſus*, uſually in *Liby* is taken for a Roman poſe, or coin in braſs, the tenth part in value of their ſilver *Denarius*. At firſt it was a pound weight of twelve ounces; but afterwards, the Sextans, *id eſt*, the fix part thereof, was valued worth the whole: and howſoever otherwiſe it altered in poſe, it went alwaies for 3 farthings or thereabout of our engliſh money.

Angurium. See *Auspicia*.

Angréi Romani. Pieces of gold coin current in Rome: in round reckoning equivalent to our spur-rial of 15 sh. For 100 Sesterii made aureum, which amount to 15 sh. 7 d. ob. the 4. part of mina, i. a lib. in silver, and of an ounce of angel gold.

A *Aluſcia* *Aluſcia* were properly the obſervati-
on of the birds, either by their ſinging and fly-
ing in the air: or by their geſture and manner
of feeding in their *cava* or coop: whereb-
their Augurs & Pullarii knew in their learn-
ing, the pleaſure and will of the gods, whe-
ther they favoured their enterpriſes or no.
The birds that gave ſign by their voice and
ſinging, they called *Ofiſines quaſi ore canentes*,
as the crow, raven and owland therof came
Agurium, quaſi avium arctius. Thoſe that
ſhewed ought by their ſight & wings, were
named *Alites* or *Præſepes*, as the buzzard,
eagle, crane, gypſe, ſwan, and broad-winged
fowls, *maſſuſſaria*. The good ſigns were cal-
led *ſiniſtra* *Aluſcia quaſi ſiniſſima, quæd ſiniſ*
ſtri, whether they came from the left hand
or the right. In pullets or chickens kept in
sage; they obſerved whether they came
forth willingly to their meat (for to abſtain
from it was thought unlucky) whereas their
feeding heartily, was a good ſign, and called
ſolſtimus terpidius, quæd ſerripervium & *ter-
rapidum*. when ſome of the meſt faltheſt out
of the mouth, & *ſcream pavis*, beareth upon

the ground; as it must needs do, when they
pecked either corn, or gobbets called off a.

Balliffs, were certain wares-like engines for to defend out and led mighty fiones, to batter and make City wares; made with ropes of fiones and womens hair especially twined together as appeareth by *Petrus Colonus at Rome*, unto whom, by occasion that the women of the City paired with their hair for that purpose, a Temple was dedicated. According to the weight of fiones or balluts that this engine would carry, they were called *Centenarii*, or *Centenarie balliffs*.

Balliffs, were stately edifices or halluts *Rome*; at first serving to lead in under cover, wherein they differed from *Fera* and also to minister justice, of *Beauvais*, which signifies a Judge, as well as a King; but afterwards they used to meet there in consultation; also to negotiate and transfigure; and these had not only benches and bays like law-courts, but shops also for the better sort of wares and merchandice.

Minerva, The goddess of war; whose temple stood before the gate *Cernuntia*, and adjoining thereto was a column named *Bellica*: from which the Romans were wont to lance a dart or javelin towards those parts where they intended to make war: whereas in former times they sent their heralds to the very confines of their enemies, to perform that ceremony.

igati, were the Roman *Denarii*, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with two horses, called *Biga*.

metarche, The chief magistrates of the Boeotians.

Cains. } The forenames of sundry fa-
Cn. Cnens. } milies in *Rome*.

the new Moon, which fell out with them ordinarily the first of every month: so named *αὐτὴν καλῶσι, id est, a calandā*, because the petty Pontius used then to call the people to the court Calabraz; and there to pronounce unto them how many daies were to the Nones of each month &c.

and as they were they that stood in election and
sued for dignities of magistracy: during
which time, they wore whiter and brighter
gowns than ordinary, that they might be the
more easily seen and discerned a far off among
others.

caprati, as well horse as foot, were they that were armed at all peeces with compleat harness: and such horsemen were named *Dr-*
fensores.

scapulis, were engines of war to shoot arrows
or such like offensive weapons, far off: and
by that name was called not only the instru-
ment it self, but the arrow or whatsoever

was shor out of it: as *Turneb.* writeth in his
15 *Adversar.* cap. I.

Senators, Magistrates of State in Rome: whose charge was to value and estimate mens goods, and enrol them accordingly in their several ranges. Also to demise unto certain Farmers, called Publicans, the publick profits of the City for a rent, and to put forth the City works unto them to be undertaken at a price. Likewise to oversee mens manners, whereby oftentimes they would deprive Senators of their dignity, take from gentlemen their honours of service and their rings; displace Commoners out of their own tribe, disable them for giving voices, and make them *Ararii*.

Centuries, were ranges and degrees of men according to their worth, as they were assessed and enrolled by the Censors.

Comitia, were those assemblies and elections, wherein the people of *Rome* gave their voices and suffrages, according to their behaviour & wealth, by Centuries. And such were at all times most favourable to the nobles.

circenses ludis (as one would say) *Circu-enses*. For in the beginning before the great lifts and shew-places (called *Cirques*) were built, the plot of ground wherein were performed the horie-runnings and other masteries, was flanked of the one side with the river, and environed on the other with swords, *Vide Tur-
neib. Advorlar. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

Strophium, a piece of silver coin in Greece and those parts near adjoining, less than *Drachma* or *Denarius* : so called of the stamp, representing a man carrying a pincier, or casket with holy relics, in *Cybele mysticis*, in *Bacchi oracles*, or *Cereris initiis*. It is true, that 7500 of them go to the Euboick talent, which containeth 4000 *Denarii*; it is just our great sterling : but it *Denarius* have proportionally less quantity to it, and that 4 *Denarii* are 5 ciltophors, (as *Glaucan* collecteth out of *Budam*) it cometh to our treston of 6 pence

maxima, supposed to be the image of Venus, found by K. Titius in the great vault or sink conveyed under the city, called Cloaca maxima. And for that it was not known what goddess it resembled, he gave it the name of that place. Others say it is written Chacina, of the old word Cusio to fight: for that the Romans and Sabins (ready to strike a battail) were by means of myrtle branches consecrated unto Venus, pacified and reconciled, in that very place where afterwards the said goddess was by that name worshipped.

temptionalis senex, *Pallius Mannius* upon the familiar Epistles of *Cicero*, giveth this attribute to *Scaptius* in the end of the third book of *Lucy*, whereas in all editions it is, *Concionalis*. Now these *Coenptionales senes* (saith he) were those old men, in whose tuition and authority, men by their last will and re-

stament left their widows or daughters; and without whom they might not pass in *Dominum virorum per coemptionem*, i. be married according to the ceremony called Coemption, whereby the husband and wife seemed to buy one another.

Cobors, was ordinarily a band of 500 souldiers; although once or twice in *Livy* we read of *Quadragesima cobortes*.

Comitium, was a publick place or Hall within the *Forum Romanum*, where the people used to assemble for audience of justice, pleading of causes, and other occasions: whereupon *Comitiales dies*, were such daies upon the which they might to assemble and meet together.

Comitia, or *Comices*, were the solemn assemblies of the people at *Rome*, summoned by the magistrates lawfully; to choose officers, to enact new laws or cancel old, by their voices: whereof were three sorts.

Curia, instituted by *Romulus*. *Centuriata*, by *S. Tullius*. *Tribuna*, brought in by the Tribuns of the people: and the first author thereof was *P. Volero*.

Curia and *Comitium*, were *Ausplicia*, performed with the solemnity of observing the approbation of the birds, and the Senators, *Tribuna*, were held by the Commons only *penes quos non erant auspicia*, and required neither *Auspicia* nor *autoritas comi.*, the allowance of the *Patres*. And as in *Comitum Comitatus*, the richer and greater men had the vantage; so in *Curia* and *Tribuna*, the poorer sort (for their number) went away with the better.

In the *Comitia curiata*, at the first (until *S. Tullius* his reign) passed the election of KK, and other magistrates, judgements in capital matters, and laws. But in later times, they served only for two laws: *i. de imperio*, or *de re militarium*; in which the consul or others (chosen to their magistracy in *Centuriis comitiis*) had authority of command in the army: the other, *de adoptione*; and these laws were called *Curiae*.

In the *Centuriata comitia*, from the time of *Sor. Tullius*, passed the elections of consuls, *Decemvirs*, *Tribuns consular*, *Censors*, *Prætors*; and such greater magistracies; and confirmed they were by *Curia*. Also, judgment of capital matters, & the laws named *Centuriata*. In this, there was one centurie drawn forth by lot out of all the rest to give their voices first; and that was called *Præ-rogativa*. After which, were called to their suffrages, the Centuries of the first and second Classes; and they were named *Præ-rogate*: the rest which followed, were called *Inter-rogate*.

Tribuna, served for the creation of Tribuns, *Ædiles* of the Commons, and other inferior magistrats. Also the laws as touching peace, or enfranchising allies, judgments penal and fines: and those ordinances concerning the good of the Commons, called *Plébiscita*. Some have thought *amili*s and *Curiata* and *Tribuna comitia*, were both one: but *Curiata* were more ancient, and of greater state as

being *Antipater*, and *exanthoritate Patruus*. Herein only they agreed together and differed from the *Comenstrata*, that in delivering their voices, the Tribes and Curie were intermingled: whereas the Centuries were sorted and gave their voice according to their degree, age, and ability in the Censors book. *Congius*, or *Chus*. A measure among the Romans containing 6 *Scattarii*, and every *Scattarius* about 20 ounces: so that *Congius* receiveth *X. libras mensuras*: as appeareth by the old pourtrait thereof in brals, with these two characters, *X. P. i.* ten pound. Whereby in round reckoning it may go for our wine gallon or somewhat better. And for that great persons were wont at first to give dole unto the common people, of wine or oil by the *Corgii*: all other donatives and largesses of that kind, were afterwards called *Congruaria*. *Consul*, one of the two foreign yearly magistrates in Rome, succeeding in the place of *K.K.* so named, a *Consulendo* either of asking counsel of the people and Senate in State matters, and withal giving his own advice, and providing for the good of the weal-publick: or else of judging, for so *Consules* signifyeth: as when we say *boni consules*. And *Lexy* faith, that *Prætor*, *Consules*, and *Judices*, may be taken one for another. Two of them were usually chosen every year, as appeareth by the law of the 12 Tables: *Regio imperio suo fuisse: itaque prædando, Judicando, Consulendo, Prætoris, judicis, Consulis, appellatoris, &c.* *Corona*, hath divers significations in *Lexy*. *Corona mureti cingens*, to invest a City round about with armed men, and to give the assault from all parts at once. *Sub Corona vendere servos*, to sell slaves in open market, either having garlands on their heads, as the manner was: or environed about with a gaud of fouldiers, which also is called *Corona militum*. Sundry garlands or chaplets there were moreover, called *Corona*, wherewith fouldiers were rewarded by their captains, or they honored by their fouldiers: (besides those that were presented to Generals by their friends and well-willers, or offered to the honour of the gods): as *Obisidionalis* or *Graminea*, which was a wreath of a caich grafs called *Gramen*, given to him that delivered an army from a siege, and was by the whole army bestowed upon that savior. *Croica*, made of oak branches, for him that in battel saved the life of his fellow citizen. *Muralis*, resembled the battlements of walls: which be received of his captain, that first scaled the walls and mounted over, in the assault of cities. *Cæstrensis*, in form of a palliade or rampier made with pales or strong stakes: the honor of him who first entered the enemies camp. *Navalis* or *Refrata*, pountiured with the Rems or beak-heads of ships, called *Reffa*: his reward that first boorded the enemies ship, and gave the first meane of a naval victory: These were the principal. For, others there were not so ordinary, as namely, *Exploratoria* garnished and set out with the lion, moon, and other

stars; bestowed upon them that did special service in epical and discovery of the enemies quarters.

Curia, were parishes in *Rome*; 30 in number, instituted by *Romulus*. Certain halls besides, appointed for assemblies and convocations about Church matters and Religion; whereof some were old, called simply *Curia*; others new, named *Novæ*. As for *Curia Hostilia*, this was the ordinary ancient place of public council within *Rome*.

Curia, the Priest belonging to each *Curia* by parish aforesaid; and *Curia Mex.*, the chief superintendant over them all.

D. *Decius*, a forename: for *Decius*, although it were the gentile name of a house, grew afterwards to be a forename, as *Paulus*: and likewise forenames at the first, came to name families, as *Posthumus*.

D. Decimus, a forename likewise, as of that *Brutus* surnamed *Albinus*, who killed *Cæsar*.

Decemviri, were magistrates, officers, or fellowships, ten in number.

Decemvirs legibus scribendis, were ten men chosen to make laws in Rome: who afterwards usurped the sovereign authority, and tyrannized.

Decemviri sacrorum, were certain Priests, who had the keeping and perusing of Sibyls books of destinies, and thereout gave order for sacrifices and expiation of prodigies.

Decemviri; ten Judges or ministers of Justice, selected out of the great court or counsel of the 100 Centumvirs, and they were called, *Decemviri de litibus judicandis*: assistant they were to the Pretor or L'chief justice.

Dictator, a sovereign magistrate above all others in Rome, from whom no appeal was granted, mere absolute and King-like: but that his time of rule was limited within fix months ordinarily: so named, either because he only said the word and it was done, or because he was *Dictus*, i. nominated only by one of the Comitia, and not otherwise chosen, usually in some time of great danger of the State. He was called also *Priester Maximus*: and namely, when he was made for the ceremony of striking up or driving a nail: also *Magister Populi*, as Cicero *3 de fin.* Moreover, he was sometimes appointed to ordain and hold solemn feasts, in regard that it had rained

DIVISIONS, magistrates two in number, of divers
forts.

Decemviri capitales, judges to sit upon life and death: from whom it was lawfull to appeal to the people.

Dumoviri sacrorum, out of the Patricians, ordained for dedication of temple, preparing the sacred beds for the gods, called *Leſiſterna*; and for the books of *Sibylla*: theſe afterwards were increaſed to five, and ſorten. See *Dumoviri*.

Dumwiri Naales, two wardens of the navy
ports, and sea-coasts.

E *Epulones*, were certain Priests whose office was to prepare and set out the solemn feast for winter called *Epulum*, and for other gods. Of them were three, called *Triumviri Epulones*, and after seven, *Septemviri Epulones*.

For the first time, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has approved a drug to treat the chronic pain associated with osteoarthritis. The drug, called milnacipran, is a selective serotonin-norepinephrine reuptake inhibitor (SNRI) that has been shown to be effective in treating chronic pain in clinical trials. The FDA's approval of milnacipran is a significant milestone in the treatment of chronic pain, as it is the first SNRI to be approved for this purpose. Milnacipran is a prescription drug that is taken orally. It is approved for the treatment of chronic pain associated with osteoarthritis in adults. The drug is not approved for the treatment of acute pain or for the treatment of pain associated with other conditions. Milnacipran is a selective serotonin-norepinephrine reuptake inhibitor (SNRI) that works by increasing the levels of serotonin and norepinephrine in the brain. These neurotransmitters are involved in the regulation of pain, and increasing their levels can help to reduce pain. Milnacipran is taken orally, usually twice a day. The most common side effects of milnacipran are nausea, constipation, and dry mouth. Other side effects include dizziness, headache, and fatigue. Milnacipran is contraindicated in patients who are taking monoamine oxidase inhibitors (MAOIs) or who have a history of MAOI use. It is also contraindicated in patients who are taking other SNRIs or who have a history of SNRI use. Milnacipran is a prescription drug, and it should be used only under the supervision of a healthcare provider. It is important to follow the instructions of your healthcare provider when taking milnacipran. If you experience any side effects or if you have any concerns about your treatment, contact your healthcare provider. Milnacipran is a promising new drug for the treatment of chronic pain associated with osteoarthritis. Its approval by the FDA is a significant milestone in the treatment of chronic pain, and it offers a new option for patients who are struggling with this condition.

Plutarch were the Heracles, of whom there was a College, to the principal of them was *Phylarchus*, as it were their Dean; and according to *Plutarch* he ought to be a man that had children of his own, and his father living; for having the charge of making peace and alliances, he believed that he should be a person accomplished, and as well to look before as behind *ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσσω*, to regard what is past and what is to come; the one was signified by his father, the other by his children.

Falsi signifieth sometimes *falso dicere*, holidaies; and in that sense *Quod est* with his books *Falsi*, wherein he sheweth down the ordinary feales of every month. Otherwhiles they are put for law-dates, wherein the L. chief iudice or Pretor might use these three words, *De, Dies, Actio*, which broken to give leave to the party for to plead, to minister law and justice between plaintiff and defendant, and to pronounce the sentence and award.

Flamines, certain Priests among the Romans: they took that name of *Filamen*, a flet of wollen yarn, that they used to wear upon their heads. Three of them there were *Patruini*, and those were called *Majores*, namely, *Dialis*, for the service of *Jupiter*. 2. *Maritalis*, of *Mars*. 3. *Quirinalis*, or *Romulus* deified. Of *Commoners* were 12 more, called *Minores*, deputed to inferior charges, and the meanest of them all attended the service of *Pomona* the goddess of apples and such fruits.

Fortune a great goddess in Rome, entitled with many and sundry names.

For *Fortuna*, a goddess of *Rome*, whose temple was in *Transfibrina* region, where she was honored & worshipped of idle persons, such as professed nothing, but lived of their rents only, and namely, for that she came unlooked for and undeserved.

Fortune is a goddess, whose fortune is called for her power, especially in battail. *Publicus*, when she favoured the common-wealth, *Mascula*, good to the male kind, and *Masculus* to the female, *Veritas*, kind to folk of ripe years. *Primigenia*, the first begotten or the eldest. *Eques*, either for running to help with great speed or assitant in horie-service. *Obsequens*, pleiable and easily entered to accomplish all their vows and desires. *Pervus*, for advancing mean and obscure persons to wealth and worship. *Scia*, for the kind and seasonable ripening of corn and fruit. *Pro-*

ferra, which was alwaies present and vouchsafed her helping hand, *Mala*, when contrary-wife she was backward and evermore crossed their designs, *Vilcaua*, for that many one hath been by her enticements inured & entangled, *Rudus*, *Ingrate*, *Bene Speranti*, *Respectui*, *Prompti*, *Ire*, *Cruce*, *Conuerſioni*, *Gratiæ* even yett *et* *genui*, *Ecce* *Phryxæ* &c See Alexander at *Alexandro*, *Martian*.
Forma, *Kommunion*, or *Lentum*, The great common place at Rome, wherein causes were pleaded, and audience given to publick Orators, Under the name of *Fogyn* were other places also called courts, as also markets, distinguished by their proper names, as *Forum Crutium*, *Olearium*, &c.
Fogyn, Whereof slaves were called *Fugifera*, Was a kind of fork or gibbet which slaves fastned upon their shoulders when they were scourged by their masters, Either about the *Foras* or Cirkle whereupon afterwards they were crucified and executed: howbeit, some think they bare it only for a publick shame.

G The following are the names of the persons who have been appointed as members of the Board of Directors of the Corporation:

Gabinus *cinctus* was a kind of habit and wearing of a gown after the Gabines fashion, when it was cast over the shoulder to backward; that it seemed to compais and gird round the whole body. In that manner the Consul clad, used solemnly to set open the doores of *Ianus* Temple, before he went to the wars.

Geniti, *Genil* were supposed to be *mutarii* and *pararii*, brokers (as they were) between men & the gods, or rather Interpreters and *Salutigeri*, messengers between, of a middle nature betwixt the one and the other, *Cicilius Rhodigin. lib. 2. chap. 3.* But according to *Empiriodactes*, each one was thought to have his angel from the very day of nativity, unto whom they used to sacrifice upon their birth day, as to their protector. Also every place had their peculiar *Geniti*, and then were they called

Lares, as *Rurales*, and *penurini* in *Livy*.
Galli, Priests of *Cybele* that gilded themselves
in a frantike fury, and used in their service to
her, for to strike and beat upon tabers and
drums.

H

H *Alta*, Besides the ordinary signification, signifieth the Centumviral or Decemviral jurisdiction in supply or assistance of the *Prætorian*, for that they set up a *sear* to be seen at the place of judgement. Also it becometh *post-fide*, when they fold either goods or slaves to him that would bid most at such a *sear*. Moreover, the putting forth of the Cities works, called * *Uro prima*, to certain Publicans or undertakers by the *sear*, at a price, and it was called *Subbæstatio*.

IANUS is a God in *Rome*, sometime represented *Bi-front* with two faces, signifying the time passed, and that to come: otherwile *Quadrifrons*, & betokeneth the four times of the year having in his right hand a character resembling 300, in the left another, shewing threehundred and five, according to the days of the year. But in the plural number *Iani*, betoken certain hills or great foursquare buildings, with four prospects and cross thoroughfares, whereof were divers in *Rome*.

Ian, Eight daies in every month of an old word *Iano*, to divide: for that they commonly fall about the midst of the month, namely, upon the thirteenth or sixteenth daies, according to *Plinius*, *Iano ubi sunt agende, qui dies mensium Penetrant maribus, sicut Aprilis*.

Interdict of water and fire, were they who for some time were banished. Which judgement, although it was not by express sentence pronounced, yet by giving order, that no man should receive such an one into his house, but deny him fire and water (the two necessary elements of life) he was condemned; as it were to a civil death: and this was called *Legitimum exilium*. But voluntary exile was, when a man to avoid the payment of a grievous fine, or imprisonment, went out of the way of his own accord, and left his native country.

Ingratus, which commonly I translate *Acid*, seemeth among the Romans, to bein measuring of land the *Basis*, ground, and foundation of all other measures in that kind: like as, the *As* is *Assis*, of weights: of which it borroweth the terms in sub-division and multiplication, whereof the least is *Semifcrupulum*. Now is the *Scrupulum* in land measure sixteen foot square, according to which, it may soon be gathered, how much *Ingratus* containeth; considering it hath that name, a *divisus altitudo juncit*: by which reckoning it beareth 28800 foot of ground within the square. But for that, others think that *Ingratus* is almost as *unusquisque solum suo die exarari potest*, one daies work of a yoke or team of oxen: for want of another fitter word (except I would call it a journey) I have expressed it by our familiar term of an acre, which is not much under or over a daies work in plowing of oxen here in *England*.

Interregnum, or *Interregium*, is properly the time between the former King deceased, and the creation of a new: and he that ruled in the mean space, was called *Interrex*. Which terms continued afterwards in the free state when there were no Kings, in the case of vacancy of head-magistrats.

H-S. This Character compounded of two capital I, and the letter S, thus coupled together, is *Sesterius*, that is to say, a silver coin among the Romans, consisting of two *Aesses* and an half, and thereupon it hath the name *Sesterius*, as a man would say, *Semis tertius*.

two, and half the third: and therefore you see the numeral note of two, and *S* for *semis*, which is half. It is the fourth part of the Roman *Denarius*, and in value amongeth us three half pence passing over. But *Sesterium* in the neuter gender, betokeneth almost as *multa Sesteria*, i. a thousand Sesteria: so that *decem Sesteria* signifieth ten thousand Sesteria, and *decem Sesteria* is as much: for you must in this matter of feet hundredfold *millia* for the regimen of the Genitive case. But if you add unto *Sesterium* the numeral adverb, it sheweth the same *Sesterium* in the neuter above said multiplied a hundred times: so much as the said numeral beareth. For example, *decem Sesterium*, is *decem Sesteria*, a hundred times told and as much to say as *decem et sexcenta millia Sesteria*, which is a million of Sesteria in the primitive signification: whereby a man may soon learn how much is *millia Sesteria*, and the rest either under or over *decem*. The same is to be said of *Nummi* and *Nummi*, for it is the same that *Sesterium* and *Sesterium*. Moreover, *decem*, *millies*, and such like adverbs: whether you put *Nummi* or *Sesteria* thereto, or no, is all one: so that by this form of speaking, *quod bona sunt decem*, is meant thus, his goods amounted unto two millions of Sesteria peeces. Thus much for *Livy* and other Historians and writers in prose: for I am not ignorant that Poets for the verse like confound these two words many times, and put *Sesteria* for *Sesteria*, as *Georgicus Agricola* hath well observed.

Jupiter Indiges, *Indigetes* were these called, *quia nullum rei indigent*, because they need nothing, or *quasi indices agentes*, i. converting among the Gods, having been sometimes men: or by reason that they might not *indigere*, i. be named; of rather for that they were easy to be entreated and last of all, *quasi in loco degenet et ideo propitii*, i. the tutel gods and protectors of this or that place: which I rather encline unto.

Iustinus, was the stay of civil jurisdiction and pleas for the time, upon some sudden troubles, as *Tullius Gallus* &c. Which vacation, if we will be somewhat bold, may be called not unfully a Lawfeed, as *Sestius* the Sun-feed.

K. *Kaim*, } The forename of many Romans.

L. *Lacius*, } The forename of many Romans.

Latina sc. *feria*, Certain holydaies *Conscripti*, appointed by the Priest or Magistrate, as occasion required, and nor let feasts. The solemnity was published and held by the Roman Consuls newly created, upon the mount *Albanum* to *Jupiter Latiaris*: and a sacrifice there

there offered which they call *Latus*, for the health of the Latine people: at which, the manner was to give a dole of flesh called *Viscerum* to the Latine States.

Lechthemia is in some sort declared in the first and fifth and twenty books of *T. Livius*, and is as much to say, as the solemn ceremony of stripping and leaving out a bed, not for repose but repul, according to the ancient manner: wherein they laid the images of their gods, reared upon bolsters and pillows: the principal whereof was that in the honour of *Jupiter* at the *Epulum Jovis*, whereupon *Jupiter* was laid *Juno* and *Minerva* sitting of either side by him.

Levis is usually to be understood in *Livy* for the bed: whereupon they laid themselves at ease when they took their recreation, and *Levis* is taken for *Conclavia*, i. the parlour where they were wont to lye, because the usual manner was to set three such beds or pallets together: (whereof the room had the name) and a table raised somewhat higher from the floor, and placed so, as it served all three pallets, and was open at one side for the servants to come unto it, and either set meat thereupon, or to minister what was called for. Upon each of these beds there sat or leaned ordinarily three persons: so as nine was the full number of guests at the board, according to the rule, *Non fewer than the grapes, nor more than the mistles*. For *Horace* in this verse, *Sape tribus lectis videtur canere quatruor*, seemeth to glance at the nigardie of that would rather want meat than guests, and so set twelve at the table which was but for nine, whereby also they were pent up together too strait.

Legati, are usually taken for Embassadors sent from one Prince or State to another. Also for Lieutenants in an army, having the charge of a legion under the General, and in his absence, the charge and command of all. Who likewise were sent as Nuncios or messengers of credence from the Generals in the field, to make true report unto the Senat, of the success of their affairs. Moreover, they are oftentimes put for deputed-delegates, or commissioners assistant to the Cos, or L. General, in matters of state: having their principal directions from the Senat, but commission to deal in the particulars after their own discretion: much like to those that be called *Legati à latere*.

Libitina, the goddess of funerals: and after a sort, the superintendent over sepultures: supposed to be *Venus Epiymbia*. In whose Temple were all things to be sold necessary for the interring and burial of the dead. Whereupon they also who were employed to carry forth and bury corpses, were called *Libitinarii*: as well as *Vespillones*: in Greek *νεκροφύται* and *καταδολοι*. It is put for death in *Horace*, when he saith, *Non omnis moritur, vivasque peris mei, Vita'm Libitiniana*: and in *Livy*, as well for the ministers as furniture to sepultures belonging. The Chappel to this

goddess stood without the City, and a gate there was *Libitinensis*, at which they carried forth their dead. For at *Rome* they might not commonly bury or burn a dead corpse within the City, unless it were upon a special privilege: and the law of 12 tables provided therefore in these express words, *In urbe non sepelito nec uris*: but in some barren part of their land, each man bestowed the ashes or bodies of their dead. The practise whereof is evident by many examples in histories; and at this day are monuments standing of their tombs reared near the great caule *Appia*, and elsewhere about *Rome*. The consideration hereby, with some other circumstances of a place in the 3 book of *Livy*, gave me occasion haply to translate amiss. There hapned to be a great mortality in *Rome* and the territory about it not only of men but of cattle also: at what time as the Volcians and *Æquians* were encamped within three miles of *Rome*, with a purpose to give the assault to the City: but they were suddenly stricken with a fear that they durst not approach: *neque, tellusque procul visa atque imminentes tumuli acciterent mentes curas* &c. where I have Englished *imminentes tumuli*, tombs & graves near at hand, in opposition of *tellus arida* (*Romane*) *procul visa*: and the rather, because it presently followeth, *In deserto agro, inter tabern perarum atque hominum*: where *tumuli*, may well be put for tombs and monuments: and *imminentes* near at hand: as *Livy* and others do take those words. But if any man would have it meant rather of the 7 hills of *Rome* commanding and overlooking those houses aloft said, I will not be against it, but rather my *Jurisperiti* shall go with him: and pardon me I hope he will, if either there or elsewhere I have seemed to nod and take a little nap, *Nimisque opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum*: seeing that I have taken my rest in the manner, and not slept until my neighbour awaked me.

Libitina in *Livy* are ministers or sergeants attending upon the magistrats of *Rome*: namely, Dictators, Consuls, Pretors: for those only were called sometime magistrats *ad* *libitina*, as superior to the rest: so called (as *Festus* thinketh) *quod fasces virgineum ligatos ferant*, for that they carried rods tied up in bundles: which rods were of birch, willow, hazell, or the Cyprian-tree, [a kind of Plane or Maple] and within them stuck an axe, all to signify whipping and death. These officers made way before those magistrats, and were ministers also of the execution.

Lituus was the Augurs staff, much like a bishops crozier, crooked at the end.

M. *Agister Equitum*, Master or general of the horsemen. This was an office or dignity among the Romans, incorporate as it were in the Dictator alone, who ever had the absolute naming and choosing of him: and ordinarily

daily he was subject to him, howsoever *Manlius* was by strong hand and a violent course of the people made equal to *Q. Fabius* his Dictator. Commander he was under him of the Cavalry: also his Lieutenant-general and coadjutor with him in all executions. The same that *Triumvir eternus* in the time of the K.K.

M. Marcus.

M. with the note of A. The forenames of postrophes, *Manlius*, certain Romans.

Manlius, in an army, was at the first a petty company of ten souldiers following one javelin having a whip of herbs or hay fastned to the upper end, as a man would lay; an handful of men: used after, for a small band or Squadron of souldiers: and *Manipulars* were they termed, who served in one such *Manipulus*.

Mania, otherwise called *Lentulus* or *Leo*, the daughter of *Cadmus*. Into her temple, at the time of her solemn feast, might no maid serve as an erker: and if any did, they were sure to be beaten forth by the dames or wives there assembled: in remembrance of one *Amphigenia*, the chamber-maid of *Leo*, with whom her husband *Athenas*, as she thought, was more familiar than she liked well of.

Megalops, were plaies or games at *Rome*, not (as the later seemeth to import) *Magni*, which were *Romani*, but in the honour of *Cybele* the goddess, named also *Ida*, *Magna mater*, the great mother of the gods.

Milia decem milium annis grave, &c. Was no doubt, a fine of brass in money set upon a brass head, after the weight of so much: every *As* weighing a lb. of 13 ounces. For before that silver was cast and stamped for coin, *As grave* plastra ad stratum corvebant (as *Livy* saith) when they paid tribute or subsidy to the City chamber, as they were assessed.

Mundus Mulieris, the Elegancy of women. Nam quæ ætate Græci nomine ornamentis appellaverunt, cum non perfectæ ætatis quæ ætatis in mundum, the world, *Plus*, first book fourth chapter.

Muræa or *Murina*, one of the names attributed to *Venus*, *opis in præter modum, non movetur sed faceret benevolentiam muræam*, i. ut in de *deus* *opis* & *muræa* is contrary to that other goddess *Aphrodite*, qua ad opem excelsam, and hereupon it is that *Muræa* is put for the goddess of flesh and lickeness.

N

Nopæabula, was an enactment proposed in favour of debtors at *Rome*, whereby the old debt-books and obligations were cancelled, or the *Nemina* dashed out. Among the Athenians this practice was called *Sisychia*, an easing of burden, or *Choregia*, a carrying off for striking but of debts.

N. Numerius, a forename to some houses of *Rome*.

Nundina, were the market daies appointed every thirtieth day at *Rome*, for the pleasures of the

country to repair unto the City, to sell commodities or to buy their necessities. And hereupon *Triumviri*, in the space of 49 daies, comprehending three market daies, *Nundæ*, were daies in the month so called, because they began the 5th day after before the Ides: honored by the Romans both for the birthday of *K. Servius*, and also for the chasing out of the K.K. for otherwise it was not lawful (as *Ovid* saith) *Nundæ in Italia Deo sacre*.

O. Veneris Ovis, were eggs set upon the poles in the solemnity of the most sumptuous of the plaies *Circenses*, to reckon or score up (as it seemeth by *Livy*) the races; which were performed with 24 courses to represent four and twenty hours of the day. Neither was it for naught, that those were made of eggs, rather than other things: for as eggs are laid by birds (the swiftest of all other living creatures) so they also were to contend and strive to be most active, &c. or else because *Cassio & Pallus* (those renowned horsemen) came to an egg, as Poets saith.

P

P. Publius, a forename to some Roman families.

Pandulium or *Pandulak*, was a solemn diet or council, wherein all the states of *Ætolia* assembled to consult of publick affairs.

Patres, were at *Rome* 100 Senators or Noble men, counsellors of state: chosen in this manner: 3 out of every one of the 30 Curia, and those make 90: 3 more out of each tribe, (which then were but three) and one by *Romulus* himself: and as this number made the body of the Nobility or *Sena* as the first to, out of every Curia, he chose ten of the most honorable and active young men, to the number of 300, (which he called *Cleues*) to guard his person. From whence came the order of the knights or gentlemen of *Rome*; men a degree between the two titles of Nobles and Commons; as it were the seminary, to replenish the *Sena*, when the places were void, and to augment the number of them. These were called *Patres Conscripti*, *Alfipis*, & *Scelti*. And like as the former were named *Patres Majores* gentium: so the latter sort, *Minores* gentium: alluding to the several ranges of the gods, who were some of them, *Majorem gentium*, such as ever were counted in heaven: termed also *Scelti*: others, *Minorem gentium*, who had been men, and were after canonized gods. [The off spring and progeny of the *Patres*, were *Patruus*, in opposition evermore of *Platius*, Commons.

Porticus, were either the porches & other stately buildings before temples, as belonging unto them: or else goodly galleries and walking places apart by themselves: under which men rested in the rain, and where they used to walk to cool themselves in summer.

Præda,

Præda, booty, pillage, or sackage in the own kind, as it was gotten from the enemy, to wit, slaves, prisoners, beasts, goods, armor, &c. *Manniba*, the money raised of such pillage or prey, sold.

Pretor, one of the superior magistrats of *Rome*. In the City he ruled as L. chief justice: in the province he commanded as L. governor and deputy: and was General in the field as well as the Consul. At first, the name of Consul, Pretor, and Judges, was all one.

Prægrævia centuriæ, were those centuries in *Comitia Centuriatæ*, which by lot had the first place in giving their voices: the rest that followed, were called *Primo-vocata* and *Inter-vocata*, and delivered their suffrages in their course.

Prætexta toga, a robe embroidered of purple, common to men and women, *Ingenium fulgens*, & ornamentum. *Cicero* in *Perrem*, 3. Whereby it appeareth, that it was allowed but to certain persons: and, as *P. Manlius* writeth, to 6 sorts.

1 The children of the *Paritii*, until 17 years age. 2 All Senators upon festival daies. 3 Wardens at the games or plaies called *Campialitii*. 4 All magistrats, as well in the City, as in the colonies or borough Towns incorporate, called *Municipia*, and Masters of *Confraternities*. 5 All Priests, and among them, the *Augurs*. 6 They that triumph, And this differed from the rest, being wrought with gold and damask work.

It seemeth that these differed likewise one from the other, in the manner of the guarding: laid broader or narrower: as also in the rich or deep colour, whereupon they were called *Di-lappra*: or that some of these robes were all one purple, other but parcel. And whereas the gentlemen of *Rome* are said *Porpurati* and *indivisi*, it is to be understood either of *angust-clavus*, or else of some lighter colour, as the violet, and not of that rich red purple, which is scarlet. For that robe which was done upon our Saviour Christ, * one of the Evangelists called *scandilus*, and other two, *supplex*.

Pullarius, the Chick-masser or pullitier: one that had the charge and overseeing of the sacred chickens, kept in a pen or coop for *auspicia*: who by observing their gesture or feeding becomes every morning, related what was foretold thereby good or bad. See more in *Auspicia*.

Pro-consul, Some have thought, *Pro-consule*. *Pro-pretor*, that they should be *Pro-petore*. *Pro-questor*, *Quintus* otherwise thus, *Pro-questor*, but they are in misde opinion out of the way: for in deed *Pro-consul* is he, who having bin *Consul*, went out of his magistracy at the years end, and nevertheless was sent forth unto his Province again with full Consular authority: whereas *Pro-consule* to speak precisely is the *Viz-consul* namely, one that having never been Consul created, but some private person, yet upon an urgent occasion, might for the while supply the place of the Consul. The same is to be said of the rest. And

hereof you may read in the oration of *Cicero*, *pro lege Manilia*. Howbeit in my translation of *Livy*, I have sometime used *Viz-pretor* and *Viz-consul*, for *Pro-pretor* and *Pro-consul*: because that manner of composition frameth well with our terms in English. Moreover, we read once in *Livy* of a *Pro-dictator*, in the proportionable signification to the other.

Q

Quadrigati, were the *Denarii Romani*, having the stamp of a chariot drawn with four horses, called *Quadrifa*.

Quadrans, a peece of base brass coin or poise at *Rome*, the fourth part of *As*, which is a cue and a c.

Questors, were inferior officers in *Rome*, as treasurers to receive and lay out the City-mony, whereof there were *Urbanis*, *Provinciales*, and *Cæsarienses*.

Quæstorium, a plot or quarter in the Roman camp, where the treasurer lodged and other officers of the camp.

Q. Quintus, the forename of sundry Romans. *Quindecenviri*, the same that *Quindecimviri* first, and *Decemviri sacris faciendis*. Their number was 15, and albeit they were encreased by *Sylla* Dictator to 60, yet they retained still the name of *Quindecenviri*.

Quintana was a gate in the Roman camp, at which provision was brought in to serve the market. Read the annotation in the end of English *Tacitus*.

Quingenviri Mensarii, were certain men, five in number, appointed upon occasion to discharge the debts of the commons, so called of *Mensa*, a table set out in publick place: upon which they either counted or weighed their mony.

Quingenviri muris refectendis, were five officers at *Rome* chosen extraordinarily for repairing of the walls and turrets of the City.

Quinquaginta or *Quingentarii* were certain sea-fights and games at *Rome* in the honor of *Minerva*. They continued five daies; and began the fifth day after the Ides of *March*, i. the 20 of *March*: and these were called *Quingentarii Majores*. For others named *Minores*, fell about the Ides of *June*, and that was the mintless holiday, as appeareth in the ninth of *Livy*.

Quintilis, the month of *July*, before *Julius Cæsar* time.

Quirinalia, was a festival day to *Quirinus*, appointed for them to sacrifice, who had neglected or missed to do divine service in their parish at the feast *Fornacalia*: and it was called the fools holiday: for that they were ignorant of the time of the former feast, or knew not their own Curia.

Quiritæ, the name appropriate to the citizens of *Rome*: and so they loved to be called within the City: but in the camp, if the General gave them that term, it was taken for a great disgrace unto souldiers and men of arms.

R

Math. 27.
Marc. 15.
John 19.

R.

R *Crast*, were light armed footmen, resembling our footmen: so called *à crast*, i. Dew. For like as there falleth commonly a drizzling dew before a good thour of rain: so these *Rorarii* skirmished looly, before the legi- onary footmen came to the battail.

Rorarii, were three-tined pikes of bras, jet in the nose or beak-head of war-ships, to offend the enemy, as appeareth by *Piræis*, *Rorarii*, *tridentibus*: and thereupon by *Synedoches*, the stems of ships were so called. And for that the publick puppet for orations at *Rome*, was reared and adorned with fuch, it also was called *Rorarii*.

Rudra, *Qui militat religione salti rudra*, i. *acer- reus*. To make sense of this place, I have translated *Rudra*, peeces of bras money: for that I cannot see what should be meant by rubbish stone in that place, which was not demolished by *Annibal*, for any thing that I can find: but only robbed of the silver & gold within the chappell of *Perona*: in stead where- of were found *arsa acerbis* by reason that the soldi- ers, who had some len- of religion & touch of conscience (whereof their leader *Annibal* had never any) cast from them *Rudra*. Now, probably it is that *Rudra*, is cor- ruptly put for *arsa*, the later end of the word: or if we admit *Rudra* it is well known that *Rudra* as well as *arsa* signifieth bras and bras money, as appeareth by *Rudra*, the di- minutive: for as of *arsa* came *arsulum*, so of *Rudra* (no doubt) *Rudra*: *luna* and like as of *arsulum*, *arsa* *luna*, a god of the Painims, father of *Arge*: *luna* (because copper & bras money was before silver coin): so of *Rudra*, *luna*, the gate *Rudra* *luna* in *Rome*, set out with bras. Now that *Rudra* *luna* is put for a small pece of bras coin, it is proved by the form of words in hymns and telling, and in manumission, *Rudra* *luna* *luna* *luna* *luna* *luna* which is all one with *arsa* *luna* *luna* *luna* *luna* *luna* by which I collect that *Rudra* in this place may stand for *arsa*, peeces of coin. For there went *arsa*, *arsa* *arsa*, which *Horace* putteth for heaps of bras money, and not for brasen im- ages. And well it may be that the soldi- ers upon some devotion threw into the Church their oblations of such money as they had in their belts or bandoliers. This conjecture & construction of mine may serve, until some- what here may be made of rubbish stone, or better expoi- ion come in place. The word (I am sure) will bear it, and the context in all sense and congruity, doth require it.

S

S *Altare Deo*, after a devout and reverent manner they bowed unto the Idols or gods of the heathen as they passed by, and withal, touched their hands: which *Lucretius* sheweth in these verses,

Tum portas proper, aliena signamans, dextra ostendunt attenuari. Sape saluantur, salti praterque manuum. Scleratus Vicius, a street in *Rome* named before- time *Cyprius*, which in the Sabine language signifieth [good]: but upon occasion of a wicked act committed therein, it was by the contrary, called *Scleratus*. *Seestium*, was a general instruction and revolt of the commons in *Rome*, wherein they left the City, until such time as they had the au- thority of their Tribuns strengthened and con- firmed: yea, and certain laws enacted and established by a solemn oath, with a curse denounced to all them that went about to abrogate or abolish the same: which there- upon were called *Saceria leges*.

Sex, *Sextus*, *Sergius*, *Sall*, forenames to Ro- *Serv*, *Servius*, *S* mans *Sextilis*, the month of *August*, so called by the Romans before *Augustus* Caesar his daies, for that it was the sixt in number: as *Quintilis* the sixt, beginning at *March*, *Sextura*, 97. 9. In *Inventum* *graffatum* in *Sa- berra*. It might well be that yonkers there made a fray or committed some riot and felony: for it was a street most of all others re- quented, and besides, in it kept *stumpets* and curtisans, like enough to give occasion of much quarrel & misuse among youth, as ap- peareth by *Iuven*. I and *Marialis* in this Dis- tinction.

Fama non nimium bona, prelle, Quales in media sedet Sabura. *Suffragii*, were the voices of the people given by Centuries, Curie, or tribes, which in *Rome* went affirmatively under this form, *Hiis- gati*, be it according to your bill: and nega- tively thus, *Antiquo*, I deny or reject it. *Sordidati*, were they that changed their weed in *reatu*, i. (whiles either themselves or their friends were in trouble and danger of judg- ment) that is to say, put off white which was the ordinary colour, and did on black: but if they changed their apparel upon sorrow and mourning for the loss of friends or any pub- lic calamity, they were called rather *Pul- latus* and *Atratus*.

Sella Curulis, a seat or chair of estate. One of the regal ornaments at *Rome*, belonging to the Kings first: afterwards, during the free state, used by Dictators, Consuls, Pro-consuls, Pre- tors, and Propretors, Censors and Ediles, na- mely those called curules, for distinction from those that were Plebeian and last of all, by the emperors in the time of the monarchy. This chair was made of Ivory: on which the a- bove said magistrats usually sat, not only in the Senat-house when they consulted or gave au- dience, or when they beheld the publick games & plays, & rode either in triumph, or other- wise in the streets mounted upon their Cha- riots: but also at home within their private houses, & wheresoever else it pleased them: & this badge or ensign of honor they had both in time of their magistracy, & afterwards: &

as such, Senators were called, *Curules*, (for the rest, who had not attained to those dig- nities, they named *Pedales*, as some think, for that they went on foot to the Senat or places before mentioned) so these magistrats like- wise above said, were entituled by the name of Curule, And *Curulia* was that chair called either of *Curia* a chariot, for that they sat thereupon within their chariots; or, *quasi* *Curia*, because it was made crooked or curb- wise, like unto our folding chairs.

Senator, A Counsellor of state. A name it was of honor, and not of age: as the word implieth: for to that place men attained often times very young. Senat was the body of that degree and common Council, opposite unto *Plæti* at *Rome*, namely, when it was *biecta* and the whole people comprehended under *Senatus* *ordo* and *Plæbeius*. *Senarius*, a small brazen pece of money at *Rome*, which being the sixt part of *As*, cometh to a cue or half a farthing.

Sextarius was the Basis of measures in *Rome*, as *As* of weight: and look how *As* was divided into twelve ounces, so *Sextarius* into twelve *cyathi*, and in measures *Sextans* was the sixth part of *Sextarius*, which weighed twenty ounces, much about a winepint and a half a- mong us.

Of *Sibylls*, books so often mentioned in *Livy*, which being three in number, were bought of *Sibylla* by King *Tarquinius* the proud, at the price of nine, after the had burned six of them before his face: which books were kept dili- gently in the Capitol: and whereout the De- cemvirs by their learning made report of the will and pleasure of the gods, See *A. Grævus*, 1 book 29 chapter.

Sigillum, was the general name of all the ensigs in the field. But *Aquila* more particularly was the main standard to a whole legion: so cal- led, for that upon the top of a spear was reared and fastened an Eagle in silver at full re- lief, and the same sometime was gilded stand- ing upon a base or footstall of the same met- tal. The other ensigs, as well of cohorts, which were bands of five hundred men usu- ally, as of centuries, companies of hundred, named more especially *Vexilla*, and were ge- nerally called *Sigra*, had the portraiture of Minotaures, wolves, bores, hories, dragons, with sundry other devices according to the fancy of the Colonels or captains, containing also the name of the cohort or Century, and the legion to which they belonged.

T

T *Alentum Atticum*, As well *ponderale* which was weighed, as *numerate* or *nummarium*, which was counted in money, was of two sorts: The less of sixty pound Attick, and eve- ry one of them consisted of a hundred *Drach- me* or *Denarii Romani*. If *Mina* then be three pound two shillings six pence, Sterling, the less *Attick* Attick amounteth to 187 pound ten shillings of our English money. The grea-

ter, or simply the great, talent, in *Livy*, is fourscore *Mina*, and hath proportion *tri- ginta* or *Septuaginta*, ad *Mina*, which com- eth to two hundred and fifty pound Ster- ling. Now was the Euboick talent (whereof *Livy* also speaketh) half of *Talentum majus* *Atticum*.

T. Titius, A forename to many houses of the *Romans*.

Tegula, A target-fence, which the legi onary Romans soldi- ers, made either in the open field when they were overcharged with their enemies, or in approaching the walls of Towns to give assault. In the former, after they had enclosed within them their bag- gage and light armed men, they rested them- selves upon their knees, with their targets close couched together over their heads, to avoid the enemies shot: and after they had well breathed they would rise up all at once again, fresh and lusty to a new skirmish. In the later, they had the like target-roof, but pent-house wise, one overlapped the other after the manner of tiles, and so they scaled walls without offence from above.

Templum hath in *Livy* three significations, 1. a sacred house or chappel dedicated to some god or goddess for divine service, as the temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol &c. 2. An open place, from whence a man might see all about him, as having nothing to hinder his pro- spect, and which likewise might be seen from all parts, whereof cometh the verb *contem- plari*, i. to behold. And such did the Augurs chuse for to take their signs of bird-flight. 3. Any place hallowed, although not for di- vine service, yet for debating of serious hu- man affairs, as their Curie and Council- Chambers, yea, and the Rostra at *Rome*.

Thalasso, An Auspicate or lucky word used at Bridals or weddings in *Rome*, like to this among the Greeks, *ὕδα ὁ ὑδάτος, ὁ ὑδάτος* *Hymen*, *O Hymen*, *hymen*, &c. *Catal*, *Thesfa*, whereof *Livy* writeth in the fifth & ninth books, were certain petty chariots or dreyes of silver or ivory, carrying the images and ornaments of their gods in great pomp upon certain high daies: and they who led the hories drawing the same, wore their richest apparel, holding in their hands and training the false reins stretched out at length in so- lemn way, whereupon *Festus* thinketh they took the name *Thesfa* *quasi* *Tenfa*.

Trabea was a roial robe or mantle of estate, all of deep purple or scarlet only, at the first: but afterwards, embroidered richly with gold. *Livy* seemeth to confound it with *Vestis pur- purea*, *Palla*, *Palmeta*, and *Triumphalis*. And in truth, all one they were in the principal substance and matter thereof, namely, purple or scarlet: but different in the letting out, be- ing embroidered with gold, more or less, distinguished also with white among (for that was a roial colour) as may appear by the dia- dem, which was a white wreath, or band done about the head of Kings, or in the man- ner of the work: for either it was *palmeta*, so called

called *la mundaia clorum*, i. of the broad bottoms of gold, *ad infus puberum*, to the breadth of ones hand, as *Festus* thinketh: or branched and damasked with flour-work, like to the date-tree: or *elic pila*, of tiffow or embroidery.

Tribuns of the Commons were certain Magistrats, as *Provosts* or *Protectors* of the Commons, to restrain and keep down the excessive power of the nobility: chosen and confirmed by the general oath of the people, whereby they were *Sacrosancti*, i. sacred or inviolable, and no violence might be done to their person. They had a negative voice and power of inhibition, called *Intercessio*, whereby they might cross and stop the proceedings of the Senat, or any magistrat, save only the Dictator: even the very Consuls, whom in some case they might command.

Tribuni military in Consuls authority, or *Consulary* governed the State of *Rome* many years in stead of Consuls.

Tribuni military in the army, were Colonels over a thousand.

Tribuni avari, were the keepers of the City chamber or common Treasury, as it were, the masters of the exchequer.

Tribus in *Rome*, first three, containing each of them ten *Curia*: but afterwards they were five and thirty, containing all the natural citizens of *Rome*.

Tribu moeris, was a kind of ignominy and disgrace, when a man was displaced by the censures out of his own tribe into another more base than it, and namely, *Transfusa in urbanam* of which *urbana* there were four, *Suburrana*, *Esquilina*, *Palatina*, and *Collina*: into which King *Servius* distributed those that were manumitted, and *Rellus* afterwards *servitum urbem*.

Tribunus capitalis. Three Judges deputed to sit upon life and death, touching felonious crimes. They were called also *Quæstores pænalis*, &c.

Tribunus Monetalis. Three officers for the mint of money, either brass, silver, or gold. They are represented in old coins by these five letters stamped thereupon, *Æ. A. S. P. F.* for *ave, auro, argentei, flando, fortitudo*: that is to say, for the melting, coining, and stamping of brass, silver, and gold. They were afterwards four in number, and named *Quæstores*.

Tribunus or *Tresorarius nocturnus*, Three overseers of the night-watch, for fire, &c.

Tribunus Mensuræ, Three Commissioners deputed for the time, and as occasion required, instead of bankers or treasurers to receive a stock of money, and to lay the same out upon extraordinary charges, as in the time of the second Punic war, when the City chamber was without money. Which stock was put into their hands out of private moneys, by way of a voluntary benevolence and contribution, as appeareth in the six and twentieth book of *Livy*.

Tribunus [Extraordinarius] Three likewise to

levy soldiers and able men for to bear arms (without the usual order of matters) throughout *Italy*, upon some special occasion.

Tribunus salutis deducendis three commissioners who had authority to enrol new inhabitants into any colony: also to let out and divide the City lands gotten by conquest, at their discretion among them.

Tribunus also there were three, Wardens to oversee the sacrifices, the oblations and offerings to the Gods.

Turpillus, certain festival games instituted (as *Festus* saith) by King *Turpinus* the proud, for to pacify the infernal gods; upon occasion of a contagious malady that hapned to women great with child, endangering both them and those they went with: which stode upon the corrupt flesh sold abroad in the market of oxen and bulls, killed for sacrifices: whereupon the money employed about those solemnities, was called *Turpitanum* as.

Solennitas or *Suavitatis*, was a solemn sacrifice at the institution, review, or purging of the City every fifth year: and this was called *Lustrum conditum*. It was performed by killing a bull, a ram, and a bore. At which solemnity all that were able to bear arms, assembled in order of battail.

Triumphus, a solemnity in honor of them who have vanquished their enemies: so called, for that their soldiers rejoyced, *Triumphus* (as *Varro* thinketh) or of *Triumphus* for *Triumphus*: one of *Bacchus* names, the first invention thereof: or of *Triumphus* three voices: because it was granted by the suffrages of soldiers, Senators, and common people: as it may appear in *Livy*, by the triumph of *L. Paulus Æmilius*, who had like to have been disappointed thereof, by his own soldiers.

V

Venus Erycina, *Ovid. A. P. 81.* *A scale unum colle tenet*: the was so called of a promontory in *Sicily*, called *Eryx*, where there was a goodly temple built in the honor of *Venus*: and afterwards at *Rome* also in memorial thereof.

Versus Efeceus, certain licentious and lascivious songs, used among the *Painims* at wedding: the manner whereof, come first from the City *Efeceus* (as some think) or as others, *Quia sacrum putabatur arces*, because they were thought to have vertue to withstand witchcraft and sorcery.

Vestales virgines, were certain professed Nuns vowing virginity, who had the keeping of the sacred fire of *Vesta*. *Nec tu aliud offas, quam parum intellige flammam*, *Ovid*. This *Vesta* was brought from *Troy* with the image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and other holy reliques.

Viro tributa, *is, uxoribus*, were certain City works, for which the censors did bargain with the Publicans or undertakers, at a price, *Virtute*.

Verbena although it signifieth a special herb, called *Verbena*, as, *verven* in English, and in Greek *apocyon*, because doves delight much to be above it: yet the word is attributed to divers other herbs put to holy use among the *Painims*, which are called *Sagmina* in Latine, and in Greek *lysastra*. But *Discofides* describeth one sort thereof which runneth by the ground, and groweth not so high as our *vervin* doth, and it seemeth to be that which the Physicians, Herbarists, and Apothecaries call *Græven, uysch*, in Greek *dent de chien* in French: and the colich gras in English: according to which saith *Livy*, *Fa-*

ciat ex accipuram graminis herba *atunlit*, *Vittorinus*, *guinarum nummus*. A piece of Roman silver coin, half *Denarius*, and a double *Sestertius*, having the image of *Victoria* stamped upon it, either standing on foot crowned with a chaplet of bay, or else carried in a triumphal chariot drawn with four steeds, holding forth in her right hand the forelaid garland, as is to be seen in divers antiquities of coin.

Veteres signifieth a place in *Rome* called *Petere*: *Curia* in respect of *Novæ*, or certain shops called *Argentaria* of bankers, in regard of others also named *Novæ*.

A Table of all the Orations in *Titus Livius*, by way of division of the general into particular members, fitted for all sorts

of speaking or writing, and digested according to the severall places of the three principall heads of all Causes in Oratory, to wit, the Deliberative, the Dimsionative, and the Judiciall.

- To reconciliation and peace-making, between Romans and Albans, by *Metius Sufficitus* Prince of the Albans, to *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans. 14.H
- Of *Appius Claudius* a Tribune military to the people of *Rome*, for the continuance of war and keeping soldiers in wintering camp at the siege of *Veii* against the Tribunes of the Commons. 105.A
- Of *L. Lentulus* the chief of the Roman Embassadors to the army and the Consuls that they would of their own accord yield themselves unto the Samnites at the place called *Caudina* *force*, where there was no hope of escaping. 257.C
- Of *Decius Mus* the Consul to the people, that there might be Augurs and Pontifices chosen out of the Commons. 290.H
- Of *Acedux* the Spaniard to the captain of the Saguntins, for the sending back of the hostages into their own Cities, whom *Annibal* had demanded of all the States, and bestowed in safe custody at *Saguntum*. 359.F
- Of *Minutius* the Master of the horse unto his soldiers for joyning camp with *Fabius*, when he perceived that both he and his were saved by the prowels of the said *Fabius*, after himself had unluckily fought against *Annibal*. 363.G
- Of the Roman captives in the overthrow at *Cannæ* to the Nobles of *Rome*, that they might be ransomed. 378.H
- Of *Varro* the Consul, to the Campan Embassadors, that after so great loss and foil of the Romans they would so undertake war with the Carthaginians, that neither *Annibal* might think himself conqueror, nor the Romans conquered. 383.G
- Of *Fabius Maximus* to the people, That the command in war being taken from *Obacilius*, they should consider what General should make head against *Annibal*. 414.G
- Of *P. Sulpicius* the Consul to the people about removing the war into *Macedony*, and to aid the Athenians against *Philip*. 626.I
- Of *Arifthenus*, a Prince of *Achaæ* to the Achæans, for the demands of the Roman Embassadors, that they would stand for them against *Philip*. 658.H
- Of *M. Porcius Cato*, in maintenance of the law *Oppia*, which *C. Oppius* a Trib, of the Commons in the Punic war had made for restraint of womens apparell against the Nobles and Tribunes of the Commons, who went about to abrogate the same. 684.H
- Of *Annibal* in the council of King *Antiochus* concerning the contracting of peace with King *Philip*, and the whole course of war, which *Antiochus* prepared against the Romans. 739.C
- Of reconciliation by *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* to *M. Lepidus* and *M. Fulvius* Consors, who for many years together had born a deadly malice and enmity one against another. 1088.K
- Of *M. Servilius* for *L. Æmilius Paulus*, that he might have triumph granted over the Macedonians by him conquered, when his own soldiers withstood the time, for that they were scant in the pillage: and *Servius Sulpicius Galba* opposed himself against it. 1226.H

Of *Cneus Martius Coriolanus* to the nobility against the Commonalty and the Tribune in distributing the old provision of corn. 55.D
The fraudulent dissipation of *Accius Tullius* King of the Volscians, so the end that the Volscians might not be present at their solemn games, and so he might alter their time upon the Romans. 56.O
Of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictator, to the people against the Tribunes of the Commons, for going to dwell at *Vesii*, when *Rome* was in a manner rased. 174.N
Of *Appius Claudius* against the Tribunes of the commons, that the laws concerning debt, the proportion or stint of lands, the elections of Tribunes military, and that one of the Consuls should be of the commons, might not pass. 52.I
Of *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, that the Roman captives at the Cannian overthrow might not be ransomed. 379.B
Of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, surnamed *Cunctator*, that the Province of *Africk* might not be decreed to *Scipio*. 564.M
Of *L. Valerius* a tribune of the commons, in the behalf of women (against the sentence of *Cato*) that the law *Oppia* should be annulled, which was made to suppress the superfluous expence of women. 686.L
Of *Tanaquil* the wife of *Tarquinius Priscus*, to *Servius* her son in law, that he might succeed in the place of his father in law deceased, who was murdered by two shepherds. 24.M
Of *Tullia* the daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus* to *L. Tarquinius* her husband, to aspire unto the kingdom, against her father. 27.E
Of *Accius Tullius* a Prince of the Volscians to his countrymen, wherein he stirred them up against the Romans, for that they were commanded by them to depart the City, so as they might not be present at the publick games. 57.D
Of the ancient Senators of *Rome*, for the putting down of the Decemvirship, and restoring the Tribuneship of commons. 101.E
Of the legats of the commonalty of *Rome*, which was gone into mount *Sacer*, by reason of the obliquity of the Decemvirs, who would not give over their Magistracy: that now having dispatched their business, they would return into their native country, to their own houses, wives, and children. 103.H
Of *L. Valerius* the Consul to the horsemen, that they would valiantly fight against the armies of the *Aequi* and *Volsci* joyned together in *Algidum*. 108.H
Of *Horatius* the Consul, Colleague of *Valerius*, to his men, That if their hearts served them, they would let up such a shout, as at the charge of a battell. 107.C
With a grievous complaint, Of *Cains Canuleius* a Trib. of the Com. unto the commonalty, against the nobility, for the publishing of laws concerning marriage of nobles with commons, and that there might be one Consul a commoner. 115.D
Of *Vettius Metius* King of the Volscians to his people against the Romans, that they would with sword make way, where they saw him go before. 130.L
Of *M. Mercius Emilius* the Dictator to his souldiers, being frighted with the strange sight of the burning fire-brands which the Fidenates and Veientians did carry. 132.M
Of *Sextus Tarpeianus* a Decurion of horsemen to his souldiers, in a desperate battell, by occasion of the rashness of *Cains Sempronius* the Consul. 135.E
Of *Camillus* being banished to the Ardets, That they would take arms for the Romans against the Gauls, who had won the City of *Rome*, all but the Capitoll. 171.C
Of *M. Furius Camillus* the Dictator to his souldiers, terrified at the great number of their enemies, to wit, the Antemnans, Volscians, Latines, and Hernicks. 182.H
Of *Aulus Cornelius Cossus* the Dictator to his souldiers, and to *Quintius Capitolinus* the Master of the horsemen, against the huge multitude of the Volscians. 184.N
Of *M. Manlius Capitolinus* (after his imprisonment) to the Commons, whom by gifts and largess he had allured against the Nobility for suppressing and deposing of Magistrates. 188.L
Of *M. Popilius* a commoner consul and colleague of *Scipio*, to his souldiers; against the Gauls who had encamped in the Latine territory. 217.E
Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* the Consul to his men against the Samnites. 222.L
Of *Pub. Decius* a military Tribune, to *Aulus Cornelius* Consul, when there was no hope seen of escaping out of the hands of the Samnites. 223.F
Of *P. Decius* a military Tribune, to break in upon the enemy from the hill which he had seized. 224.L
Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* the Dictator to the mutinous and wicked souldiers (who being shared with the pleasures and delights of *Capua*, had plotted to dispossess the Capuans of their City) that they would not fight against their own country. 227.F
Of *Titus Quintius* the Roman, chosen captain against his will by the mutinous Roman souldiers, That laying aside anger and hope, they would not make trial of the fortune of a battell against them. 228.L
Of *L. Annius Sennius* a Praetor of the Latines unto his souldiers, to demand of the Romans, that

that if they would have them to be in league and society, they should elect from among them one of their Consuls and part of the Senat. 231.D
Of *Quintus Furius* the Dictator, to break upon the enemy, to revenge the death of the Roman Citizens, and to recover the Colony from the Samnites. 269.F
Of *Virginia*, the daughter of *Aulus*, a Puritian, and wife of a Commoner Consul, to a laudable contention in virtue, at the dedication of the altar called *Ara Pudicentiae plebeiae*. 279.B
Of *Alaricus* the Spaniard to the Saguntins in exceeding great despair of their state about the articles of peace which *Annibal* at the point of victory did impose upon them as conquered persons. 323.G
Of *P. Scipio* the Consul to his men against *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. 335.D
Of *Annibal*, to his souldiers against *P. Scipio*. 616.H
Of *Cneus Lentulus* a military Tribune to *Lucius Emilius Paulus* Consul, to save himself by flight at the overthrow of *Canna*. 373.C
Of *L. Emilius* the Consul unto *Cn. Lentulus*, for fortifying of the City of *Rome*. 376.D
Of *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* a military Tribune to his souldiers, who had escaped out of the Cannian overthrow, That they would make way by sword and valour through the thickest troops of the enemies. 374.I
Of *L. Pinarius* captain of the Roman garrison at *Ardea* to his souldiers: for to prevent treason and treachery intended. 432.I
Of *L. Marius Septimius* the General to his souldiers, That they would charge upon the army of *Asdrubal* to revenge the death of the *Scipios*. 466.L
Of *P. Scipio* to the old souldiers, to make war beyond *Iberus*. 518.L
Of *Scipio* to his souldiers at the siege of new *Carthage*. 497.F
Of *Porcius Cato* to his souldiers, That they would recover by arms and prowess the rule and government which the Romans had lost beyond *Iberus*. 691.A
(A cold exhortation) Of *T. Quintius* to his souldiers at the siege of *Lacedaemon*. 699.C
Of *Acilius* the Consul to his souldiers against *Antiochus*. 744.O
Of the Rhodians in the Senat, with a petition for reward, after *Antiochus* was overcome by *L. Scipio* with the help of the Rhodians. 777.C
Of *Cn. Manlius* the Consul to his souldiers against the gallogreeks, for that they had aided *Antiochus* against the Romans. 996.H
Of *Perseus* the Macedonian King, in regard of the hope of victory against the Romans. 997.E
Of *M. Furius Camillus* to the people of *Rome* against the Tribunes of the Commons, that leaving the ruins of *Rome* they would not go to *Vesii* another City. 174.N
Of *M. Valerius Corvinus* Dictator, to the mutinous and rebellious souldiers from fighting against their native country. 227.E
Of *Pacuvius Calpurnius* the Campan to his son, not to kill *Annibal*. 386.K
Of *Vibius Virius* to the Campans, That they should not yield themselves to the Romans. 478.N
Of *Metius Suffetius* captain of the Albans, to *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans, about peace making between Romans and Albans. 15.K
Of *Tullus Hostilius* King of the Romans to his own souldiers, concerning the treachery of *Metius Suffetius*. 17.D
Of the two Delegates, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, about the demands of the Commons, who through the Decemvirs fault were departed into mount *Sacer*, for that they having finished the time of their government refused notwithstanding to leave their Magistracy. 102.M
Of *Appius* the Decemvir at the resigning of the Decemvirship. 103.A
Of *M. Dullius* a Commoner, for hope of liberty after punishment taken of the Decemvirs. 106.L
Of *Camillus* to the Tusculan Senators, about sending Embassadors to *Rome* for treaty of peace. 193.D
Of *Quintus Cincinnatus* the Dictator to *Aulus Sempronius* the General of the horsemen, concerning the manner of war against the Prenetines. 195.B
Of *Camillus* the Dictator to the Quirites, concerning the opposition of the Tribunes of the Commons. 200.L
Of the Roman Consul to the Campans that they should not take arms against the Samnites, with the answer of the Campan Embassadors. 221.F
Of *Furius Camillus* to the L.L. of the Senat, as touching the Latines subdued, and by what means they might keep them quiet in continual peace. 238.K
Of *Spartius Postumius* the Consul (who was put under the yoke at *Caudina Fovea*) in the Senat, of the peace made at *Caudium*. 259.E
Of *Aulus Cornelius Arvinus* the Faecial herald to the Samnites at the delivery of the fireties that undertook the peace. 261.D

	Of <i>Anibal</i> to the Spanish souldiers, about removing the war.	327.B
	Of <i>Fabius Maximus</i> the Cunctator to <i>Æmylius</i> the Consul, concerning <i>Verrus</i> , and the order of war-service with the enemy.	363.F
	Of <i>M. Fabius</i> the captain of the souldiers to <i>Anibal</i> the <i>Vidlor</i> , that he would make use of his victory: with the answer of <i>Anibal</i> .	374.L
	Of <i>Perseus</i> the Campane to <i>Pæcivius Calpurnius</i> his father about the killing of <i>Anibal</i> , with the answer and dehortation of the father from that wicked deed.	386.L
	Of <i>Anibal</i> to his souldiers against <i>Claudius Marcellus</i> .	514.I
	Of <i>P. Scipio</i> to <i>M. Fabius</i> King of the <i>Maffesii</i> , who fell in love with <i>Sophonisba</i> wife of <i>Syphax</i> , King of the Numidians and daughters of <i>Asdrubal</i> .	604.L
	Of <i>T. Quintus Flaminius</i> in the generall council of <i>Greece</i> , for making war upon the tyrant <i>Nabis</i> , by reason of <i>Argos</i> the noble City of <i>Greece</i> , which by him was held.	694.M
	Of <i>P. Sulpicius</i> the Roman Embassador to <i>Minio</i> the chief of the friends of <i>Antiochus</i> who was fled, for that he refused concierne with the delegates.	719.F
Admonition	Of <i>T. Quintus</i> to the Achæans concerning the Island <i>Zacynthus</i> , which they pleaded to be under their subjection.	749.B
	Of <i>T. Quintus</i> to <i>M. Attilius</i> the Consul in defence of the <i>Ætolians</i> .	752.I
	Of <i>T. Quintus</i> to the States of the <i>Ætolians</i> about reconciliation with the Romans.	76.L
	Of King <i>Æmmanuel</i> to <i>L. Æmylius</i> the Prætor, that he would not conclude peace with <i>Antiochus</i> , but by the authority of the Senat and grant of the people of <i>Rome</i> .	765.C
	Of <i>Scipio</i> to the petition of <i>Heraclides</i> the Embassador of King <i>Antiochus</i> for peace.	774.D
	Of <i>Scipio</i> to the petition of <i>Zenofides</i> the Embassador of King <i>Antiochus</i> about conditions of peace.	778.M
	Of <i>P. Scipio Africanus</i> accused for robbing the common treasure to the commons; as touching his exploits.	986.L
	Of King <i>Æmmanuel</i> in the Senat concerning <i>Perseus</i> King of the Macedonians.	1187.B
	Of <i>P. Lucius Calpurnius</i> to the people, that they would bestow the honor of the Tribuneship freely offered unto him upon his son that sued for it.	999.F
	Of Embassadors yielding <i>Falerii</i> to the Senat.	163.B
	Of peace by the Tusculan legats in the Senat.	203.C
	Of <i>Sextus Tullius</i> to the Dictator, that he would give the souldiers leave to fight.	211.D
	Of the Campan legats in the Senat for aid against the Samnites.	220.M
	Of <i>Annius Sennius</i> the Prætor to the Latines to the L.L. of the Senat, that one of the Consuls might be chosen out of the Latines.	232.I
	Of <i>Quintus Fabius Maximus</i> the Consul elect to the people, that he might appoint <i>Publius Decius</i> a laud and discreet man to be his colleague.	297.C
Petition	Of <i>Minutius</i> the Master of the horsemen, to <i>Fabius</i> the Dictator, when he joynd camp with him.	364.I
	Of <i>Sophonisba</i> the wife of <i>Syphax</i> , to <i>M. Fabius</i> , that he would not suffer her to come in the proud and cruell hands of any Roman.	603.A
	Of <i>Anibal</i> to <i>Antiochus</i> that he would account him amongst his chiefest friends, in opposition to the Romans, against whom he had fought six and thirty years.	731.A
	Of peace by <i>Zenofides</i> the legat of King <i>Antiochus</i> to the Romans.	778.L
	Of King <i>Æmmanuel</i> in the Senat, for reward and recompence of labour employed, and charges spent in the Roman wars against <i>Antiochus</i> .	781.E
	Of <i>Romulus</i> to <i>Jupiter Stator</i> that he would assist the Romans against the Sabins.	8.N
	Of <i>Quintus Fabius</i> the chief of the City, to the Tribunes of the Commons, that <i>Quinquævirs</i> might not be created, for setting down laws and conditions concerning the Consuls power.	88.H
Prayer	Of <i>Virginius</i> to the souldiers, whose offer of honourable dignity he refused.	100.L
	Of <i>Camillus</i> the Dictator to <i>Apollon</i> and <i>Juno</i> at the siege and assault of <i>Veii</i> .	159.G
	Of <i>P. Decius</i> the Consul, when he devoted himself for the Roman legions in the Latine war, who afterward by his death recovered victory to the Romans.	235.D
	Of <i>Archiphenus</i> the Prætor of the Achæans, to <i>T. Quintus</i> , that he would deliver and set free from the tyrant <i>Nabis</i> , the most ancient City of the Greeks, <i>Argos</i> .	695.C
Thanksgiving	Of <i>Romulus</i> to <i>Jup. Feretrius</i> , at the offering up of spoils, and dedication of the Temple.	8.H
Reconciliation	Of the <i>Saguntins</i> to the L.L. of the Senat, with a gratulation for their victory.	563.D
	Between Romans and Albans by <i>Metius Sufferius</i> .	14.H
An Imputation	Of <i>C. Metius Scaevola</i> , to <i>Perseus</i> King of the Clusines.	43.B

Congratulation	Of <i>Pappus</i> the Dictator to the people, about the absolution and pardon of <i>Q. Fabius</i> Master of the horsemen, who against his Edict had fought.	251.B
	Of the Syracusans to <i>Marcellus</i> , for killing of <i>Anibals</i> favourites, who held and oppressed <i>Syracusa</i> , and for reconciliation with the Romans.	460.M
Comendation	Of King <i>Æmmanuel</i> son of <i>K. Atalus</i> , for the Romans victory against <i>Antiochus</i> , with a petition of rewards for cost and labour employed in that war.	782.I
	Of <i>P. Scipio</i> to <i>Lucius</i> Prince of the Celiberrians, for rendering to him his spouse.	503.F
	Of <i>Spirius Ligustinus</i> the Centurion to the Commons, with a request that they would assign him a place of service worthy his desires in the Macedonian war.	1057.F
Praise	Of <i>Scipio</i> by <i>Anibal</i> , with a petition of peace.	613.A
	Of <i>Antigonus</i> , by Philip King of the Macedonians, whom he thought worthy to wear the crown of <i>Macedony</i> , disinherit his son <i>Perseus</i> a parricide.	983.C
Dispraise	Of the arrogance of <i>Cæso</i> , by <i>Aulus Virginius</i> to the Commons.	80.H
	Of the school-Master of the <i>Falicans</i> Treachery by <i>Camillus</i> .	163.B
	Of the filthy ceremonies of the <i>Bacchanals</i> , with a solemn invocation of the gods by <i>Posthumus</i> Consul, to the people.	959.C
	Of <i>L. Quintus Circinnatus</i> the Consul, to the people against <i>Aulus Virginius</i> .	84.H
	Of <i>Aulus Virginius</i> against <i>Appius</i> the defendant.	104.K
	Of <i>L. Sextus</i> a Commoner Tribune, against <i>M. Posthumus</i> a military Tribune to the people.	142.H
	Of <i>T. Manlius</i> The Consul against <i>T. Manlius</i> his son, whom he had beheaded, for that in the Latine war he fought against the enemy without his commandment.	234.H
	Of a recrimination of <i>C. Manlius</i> the Dictator against certain noblemen, who accused him of ambition or unlawful suing for dignities, because they might not come to their answer when they were accused.	272.H
	Of <i>P. Sempronius</i> a Tribune of the Commons against <i>App. Claudius</i> , who within the lawfull time that is to say, eighteen months, would not resign up his office of Censorship.	276.K
Accusation	Of <i>Hanno</i> against the Carthaginians, about the league broken with the Romans by <i>Anibal</i> , whom the Roman Embassadors required to have punished, as the author guilty of that crime.	322.I
	Of <i>P. Scipio</i> against the mutinous souldiers, who in his absence had thrust the Colonels out of the camp, and bestowed the soveraign command upon the chiefest heads of that sedition.	556.H
	Of the Legats of King Philip in the Council of the <i>Ætolians</i> against the Romans, with a dissuasion that the <i>Ætolians</i> should not side with them.	637.A
	Of <i>L. Furius Purpureo</i> and <i>P. Æmylius</i> , against <i>Cn. Manlius</i> , that he might not have a triumph granted.	935.C
	Of <i>Perseus</i> the son of Philip the Macedonian against his brother <i>Demetrius</i> , whom he accused of Parricide.	957.F
Defence	Of <i>Q. Martius</i> the Roman Embassador against <i>Perseus</i> King of the Macedonians, for the covenants of league broken.	1045.G
	Of <i>M. Manlius Capitolinus</i> before <i>Corn. Cossus</i> the Dictator, and the L.L. of the Senat.	186.M
	Of <i>Sp. Posthumus</i> against the Tribunes of the Commons, who hindered the submission made unto the Samnites at <i>Candina Furca</i> .	297.C
	With a perswasion, Of <i>Hanno</i> to the Carthaginians, that they would think that joy vain which was risen upon <i>Anibals</i> victory over the Romans at <i>Cannæ</i> .	388.L
	Of the Embassadors of those souldiers who remained after the Cannian overthrow to <i>Mar. Marcellus</i> , concerning the disgrace offered to them by the Senat, with a petition of a better rate and condition.	442.O
	Of a recrimination, Of <i>M. Marcellus</i> against the Syracusan Embassadors, who complained of injuries done unto them by him.	490.O
	Of <i>Cornelius Scipio</i> Consul, against <i>Q. Fabius Maximus</i> , who dissuaded that the province of <i>Africa</i> should be granted to <i>P. Scipio</i> .	567.D
	With a recrimination Of <i>Anibal</i> to the Carthaginians, who blamed him when he laughed in the generall mourning of the City.	607.F
	Of the Roman Legats in the Council of the <i>Ætolians</i> against Philip, with a perswasion, that the <i>Ætolians</i> should abide in league and amity with the Romans.	927.G
	Of Philip the King, to those imputations which the Romans and others did challenge him for.	666.H
	Of <i>Nabis</i> tyrant of the Argives to <i>T. Quintus</i> in the generall Council of <i>Greece</i> .	698.L
	Of <i>Cn. Manlius</i> the Col. against <i>L. Furius</i> and <i>P. Æmylius</i> , who interposed their negative, that he should not triumph for the war which he managed against the gallogreeks.	975.D

Defence	Of crimes objected to the Achæans by the Lacedæmonians, by <i>Lycortas</i> their Prætor, before <i>Appius Claudius</i> chief of the Roman Legats, 939.E	
	Of <i>Demetrius</i> K. <i>Philip</i> his son, accused of parricide, against his brother <i>Perseus</i> , 933.B	
	Of <i>Arco</i> brother of <i>Xenarchus</i> the Prætor of the Achæans, for <i>Perseus</i> K. of the Macedonians against <i>Callimachus</i> , who had perjured that no society was with him to be concluded, 1087.A	
	Of <i>Perseus</i> the Macedonian K. to <i>Quintus Martius</i> the Roman Ambassador, 1024.F	
	Of <i>L. Æmilius Paulus</i> for making delay in his going into <i>Macedony</i> , with an admonition to the people, that they would not feed the rumours of war, but keeping in their prattling, for that it was a great hinderance to them that were to be employed in war-affairs, 1015.C	
	Of <i>L. Æmilius Paulus</i> to his souldiers, wherein he sheweth the reason why he delayed battle, 1019.G	
Excuse	Of <i>Scipio</i> to the petition of <i>Annibal</i> concerning the conditions of peace, 614.L	
The upbraiding	Of <i>P. Horatius</i> to the people of <i>Rome</i> for his son accused of felony, 16.L	
	Of <i>Himilco</i> a man of the Barchine faction, against <i>Hanno</i> , who accused the Carthaginians for the breach of the league with the Romans by <i>Annibal</i> , 388.L	
Invective	Of <i>Lu. Quintius Cincinnatus</i> , against the licentiousness of the Nobles in creating of Magistrates, 84.H.85.D	
	Of <i>C. Pontius</i> Generall of the Samnits against the intolerable pride and inhumane cruelty of the Romans, with a periwation to a just and lawfull war, 255.B	
	Of the same <i>C. Pontius</i> to the Roman Faciall herald at the delivery of Consuls, Captains, Treasurers, and Colonels, iuristics for the Caudine peace, 697.G	
	Of <i>M. Ruffus Minutius</i> , Generall of the horsemen against <i>Quintus Fabius</i> the Dictator, for his delays and cowardice against <i>Annibal</i> , besieging <i>Simulsa</i> a Colony of the Romans, even before their eyes, 355.B	
	Of <i>T. Quintius</i> against <i>Nabis</i> the Argive tyrant, for that he accounted of the Roman allies as enemies, and had joynd himself with their enemies against the Romans, 699.C	
	Of <i>Veturia</i> to <i>Coriolanus</i> her son, making war upon the Romans for the Volscians, 58.L	
Expostulation	Of <i>Mimio</i> the principall friend of <i>Antiochus</i> , to the Roman Embassadors, 719.D	
	Of Rhodian Embassadors in the Senat with a clearing of crimes objected, 1014.O	
Purgation	Of <i>P. Valerius Publicola</i> Consul to the people, in the case of seeking to be King, 82.H	
	With a challenge, Of one of the Carthaginians to the Roman Legats, shewing upon what plot and advice <i>Annibal</i> had besieged <i>Saguntum</i> , 325.E	
Complaint	And lamentation of <i>Lucretia</i> to her husband, her father and friends, for the violence offered her, 34.I	
	Of <i>P. Valerius Publicola</i> Consul, to the Tribunes and the whole Communalty against <i>Appius Herdonius</i> , who with banished men and slaves had in the night seized the Roman Cattle, 82.M	
	Or a grievous lamenting with an exhortation of <i>T. Quintius Capitolinus</i> the fourth time Consul to the Commons, touching the discords of the Citizens, 108.M	
	Of <i>Porsella</i> the Campan to <i>Pacuv</i> , his father, that he had thrice betrayed his country, 386.B	
	Of <i>Magius Decius</i> to the multitude of the Campan gathered about him, until by the commandment of <i>Annibal</i> he was bound and led to execution, 387.C	
	Of the Samnit Embassadors to <i>Annibal</i> that he would aid them against the Romans, 405.F	
	Of the Locresian Embassadors in the Senat, against <i>Q. Pleminius</i> Captain of the Roman souldiers, for the great injuries offered to them by him and his souldiers, 581.G	
	Of <i>Philip</i> the Macedonian to the Roman Legats, 892.L	
	Of <i>Philip</i> the Macedonian touching the unfortunate estate of him and his children, 899.G	
	Of <i>Callimachus</i> the Achæan against <i>Perseus</i> King of Macedony, 953.B	
	Of <i>Lu. Æmilius Paulus</i> , as concerning his wonderfull calamity and of his triumph, which was (as it were) a spectacle and mocking stock of this worlds mutability, 1113.F	

Rebuke	Of the Volscians to the Roman Legats, who after the loss and ruin of <i>Saguntum</i> , required of them to stand firm in league and society with the Romans against the Carthaginians, 404.N	
	Of <i>M. Marcellus</i> to his souldiers, in that they abandoned their camp with that fearfulness, whereby they lost the opportunity of fight, which <i>Hannibal</i> refused, 637.A	
	Of <i>Arifthenes</i> Prætor of the Achæans against them: for that in their Council they were silent, and answered not to the Roman Legats, 620.I	
	Of <i>L. Æmilius Paulus</i> to K. <i>Perseus</i> , because he submitted to the Roman Legats, with an admonition to his men of the change and alteration of this world, 1205.F	
Humble intreaty	Of <i>L. Virginium</i> to his souldiers, whereby he refused the majesty of a Decemvirship offered unto him without his seeking, 122.H	
	Of <i>Titus Manlius</i> the Consul to the Latine Embassadors, requiring of the Senat, That one of the Consuls might be chosen out of the Latines, and that they might have a part in the Senat, 283.E	
Communion, or threatening	Of <i>Idius</i> against the Decree of <i>Appius</i> the Decemvir, to the end that <i>Virginia</i> his Spouse should not remain without her fathers houle, 118.H	
	Of <i>Lu. Virginus</i> the father against <i>Appius Claudius</i> for his daughter <i>Virginia</i> , 119.A	
	Of <i>Cornelius Cossus</i> Dictator against <i>Marcus Manlius Capitolinus</i> , for that by his exellive gifts he had stirred up the people against the nobility, 224.L	
	Of <i>C. Fabius</i> the Dictator, touching the rashness of <i>Rufus Minutius</i> Generall of the horsemen, 224.L	
	Of <i>P. Cornelius Scipio</i> against <i>Cecilius Metellus</i> and other young men of <i>Rome</i> , who plotted to abandon <i>Italy</i> for fear of <i>Hannibal</i> , 495.E	
	Of <i>Tib. Gracchus</i> to his souldiers, of penalty to be inflicted upon those slaves who refused to fight, 519.C	
Interrogative	Of <i>Caius Junius</i> , a Tribune of the Commons, To <i>Tempanianus</i> a horseman, about <i>Sempronius</i> the Consul, who had shamefull abandoned his Camp in the war against the Volscians, 194.M	
	Of <i>M. Manlius Capitolinus</i> to the gods, when he was led to prison for a sedition, 231.B	
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	Of King <i>Philip</i> , and of <i>Titus Quintius</i> the Consul, touching conditions of peace, 829.D	

FINIS.

A
SUPPLEMENT
OF THE
SECOND DECAD
OF
LIVIE'S ROMAN
HISTORY.

Written in
LATINE
AND
DEDICATED
to
CHRISTINA,
QUEEN of SWEDES, GOTHs,
VANDALS, &c.
BY
J. FREINSHEMIUS.
Newly Translated into ENGLISH.

L O N D O N ,
Printed for Joshua Kirton, Abel Röper, Gabriel Bedell,
and George Sambridge, 1659.



To the High and Mighty Princefs, and his moſt
Gracious LADY,

CHRISTINA,

By the Grace of God Queen of the SWEDES, GOTHs,
VANDALS and the adjoyning Provinces.

Madam,



I bath happily ſaln out, that your wonderful Humanity and Learning, rarely to be found in ſo great a Majeſty, have given me advantage of omitting one of thoſe two ſubjects which uſually are the Contents of Dedicatory Epiſtles. For I have ſo many reaſons to declare why I preſent this Supplement to your Majeſty, that if I were forced likewise to declare the Argument of the Work, to what End, and in what Manner it is contrived, I could not accompliſh it without a long and tedious Epiſtle. But now thoſe Your two Virtues I mentioned, have freed me of this Neceſſity, ſeeing out of your Humanity you condeſcended to read the Work while it was in Compoſing, and by your Learning more fully underſtood, then I or any other could expoſund what was ſuperfluous, and what wanting in it. I will not therefore accuſe the meaneſſe of my Wit or Learning, or any other thing, that this my Deſign hath no more happily ſucceeded, (Let thoſe men pretend ſhortneſſe of time, multitude of buſineſſe or incommodities of ſickneſſe, who aim at other Glory beſides that of Obedience) it ſufficeth me, I am conſcious, that in writing this, I have obſerved the benefit of your Studies, and in making it Publick been Obedient to Your Will. For when in compiling the Relicks of LIVY's HISTORY, which at that time you diligently read, I had finiſhed this Work as a Bridge over a broken Paſſage, You were pleaſed (according to Your excellent and well known Goodneſſe) to expreſſe Your liking of my Endeavors; and, as Your Self thereby had reaped Benefit, ſo to judg them fit of Publick View, that others might likewise be profited by them. Wherein You maniſeſted both your Wiſdome and your Bounty: Your Bounty, in that what was ſolely intended for your own ſervice, you were willing ſhould be uſeful unto all: Your Wiſdom in that, in this new beginning and encrease of Learning, which by your example and Help the North doth greedily receive and happily improve, you have encouraged other men to exerciſe their Wit and Industry in publiſhing more Accurate and Learned Writings, when they ſhall have underſtood with how much Candor and Clemency You accept this rude and unpoliſhed Piece of mine. When therefore I ſee not only thoſe who are born unto your ſervice, but many alſo of ſtrange Nations moſt willingly entertain and execute your Commands: Should I at all be backward in my Duty, who, if not alone, yet amongſt a few of your moſt Faithful and neareſt ſubjects; am in a peculiar manner obliged by your Majeſty? I am indeed His

who created all things, neither from any other do I expect a True and Lasting Felicity; neither do I bear a mind inferior to so great a Hope: But as to the Offices of this Life I am by him bestowed upon your Majesty, as by infallible Arguments, to your self not unknown, may be demonstrated. Wherefore my constant and resolved Rule of living (which, if I attain not unto, as I am willing and ought to do, yet I aim at and endeavour) is, to attend God's will only in those things which are expressly commanded or forbidden; in Actions indifferent and arbitrary to be guided by your Majesty alone; which I the rather strive to perform, because I know it is your Pleasure. And truly this were a sufficient tie of my Obedience and Reverence, if you had not otherwise both by your Virtues and Deserts obliged me, both which are so ample and of so effectual an Influence, that it is hard to say whether in Contemplation of them I am more willing to serve you, or for other Reasons more strictly bound to it. I find my self now involved in a very doubtful Case, and on both sides much perplexed: For if I say what I have intended, as my desire is, and as is Just and Right, I may happily not be relished by your Majesty, who do more freely exercise your Virtues, and faster your Favours, then willingly bear them repeated. And if in the Mention thereof I shall omit any thing, I shall fail in my Duty, and Detract from Your Praises, which (with as fervent a desire and good will as I prosecute them) had I liberty to expatiate, I could in no wise according to their Dignity set forth, much less being freightened within the narrow limits of an Epistle. Nevertheless I am confident, that the Temper of the business (which your self cannot disallow) is agreeable, as to the present purpose, so to both our Dispositions. For I abhor Flattery as doth your Majesty; neither am I more willing to speak any thing in such a strain, then Your self to hear it. And, according to your discerning Spirit, you are not ignorant that I am of this mind, that if it were in my choice whether to offend You in doing You Good, or please You by Flattery, I should without scruple chuse the former, which few Subjects can do and few Princes endure. Hinder not therefore my desires which cannot offend on that part: Give us leave to acknowledge what we have received; and if miserable men are freely allowed to complain, why should your Majesty forbid us modestly to boast of our Happiness under such a Prince as Your self? Neither ought this, the only Reward of your good Deeds, or the Fruit of our Thankfulness to perish; we then again a fresh receive benefits when we repeat them. But I see what is happened, whilest I beg leave to Write I loose both Time and Space. What therefore I am about to say, shall be into a few Periods digested, and I shall of every kind speak somewhat only in Summe. As to those your Virtues wherewith you have magnificently Adorned this Empire; that I may briefly declare what I think, I shall borrow a Sentence from our beloved Tacitus; in which Author, You know, Tiberius reproacheth C. Cæsar, That he had all the Vices of L. Sylla, but not so much as one of his Virtues: which may justly be inverted as to Your Majesty, that You have acquired all the Virtues of Your Predecessors, omitting what Vices were in them, inasmuch as You have augmented their Ancient Honours by Virtues new and heretofore unknown to this Kingdom. I believe that former Ages wanted not excellent Kings, yet, however it came to pass, the Sweetick affairs never ascended to any illustrious or durable greatness in their dayes; the Praise of that work properly belongs to the Gustavides, of whom not any one ever Reigned without some Memorable profit to the Countrey: for even the Error of some have proved of good use; the Case of Ericus and Sigismund instructeth Posterity wherein Kings may offend: and others are admonished by the severity of Charles, how unsafe it is to provoke Princes to Anger. But what Pen or what Oration can sufficiently declare the

the Immortal benefits reaped from the two Gustavi? They were both so great, that if you compare them with others, you will easily prefer them before others; but if you compare them between themselves, you will rather conclude that this was Greatest and the other Greatest, then discern which of the two excelled. For it is a great Error and blindness of judgment to measure the Greatness of Kings by the outward Splendor of their Actions, and respect that only.

It happens often to these Stars on Earth as to those in Heaven, that some indeed are the greater though others seem to be so. But this is manifest, that God had Ordained by two Princes especially to advance the glorie of this Kingdom, even by GUSTAVUS the Great, and his Daughter CHRISTINA. He indeed was the more endowed with Warlike Virtues, yet so as when he had leisure from the Field, he did most Accurately and Skilfully manage affairs at Home: God having reserved Your self, Madam, to a greater work, the Recoverie, Establishment and Ornament of Peace, hath every way accomplished You for so great a Task; yet so, as while there was a necessity of War, You could not complain of anything wanting in Your self to the highest Praise in such an Employment. For whereas little is to be attributed to bodily exercise, You were found eminent in all those Virtues of the Mind which are required in the best Emperors, as Counsel in Perplexities, Constancy in Adversity, Moderation in Prosperity, Diligence, Wisdom, Faithfulness in all things; whereby after many and famous Victories, You concluded Peace with Denmark in the first year of your Reigne, and in the fourth year a most glorious and advantageous one with the German Emperor. Which peace how and by what means you have adorned, I cannot in this Haste declare; I shall only name the encrease of the City, many Towns built and well constituted, Justice established, the People eased in their Taxes, Manners amended, the Honor and Reward of Learning encreased, the Universities enriched, Schools erected, Merchandize flourishing, many Manufactures newly invented, the Ground manured beyond the simplicity of the Ancients; your care and diligence adhibited toward the Commodity of Travel, measuring of High-ways, building of Inns, and indeed toward all things which we see, which we are sensible of, and the benefit whereof we enjoy; so that I may justly account those my Countrymen of Germany happy who shall hereafter rest under your Protection: whom I would have, with my self and all other Your Subjects, think no signifier of God's Anger or Favour toward them, then as he shall long preserve, or suddenly take away such a Prince from amongst them. If there be any who dare not lift up their Eyes by reason of the misery of times past, or are so hindered by the Interposition of clouds that they could not hitherto behold this Bright Star, be comforted with its Aspect, and refreshed with its Heat: They may justly be encouraged to expect all things happy and prosperous near at hand, not only by the greatness of so Benigne and Favourable a Light, but also by the Constancy thereof. For the Splendor of it is not derived, as that of a Candle or Torch, which failing, the remaining substance appears fouler; but like that of the Sun, True, and Pure, and Innate; neither to be consumed by Time, or extinguished by Violence: which now shineth openly to those who dwell afar off, and will so dispell all Clouds from before their Eyes, that you shall find none so blind as cannot see it, or impudently injurious to their own judgments as to deny they see it. But though it be troublesome to me to draw my mind from this sweet and pleasing Contemplation, I shall not endeavour to comprehend the mention of these Virtues within the narrow Limits of this Paper, this Time, or this my little Wit, which ought in whole Volumes to be declared to all Nations and Ages. I shall make bold to be more Prolix in the Commemoration of your benefits bestowed.

bestowed on me, as being not so well known to the World, and more properly belonging to the Causes of this Dedication, as likewise not unworthy Monuments of your Virtues. But I must first acknowledge the Providence of God which I have alwaies found most manifestly present in this businesse. When for many years in Germany I continued in such a condition of life (for many reasons thereunto perswading me) as not resolutely addicted to any particular Profession, yet ready to accept of any which should lawfully offer it self: in all that while no man determined my liberty with obligation to any calling. In the mean time I spent not that my leisure in idleness, but bestowed it in those Studies to the which (by what afterward hapned, I evidently understood) I was from my infancie ordained. The time now grew on, Madam, wherein I was to be dedicated to Your Majesties Service, and Benediſt Skytte came to Argentoratus, whom Your Majestie hath deservedly honoured with many Favors, and lastly with the Dignitie of a Senator. By him invited I came to Your Universitie, where instructing the Youth with care and diligence, though I had an earnest desire to see Your Majestie, yet I preferred the necessitie of my present Office, before the sweetnesse of an happinesse not yet due to me. When I had now three years been debarred of any Conference with your Majestie, having lately taken upon Your Self the Administration of Your Realm upon occasion of a Funeral You came to Upsal. And from that time I shall begin the Commemoration of Your Favours towards me. The last Office of Love was then performed to my Patron John Skytte Senator, whose praises according to the Dutie of my Place, I endeavoured to set forth in a Funeral Oration; and this was the first Speech I made in Your hearing: But when by the cheerfulness of your most Serene Countenance, You discovered both Your understanding of what was spoken, and Your Favour to the Speaker, I was so infinitely possessed with Pleasure and Admiration, that thenceforward I resolved to esteem You not only as a Queen of Me and Your Kingdomes, but Princeesse of all Virtues and Wisdom. The same Favour I received two years after, when as often as you came to Upsal, you heard my Discourses upon any Subject you propounded. Intending afterward to accumulate more Favours upon me, You invited me to Court, not only beyond my Hope, but besides my Thoughts of any such thing: what You there bestowed upon me, can scarce by a long Oration be declared: You made me Keeper of Your Librarie, then which I know none so soon after its first beginning, more plentiful in Books, which hath been a main help to me in Compiling this Supplement. You gave me the Title of your Historiographer, that when you should think fit I might deliver to Posterity the Memory of things done or to be transacted. You afforded me Lodging in your Court, not only very convenient, but (which is rarely found in so frequented a Place) very private and quiet also, and a Stipend, which by experience I have found, very subject to Envy. And whereas these may be esteemed Favours of the highest rank, you have, by what after followed, caused them to be esteemed small ones: For when you desired the Knowledge of the Greek Tongue, that you might from their own Mouths understand the sense of the most excellent writers in Civil and Moral Wisdom, you did so by degrees induce me to the Office of your Instructor therein being ignorant of your Purpose, that at length I understood I had taught much indeed, when on the sudden I found you had Learnt so much. By this your Art in that small time you could allow out of two years to such a Study (being a Queen actually Reining, waging War, often holding Parliaments, every day Councils, and constantly distracted with other busineses) you made such an improvement that after Trial in Polybius and Plutarch, you read Plato also, and that with such understanding, that little wanting my help, you could hastily Translate him into Elegant Latine in most

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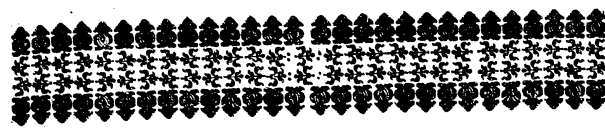
significant Expressions, and of Your self observe and for true reasons Correct the Error of Translations made with the great pains of Learned men. Whereby I reaped so great and various fruits of purest pleasures, as I could not but often ingenuously confesse to my most intimate acquaintance, That whosoever Time, or Labour, or Study, or Care I bestowed in this employment (for Trouble, I call my Confidence to mistresse, I never felt any) I thought all abundantly recompensed with that reward I could every hour receive from you. For to omit other benefits, what an advantage was even in this, to be every day in the presence of so great a Prince, to be seen and commended by You to obtain the Title, Place and Honour of a Favourite? Truly my Happinesse seemed so great to me, that I began to be afraid of it. For though, by the Grace of God, I ever put off those my worldly Accomplishments, as knowing I must one day leave them, or they me, yet out of importunity of mind I might by too great happiness have grown insolent, but that by certain Arguments I learn in time to know that so great a Fortune was not conferred as Due to any mans Merits, but as the free gift of your Grace and good will. And in this so high and great an Happinesse there are many excellent Circumstances, particularly considerable. I am tied only to my own Vocation, employed only in mine own Studies, that is, I am so free that I am not employed and engaged in any service not proper to my own Office and calling. Neither have you a care of my Time and Health only, but also of my Modesty and Bashfulness: I appear not but at the time of your Studies, neither then do I break in without command, or stand as an idle and dumb Spectator, vainly loosing time, or boldly vaunting of my Liberty and Familiarity. Neither is my work base or vile, we do nothing which requires either Secrecy or Excuse; whosoever will not betray his own ignorance must needs confesse the employment on my part worthy of a man, on yours becoming a Prince. Hence to I have related part of the Favours you have bestowed on my Person: it remains likewise I should acknowledge those Favours (as much more bestowed on me) which you have conferred on others by my Intercession: In which confession I have cause to fear, that I shall not only contract Envy to my selfe, but give Occasion to others to accuse your Majestie, as being too Facile in granting what is requested. To these I shall answer, That I do indeed acknowledge and admire your Goodnesse, which hath far exceeded my Deserts, and that others also may obtain equal or greater Favours if they ask them with the same Respect that I have done: as first, I never desired any thing but what was Just and Equal; nor secondly, any thing misbecoming the Office and Majestie of my Prince; thirdly, by all those Boons I have obtained for others, I know not that I am a penny the richer. But in this strait, wherein it is easier to think of more things then to write them, many things come into my mind, which I am forced to pretermitt. This I shall say, I am in doubt whether I am more beholding to your Majestie for small favours bestowed at my Request, or for the great ones; for as these carried the greater Price, the others did more manifest your Humanitie. That your mind capable of highest things would condescend to so little ones. We Read of a King, who when a Physosopher asked of him a Groat, said, It was too little for a King to give; when he presently asked a Talent, said, It was too much for a Physosopher to receive. Your Majestie hath more magnificently used the same Method, in Your smaller favours; regarding what was fit for me to receive, in the greater, what became Your self to give. With the like Clemency You have had compassion on some miserable men (whom I therefore commended to Your Majestie because none had pity on them) and done that which I dare yet scarce speak; both for the Greatnesse of the Thing, and for the Greatnesse of the Thanks due, which cannot

cannot at present be expressed. But I may happily be accused of Flattery, that I should think your Person may be more Elegantly declared or praised by any man's Oration, than by your own Deeds and Works; or that I should think you stand in need of my Compliments, for having voluntarily remitted to the City of the Virginians the Poll-tax of their Taxes, by which I think the City was preferred, and shall do well and justly if they honour your Majesty as a second Founder; You have thereby for ever secured the Commonwealth of the Virginians, and in particular making it your Majesty's Debtors. For I know not who of Right owes most to you, they who received the benefit or be who procured it at your Pleasure. Is there any thing else to be equalled to, or preferred before what I have already said? No, surely even this. In that you have promised to make me a better man, not as all nature is improved by Laws and Manners, nor as many, by Example, but, as yet now, by your care and Diligence in Conversation with me. For you have promised to make Borgia with me (this is to do well and for me) your Wife and Prudent men ought to be qualified, and by what power and way is it to be learned, which when I have learned, I make no question of being much better than now I am. And I so much value this your Promise, that I cannot but free you from the burden of your Obligation to fulfil your Kingdom, and I shall not refuse, if I may ever see you, to declare the Reasons of this my Resolution. And to perform this, will I suppose be neither unpleasant to you, nor yet Difficult, seeing You send forward to the height of that Wisdom, which even among the Learned you shall find none who pretend to reach nearly indeed truly know & understand it. In this thing I may well boast whereby I am more happy, not only than ordinary men, but the servants of Solomon himself, who are justly esteemed happy in having opportunity of hearing his Wisdom. This would have been much more happy if he had taken peculiar Care to have instructed them in his own Person, which we read not to be ever did. But I perceive that contrary to my will and the nature of my Argument, the very Paper admitteth me to make an end. I shall therefore now be silent, humbly adoring your Majesty, and giving You to understand, that not only this Book is Dedicated to Your Majesty, but my whole self with all my Soul and the Affection I bear, with what I am, or have, or can do, being for Your sake simply willing to do any thing whatsoever without exception, unless what is against Conscience, or beyond my Abilities to perform.

MADAM,

The Lord Preserve and Keep you.

THE



THE SUPPLEMENT OF LIVIE'S HISTORY

By J. FREINCSHEMIUS.

THE FIRST BOOK

In place of LIVIE'S XIth Book.

Collected out of Authors whose Names are in the Margin annexed.



HE Power of the Samnites was now by many Battels much broken, neither was any doubt made of happily finishing the War, in case the Enemy in this low and weak condition were prevented of time sufficient to recollect and strengthen his spirits. Therefore *Q. Fabius* the Consul, in the year from the fourth of the foundation of the City 601, now in the heat of his Youth, and assuring himself the glory of putting an end to this War, having made a sudden levy, marcheth instantly with his Army into Campania. For the Samnites being an hardy people, and by all their overthrows brought rather into Despair than Fear, while the former Consuls carried back the Legions to Rome attending on their Triumph, laid hold on that opportunity, and what with the Relicks of their former Armies, and some new Levies, had gathered together a considerable force, and because they knew the Plague was at Rome, and had heard that the present Consuls were men not much to be feared, either for any experience in Martial Affairs, or for any great Authority they had, they grew confident, invaded, depopulated, and wasted the Territories of the Campanians whom they had always hated, but now more vehemently, looking on them as the Authors of the danger and calamities they now sustained. The Roman General had a heart no way misbecoming the dignity of his *Fabius*-Family, but the small account he made of a Nation so often beaten by his Country-men, and his earnestness of being in action, did at this time quite bereave him of all Counsel and Deliberation. He marcheth swiftly towards the enemy, and having discovered the Samnite scouts, who upon sight of the Roman troops retired back to their own main Body, and judging this to be a flight of the whole Host, without any consideration had either of the place or the condition of his men, he commands in all haste that may be the Battle to be begun, as if the hope of Victory consisted only in Expedition: But the Samnites having notice of their approach, were very circumspect, had seized on advantageous places, marshalled their Army, and incensed the minds of their Souldiery by their commanders Orations; and consequently the Event of the Battle was accordingly; for the Samnites being in good Rank, and well prepared, made no great business to rout the Romans, being very weary with their journey and furious march, out of all order, as if they came rather to plunder than to fight. Three thousand of *Fabius* his men were lost, a greater number wounded, and only by the benefit of *Maximus*, the Night was the total destruction of his Army prevented. Then retiring to a more commodious place, as well as in such a Conjunction may be expected, they fortified their Camp, where there was little better comfort or confidence than in the field, the Weary had no convenience of *Zenarus*, the Hungry wanted food, and the Wounded had no application of Medicines, for issuing out with their weapons only, they had left all their carriage and baggage in the former Camp: so

15.
Pausanias. B. 2.

Valeriy
Maxim S. 5.7.1

event of things, they thought fit to obey the Gods who would themselves open a way for their fortunes to proceed by. A very strange thing then fell out, but of most undoubted truth, by reason of the sincerity of so many Authors affirming it, as likewise appears by the structure of the Chappel in *Tibur* then erected and consecrated. When the Roman Embassadors had delivered their Message, the Epidaurians entertain'd them kindly, but because it did not appear what was convenient to be granted them, they were conducted to the Temple with liberty to convey away what should seem convenient for their use. The Altars of this God among the *Græcians* was most commonly in open and high Places; the *Epidaurians* also five miles from their City had a Temple of greatest Fame in those days, and very rich by the gifts of men who believed their health to proceed from thence; Being brought thither, while they stand in admiration of the Largeness of the Statue which was cut by the excellent skill of *Therapmedes the Parian*; Behold an huge Serpent creeping out of a secret place fills all their minds with horror and Devotion: For the Priests with great veneration cried out, *The God himself is in this Snake, and being sometimes seen in this shape, it always imports a good and healthful Omen.* Two days was he seen in the Temple and then again withdrew himself; the third day through the midst of the throng of Spectators and Adorers he went directly to the Port where the Roman vessel attended them; and entering into the Ship he rolls himself up according to his spiral manner, in the Cabin of *Q. Ogulnius* President of the Embassy. There is an ancient story that the same *Æsculapius* having assumed the form of a Serpent was carried from *Epidaurus* to *Sicily* by a *Troak of Mules*, one *Nicagora*, the wife of *Echitimus* driving the wain.

The Romans rejoicing at the good Omen, as having the God himself present among them, hoisted sail, and in a few days with a prosperous Voyage, crossed the Seas and arrived at *Antium*; where the Sea being troublesome, and their navigations hindered, the serpent which had kept it self still and quiet all the voyage, creeping out the Ship, glided to the Porch of the most eminent Church in that City, and there abode three whole days together: The Romans much fearing they should never draw him from thence, seeing he had not in so long time returned to his wonted sustenance, but at length having regained him with much cheerfulness they conveyed him to *Rome*: The whole City ran out to the sight of so incredible a wonder; on the banks of the river as he passed by many altars were erected, incense and sweet odours prepared, and sacrifices slain. They were now just come to that place, where *Tibur* a little dividing it self, suffereth an Island to appear in the midst of it; when the Serpent forsaking the Ship betakes himself into that Island by swimming, and was not afterwards any more seen by man; hence was the place call'd the Island of *Æsculapius*. The Fathers all agreeing that the Gods had chosen that place, decreed a Temple to be there erected to *Æsculapius*. The sickness whether by this remedy, or that it had otherwise run its full course did suddenly cease; the Temple was quickly enriched with many extraordinary offerings, and its revenues wonderfully spread abroad by those who profest to have received help in their diseases from this God. *L. Posthumius* the Consul carried the same pride with him into his Province which he had exercis'd against his Colleague at home: For whereas *Q. Fabius Gurges*, the last years Consul, did by order from the Senate manage affairs in *Samnium* as Proconsul; *Posthumius* arrogantly writes to him commanding him to depart the Province, in as much as himself was sufficient to wage that War. *Fabius* answering with the Decree of the Fathers, and that it was not safe for him to desert a business imposed on him by the Senate; the Romans upon this news feared lest by the discord of the Commanders, the Common-wealth would be damm'd: Wherefore 'twas thought fit to send Legates to the Consul, to desire in the Senates name that *Fabius* might be suffer'd to continue with the Army in *Samnium*. *Posthumius* having returned an absurd and broken Answer; add'd withal a speech of singular impudence: That during his Consulship, he was not oblig'd to obey the Senate, but they him; and that his actions might correspond with his words, forthwith dismissing the Legates, he march'd with his Army to *Cominium*, which City *Fabius* did then besiege; resolving (if by no other means he could) by fight to remove his Rival: The Roman Armies had afforded the enemy a full spectacle, if *Fabius* had resist'd with the same he was assaulted; but he being better temper'd both by nature and his Fathers documents departed the Province, having profest that he yield'd not to the Consuls fury, but to the good of the Commonwealth. *Posthumius* in a few days reduced *Cominium*, whence leading his Army to *Pennum*, and taking that also, he carried about the War to other Towns; many whereof partly by force, partly by treaty were brought under his power. In this Expedition ten thousand of the enemies were slain, six thousand two hundred casting down their arms, yielding themselves to the mercy of the conquerors. The Consuls achievements were not any way contemptible, but the grace of them were spoiled by his pride and Insolence: Wherefore when he did by Letters therein give the Fathers that the City and Territory of *Pennum* was very convenient for a Colony therein to be planted, the counsel indeed was accepted, but without mention made of the Author of the Victory and the counsels, other men had the conduct of the Colony of twenty thousand men, for so I find it in Authors of no small credit: A great number indeed and almost exceeding belief, but that it seems reasonable, that in the midst of Nations, yet unbiassed they should think of placing a considerable force, as a double guard both against the *Apulians* and the *Lucanians*. Now the stubbornness of *Posthumius*, as besides other grudges and offences, it contraried him much envy; so it tended much to increase *Fabius* his Favour and good opinion with

Val. Maxim.

Plutarch.
Æscul.
Rom. 94.Livie. c. 18.
Pausan. Auth. de
viris illust. c. 22.P. Diacori.
Hist. Miscell.
2. 11.

Liv. Epit. 11.

Pausan.

Aul. de viris
illust.
Ogil.
Val. Maximus.

Ovid.

Sueton in Clau-
dian. c. 25.Tab. marmorea
apud Nicomedi-
um de arte gym-
nastica. 1. 1.Dion. apud Va-
ler.Dion. apud Va-
lerium.Horatius (civ.
2. 1.

with all men, so, that when he came to the City, and had made relation of his performances, his triumph was readily assented unto. Being now Proconsul he did on the Calends of *August* make his triumph over those *Samnites* who are call'd *Pentri*: Old *Fabius* followed his Chariot on horse-back, whom the people beheld, and by their acclamations acknowledged not only an Assistant, but the author of the Victory. He accumulated all the glory of the enterprize upon the peoples Consul, using himself as the name, so the modesty of a Legate; beholding his sons honour with as much complacency, as when, being yet a little one, he did in his own triumph carry him about in his Chariot. Part of the plunder by the Consul divided among the soldiers, the rest laid up in the Treasury; and *C. Pontius* the *Samnite* being first led in Triumph was afterward beheaded: A stout man he was and of worthy memory, who in those days did a long time sustain the Roman violence, gave them many considerable overthrows, but of all the most shameful one at the Caudine Spinnies: He was reported to say, That had he been reserved to this day wherein the Romans should have learn'd to receive money, he would no longer have suffered them to bear sway. It seems then the fortune of the City was not better defended by their industry in Arms, then their innocence of manners: In the mean time *Posthumius* fretting no less at the honour had been granted his Rival, then that the like had been denied him, by weakness of mind opposing his own contumacy, to the authority of the Fathers, did both exasperate the wound of his own spirit, and imitate those imaginations against him, which ought by modesty of speech and carriage to have been asswaged. He abstained not from complaints against his enemies, not from reproaches against the Senate, and to spite the Fathers, he distributed the whole prey among the soldiers, and disbanded his army before a successor could be sent him. He triumphed likewise contrary to the pleasure of the Senate, which, though some refer to his second Consulship, I believe more fitly agrees with this conjuncture, and it is so affirmed by authors of no mean credit in Histories: By these doings he drew new hatred upon himself, and he was no sooner out of office, but the two Tribunes of the people upon a set day accused him: Besides what hath hitherto been mentioned, 'twas objected against him, that before he march'd armed *Liv. Epit. 11.* out of the City; he employed two thousand choice men out of his Legions to dig up a piece of ground, and detained them many days in this work, not remembering they were his soldiers, not his slaves, and were leav'd to enlarge the Publick Land, not to manure his. Being earnestly press'd with these his faults was valued to stand him in two hundred thousand pieces of money. Now *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus* entered their Consulships. Each of these with his Legions did utterly wast *Samnium*, depopulating their grounds, and ruining their Cities, and in many few battels having the upper hand compelled them at length to sue for peace, for having in so many battels lost the prime of their Youth; and in *Pontius* the chief counsel and conduct, they *Orat. 32. 1.* now this fourth time a League might be renewed with them. 'Tis likely too the Romans even *Livie Epit. 11.* weary with beating, were willing to conclude a difficult and miserable War, with the tranquility of a certain peace. I find the war with the *Samnites* to have begun when *M. Valerius* was the third time Consul, *M. Cornelius Cossus* being his Colleague, and being through four and fifty Consulships, with various success continued (only by some shortlived truces suspended) it held *Livie 7. 29.* both parties in play with much trouble and vexation; whether *Cornelius* triumphed for this War is uncertain; as for *Manius* there is no doubt, for his fortune being more eminent in that he subdued other enemies, he Triumphed twice in the same Consulship: For the *Sabinæ* a Warlike Nation; now grown wealthy with a long peace, whether they were moved with their own proper *Livie Epit. 11.* compassion, and Entreaties of the *Samnites*; or whether willing timely to prevent those miseries, which (having swallowed up their neighbours) they forelaw approaching to themselves, have put their young men into Arms, invaded some places under the Roman Jurisdiction: Against these some tastes of the miseries of War, he sent part of his forces by privy journeys into and vastation on every place: This straight did soon dissolve the formidable Army of the *Sabinæ*, several troops running several ways to the defence of their own subsistence; so that the Consul had an easy Victory over the dispersed forces. In this Expedition they proceeded as far as the *Adriatick Sea*, gaining the possession of so much ground, and so many men, as the saying of *Curius* began to be famous, who (according to the genius of those times being more ready in deeds then in words) when he could not express every singular circumstance, in gross exacted that he had taken so much ground, it must needs have turned into wilderness, but *Aul. de viris* necessity have perished with hunger, but that he had taken so many men, they must of *Illyr. c. 33.* When the *Sabinæ* sued for peace, not only that was afforded them, but likewise the Freedom of the City, (though without the suffrage of the Tribes) this favour was in memory of their old Affinity under *Tatius*, the late War not being carried on with any malignant hatred. Of the next years Consulship (underwent by *M. Valerius Corvinus*, and *Q. Cædicius Noctua*), we have *Florus B. 1. 15.* arrived to little understanding; only I find some Colonies about this time deduced to *Cassrum*, *Florin.* to *Adria* (from whence the Sea taketh its name) and to *Sena in Gallia*: Nevertheless consider, *Florin.* ing those Regions were not as yet to such a purpose sufficiently settled, I think fit rather to encline

Columna epi-
tolina.Plutarch. in Q.
Fabio Consul. c. 43.

Livie Epit. 11.

Livie. 10. 37.

Dionisius.

Liv. Epit. 11.

From the founda-
tion of Rome
663.Europius. B. 2.
Orat. 32. 1.

Livie Epit. 11.

Livie Epit. 11.

Florus B. 1. 15.

Aul. de viris
Illyr. c. 33.

Florin. c. 33.

Florin. c. 33.

Florin. c. 33.

Florin. c. 33.

Florin. c. 33.

P

illaries about Thirteen Thousand were wanting.

But the Joy for this victory prevailed not so much with the Gaules, as sorrow and Confection for the Lamentable Defolation of their Country . Wherefore gathering together all their Country men then in Arles in Etruria , full of Grief and Anger , void of councill and hope ; having no habitation wheretoe to be received at home , I know not what Fate drawing them to their destruction) in a heat of Resolution they drive toward Rome , thus Computing, That there is no other way to recompence the defolation of their own Countrey , but by forcing the Romans to seeke like Ruine of thier City : That their Spirits and Forces were now too inferior to , nor the conquest of their March from Aratum of less importance, than that of their Ancestors who marched from Clusium of the same Eturria and took Rome : With the likes speeches incensing themselves they Rush on , by nature impatient of Delay , and now haily in their Counsels that they might overwhelm their Enemies unawares , But travelling through an Enemies Countrey, they met with many obstracles, fo that the Romans had Leisure to provide against this Fury . At length wandering through unknown and unfriendly places, guided by one certaine Line, they light upon Demetrius the Confull, and immediately joyne Battell with him ; But their unhappy rashness confounded both their Reason and Discipline : many being slaine in Battel, the Refidue growing mad with Rage and despair sheathed in their own Bowells, those weapons they had in vain drawn againt the Enemy. Insomuch as so fudden and vehement a Judgement overtook a late most flourishing People for their villany in murdering Embassadors, that in the space of few months they were totally cut off, and ceased any more to be dours, that in the space of few months they were totally cut off, and ceased any more to be numbered among Nations, whose laws they had broken themselves to their Neighbours, and Kinsmen the Boii, where the next year by Disabada the Confall with an universal slaughter clean swept away.

For whereas the Boians and Etruriars were involv'd in these late disasters, and possessed with fear of the same Calamities, they were at the Lake called Vadimonis in a fet Battell overcome, many of the Etruriars slain, few of the Boians escaped, the very name of the Senones so utterly extirped,

that there is not thought to be left alive one Man of that Nation which had set Rome on fire. About this time I think it more probable that the Colony was planted in *Sena*, the Romans having now an entire possession of their Country, and quite taken away their Name out of that part of *Italy*. Nevertheless the Etrurians and the Boians next year recruiting their army with young men now grown up, ventred once more to try the Fortune of a Battell. Then it was I believe by *Q. Ennius Papus* that they were beaten, for his and *C. Fabricius* his first Consulship hapned that year, and 'tis certain the Province of *Etruria* fell to *Papus* by Lot. But in most Annals yet extant, the Memory of these Transactions is swallowed up by the Intervening of greater matters. For whereas the Romans had by so many continual fights and victories very mightily increased their Virtue and Power; all the free Cities and Nations in *Italy* being brought into feare, conspired in a great and most dangerous warre, joyning together all their Counsells and forces as against a Common Enemy, and Plunderer. Neither thought they fit any longer to deferre their Designe, while now the Remnant of the Boians and Etrurians sufficed to distract the Roman Powers. And first of all the Samnites, again breaking their League and openly joyning force with the Lucanians and Brutians, commenced the Warre. But these were overcome by *C. Fabricius* in many pitch'd fields; especially in one most remarkable when they joyntly battell neer the City of the Thurines, which *Statius Statiulus* had again freighly besieged; where the Enemy was with a very great slaughter beaten, and their Camp likewise forced and taken. It is reported that while the camp was strenuously defended, A young man of large proportion of Body was seen to bring Ladders to the works, whereby the Romans being animated obtained a complete victory. Twenty Thousand are said to be slain in the fight and in the Camp, Five thousand together with the General taken Prisoners, and twenty Colours. The next day the Consull resolving to reward those whose valour had been eminent, and promising a *CORONA VALLARIS* to him who first entered the Enemies Camp after diligent Enquiry made after the man, the souldier was not to be found (if so be he were a souldier) who would claime this Honour; 'Twas therefore believed and voiced abroad that *Marius* was the Author of this feat, and the Cause of Victory; And by the Consull's order supplication was made unto him, which the souldiers with Laurels on their heads performed with great Joy and Gladness. The Tarentines had not as yet assisted the Accomplishes with any open aid; for though they were the Principal Authors of the Confederacy, yet they thought it wiser to let the Roman forces be provoked and the Fortune of warre tried with other men's danger than their own. But this Diffimulation served not their purpose, for a meet accident provoking the Rashness of the Giddy rabble betrayed all their Counsells. Even at this Time, that part of the Italian shore, after the Manner of the Grecians (by whom *Tarentum* and most of the other Cities were builded) did excessively delight themselves with fights, and stage plays: The Tarentines above others were most Luxurious in this kind, inso much as it is said they had more Feasts and Solemn Playes then Days in the Year. It hapned they were then met at their sports in the greater Theatre by the Haven side, when *L. Valerius* (some say *Cornelius*) one of the Admiralls of the seas was descryed entering the Haven with ten Roman Vessels; A Fatal Error to both Parties. For the Romans ignorant of all things betook themselves thither as to a friendly and amicable shore; the Tarentines on the other side Conscious of their own Privy practises interpreted this Navy to be sent with an hostile intention. There was then present one *Philicharus* whom for his loose Conversation the Citizens call'd *Thais*; He mentioning the articles of some former Leagues, said it was not lawful for the Romans to saile past the Promontory of *Lacinium*, that therefore they should go out and meet the soft-hardy Barbarians, and suppress their Pride with a Mischiefe. The giddy Rout besotted with continual drinkings manifest their assent by Acclamation, so that one scandalous persons opinion in a matter of so great importance was generally received, and without further Consideration they take up armes, and assault the Ships: The Romans as not dreaming of any such Encounter, being utterly unprepar'd to fight, betook themselves to flight. The Tarentines swiftly pursuing, Five ships only managed their Escape; as many being hemm'd about were brought into the haven, whereof foure with the Admirall were drown'd and one taken; The Men, as many as were of age and strength fit for Warre, were slaine, the rest made slaves. Presently with the same vanity they wage warre against the Thurines, accusing them, that the Romans came into these parts by their means, who though they were Grecians, had yet in the time of their distress choosen a Barbarous Nation to be their Protector, rather then the Tarentines their Neighbors and Kinsmen. The City is taken and plundered, the Chief men cast out and banish'd, and the Roman Garrison compounding for their own safety are dismissed. The Romans hearing the Newes, were according to the Greatness of the Injury most exceedingly incens'd, yet thought it not convenient at that season to undertake a new warre: An Embassy was decreed to complain of the Outrage, and instruction was given the Legates to Require, that the Captives should be set as Liberty, the Thurines goods or the just value of them should be restor'd, the Exiles call'd back, and the Authors of these Misdeemeanours deliver'd into the hands of the Romans. The Tarentines according to the Greeke Custome were wont to assemble their People together in the Theatre; whether the Embassadors being with much Difficulty admitted, they find a Rabble-rout totally debauch't with Drunkennells and Idleness, for this likewise was a great Holy-day with the Tarentines. There when *L. Posthumus* the Prince Legate began to declare his

Florus.
Polybius
Plinie.
Polybius.
471.
Dionys. apud Fulvium Africanum.
Livie Epit. 1.
Plinie. 24. 7. Val. Max. 1. 8.
Amianus Marcellus 24. 15. Val. Maximus.
Amianus Marcellus.
Val. Max.
Strabo. 6.
Florus 1.
Appian apud Fulvium Africanum.
Zennarus.
Appian.
Florus
Dion. apud Fulvium.
Appian.
Orsius 1. 1.
Zennarus.
Appian.
Dio.
Livie.
Epit. 122.
Appian.
Dio. apud Fulv. Africanum.
Message

message, he was entertained with such mocks and scoffs of the wanton multitude, that he carried home greater causes of hatred than he came to complain of. For they had him in such contempt, that not regarding any thing else he spoke; when, as being a Roman, he chanced to pronounce any word not so exactly according to the Greek manner, the whole company would burst out into laughter, crying out upon him and reviling him as a Barbarian, they fear'd and flouted at the Habit of the Embassadors, for they came in their gowns, and at last fairly thrust them out of doors, in vain claiming the privilege of the Laws of Nations. Now, what is scarce fit to be spoken, but may prove of good example to curb the insolence of popular licence, it is reported, That as the Embassadors pressed through the crowd of the Tarentines out of the Theatre, a certain Buffoon, one *Philonides* (for in this the Tarentines were beholding to their good manners, the Names of their Jesters were recorded in their Annals, though their Princes were forgotten) like an impudent Dog, piss'd upon the sacred Vestments of the Embassadors. This might seem the crime of one only mad furious fellow, but that forthwith the whole drunken Society did own it, and the whole Theatre resounded with laughter, and clappings of the hands, at approving the fact. *Polisimus* lifting up his voice, *We accept this, O men, O Jester* (saith he) *seeing ye bestow these things upon us, we regard not at your hands.* And when he turned himself to the multitude shewing his defiled garment, they renew'd their laughter, and began to dance, singing scurrilous and reproachful Verses against the people of *Rome*, wherefore *Polisimus* again crying out, *Laugh on, saith he, laugh on, Tarentines, While ye may, for hereafter ye shall weep sufficiently:* Whereat the Tarentines being nettled, *Nay, saith he, to vex you the more, I tell you before hand, this garment shall cost you much blood the washing.* After this, receiving no other answer, they sailed home. Now at *Rome*, *L. Emilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcus Philippus*, had begun their Consultship, by whom the Senate being convened, and the Robe defiled, as it was, being shew'd by the Embassadors, who declared to the Fathers the whole series of affronts and indignities heaped on them by the Tarentines: Their Spirits were in an high manner incensed, and not so much as any scruple made of vindicating their reproach by Arms. But because they had already to deal with so many mighty Nations, they could not resolve whether now immediately, or hereafter to send an Army against the Tarentines, and the debate continued many days even from morning till night: Some were of opinion, *That nothing should be enterprised before the other Cities, at least till the Tarentines were reduced;* others contended, *That the war should incontinently be commenced;* at last, numbering their votes, it was decreed, *That the business of the Tarentine war should be refer'd to the people.*

The people with an unanimous consent agreed upon the War, and accordingly letters were sent to *Emilius* the Consul, who was then gone to the Army into *Samnum*, *That omitting all things at present, he should pitch his Camp in the Tarentine Fields, and, unless he could procure satisfaction for the injuries received, that he should prosecute them with a just and holy war.* The Tarentines perceiving they had now no longer to deal with a few unarmed men, but a just and well order'd Army, rousing themselves out of their accustom'd slothfulness, began feebly to enter into counsel, what was to be done; to accept of the war was dangerous, to do what the Romans required in satisfaction was base, and to avoid both impossible: While their opinions were thus doubtful, one among the rest stood up and said, *Why do we thus, O Tarentines, waste the time in vain altercations? the times are come which require Deeds rather than Words, which that they may be order'd to the publick benefit, there is need of free Speech and sincere Council.* Neither am I much moved that heretofore, by a strange disease incident to Free Cities, ye have been delighted with flattering and sugar'd Orations, though of ill consequence, because then, as in time of Prosperity, ye regarded not much what mainly tended to the good of the Commonwealth: But now the Roman Army is upon our Borders, and the fear of the enemy before our Gates, and this is sufficient to instruct us to prefer what is Profitable before what is Pleasing. Neither would I have you so interpret me, as if I stood up to buy you in the teeth with past misdemeanors; for unfeignably to object old crimes is the part of an enemy, and one who wantonly insults over others infirmities: And an honest man that is careful of the common safety, will hide and excuse the faults of his City, unless the remembrance of them be of concernment to the avoiding some publick Calamity. For seeing we are but men, to pretend freedom from all error, would argue too much Pride: But often to fall at the same stone, and not to grow wiser when the very event plainly chastiseth our rashness, is not consistent with right reason. We have at one man's warning assaulted and drown'd the Roman ships, and presently with open war vexed our Kinsmen the Thurines, because they had rather be protected by the Romans, than swallowed up by the Lucanians and Brutians; moreover, we have suffered shameful indignities to be cast on the Roman Embassadors; so that a war we might have avoided, a heavy dangerous war we are not provided for, hath in a most unlucky time overtaken us. Finally, the Roman Camps are now pitch'd in our fields, and we as yet wavering in our counsel, deliberate still whether it is safer to accept a formidable war, or make a dishonourable peace. And I would to God at length, that laying aside all self flattery, and forgetting self-interest, and aiming at the publick honour and profit, we might freely and truly consult together, there might certainly a way be found of making an honest league, or a safe war. But now I see you clearly divided into two parts, I may say factions, not taking counsel out of judgment or as the state of things require, but every man

byass'd by his own inclination: For how comes it to pass, that so few of the young men, and poorer sort stand for peace? and why do none of the rich and ancient men desire war? what other reason can be given of so equal a division in the City, but these that would fain in quiet reap the commodity of their Lands and Urury, the other in time of war, hope for command and liberty of plunder? This is an old disease amongst us, neither of a long time hath our Commonwealth wanted such men, who even with the danger and detriment of the City have studied to increase their own private wealth. All which may happily be prevented (for I must speak what I think at present most conducive) if ye will neither buy peace on such base conditions as shall infringe the privileges of a Free City, nor yet trust singly to your own Forces in so difficult a war. Our Ancestors have often committed the conduct and command of their Armies to foreign Leaders: Either out of *Peloponnesus* or out of *Sicily* we have sent for *Archidamus* the son of *Agessilaus*, afterward for *Cleonymus*, then presently for *Agathocles*. Even in our own memory when we were infested by our Neighbours, our Fathers made use of *Alexander* the Epirot: By which means they did not only themselves succeed prosperously, but left things in a flourishing condition to us: There is at this day the same friendship between us and the Epirots, neither are they now less potent in an Army and a Commander: And the benefit is fresh in memory, which *Pyrrius* received from us; in that with our whole Navy we assisted him in his attempt against the *Corycraans*. Therefore esteem this not as my counsel, but as the counsel of the wisest men who have heretofore happily governed this Commonwealth, which ye ought therefore at least to follow; because in the former example you may discern both the reason and ground, as also the issue and success of it. And yet otherwise, there may be arguments most evident and sufficient to the same purpose: There is no man amongst us so singularly eminent, to whom all the rest will willingly submit themselves, and what danger there is in emulation, when we have to do with a fierce and potent Enemy, ye are ignorant. And whosoever ye shall make General, either by his too great affection to peace, or by his ambition of carrying on the war, may wrong your affairs; not to say, that 'tis not safe to commit a war into the hands of any ordinary person against the Romans, an hardy stout Nation and inur'd to Arms. But the truth is, which none can doubt of, that *Pyrrius* is not by any man exceeded in virtue and experience of Military affairs. But perhaps he will not come? Certainly, being a man desirous of action, and having no other war at present, he will not only come himself, but bring a formidable strength, and that of no fresh-water soldiers. And if ye fear his encroachment upon your Liberties, ye may treat with him on such conditions as the Commonwealth may be secur'd. By this means ye may either obtain an honourable peace, or bestow a glorious one. Though indeed it be not the least of my hopes, that the Romans will rather before-hand deal with us on equal terms than admit of *Pyrrius* into *Italy*, having heretofore feared a King of much less glory and renown out of the same *Epirus*. This counsel prevailed not only so far, as to make them see a probable way opened to the publick safety, but likewise the assembly being divided into two contrary opinions; neither part being able to prevail over the other, they did all unanimously concur in this, as seeming indifferent to both sides.

'Tis reported, when the Rumour was spread about the City, that a decree was made for the invitation of *Pyrrius* that one *Meton* a covetous fellow, taking a dry wither'd chaplet upon his head, after the manner of Drunkards, together with his mistress, entered the Theatre; the people according to their idle custom, commanded him to sing and his woman to pipe, after a while silence being made, *Meton* cries out, *To do well, O Tarentines, in that ye grant Liberty to them that please, to sing and Dance; for when Pyrrhus once comes into the City we shall scarce be allow'd to live after our own minds.* The People being somewhat moved at this saying, and murmuring and whisperings arising: Those who were authors of the injuries against the Romans (fearing lest if peacefull Counsels prevailed they should be delivered up to punishment) having chid the people, *That they would suffer themselves to be unworthily divided by a rash fellow*, forcibly thrust *Meton* out of the Theatre, so that afterward without contradiction the Decree was ratified. But the Roman Consul, hearing nothing from the Tarentines tending to peace, and understanding that Embassadors were sent with presents to *Pyrrius*, sets himself to the War, wasteth their grounds, taketh their Cities some by force, some by composition, and fills all places with loffe, and terror. The Tarentines lent forth forces to hinder the spoile, but, after a sharpe conflict, the Romans having the better, the *Gracians* are driven backe into the City with great loffe. Then *Emilius* without resistance wasteth and burneth the whole Country round about. The Tarentines terrified with these calamities, (like a people, the more insolent in prosperity, the more dejected and fearful in adversity) submit themselves to the Government of *Agis*, who was a constant author of maintaining the Roman friendship. Their desire and hopes of peace were most augmented by the discourse of some prime men who were dismissed by the Consul, and declared his Humanity, *with what indulgence and candour he entertain'd those who were taken in several places of the Countrey, or in the last fight.* But the confidence of *Cineas* who was now come with Auxiliaries from *Epirus*, changed their minds, and erected their spirits. For *Pyrrius* being a man of vast conceits, and in emulation of *Alexander* the Great, comprehending large Empires in his fancy, believed now a way to be laid open to accomplish all his designs, as if the Fates themselves had invited him.

Ang. de Civ.
Dici.Tarentis apud
Ciron de Divin.
2, 36

Justin, 18, 1

Justinus.
Dionysius Halic.
took 22
Zonaras
Pausanias, 8, 1Zonaras.
Thucydides

Zonaras

Frontinus, 1, 4

Zonaras.

Capitoline
fragmentsAug. de Civ.
Dici, 3, 17

Orosius, 4, 1

Ennius apud
Agellum 16, 10

It is said he was much confirm'd by the Oracle of Delphos, whose words were indeed of an ambiguous sense, which yet the Kings ambition did favourably interpret. For consulting about the War he was now to undertake, Answer was made, *Posse cum Romanis vincere*, that he should overcome the Romans, or the Romans him. But I think his chief encouragement was from the Tarentine Embassadors who affirm'd, *That out of their own Cities, with the help of the Lucanians, the Messapians, Samnites and other the confederates, they could easily raise twenty thousand horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand foot.* With this strength, when he should once have brought the Romans under subjection, he hoped with little pain to attain the Lordship of all Italy; then a short cut into Sicily would present him with an Island much at discord and void of a Ruler (the families of *Agathocles* being destroyed) and this he thought he might claim by right of Inheritance, as having begotten Children on *Lanassa* the daughter of *Agathocles*; these things happily succeeding he was resolv'd to make War with the *Carthaginians*. It reported that *Cineas*, a man of excellent wisdom, willing to have the King by his own confession acknowledge that his immoderate desires, whereby the enjoyment of his present felicity was disturb'd, were in reason to be restrain'd, asked him, *What he would do when he had overcome the Romans?* *Pyrhus* then declaring how one victorie would beget another, *And what shall we do, saies he, when all these things are accomplish'd? Why then, saith Pyrrhus, we will enjoy the fruits of Peace, the benefit of ease and Idleness.* To which *Cineas* replied, *And why, O King, can we not at present enjoy the same things, while they are in our hands? whereat the undertaking of new Wars may utterly deprive us of them.* But a second embassy coming from the Tarentines, *Pyrhus* overcome by his own ambition, answer'd, *That 'twas the custom of the Epixoi to Wage War, not only for themselves, but for their companions and friends also.* But to dissuade him the more secret counsels, he articles very precisely with the Embassadors, *That altho as he had resolv'd them, he should be suffer'd to return home, and not be detain'd in Italy any longer then necessity should require.* Then with all might and maine intending himselfe upon preparation for the War, he caus'd a great number of long ships to be made ready, and likewise trains up others for transportation of men and horse. Now having Employed most of the Italian Embassadors (whom under a pretext of honour he detain'd as hostages and pledges) in lerying and conducting of forces, he sent the rest beforehand to *Tarentum*, with three thousand armed men, and *Cineas* for Commander. By their arrival all hopes of peace were broken off, *Agis* his government abrogated, and by decree of the people the guidance of affairs committed to one of them who were now returned from *Epirus*. Not long after *Milo* being sent by the King, secures the Tower of *Tarentum* with a Garrison, and claims the custody and defence of the walls, with the very good will of the multitude, who were glad to see strangers undertake all the trouble and labour, while they safely enjoy'd their rest; they therefore cheerfully decreed Corn for the souldiers and Money for *Pyrhus*.

In the mean time *L. Aemilius*, understanding of the Arrivall of these beyond-sea Souldiers, that he might have the safer winter quarters, resolv'd to draw his army into *Lucania*. His journey was by certain narrow passages that in on the one hand with the Sea, on the other with ragged and impassible Rocks. The Tarentines having intelligence of his purpose, said by that shore with their ships furnished with Cross-bows and Slings, assailing the souldiers as they pass'd through strait and open paths with stones and darts. But *Aemilius*, not being able to help himself by virtue, secur'd his passage by cunning; the Captives which before he had placed in the Rear, he now draws to that side of the ranks which was obnoxious to danger, in pity of whom the Tarentines fearing to hurt their own men, spared all the enemy. These things were done at *Tarentum* this year. At *Rome C. Fabricius Luscinus*, who in his Consulship had egregiously overcome the Samnites, and Lucanians entered the Capital in Triumph. *Q. Marcius* not many daies after obtained the same honour, being returned out of *Etruria* with prosperous success. The reason why, the Etrurian war not as yet being finished, he was called out of his Province at such a time of year (for *Fabricius* triumph'd the third of the Nones of March) is not recorded, I conceive he was recall'd by the Senate, who being troubled with expectation of *Pyrhus*, did from every quarter gather together what strength they could. The *Proletarii*, the sixth and last rank of Citizens, who of old were privileg'd from going to war, were now list'd, and being not able by reason of their poverty to provide themselves with arms, they were furnished by the publick, for at this time war being on every side commenced, it was necessary the Commonwealt should be defended by many Armies. These men of office, while the Legions were otherwise employ'd, to guard the City with watch and ward, being dispos'd in several stations upon the walls, and in the Market-place. Neither by all these contrivances could the imminent calamities have been averted, but that the fortune of a City ordain'd to Rule did in these most dangerous times produce men of so great Excellency, as I know not whether ever the could boast of better: Men, not so eminent for their Riches or Extraction, as truly emobled by their Virtue and contempt of wealth. This Age had its *Curii*, *Fabricii*, *Connacii*, men of no great Ancestors or Possessions, but of most ample fame, which they obtained by their upright example, exact skill in Marshal affairs, and an answerable innocence of Manners; who were every where helpful to their Country, which had now need of Champions, which were able not only to resist the sword of the enemy, but to scorn his gold, having to deal with a King who was potent in both. In the mean time *Pyrhus*, not waiting for the spring, coming with

with two and twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, twenty Elephants, and a considerable band of slingers and archers, was in the midst of his Voyage to toss'd with a Tempest, that he narrowly escap'd being call away. For the Navy being disper'd, and most of the ships distressed, when the Admirall was in danger, *Pyrhus* leapt into the sea, and with very great pains at length hardly swam to shoare: But the strength and spirit of his minde did much helpe the weakness of his Body, together with the diligence of the Messapians, on whose shoare he was cast, who with all offices of humanity did foment and cherish him: with their assistance likewise, some few ships, which had escap'd the violence of the storme, being brought into the Haven, there were gathered together some few horse, with two Elephants, and under two thousand footmen, with this force he march'd to *Tarentum*, being met by *Cineas* who came forth with his souldiers to conduct him thither, and being entertained with much joy he took his rest for some daies; In which space having observed the Manners of the City to be so order'd, that unless they were amended, there was no possibility of protecting it, but that rather the Patrons themselves would likewise be undone by it, he took no open notice at the present. But a while after, his disper'd ships meeting together, when he had strength sufficient, he shut up their wrestling places, and Porches, where the idle youth use to spend whole daies in walking and fooling; he forbade their Banquets and Drinking-matches, and reduced their solemn Games from Intemperancy to a just Moderity.

After this he made a very strict Leavy of their young men, commanding his Prefers to choose out those of the larger size, he would make them valiant; Mixing these among his own Companies, lest being apart they should prove seditious, he trains them up with the same hardnes and severity of Discipline, threatening pain of Death on those who should fly from their Colours. Those who were not in armes he compell'd to be most part of the day in the Market-place; by which strange usage the Citizens borne and bred up in shameful Luxury were grievously perplexed, calling it a slavery to be thus serv'd against their wills, choosing rather to perish with idleness and Lust. The offence was aggravated by the Insolence of some of the King's Guard who choosing Quarters at their own pleasure, possess'd them against the will of their Landlords, using much license towards their Wives and Children. Wherefore many being wearied out, forsook the City, and settled themselves in the Country, till at length that likewise was forbidden, the Ports being shut, and guards appointed. Then indeed the Tarentines perceiv'd that in stead of a Companion they had got a Master, and what onely Comfort was left them, when they had any handsom occasion of meeting, they bewailed their Condition with indignation and Complaints, and that more freely, when besides their other Passion, they were heated with Wine, accus'd for having spoken dishonourably of their King at their Banquets; But one Man's simple and ingenuous Confession freed them all from Punishment, for saies he, *We said these words indeed, and should have said worse but that we wanted Wine*; whereat *Pyrhus* smiling, dismiss'd them, being willing the fault should be imputed to the wine rather than to the men; But not considering either in the Minds or manners of the City, what men he observed to be of greatest Note for Authority or Counsell amongst them, he either found or made some Cause arise to send them to his Son *Proculus* (who being then fifteen yeares of Age he had left *Victrix* in his Realm) others by secret Ambush he cut off, and some to make them suspected to the People, he did with much feigning humanity embrace, as if he held them among his dearest Friends. Of this number was *Aristarchus* a principal Man much beloved of the Citizens, and of great repute for his Eloquence. *Pyrhus* perceiving him to be very Popular, upon a certain emergent Occasion commands him to saile into *Epirus*. *Aristarchus* (knowing it was present Death to disobey the King; and that to obey him was, though not so sudden, yet of as certain ill Consequence) taking ship, after he had sail'd a little way, steer'd his course to *Rome*, where being received into credit, he inform'd the Senate of many Affairs of great Concernment: While *Pyrhus* thus busied himselfe at *Tarentum*, the Romans were no less careful in making Leavies for the warre, they had rais'd Money, and sent *Fabricius* to their Confederate Cities, either by his Authority or Grace to restrain them from Innovation in State. Those who were most suspected were kept in awe by Garrisons conveniently placed amongst them. For the strength of so Warlike a King, had very much mov'd the humours of the Italians who were either desirous of Change, or provoked with the perswasion of Injuries receiv'd; which made the Romans the more diligent to provide for their own safety by a timely suppressing all Occasions of sedition. About this Time an Accident befell the *Prænestine* Nobles very remarkable, for they being brought to *Rome* late in the Evening were for Custody's sake lock't up in the Publick Treasury, whereby at length they understood the Deceit of an Oracle, which they did make use of to stirre up their Countrymen to Rebellion, often averring, it was Decree'd by the Fates, *That the Roman Treasury should be possess'd by the Prænestines*. The Fathers being already much perplexed, had further Intelligence that *Fabricius* was detain'd by their Confederate and Compagnons as a Pledge to secure the safe return of their hostages from *Rome*, and that Embassadors were sent to incite the Etrurians, the Umbres and the Gauls against the People of *Rome*; whereat they were infinitely troubled as at a fact in it selfe horrid, so of ill Example, lest in such a Dangerous time the Roman faith and honesty should be call'd in question, and held suspected by

Frontinus
Strat. 4, 1.
ZonarasPlutarch
ZonarasPlutarch
apud
Valerium

Zonaras

Val. Maximus.
5, 1, 3. Eius.Plutarch
Pyrhus. C. 16.
ZonarasJustinus 18, 1.
Zonaras

Dion.

Zonaras.
ZonarasDion. apud
Valerium
Num.

Polybius.

Livie Epi. 11.

Livie 28. 2. 3.

Polybius.

Dion.

Polybius.

Diodorus ex lib. 22.

all the Italians. In the utmost part of the Italian shoate over against Sicilie is seated the City of Rhegium, (by a Grecian name so called) very wealthy and flourishing in those days: The Citizens thereof judging by the Arrival of Pyrrhus that a great and terrible warre would ensue, and frighted likewise with the Carthaginian Navy floating up and down in those seas, not trusting in their own strength, thought fit to send for a Guard from Rome. The Romans sent them Four thousand souldiers (which being leaved out of the Colonies of Campania, were call'd the Campanian Legion) under the Conduct of Decius Fabellius their Colonel; These at their first coming were very faithfull, and very diligent in defending the City. At length seeing no warre approach neer them, and being by degrees debauch'd with idleness and imitation of the Greek Customs, they began to compare the Advantage they had now in their hands with the hard and laborious life they had hitherto led; and with much Covetousness and Envy did frequently discourse in all their meetings and quarters of the convenient situation of the City, and the happiness of the Inhabitants. Decius was well pleased with this, who being himself grown as Licentious, had long ago conceived an inward desire of seizing upon the City. The design was favour'd by occasion of the present warre, which so wholly took up the Romans that they had no Leisure to mind the affaires of Rhegium; Besides on the opposite shore were the Mamertines, an Example of the like successfull villany, and ready no doubt to defend the like Treachery in others, especially being tyed with the Relation of the same Common Country. For they likewise were of Campania, and of late years going to warre amongst the Auxiliaries of Agathocles, and being entertained by the Messenians as Friends, having slain and cast out the Citizens, possess'd the place themselves: sharing likewise among themselves their houses, wives and Estates. They called to mind also the Campanians of old, who by the like wicked art got Capua from the Tuscans. When they had now agreed upon the Business, there was nothing left to be consulted on, but only the Manner, how safely to execute their Design, left in so populous a Cite, the lesser number should be surrounded and slain by the greater. Decius counterfeited Letters as wrote from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, to betray the Roman Garrison to him, these Letters as if they were intercepted, are read to the souldiers in private, Decius bitterly complaining of the Perfidiousness of the Rhegians; and some souldiers being suborned to cry out, *It was time to provide for their own safety by the sword, and turn that Destruction which was destin'd to them, upon the heads of the Authors*; and as the business was set, a Messenger comes in with newses, That Pyrrhus his Navy was seen by the shore, and secret discourses were had between him and the Rhegians. The souldiers now beside their former Covetousness, were much incited with the Treachery of the Enemy, and fear of Danger; It is therefore by Common Consent resolv'd upon, *That as the Townsmen shall be oppress'd unwarlike and unprepared, that having slain the Men, all the Publick and Private wealth of the City shall be distributed to the Legion*. Behold now an unworthy and horrid fact; Decius having invited some of the Prime men to Supper, against the holy Rites of Hospitality, takes away their Lives, others were every where slain in their own houses; the greater part of the Rhegians being thus murdered, the rest were banished their Country, even by those whom of late they had entertain'd under the Name of Friends and Companions, for preservation of themselves and their Country. Execution being done, there is now a new face of Publick affaires; the houses and Estates of the poore wretches like the Plunder of an Enemy, is divided amongst the Thieves; and while the Blood is yet fresh and warme, the Matrons and Virgins are forced to Marry the murderers of their husbands and Parents; and the Cruel Perfidious Legion arrogates to it selfe the Title and Rights of the City of Rhegium. But it hath pleas'd God well to provide for Mankind, that such rare examples of high Mischief should prove likewise as manifest Examples of Vengeance and Divine Justice; Let us should only by consideration of the success be animated to the like Villany, and not by the Issue and event be deterr'd from evil doing. So that no true Felicity attends the Wicked, neither can there be a greater Madnes then for any man to perswade himself that he can grow happy by doing Mischief: For suppose there were no Punishment after Death, which all wise men acknowledg to be the greatest. (for the folly of ordinary men is so great they will scarce believe what is before their eyes, much less be moved with the terror of things unseen and as far off.) yet let all things as to outward success prosperously, nevertheless the Confidence of offences committed doth by secret wounds continually lacerate and torment the minde: the Name of the Living, and the memory of the Dead is had in perpetual hatred and Detestation among men: and what is by ill means gotten, and with care and labour preserved is most commonly to their great grief snatched away again, neither God nor men suffering Wickedness to go long unpunished. It will not be amiss briefly to relate the punishment of Decius Fabellius, and his mad Accomplishes as in these days it befall, for their final destruction after great variety of troublesome Chances, was deferred to the Tenth year, as shall in fit time be declared. These Rascals did not long enjoy Comfort or Tranquility amongst themselves. The feare of the Romans and Pyrrhus they did indeed avoid, as by reason of the present Coniuncture of Affaires, so by holding strict society with the Mamertines, and resolving to Offend neither Party: For 'twas thought safest in their first beginnings to abstain from warre at the present, while their New City which had so violent and sudden an Original, should have time to strengthen, compact and knit it selfe well together: they saw that without Danger they could not molest the King, and were in hopes the more readily to obtain Pardon from the

Livie 28. 2. 3.

Dion.

the Romans, if they bore not arms against them. The first cause of disension, as is usual among Thieves, arose from an unequal division of the Plunder. Decius in the sedition was calt out and berook himself to Messana, the souldiers at Rhegium chose M. Cestus his Secretary for their Commander, and Decius carrying with him a great bank of money, was honour'd with the same dignity by the Mamertines, though his fortune was neither prosperous nor of continuance. For it hapned, that being troubled with sore eyes, he caused some Eminent Physician to be sought out for him; the Divine Vengeance hereby overtaking the wicked man with most sharp and bitter punishments: A Physician was therefore brought unto him, who prov'd to be by birth a Rhegian, but because he had lived so long at Messana, his original was not only unknown to Decius, (who would never have trusted himself to the mercy of a Rhegian) but likewise to most of the inhabitants of the City.

He being mindfull of his Country and resolving now to be revenged for its Calamities, perswaded Decius that the remedie he brought, was indeed strong in Operation, but of quick and most certaine efficacy: So applying the medicine which he had temper'd with the Juice of Cantharides, and giving order it should not be removed till he returned to the Patient, without delay he takerit ship, and flyeth from Messana. Decius being along time sufficiently tormented with incredible paines, seeing his Physician came not at him commanded the Medicament to be removed, which being washed off, he perceived himself to be stark blind. So that being now a blind Exul, infamous and dispis'd, he is referred to judgement, as if he were bound in Chaines, by a wonderfull Method of Divine Vengeance, in that he received this Plague from one to whom he had trusted his health, even as he himselfe had by Cruelty and treachery circumvented those whom he ought to have protected. 'Tis fit such Examples as these should be recorded in History and transmitted to posterity, for the Benefit of mankind which is never sufficiently convinced how farre these Cunning practises are different from wisdom and right reason; so that neglecting the Rules of Virtue, Honesty, and Fidelity, they doe for love of false and onely seeming good things by foul and villanous lusts involve themselves in true Evils.

Val. Maximus 2. 7. 15
Diodorus

Dion.

Apian



BOOK III.



OW at Rome, part of their forces being kept at home for guard of the City, and for a reserve against the uncertain chances of war, the Armies and Provinces were committed to the charge of the new Consuls. P. Lævius Lavinus was design'd against the Tarentines and Pyrrhus, and T. Coruncianus sent to finish the Etrurian War. Lavinus, thinking it would much avail as to his own reputation, so to the Terror of the enemies to provoke them first; and that it was profitable to the Commonwealth, to avert the fear and inconveniences of War, as far as might be, from the Roman Territories; leading his Army into Lucania, did there fortifie a Castle in a convenient place, furnishing it with a strong Garrison, both to retard the proceedings of Pyrrhus, and to keep the Lucanians in awe, whose treachery was feared, lest they should dare to revolt to the enemy. Pyrrhus having intelligence of the Roman Consul's approach, though his forces were not yet assembled together, judging it both dishonourable and hurtful now in the beginning of the War to manifest any token of Fear, with what strength he had at present, did forthwith march out to meet him. But that he might find some colourable pretence to draw out the business and gain time, he sent a Messenger with Letters of these Contents: *Pyrrhus the King wishes Health to Lævius, I understand that thou art come forth*

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Zonaras

forth with thine army against the Tarentines, but leaving it for a while, come thou unto me with a small Retinue, and I, taking cognizance of the quarrel, will compel even those who are unwilling, to yield one to the other in what is equal and right. To this Lavinus answer'd, We neither accept of thee as an Arbitrator of our Controversie, nor fear thee as an Enemy. But thou seemest to do very absurdly in assuming to thyself the Judgment of other mens Causes, who art thyself guilty of a Crime, and hast not as yet received due punishment for enring Italy without our consent. Know then that I come no less against thee than the Tarentines, to try our Right and Title with a just army, by the Judgment of Mats the Author and Founder of our Nation. And without delay moving his Ensignes, he sits down between the Cities of Pandofa and Heraclea, in a Champaign ground, being divided from the Enemies Camp by the River Sirinus.

It is reported that Pyrrhus, walking down to the River side to view the Roman campe, when he had well and diligently consider'd it, said to one of his friends, *Megacles* by name, These Barbarians have martial'd their Army after no barbarous manner, but wee shall see try what metal they are of. Then having plac'd strong guards upon the banks, to hinder their Passage through the Fordes, he resolv'd to expect the coming of his Companions, not onely for the Reason of War, hoping the Romans in an enemies Country would quickly be in want of necessary accommodations, but as much regarding the spirit and confidence of *Lavinus*; whose admiration was by a new Testimonie encreas'd with him, in that he had freely without punishment dismissed those spies, which were sent to view his Campe, telling them moreover, That he had another Army bigger than this. In the mean time the Campe being no more, there were many Pickereerings and light skirmishes which tended nothing to the main chance. Almost fifty dayes being now spent in these light skirmishes, the Consul being moved with the same reasons to hasten the fight, as *Pyrrhus* was to defer it, assembling his Souldiers together, gave them to understand his Intentions and encourag'd them against the fear of a new enemy, extenuating, as much as might be, the fame of *Pyrrhus*, and the Terror of the Elephants; at length preparing himself for all assays, he resolveth either to fight the enemy by Consent, or to compel him to Battell. Therefore seeing *Pyrrhus* still continue in his resolution, he sendeth out beforehand all his horse, as if to forrage the Country, himself with his Legions in Battell Array, expecting all the tumult and noise on the other side of the River should give them warning. The horse fetching a compais far from the Camps, cross'd the River where no Guard was, and immediately advance to the enemies stations on that side the River: The *Epicroti* terrified with their sudden approach, betook themselves to their Camp. *Pyrrhus* understanding the enemy was so near, marcheth in all haste to the River with his whole body of horse, consisting of three thousand, hoping the Romans in their passage through a blind Ford, striving with the stream and unevenss of the ground, and breaking their orders, might there be vanquish'd. But the Roman horse interposing themselves, *Pyrrhus* riding at the head of his Troops, conspicuous in his shining armor, of singular strength of Body and Resolution of mind, he managed the fight every way correspondent to his Fame and Reputation. He so exactly order'd the whole Battell with his Counsel and Directions, as if he were free from all other labour; yet, as occasion serv'd, he would charge and fight in person, as if to him belong'd only the Office of a Private Souldier, and that the care of the General issue were another mans business. In the mean time one *Leontius* a *Macedonian*, having obeyed a certain enemy, who neglecting all others, intended himself only against the King, as he flew up and down the field, directing his horse to whatsoever quarter he spied him in, gave *Pyrrhus* notice of it, who answer'd, *Noman can avoid the Fate of Mortals, but neither this Italian, nor any other, shall grapple with me without his reward, and due punishment.* He had scarce spoken the words, when *Oplacus* (so was the man named, a Captain of one of the *Frentan* Troops) wounded the Kings horse with his Spear, *Leontius* likewise wounding his, whereupon the Kings friends round besetting him killed *Oplacus*, stoutly fighting for himself, and delivered the King. But this accident did much daunt the Kings party, as believing him to be slain: Wherefore to confirm his Souldiers, as likewise to decline dangers intended against him, he changed his Armour and weapons with *Megacles*, and leaving him in the Fight, went himself to order and lead up the Regiments. The Roman Legions were now come up, and the Battell a long time fiercely continued with so doubtful success, that 'tis reported Fortune seven times changed, sometimes the Romans sometimes the *Epicroti* turning their backs.

But the death of *Megacles* had like to have reduc'd *Pyrrhus* his affairs even to a most desperate condition, who being in the Kings armour was assaulted by every valiant Enemy who affected the Glory of slaying the King: And at length an Horseman, *Dexter* by name, having kill'd him, and taking off his Helmet and Gorget, with loud crys carried them to the Consul, thereby ingenerating a believe in both the Armies of the Kings Death. Hereupon the *Gracians* were full of Terror and Consternation, and no doubt had immediately quitted the Field, but that *Pyrrhus* altho' as might be, uncovering his head rode up and down, with a loud voyce witness'ing, That he was a live, and present amongst them, hereby taking away as much Confidence from the Romans, as feare and Despaire from his owne Souldiers. *Lavinus* perceiving the Time come, wherein to trie the utmost Remedy, gaveth the Signe to his Horsemen whom he had plac'd in Ambush, to fall upon the backe of the enemy. But *Pyrrhus* against this

this Troupe commanded his Elephants to be led, which he had likewise reserved for the last Terror to the enemy. This one Contrivance dash'd all the Romans hopes, and gave the Issue of the Battaille clearly on *Pyrrhus* his side. For the men themselves being all onfisted at the vast bulk of their bodies, and the terrible shew of armed Warriors on their backs thought they had rather seen some strange and formidable Monster, then the shape of any Creature by Nature produced; and as for the horse, they being frightened with the sight, smell and noise of beasts they had never before seen, did forthwith, confounding their ranks, flee every one what way was most open; and either shaking off their riders, or against their wills forcing them to flight, they ran upon their own battell, and filled all things with fear and tumult. The Restors of the Elephants following the pursuit, many of those that fled were wounded from those who stood in the Towers upon the Elephants, and more were kill'd and trodden under foot by the beasts themselves. The Consul making use of his best skill, did as yet keep his main battell together, till, by the command of *Pyrrhus*, the Thessalian wing being sent amongst them, did rout and scatter them, not being able to resist. And no question but in the place they were hemm'd in, they had every man been slain or taken prisoner, but that, besides the Culm of *Pyrrhus*, who, thought it not General like too severely to press upon those who fled, left by despair of safety they should be provoked to make more sharp resistance, the evening likewise being far spent compell'd them to relinquish the pursuit. Fortune likewise favour'd the remnant of the unfortunate Army, in that an Elephant being wounded turned back and with its braying confounded the rest. This putting a Remora to the enemy, gave liberty to those that fled to cross the River into *Apulia*, where they sheltered the selves in a fenced City against the present danger. I find that in this fight there were fourteen thousand eight hundred and seventy foot of the Romans and their friends slain, with two hundred and fourscore horsemen; there were taken in all eight hundred and twenty Colours. Whereby I wonder the more why some Authors, who undertake exactly to relate this encounter, deny that any notice was taken how many were wanting on the Kings side; whereas *Dionysius* writeth, that *Lavinus* lost little lesse then fifteen thousand, and that on the Victor's side thirteen thousand fell. But *Hieronimus Cardianus*, an impartial writer of those times, affirms, That of the Roman army there fell but seven thousand, and of the Kings army under four thousand. But this is by all agreed on, that the Victory call'd *Pyrrhus* the very Flower both of his Captains and Souldiers, and that he was heard *Orosius* to say, *He was no less Conquer'd then Conqueror in that Battell.* And when he offer'd the spoils and gifts to *Jupiter* of *Tarentus*, he confess'd as much, inscribing that sentence in the Title; and when his friend complain'd, he repli'd, *Of a truth, if I obtain such another Victory, I shall return into Epirus without e're a Souldier.* I have likewise an Author that the King himself received a grievous wound in this fight, but because others report no such thing, and that I often see the circumstances of several battels confounded, I dare not in the general silence of so many and those more accurate Authors, give credit to one single one.

That it was fought with great animosity and valour, this one argument is sufficient, That when *Pyrrhus* next day view'd the slain corps (which for the reputation of his Humanity and Clemency he caused to be buried) he finding that all the Romans died with honourable wounds, having their faces turn'd to the enemy, he cry'd out, *How rarely were it for me to gain the Empire of the whole world, if I had but Roman Souldiers.* Neither did he defer with any complement and large promises to court those who were in his power, to receive pay under him, and not being able to persuade them, he did, nevertheless treat them with great humanity and clemency, freeing them from chains and whatever other reproach usually attends the fortune of prisoners. But the Romans thus batter'd by the late fight were terrified with another misfortune, though not of so great loss, yet which caus'd more fear and Religious horror. For it was imputed to the manifest anger of the gods, that their men who were sent forth for forrage and relief, were overtaken by a sudden and most violent Tempest, wherein four and thirty were amidst the stupendious noise of the Heavens, struck dead by Thunderbolts, and two and twenty smitten and left half dead, their Cattel also by the same storm were most of them slain or made of no use.

Pyrrhus in the mean time having taken the empty and forsaken Camp of the Romans, made quick use of his victory, waiting all the Neighbour Countries, and turning many people from the Roman friendship. The Lucanians and Samnites then come in to him, whom lightly chiding, That they had not assisted him in the battell, he nevertheless gave them part of the spoils; therein much rejoicing and exulting, That by his own strength, with no other aid but that of the Tarentines, he had slain so many of the Romans. *Pyrrhus* being thus intent in reaping the fruit of his Victory, *Lavinus* on the other side curing his wounded, and recollecting his disperd men, had gathered together a force no way contemptible, and the Senate (though many imputed the losse only to the Consul's default, and *Fabius* said, *It seem'd to him, that the Romans were not beaten by the Epicroti, but Lavinus by Pyrrhus*) decreed a recruit and supply to be sent him. When the Cryer proclaimed, That they who would serve their Country in the place of them who were slain, should give in their names, they listed themselves so fast, that presently they completed the number of two Legions.

The Consul recruited with these forces, follow'd the steps of *Pyrrhus*, vexing his Army with what inconveniences he could. And understanding the Kings Resolution to seize upon *Capua*, leading his Army thither in haste, he prevented him, and preparing all things for Defence, he deterr'd him from assaulting the City. *Pyrrhus* turning his Course to *Naples*, and there likewise being frustrated of his Expectation, forthwith by long journeys marcheth toward *Rome* into Latine high way, and now having pass'd through *Ardea*, and the Hernician Territories, taking in *Fregella* by the way, he was come to *Praeneste* within Twenty miles of the City; But the Magistrates there, alfoon as they understood of the Overthrow, had by Order of the Senate armed their choice young men: and the Fortune of the Roman People had in this the time of their Necessity, provided them another very strong help and succour; For the other Consul *Tib. Coruncanius* encountering the Etrurians with better success, had tied the whole Nation to new Covenants, and being called back by the Senate to the Defence of his Country, having no other Enemy to distrust him, came home with his Victorious Army. *Pyrrhus* having in vain attempted to draw the Etrurians again into Arms, and considering that, besides a City secure with its own guards, he had two Consuls with their Armies, one on the Front, the other on his Rear, returned back into *Campania*; where meeting *Levinus* with greater forces then before his Overthrow, he said, He had to deal with a Lernæan Hydra, whose heads being lately brack off, spring up again in a greater Number; yet continuing in his former Victory, he drew out his Army and martial'd it as resolving to fight, and that he might discover the Chief faults of his souldiers, and likewise terrifie the Enemy, he caus'd his men to shout and the Elephants to be provoked to bray. But the Romans returned a farre greater and more terrible shout, whereby conjuncting the Spirits of each, he judg'd it fit to abstain from fight at the Present, and complaining of ill omen in the Entralles of sacrifices, he drew back his Army first into his Camp, and afterward with much plunder and a great Troop of Captives, to *Tarrentum*.

The Romans (who in their hardest times had remitted nothing of their Constancy, but as to the main Issue of the warre always spake high, as conceiving ample hopes) thinking this a most fitt time to give rewards and Encouragement to Virtue, decreed a Triumph to *L. Aemilius Barbula* for those exploits performed in his Consulship. He triumphed *A.D.* the fourth of the Ides of *July*, over the Tarentines, Samnites, and Salentines who were Auxiliaries of the Tarentines. But *P. Valerius* was order'd to draw the Remains of his Conquer'd Army into the *Saune* field, there to fortifie his Camp, and cause them to winter in their huts; About the same time the Senate disputing whether it were fit to redeem the Captives, resolv'd affirmatively; that which chiefly perswaded them, was I believe the Horsemen's Case, for they had stoutly maintained the fight during the absence of the Elephants, at whose approach the horse without any fault of the Riders yielded them up to Death, and to Bonds; upon this Errand were sent Embassadors of Principall Dignity, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* famous for his Delolation of *Sena in Gallia*, *C. Fabricius Licinus*, and *Q. Aemilius Tappus*, who two years since were Colleagues in the Consulship: *Pyrrhus* by Nature was Endow'd with humanity, the inseparable Companion of great Spirits, and that he did encrease by his Ambition, according to the Vulgar Error, esteeming all Virtues the servants to Domination, to which only being intemperate given, he did direct all his Counsells for the attaining it; And though he were not inferior to any Commander of that Age in Boldness of mind and the Arts of Warre, yet was he wont to try all meanes before he came to Blows; he would sollicite the mind of his Enemy as he saw most opportune with Fears, or Desires, or Pleasure, or Mercy, or with equality and benefit of Conditions. Therefore understanding Embassadors were coming from *Rome*, and judging so many Consular men were not sent but upon some Grand Affaires; he was in good hopes they would treat of Compounding a Peace. Therefore that their access might be the safer and the more honourable, he sent *Lyco* (by nation a Molossian) even to the borders of the Tarentine Territories, to meet them with a Guard. Himselfe on Horseback with rich Caparisons met them without the Gates, and having magnificently brought them in, he entertain'd them with all Respect, liberality and plenty that might be.

They preminding somewhat tending to Moderation of the mind, as how great the Inconsistency of Fortune is, how sudden the Changes of Warre, and that future Consequences cannot be foreseen, deliver their Message. That they came to receive their Captives, whether he would assist them at a Certain price to be redeemed, or to be exchanged for Tarantines and others. Pyrrhus whose Custom it was, not to transact any thing of moment without advice of his friends, convened them now together; and Milo's Opinion was, That he should detain the Captives, make use of the fortune, and not cease the Warre till he had thoroughly subdued the Romans; Cinas his Counsell was very different, for, speaking first of the Confrancy of the Senate and People of Rome, which they had often shown even in the hardest times to be invincible; he added moreover, As for other Enemies 'tis likely we may hate their manners or contemne their Armes, but with this Nation, O King, 'tis better making Friendship then Warre, and 'tis convenient not only to return the Captives, but freely to dismiss them without Ranfome: Neither is any delay to be made, but that you send back the Embassadors with Presents, to conclude Peace upon equal Terms: For this I take to be the time, wherein with honour and Credit you may accomplish a Business (in my judgement) very necessary. For now your affairs having succeeded prosperously,

you shall both more easily than I can obtain what you desire, and likewise seem for no other Cause but the innate Greatness and Goodness of your mind, to offer Peace unto those whom you might by force have reduced into Slavery. And scarce be it from I see, but that Thy Desires should prosper as they have begun: Yet We are not Men, and if Fortune change her side, neither will it be so easy a matter to Obtain Peace, neither can it with so much honour be treated on. When the rest are baffled in the same Opinion, the King himselfe likewise assenting, commanded the Roman King-embassadours to be called, to whom he spake in this Manner: *Towr Errand, Romans, seemeth to me very unworthy, for having no Consideration of intring into Friendship with me, you require back the Prisoners of Warre, whom being restor'd, you are ready presently to make use of against me.* If therefore you will intend your Minds on better Counsell, beneficiall to both Parties, and make a League and Society with me, I will restore all your Citizens and Companions in Armes without price or Ransom; otherwise if you continue hostility, I shall think it no wise part, to strengthen your Hatred against me with the hands of so many Valiant men. Neither is Money so scarce With me as to need any from the Romans whom it would better become, if we were Friends, to be enriched by my bounty. Withall he commanded gifts of good value to be given the Embassadors, with promise he would bestow more and of greater Price. These things were spoken and acted openly in the Presence of all the Embassadors. But with C. Fabricius he had afterward a longer and more serious discourse. Neither shall I think it unfit to relate what I find in good Authors. When therefore they had speech together in secret without witness, among other things 'tis reported the King said thus: My desire is to have all the Romans my Friends, but especially your selfe, whom I esteem above all others, as most eminent in Civill and Military virtues, only one Thing I am troubled to find wanting in you, that having but slender substance you are not able to maintain that Port and Splendour which justly attends Great men, as their Due; But I will not suffer you any longer to be sensible of this Injury, and despite of Fortune, I will freely bestow so large a summe of Gold and Silver, as you shall easily exceed the Revenues of the Richest. For I am perswaded it belongs to my Place and Fortune, to relieve the hard Wants of Worthy men, who have endeavour'd more to obtaine Glory then Wealth: Truly I think it to be a faire and honourable Work, and that there cannot be, either a more illustrious monument of Kingly Magnificence, or a more precious and Acceptable Offering unto the Gods: so that I shall rather think you do me a Courtesie, then receive one at my hands, if you will suffer your selfe to be relieved by my Plenty. Neither truly would I urge this to you if on my side only the Bounty should seem Glorious, on your side the Acceptance dishonourable. But now seeing I tempt you not to Treason or the commission of any such misbecoming your Grave Manners, what Reason is there why you should with a resolute and obdurate mind refuse a small Gift, with a free and Friendly intent offered? For I desire nothing of you, but what may, nay of duty ought to be done by the best of Men, and most tender of their Country's Good, that you would perswade the Senate to forsake their wilful stubbornness, and recall their mindes to Equity and milder Counsells, giving them to understand the Truth, that neither can the Warre be continued without your great Loss and Danger, neither can I (having promised help to the Tarentines, and proved Victor in the first Battell) without manifest breach of faith, and diminution of mine Honour relinquish it. Neither indeed do I delight in fighting with you whom I judge far more worthy my Friendship then my Hatred, and had much rather returne home into mine owne Kingdom, where many buisnesses in the interim arise, which require my presence. And for this I will give you what assurance you shall desire, whereby you may be satisfied concerning my Intentions, and resolve the Doubts of others, if any shall think it not safe to trust to Kings, by reason of the fault of some, who standing to their Agreements and Covenants so long onely as it seemeth for their Profit, when they perceive any benefit to be gain'd by Change, have chosen rather to break their Faith then lose an Advantage. And when the Peace shall be concluded, there is nothing will please me better, or be more commodious to us Both, then that you would bear me company into Epirus, where you shall have the Principal place among my Subjects, be my Lieutenant in Warre, and Partner of all my Fortunes. For I esteem no Possession more precious then that of a Valiant and Faithfull Friend, and certainly the splendour of a Kingly Fortune, and the Majesty of Royall affaires will become your great Mind. These things if we shall in Common conferre, mutually helping one the other, we shall without any difficulty attain to the greatest Happinesse that man is capable of or can imagine.

When the King had thus made an end of speaking, after a little distance *Fabritius* answer'd, *Concerning my Fortune*, if any could be observ'd either in my military or Civil employments, it is needfull for me to discouſe ſeeing you have already truſted the Relation of others concerning it. Neither is neceſſary to declare my poverty, that, being the matter of a little ground and a ſmall Cottage, I maintain my ſelf neither by uſury nor the ſweat of ſervants, but by the labour and exerciſe of my owne Body, ſeeing this alſo you have truly learn't by the diſcouſe of others. But if, either on your owne accord, or following the Opinion of others, you judge me, by reaſon of my poverty, to be in worſe condition then any other Roman, you are wonderfully deceived. For deſpiſing Riches, embracing Vertue, and doing my duty, I was never ſenſible of any miſery; neither in private or publick buſineſſe did I ever repine at my Fortune. For what Reaſon have I to ſpeake ill of fortune, unleſſe I ſhould impute it as a

Ammon.
Macedonius
24.9
Dionysius

Zonaras
Dionysius

Zonaras

Above in the
year 471
Dionysius

crime to her, that I enjoy all those things which to great and high spirits are most defireable, not only with the Rich, but many times before them? I am dignified with the greatest honours our country affordeth. The heaviest wars are committed to my Charge, I am entrusted with the care of our most holy Devotions, I am call'd into the Senate, my opinion is asked concerning the most weighty affairs, I am commended and cheerfully imitated by many; neither am I of less esteem than the most potent man in the City, I seem unto others an example and pattern of attaining Virtue and Glory; to all this bestowing no cost either of mine own or others. For in other places, where particular mens wealth is great, and the publick stock but small, the Magistrates sustain the dignity and splendour of their office by their own expence: In our City the custome is much different, no private mans fortune being on any side burthened. All this great and glorious pomp, wherewith our Citizens, who are chosen to the administration of grand affairs, are so magnificently fet forth, is of publick allowance; which order maketh all men equal, so that the poorest man shall want nothing for the maintaining either the publick or his own grace, neither shall the richest in any thing abound. Wherefore seeing, though I am the poorest of all, yet I do in no good thing yield to the richest of all; why should I complain of Fortune? should I desire to be equal with Kings, who may board up vast sums and heaps of gold? But hitherto I have spoken in reference to my life in Publick, even in private also my indigence is so far from being a burden or inconvenience to me, that contrariwise, as often as I compare my self with the rich ones, my condition seemeth incomparably more happy, and I reckon my self among those few who have attained to as much Felicity as this life admits of, in which regard I mightily rejoice and give thanks to my Poverty. For it seeming to me idle and foolish to pursue after things superfluous, and that my little ground being rightly till'd and manured yieldeth all necessities; I know not to what end I should be solicitous of greater Riches. My Meat hunger makes sweet to me, and thirst my Drink; after labour my sleep is easie and quiet; my garments, if they defend me from cold, are of proof sufficient; and my household stuff, according as it is apt and fit for those uses it was ordained to, so it very well pleath me. So that herein also I should be injurious to accuse Fortune, that it hath not allowed me larger substance then nature desires, which hath neither ingenerated in me a covetousness of what is too much, nor a dexterity of scraping it together. Wherefore with this poverty I judge my self more wealthy then the richest men, yea, then thy self also, for I have so much that I desire no more, whereas unless you thought your self poor notwithstanding your possession of *Epirus*, and all other your Territories, why came you over into *Italy*? But Riches you may object, gives one a fair opportunity of doing good to mankind, and that in your poverty can be bountiful to no body. Truly this troubleth me no more then that in other things also I do not abound: That the gods have not endowed me with knowledge superexcellent, and the Art of Prophecy, and many other the like things, whereby I might benefit those who in these kinds want help. But if I freely communicate to my friends and fellow-Citizens those things which are in my power, and suffer every one in common to participate of what may any way please them, I shall think my self free from that crime of being useless or unprofitable to mankind. Neither would I have you esteem those things small and contemptible, because others seem greater in your eyes, and therefore you are ready to buy men with large bribes. But, if for supplying the necessities of the poor, Riches were altogether to be desired, and that in this respect the possession of moneys were to be reckon'd as a part of Felicity, as you Kings seem to be persuaded; which, think you, were the better way of purchasing wealth, that I should now with disgrace receive it at your hands, or that I should, when it was in my power, have long ago gather'd it upon most honest accounts? For my prosperous management of Publick affairs, hath given me fair opportunities of growing Rich; as often at other times, so especially when four years since, being Consul, and sent with an army against the Samnites, Lucanians and Brutians I overcame those large and fertile Territories waiting and spoiling, when being conqueror in many Battels, I took by force and demolish'd wealthy Cities, whereupon the Soldiers being largely rewarded, and all debts paid with the Commonwealth had contracted with private men for carrying on the War, there was yet so much remaining that I carried into the Publick Treasury four hundred Talents. Now after I have forn'd to acquire just and honest Riches by those spoils which were in my hands, and by the example of *Valerius Publicola* (and others who have advanced the Roman State) have preferred Glory before money, shall I receive gifts of thee, and embrace shameful and dangerous opportunity of growing Rich, having neglected a fair and honourable means? And truly, that wealth I could freely, with pleasure, and good confidence have expended in just and honest uses, which what I receive of you I cannot do: For that money is rather to be accounted lent then below'd which proceeds from another's bounty; and however it be given and received under the specious pretence of hospitality, friendship or good will, 'tis burthenome to an Ingenious and high Spirit till it be restored. And what do you think will be the issue of this business when it is known (as conceal'd it cannot be) if the Censours, who with ample authority exercise the superinspection of Manners amongst us, shall (according to that power wherewith they are invested to enquire into the Lives of the Citizens, and punish those who deviate from the Institutions of our Fathers) publicly summon me to give an account of the reasons, why I received any Gifts from thee?

Many

Many report that *Pyrrhus*, resolving at any rate to winne a man of such Excellent vertue, did yet more earnestly tempt his Constancy, and after other magnificent promises, making a professor of half his Kingdom could not therewith move him, but that till he perswaded to deny the Accomplishment of the Kings desires, For, saies he, *I am an evil man, why doe you court me? If good, why would you corrupt me?* adding moreover, *That this business would prove neither pleasing nor profitable to Pyrrhus if it should succeed, for if he should make use of his liberty, 'twould be hateful both to the King and his Friends, as for his Justice and Abstinence, if the Epitars once had experience of them, they would forsake the King and apply themselves wholly to him.* These things, and what hereafter I shall add, being by various Authors related, I thought neither inconvenient nor unprofitable to collect and declare, that the mind and sense of those men may be known, who supported the Roman State in most difficult times, and improv'd it to that incomparable height of Glory and Empire it attain'd to: and that by a clear example it may be apprehended, what Virtues and Manners ought to be practis'd by those men, who would become objects of Admiration, and transmit to their posterity a more flourishing Commonwealth then they received from their Ancestours. These things being spoken and heard on both sides, the King at present contented himself, but on the morrow, causing *Fabricius* to be lent for, he prepared an Elephant before hand to frighten him, who standing at their backs behind the hangings, as they were discouraging, the hangings being on a sudden withdrawn, at the Masters command laid his snout on *Fabricius* his head, making a most horrid noise; but he, being a man of a settled spirit, gravely turning himself about, smil'd, saying, *Neither yesterday did your gold entice me, nor to day your beast terrifie me.* Afterwards being let at supper, when he heard *Cinatus* discouraging of the Grecian Philosophers of the Sell of Epicurus, that they esteemed Pleasure the greatest good, and the cares of the Commonwealth the chiefest hinderance of Felicity: That the gods in their opinion led such a life free from the care of humane affairs, free from all afflictions either of anger against the wicked, or favour to the good, giving themselves over wholly to idleness and pleasure: *Fabricius* thereupon is said to cry out, *The gods grant that Pyrrhus and the Samnites would practise this wisdom while they wage War with the people of Rome.* These were the manners of those times, this was the Emulation of great men, to excel not in wealth or Luxury, but in Virtue, in Counsel, in Patience, in the Love of their Country. Neither were these sudden Motions and fits, or speeches premeditated out of hypocrisy for the present occasion, but they did confirm the faith of their words by the constant Tenour of their Lives, whereby they are rather to be admired then imitated by our Age. The same *Fabricius* when all his silver plate consisted of one Sale-celler and a little dish, which yet was sustained by an horning foot, the Samnite Embassadors presenting him with a gift of money and very rich household stuff, set his hands to his ears, thence to his eyes, nose, mouth, throat, and at length to his belly, saying, *As long as I can command these, nothing shall be wanting to me, carry ye back your money to those who stand in need of it.*

After the same manner he spent his whole life, inasmuch as in all his Patrimony there was not sufficient whereby to raise Portions for his Daughters; (an Honourable poverty 1) so that the Senate caused money for that purpose to be disbursed out of the Publick Treasury, being ashamed to let those Virgins pass without Dowry, whose Father was not ashamed to leave so. The same virtue and continence was found in other Princes of the Senate; among the rest *Q. Fabius* who had to often been in Chief command, and having once borne the Censurship denied to be made Censur againe, saying, *It was not for the good of the Commonwealth, that the same men should often be chosen Censur*; he died with the same Testimony both of his poverty, and the peoples Love; for after his Death they below'd so much money that his son *Q. Gurgus* did below a dose of flesh upon the people, & likewise made a publick Feast. *Curius* out of the same gallantry of mind refus'd the gifts of the Sabines as *Fabricius* did the Samnites: *Emilius Papus*, who was in most offices Colleague with *Fabricius*, also *Tib. Cornicius*, and many other men of great note, by reason of their likenes in manners, lived together in great love and friendship: So that the Poet seems to me to have conceived in his mind the Idea of those differences with this Nation, and immediately rebored two hundred of the Captives without Redemtion, and gave leave likewise to all the rest to go to Rome and visit their friends at the Feast of Saturn now approaching, relying only on the word of *Fabricius*, who promised, *That when the Holy-days were past they should return, unless peace were in the mean time concluded.*

And such was the Gravity of the Senate, and the fidelity of every single Person, that at a Day by the Fathers appointed, they every man redelivered themselves up to *Pyrrhus*, having in vain urged their Country-mens obdurate minds to Articles of Peace. For the Crafty King, thinking this to be a nick of time for his purpose, while the Romans being mollified with the sight of their dearest friends, and desirous of retaining them, might happily be the more ready to lay down all thoughts of hatred and hostility, resolved now to send an Embassage to Rome to Treat of Peace on those Conditions he had propounded to *Fabricius* in Person. He desired, *That the Tarentines might be comprehended in the League, That the other Gracians inhabiting Italy might continue free, living according to their own Laws: That whatsoever the Appian*

Europius
Florus.
1.18.21
Ausb. de vita
Julij. c.35
Zonaras
Appian apud
Eulium Nepotum.
Flutarch
Pyrrho. G.44.

Plutarch
C.43

Gu. Catellus
C.12

Plutarch
C.42
Val. Maximus.
4.3.6

Val. Max. 4.4.3
Florus 1.18
Id. Hist. Rom.
apud Agellum
1.14

Val. Maximus
4.4.10

Autor de vita
Illust.

Gicero in Lello
Ennium apud
Gic. de Repub.
1.5. Cicerone
Aug. de Civ.
Dio. 2. 21
Julian. 18.1
Plutarch
Pyrrho. C.44

Appian apud
Eulium.
Florus 1.18.14

Justinus.
18.2

Romans

Plutarch
Pyrrho c. 38

Cicero Phil.
1. 5

Plutarch

Appianus apud
Fulvium lib.
num.

Ennius
Plutarch

Liv. Epl. 13
b. 2. 5. 36 de
O. I.

Eurypinus b. 2
c. 1. 5. 4 de
Polib.
Zenarus

Vat. Maximus
2. 7. 15
Frontinus Rhet.
4. 1
Plutarch
Juffin, 18. 1

Florus 1. 18
20
Liv. 9. 17. 13
Plutarch and
Appian.
Zonarus

Plin. 3. 11

Romans had taken away from the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Brutians might be restored; and in Livy, the Romans should receive their Captives without Ransom. Cincas of whom mention hath formerly been made, was at that time with Pyrrhus, a man as of great knowledge in Civil affairs, so of very honest principles, and who had by exercise improved his natural wit to a marvellous eloquence: For these his qualities he was very dear to the King, who often acknowledged, He had won more Cities by the Eloquence of Cincas, than by his own Arms. This man being sent Ambassador to Rome, with much cunning delay'd making his address to the Senate, till he had in Pyrrhus his name distributed many gifts in the houses of the principal men. Being then brought into the Court, when he had in many words, extolled the virtue of Pyrrhus, and his inclination towards the Romans, he discoursed of the Equity of the conditions he brought, inasmuch that great part of the Senate were moved to accept them: because besides other conveniences, he promised, if they would delist molesting his friends, he would furnish them with aid sufficient for the Conquest of all the rest of Italy. But, because the Consultation lasted many days (the Fathers being very solicitous in a business of so great consequence) and thereby a suspicion and rumor was spread, that peace would be concluded, Appian Claudius, who by reason of his Age and blindness, had of a long time been absent from the Senate, caused himself now to be carried thither in his Litter, where he no sooner appeared, but his sons and sons in law with all Reverence and Duty receiving him, conducted him to a place becoming his Dignity. Every one being silent both at the novelty of the thing, and with the respect they bore his person, and expecting for what cause, after so long absence and retirement, he should now come into the Senate: he beginning his discourse with the affliction of his sickness, said, 'His Blindness' had indeed hitherto been very grievous to him, but now 'he was not only delighted in it, lest he should behold those things which were doing, but was 'sorry that his ears also were not deaf, that he might not hear things so fordid and unworthy the name of the Romans. For what is become of your noble minds? whether are your 'spirits fallen? Ye were wont to be of opinion, when ye heard the Fame of Alexander the 'Macedonian renowned as of an invincible King, that his glory was more to be imputed to his 'Fortune than his Virtue; that if the Fates had allotted him a Roman War, both the event, and likewise his esteem amongst men would have proved far different. But now, behold how 'ye are degenerated from that your Magnanimity; ye once thought ye were able to conquer the Macedonians, and now ye stand in fear of Molossians and Chaonians, the perpetual prey 'of the Macedonians. Ye once contemned Alexander, and now are frighted by Pyrrhus, not the servant of Alexander, but his servants servant, who flying from his old enemies rather than seeking new, is come over into Italy with a resolution, should it please the gods, to obtain the Empire of Rome, with those forces wherewith he was not able to keep and defend his 'little share of Macedonia. Unless therefore we lend him back well beaten, laden with great 'misfortune, assure your selves, any other Party, deservedly slighting and scorning our Power, will greedily venture into Italy, as to a prey ready prepared to their hands. For what can 'be thought of us, but that we are a cowardly slothful people, if Pyrrhus, being received into 'friendship, shall carry back a Reward for that Disgrace he hath done us, in as much as by his means it is come to pass that the Romans are become a Laughing-stock to the Tarentines and 'Samnites?

This was the main scope of Appian's Oration, which did so inflame the minds of all the Senators, that, following him the Author of a severe Sentence, they with one consent decreed, That the War should be prosecuted, that Cincas should the same day depart the City, that Pyrrhus should be given to understand, That neither he should be admitted into the City, (for that also was desired) neither would they so much as treat of friendship and society, till he had quitted Italy. A like sad decree by Appian his motion was made concerning the Captives, That they should not be led in War against Pyrrhus, neither should they any where be joyed in the same company, but that being sent to several Garrisons, they should, as a note of infamy, change their pay, but that being sent to several Garrisons, they should, as a note of infamy, change their manner of fighting, that they who before served on horse-back, should now be listed among the foot, and they who were of the Legions, should now serve in light armature; That no man should recover his former order, till he had brought in the spoil of two enemies. 'This reported, when the Ambassadors returned with this sharp answer, the King alonist'd at the wonderful constancy of the Romans, asked, What they thought of the City and of the Senate? and that Cincas answer'd, The City seemed to be a Temple of the gods, and the Senate an Assembly of Kings.

After these Transactions, some think, Fabricius was sent an Embassy to the King: but they are easily convinc'd of Error as by the Testimony of other Authors, so by a right Consideration of the Series of Affairs. There being now no hopes of peace, they converted all their thoughts to War, and busied themselves on both sides all winter in making diligent preparations. These I take to be the Times wherein Pyrrhus is reported, (for the avoiding the Dangers of Shipwreck, and a more convenient passage of the Italian and Epirot Succours one to the other) have had thoughts of making Bridges between Hydrunt, where Italy gets farthest into the sea, and Apollonia, a Town situate on the adverse shore, some fifty miles distant: For that is the Breadth of the Sea in those places between the Grecian and Italian shores. M. Terevins Varro is said afterward to have made the like Attempt, when, being Cn. Megnius his Lieutenant

tenant in the war against the Pirates, he guarded the Sicilian and Ionian seas with his Navy. In the midst of these doings Tib. Coruncanius the Consul Triumphed A. D. of the Calends of February. This year was a remarkable Cenfourship in that a Lustration of the army was then first made by one of a Plebeian Rank. There were cessed two hundred seventy eight thousand, two hundred twenty two Citizens. About these times it was that Q. Fabius Maximus was wont to be chosen Prince of the Senate; and by conjecture we gather, his son Q. Gurgus was Censor at that Time. Cn. Domitius certainly was, for he lustrated the Army, and his name is famous for enlarging the Privileges of the People. Pyrrhus in the beginning of the spring, calling together the Forces of his Confederates, marched into Apulia, where he took many Towns, some by Force, some by Composition: Against whom the two new Consuls P. Scipius Saverrius, and P. Decius Mus went forth with two Armies pitching Camp against Camp, near Asculum a City of Apulia, of the same name with that City of the Picentes. No doubt was made of Fighting, but they were many days hindered as by a deep Torrent running between them, so by mutual fear on each side. The Romans were troubled with remembrance of the former Battell wherein Pyrrhus was victorious: The Epirots were daunted at the Roman obstinacy, but chiefly at the name of the other Consul, so fatal to the Enemies Legions: For it was given out that P. Decius alter the Example of his Father and Grandfather would purchase the Victory with his Death; and the issue of those Battells wherein they died, did make the expectation of the Decian Devotion to be terrible to all men.

Pyrrhus thinking it a matter not to be neglected, assembling his souldiers together, thus instructed them. That the Event of Battels was not in the Power either of the Goddes 'Earth, or of the Infernal Deities, who were invoked by that Charm, that they ought not to believe the Gods to be so unjust as to alter the fates of Armies, and below conquests for one mad-man's fake; that victories are not obtained by juggling tricks, and superstition, but by fighting onely; as appears by the Testimony of the Romans themselves, who come not into the field with troops of Priests and Prophets, but with Legions of armed souldiers to oppose the Enemy: But because the ignorant are commonly more terrified with these superstitious delusions, then with true causes of fear, he shewed that this fear might be prevented, by shewing the Habit wherein the former Decii had Devoted themselves, and warning the souldiers if they met any Man in the like accoutrement not to assault him with any weapon, but to take him alive. He caused likewise a Message to be sent to Decius, That he should forbear playing the fool amongst armed men, neither should his Plot take Effect, that if he came alive into his hands he should perhaps endure more torments than he was willing. 'Twas answer'd by the Consuls, They had Confidence enough in their Armes, neither had any need of so desperate a Design, which they might be assured of, they gave him his Choice, whether he would come over the River interjacent, or Expell the Romans on his side the water; that they would willingly withdraw their forces to give him a safe passage over, or, if he would retire, they would bring over their men, that on each side encountering with their strength entire, demonstration might be made, that they repos'd all their hopes of victory in their men, and their Courage, and in no other thing: Pyrrhus was affamed of betraying any kind of fear or Doubt; he accepted therefore of the latter Condition and gave the Enemy Liberty of fording the River. The Terror of the Elephants was not now so great to the Romans, as being accustomed to see them, so having had Experience that their snouts might easily be cut off, as one was in the last fight at one blow by C. Minucius the foremost Pkeman of the Fourth Legion. But now they bethought themselves of safer guards and Defences; They caused horses cloathed with Iron plates to draw Chariots, which were likewise full stuck with spears fastned in Iron sockets; in the Chariots were placed souldiers who with darts or fire should avenge the fury of the Elephants. The Legions with this furniture having passed the River, Pyrrhus in a singular and Excellent manner martial'd his Army, according to his Custom wherein he was thought to exceed all Commanders of his Time. Observing therefore the Nature of the place, which by reason of the Ruggedness of the Ground, and the multitude of Officers thereabouts growing, would well admit of a foot Army onely; he placed his horse and Elephants in the Reserve. The Right wing he strengthened with his own souldiers and the Samnite Auxiliaries, The Brutians Lucanians and Sallentinis he placed in the midst, the Tarentines, whose virtue he least confided in, he order'd in the middle. The Consul's main body consisted of their Legions, some of the light Armature being conveniently intermixt; and with the like Discretion they distinguished the Orders of their Reserves. The horse were distributed into the Wings, being no hindrance to the Foot fight, and yet upon occasion pfer'd, ready for Action. The Armies being equal, not only in Courage but in number (for they were forty thousand strong on both sides) disputed the business with as much heat and animosity as could be expected, and the Victory inclining to neither side, the night broke off the Fight. The next Morning Pyrrhus when he had guarded the most difficult places, forced the Romans to defend into a more even and open ground; there he had some use of his Elephants, which being suddenly brought in to that part of the Battell where the Chariots were prepared against them, they frighted the horse (even as it hapned in the last fight) and caused them to fly; but to the Foot they did little harme. The Report of this Fight is much different from that of the former, for some Authors affirm, The Ro-

Appian in Me-
thodius Te-
bula capitulis.
Bpl. Livie 13:
Plin. 7. 11.
Pausan in Pa-
sis.

474
Eurypinus
Glucor Italia;
Zenarus

Livie. 8. 3;

Zenarus

Plin. 8. 7.
Flor. 1. 18.

Orosius 4. 1.
Vegilius de Re
militari 3. 24.
Zenarus

Amatius
Narcellianus
Plin. lib. 24.
Livie 35. 14.
Plutarch
Frontinus
Stat. 2. 3.

Plutarch

The Supplement of Livie, Book III.

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Plutarch
Zonaras
Frontinus
Eutropius b. 1
Plutarch
Florus i. 18
Orfius a. 1

Justinian.
18. 1
Plutarch

Livie Ept. 13

Zonaras

Tu. Cul. quest.
1. 11
de Finibus 1. 19

Plutarch
Zonaras
P. M. Pyrrho
c. 20. 14
Plutarch
Diodori Eclog.
book 22

475

Agellius 3. 8
Ch. de Offic.
3. 22
Val. Maximus.
6. 5. 1

Zonaras
Agellius
Livie 39. 51
Agellius
Ammon. Mar.
cel. 1. 8. 5
Tacitus 1. 28
Plutarch
Pyrrho c. 45
et in Appian.
106

Claudian in
Bello
Gildon v. 271
Florus i. 18
Eutropius
Frontinus Hist.
4. 4. 2

mans had the upper hand, their Victory being occasion'd by an accident, for the Apulians (who were by the Kings Order sent against those who came to surprise the Carriages) by their departure seeming to fly, by a mean error and false fear caus'd all the Kings forces to quit the field and fly indifferently. The number of the slain is likewise exprest, That on Pyrrhus his side twenty thousand, on the Romans side five thousand and were wanting, that the King with a dart shot through his arm was grievously wounded, and that in vain endeavouring to stay the flight of his men, was by his Life-guard brought out of the field one of the last, that on his side three and fifty Colours were left, on the Romans eleven, and that Fabricius the other Consuls Lieutenant was likewise wounded. But contrariwise, others say, This Battle had the like event with the former, though the Romans by reason of the vicinity of their Camps sustained not so much loss, but that they did successfully fly, and left six thousand men; that Pyrrhus left three thousand five hundred and five, as it is in the Kings Chronicles registered, by the Testimony of Hieronimus.

And not only variety but Repugnancy of Authors moves me rather to incline to those who report the event of this Battle to have been doubtful: for 'tis ordinary after an equal encounter for each part to attribute the victory to themselves, which by the negligence or Impudence of others is committed to writing, doing very ill to deliver to Posterity are partially related. Wherefore their history seems more probable who affirms, That there was but one Fight near Asculum, and that, after an hot dispute and much blood-shed, the Sun being now set, the Kings wound and the loss of the Baggage did with much ado break off the fight: That then both Armies founded a Retreat, when on both sides there were slain about fifteen thousand; and that this was the time when Pyrrhus answer'd out who congratulated his victory, If the Romans are thus to be vanquish'd we are none our selves. And indeed the sequel confirms this Opinion, for Pyrrhus retired to Tarentum, and the Consuls, making no pursuit after the enemy, distributed their forces into winter quarters in Apulia, whereas the time of year gave them leave, and Reasons of War might well have perswaded them, to have prosecuted so glorious a victory. Moreover I find not that these Consuls made any Triumph, and many think that P. Decius in this Battle devoted himself, who dying as did his Father and Grandfather, yielded himself the Third sacrifice, without intermission out of the same family, for the good of the Commonwealth. Which as I had no thoughts to gain-fay, 'So should I not have related in the general silence of all History, but that a grave Author M. Tullius Cicero in his books of Philology more than once maketh mention of it. The fight at Asculum thus ended, the rest of the year was quiet and free from all warlike Expeditions, only the whole time spent in Consultation and preparations. Pyrrhus, having lost most of his old forces, friends, and Commanders, that Navy into Epirus with order for a supply of Men and money for next spring. But before that Navy could be set forth, new hopes arising alter'd the Kings Councils: Pyrrhus had sometime the possession of Macedonia, wresting it out of the hands of Demetrius, and again lost it by the Power of Lysimachus; Now while Pyrrhus waged war in Italy, Ptolemaus Ceraninus being slain by the Gauls, there seem'd a new way open into Macedonia, being destitute of a Prince and the state of affairs in Confusion. This Reason perswaded him not to leave Epirus naked of soldiers, left it should be obnoxious to the injuries of the Gauls who now oppress'd the Neighbour nation Macedonia. But Pyrrhus did not as then flee his Course homeward, being upon other Occasions (as shall be related) call'd into Sicily. The winter being past over in these Cares the New Consuls came to the Army C. Fabricius Lucinus, and Q. Aemilius Papus (who before had born a Consulship together) which Pyrrhus understanding drew forth his forces, intending to observe the Marches and Councils of his enemy. Their Camps being not far distant, there happen'd an Accident very remarkable, and by most men related much after the same manner: One Timochares an Ambracian, who held a good honourable place in the Kings favour, secretly came to Fabricius, and promised him, if he would give him an answerable reward, to poison the King; which he thought was easy for him to accomplish by his sons, who were Cup-bearers to the King. Fabricius, no way delighted with the Treason, inform'd the Senate of it. The Senate, not discovering the Treason of Timochares, who had (by what means soever) intended the Roman profit, sent Embassadors to Pyrrhus, who should only in general warn him, That he should look well about him, and take heed of what means service he made use of, and enquire into their faithfulness and honesty. Thus Valerius Antius relates the business. But Claudius Quadrigarius in stead of Timochares make Nicetas the undertaker of this Poisoning, and that notice was given not by the Senate but by the Consuls, reciting also the Letter of the Consuls, wherein they discover Nicetas his design. That they are unwilling to fight by craft, or with money, and wish the King safe from Treason, hoping he will become an Insuperable Ornament to their Victory and Triumph.

Some Report it was the Kings Physician who treated with Fabricius either in person or by Letter, and that upon his discovery, he was hang'd. As there may be doubt in these Circumstances, so no question they are deceiv'd who say that Curius sent back the Physician to the King. This said that Pyrrhus at this time wondering at the Experience of so great Virtue in Enemies, cry'd out, This is that Fabricius, who can with no less difficulty swerve from the Rules of Justice and Honesty, than the Sun be turned out of his Course. He did immediately, lest he should be Overcome with Kindness, return the Romans all the prisoners he had, and sent Cineas again to

to obtain peace and friendship. It seem'd dishonourable to receive a gift from the enemy, where-by they might be thought to have abhorred wickedness more for gain than for the love of Virtue, they therefore sent back an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites that their captives might not be received gratis. This public abstinence was to their greater Credit seconded by the virtue and resolution of private persons, when the gifts of Pyrrhus (which Cineas in Great Number and those very precious had Carried to Rome for both sexes) were refused not only by the Men but by the women. For when upon the refusal of some, he profer'd them to others, and others again, there was not so much as one man or woman to be found so mean or covetous as to open a door for the Receipt of a Kings gift. The former answer was now again returned to the Embassadors, That until Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, they would esteem him an Enemy to the people of Rome. While Pyrrhus was much perplexed at these passages, not knowing how to prosecute the War with any cheerfulness, nor willing to depart Italy with any loss of Reputation, the Sicilian affairs did seem to help him, the management whereof (after long and doubtful deliberation) he resolv'd to undertake. For so he thought the Roman war might with credit be declined, and the command of a most Rich Island obtained, he had also an earnest desire of being revenged on the Carthaginians, as being first provoked by them. For they suspecting the Kings designs, had a little before hand sent Mago with a Navy of an hundred and twenty ships, saying, The Romans ought by Foreign aid to be assisted against a foreign enemy. And though the Romans used not their alliance, making answer, That they were not wont to undertake any War but what could be managed by their own force; Yet now this fourth time was the League renewed between the two Commonwealths.

To the former Articles it was added, That whether the Romans or Carthaginians made peace with Pyrrhus, it should be specially excepted, that they might assist one the other, which sever of them were provok'd to War; And, that when either had need of the others help, the Carthaginians should provide ships, each party pay their own soldiers, the Carthaginians aid the Romans by sea, but not be compell'd against their wills out of their ships. Which being agreed upon, Mago went to Pyrrhus under pretence of treating of peace, but indeed to discover the Kings Councils, whom the Carthaginians had under stood to be invited into Sicily: And they offer'd their Navy to the Romans not so much out of any good will or care of their safety, but further to involve Pyrrhus in his Italian War, lest he should spoil their successes in Sicily which flourish'd so prosperously. They had then also guarded the passage into Sicily with a numerous fleet, pretending the siege of Rhegium, but indeed relolving to hinder Pyrrhus from transmitting his Army. For these causes did he wholly apply his mind to the Sicilian affairs, which fill'd him with great hope, as by the state of things, so by the frequent Embassies which came one after another out of the Island, affirm'd, That he was desir'd by the prayers of all men, as the only remedy of their calamities wherewith they were more deeply afflicted than the most miserable Nation under the heavens. For after the death of Agathocles, more lamentable then undervenc'd, one Mene, born at Aegesta, a City of Sicily, who had poison'd the King, endeavouring to usurp the government, was by Hicetas the Pretor expelled the City, and fled to the Carthaginian forces: Hence arose an heavy war and unfortunate to the Syracusans, by which never the less Hicetas in particular strengthened himself, and turning his forces against Phinias of Agrigentum, he held the Island long time in trouble, till by the boldness of one Thenio he was deprived of his Domination which he had held for nine years. Thenio endeavouring to retain the Sovereignty, was resisted by Syssistratus a Syracusan Nobleman. These two along time contell'd, Thenio possessing Naxos, an Island which is part of Syracuse, Syssistratus exercising the Tyranny in the other parts of the City. When at length by these discords they saw nothing but destruction likely to ensue, with one consent they decreed to send for Pyrrhus, who being the son in law of Agathocles, and next in succession, as having a son by Lanassa, was thought fittest to bear rule, as being able by his courage and his forces to settle their affairs. Moreover, the principal men of Agrigentum and Leontium, offering the Government of their Cities, and consequently of the whole Island, unanimously intreated him, To come into Sicily as soon as may be, to succour them with his presence, being wearied with labouring under the heavy burden of a Barbarous slavery. For the Carthaginians having walled their grounds, had besieg'd the City of Syracuse, both by sea and land, with a Navy of an hundred ships, and an Army of fifty thousand men. Pyrrhus therefore without delay sendeth Cineas before (whose wisdom and faith he much trusted to) to agree upon Conditions and Articles of friendship with the Sicilian Cities. At his departure he comforted his Italian confederates, promising, That if they were oppress'd by the Romans he would in speed come out of the neighbour Island much increased with new forces. But when he was about to leave a Garrison in Tarentum, they taking it in ill part, desired, He would either perform his promised assistance on these conditions he was call'd in, or that at least he would leave their City free. They could obtain neither, Pyrrhus returning no other answer, but commanding them, To carry his leisure. The Eptor King being thus employ'd, the Consuls had the easier war against their other enemies. I find they had about this time good success against the Etrurians, Lucanians, Brutians and Samnites. It appears there was no great matter done against the Etrurians, in that there was no Triumph made for that war, neither was the whole nation, but few Cities engaged, who re-issu'd against the Romans those arms they had so lately laid down, being solicited by the Samnites, who found themselves left naked by the departure of Pyrrhus. Among the

Livie 34. 4
Justin 18. 2
Val. Maximus.
4. 3. 4

Zonaras

Appian

Justin 18. 2
Val. Max. 3. 7
Livie Ept. 13

Polibius 3. 15

Justinian.

Diodori Eclog.
book 22

Diodori Eclog.
book 22

Diodori Eclog.
book 22
Livie 25. 24

Diodori
Appian apud
Fulvium Strab.
106
Justin 18. 2
Diodorus
Vitarum

Appian

Plut. Pyrrho
c. 54

Livie Ept. 13

other nations as the war was more heavy, so was the Victory more illustrious over them. C. Fabricius the Consul (his Colleague, as is imagined, being gone into *Etruria*, inasmuch as upon the Epirots departure one Consul's Army was thought sufficient) overcame the Lucanians, Brutians, Tarentines and Samnites: Some Cities, among which were *Heraclea*, he drew into Covenants, and over those people he Triumphed before the Ides of December.

An assembly of the people being held, New Consuls were chosen for the year ensuing, P. Cornelius Rufinus again, and C. Junius Brutus again. Other Nobles were Candidates with Rufinus, but by Fabricius his favour he was chosen. Wherein Fabricius considering the times, prefer'd the publick safety before private quarrels; For by reason of their difference in Manners there was Enmity between these two, Fabricius being of proove against Money was guided only by his care of the common good; Rufinus more greedy of wealth than ordinary, many times order'd his counsels and actions to his private gain. But being otherwise Industrious and a good commander, Fabricius judg'd him to be prefer'd before his Competitors who were far inferior to him in Marshal affaires. 'Tis reported, when Rufinus gave him thanks, *That being at enmity with him he had helped him to the Consulship, especially when so great a War was on foot, he answer'd, 'Twas not much to be wonder'd, if he had rather be pillag'd, then sold to the enemy.* For there was great War remaining in Italy, and Pyrrhus finding all things goe according to his desire in Sicily (whether he now was gone) 'twas reasonably fear'd he would quickly return a more formidable enemy by the Access of the strength of so Noble an Island.

Eutropius b. 2
Cicero pro
Balbo c. 33
Tab. Capitolina

Quintilian 12.1

Dion apud Pa-
ladium.

Cicero de Orat.
2.66
Agellius 4.8



BOOK IV.

Liv. Epit. 14
Appian.
Didori Eclog.
b. 12
Dion. apud
Pulvium
Didori Eclog.
Iust. 23. 2



WHILE these things were doing in Italy, Pyrrhus having shipp'd his Army and Elephants, sail'd from the Tarentine Port into Sicily, after he had continued two years and four months in Italy. Being conducted by *Thenio*, who met him with his Navy, he was received by the Sicilians with wonderful cheerfulness, freely delivering up into his hands their Towns, their Forces, their Money and their Ships. Being thus in a short time possessor of the dominion of the Græcian Cities, he did also by force of arms extort from the Carthaginians all whatsoever they held, excepting only the City of *Lilybæum*, which the Carthaginians

being helped by its convenient situation, defended against all his assaults. Whence justly conceiving great and vast hopes in his mind, he resolv'd, leaving his eldest son the Patrimony of his Father, to settle the other two, the one King of Italy, the other King of Sicily. Both the reputation and virtues of this King were indeed at that time very great; and the Sicilians having for many years sustained both foreign and civil wars, and a plague worse then both, the tyranny of usurpers, seem'd willing with joy to entertain any indifferent Prince over them. But when, a little after, he proceeded to raise moneys against their wills, and put to death some of their Nobles, he contracted much hatred, which was encreas'd by the covetousness and arrogance of his Officers, whose vices did every where as much wrong him as his own; therefore next to the first and principal care Kings ought to have, of being themselves Egregiously good, 'tis for their honour and safety to make a choice of virtuous Favourites, seeing private men are blamed only for their own faults, but other mens crimes are imputed to Princes. But these things

Plutarch
Pyrrhus c. 51
Dionysius

things hapned afterwards. Now at Present, while their Zeal was hot, he was with the highest Honour and magnificence received, first by *Tyndarion* Prince of the Taurominitans (for in that part of the Island he landed) then by the People of *Catana*, and to pass'd with his foot-Army to *Syracuse*: His fleet he commanded to be brought about not far from the shore, ready prepared for fight, as thinking the Carthaginians would not suffer him to approach the City without hazard of a Battell. But it hapned, that a little before Thirty of the Carthaginian ships were upon other Employment gone from the Navy, which because they were not return'd the Admirall refused to venture on the Fight with the Rest. Wherefore Entering without Resistance, *Thenio* and *Pisistratus* yielding Possession, he took into his hands the Publick Treasure, an hundred and twenty Covered ships, Twenty open ones, their Weapons, Engines, and all other Furniture for Warre.

Dionys.
Didori

In the Interim came Embassadours from the Leontines, whose Prince *Heracleidas* offer'd the City and all his Forces. Four thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Neither were other Cities flower in their submission, but came in driven as it were by a Torrent of Fortune. *Pyrrhus* treating them all with much Humanity, and gaining their Good wills, sent every one back to his own City, entertaining now more Ample Hopes in his mind, intending if affaires proceed so favourably to pass over into *Africa*. Things went not so well with his Confederates in Italy, for *Milo*, who was left at Tarentum with part of the Army, was not able to protect them from the hostility of the Romans, now in the absence of the King and his main strength. But as yet it was well for them that the Romans deferring a while the Tarentine warre, both the Consuls converted their forces against Samnium. The Samnites (seeing their Fields burnt, their Cattles surprized, the whole burthen of the Warre to fall on them, and that they were forsaken by their Friends) being inferior both in strength and Courage, forsaking their Townes and Villages, betook themselves to the high and craggy Mountaines, carrying with them their Wives and Children, and what things of most value they could in such a Tumult and feare convey away. Among the Romans besides the Emulation of their Commanders, there was arisen great Negligence and Carelessness (the Inseparable Companion of Prosperity) caused by their own Constant good success, and their Enemies Fear. Hereby they suffered some Loss and more Disgrace; for their souldiers confidently creeping up craggy and difficult passages were beaten back and destroy'd by the Samnites, who had posses'd themselves of advantageous places; many were slain, being overwhelmed with stones and Darts, or tumbled down the Precipices; others having no convenience either of retreating or fighting were taken alive. This Accident caus'd the Commanders to divide their Forces, for each laying the blame of the Misfortune upon his Colleague, boasted he could have managed the business with better success if he had been alone. C. Junius with his Legions remained in Samnium, P. Cornelius drew out his forces against the Lucanians and Brutians, where, carrying about the Terror of his Armies, waiting the Grounds and burning the Villages, he had occasion offer'd of greater Attempts. In the utmost parts of the Italian shore, towards the East and the *Jonian* sea, where the promontory of *Lacinium* stretcheth forth it selfe, is seated *Croton* of old very famous, and now also considerable for it's Wealth. Through the midst of it in those dayes ran the River *Acarnus*, on each side whereof the Multitude of Buildings were encompass'd with a wall of Twelve miles circumference. This City the Consul not daring to beleaguer, had thoughts of obtaining by Treachery, for he was put in hopes by many of the Roman faction there, that if he would timely advance his forces to the walls of it, being now destitute of foreign Aide, he might easily take it by the help and assistance of those who were weary of *Pyrrhus* his Domination. But it hapned about that time that either out of fear of the Enemies Neighbourhood, or suspicion of Treason, which is seldom long hid, the Crotonians had procur'd aid from *Milo*: *Nichomachus* came to them with a strong band of Lucanians, who issuing out upon the Consul (not aware of any thing, but confidently coming up to the walls without fear of Danger) beat him back with the laughter and wounding of many of his Men. Rufinus desiring by Council to remedy that loss he had by his Rashness sustain'd, on set purpose encreaseth the Rumour of his Overthrow, and that he might seem stricken with the greater fear pretends to desert from his Enterprize, commanding the Baggage to be pack'd up as for a sudden Departure; This News was quickly blaz'd about the City (as from a Camp fireer must needs be) and besides a probable cause of the business, their Credulity was help'd forward by their desire to have it so; when on a sudden (their minds being already thus inclin'd) a certain Captive (being thereunto suborned by the Consull, in hope of Liberty and further Reward) comes into the City, as if in this hasty departure of the Romans he had taken opportunity to Escape; He informs them that Cornelius Rufinus, having not strength enough to force Croton, was gone to Locri, being invited by some who promised to betray it to him. By and by comes another who confirming the former news, added moreover, That the Romans were now on their March. And withall they discover his Knifenes and Troopes moving that way which leadeth to Locri. *Nichomachus* being deluded by this Wile, marcheth swiftly with his forces the nearest way to Locri, intending likewise to defend it, which when Rufinus by secret Messengers understood, he turneth back presently to Croton, as upon better advice, for with better success then before. His diligence was made prosperous, not only by the security of his Enemies, but by the favour of Fortune also, for a thick mist refused to furround him, so that he was almost within the walls with his

Plutarch

Didori
Eclog. b. 2.
Zonaras.

Ovid Metam
15.
Livie 24. 3.
Zonaras

Frontinus
Strabonem. 3.6.

Zonaras

Frontinus

Victorious

ZONARAS

Victorious army before the Crotonians understood he was returned. The joy of this victory, of its self ample enough, was abundantly encreased by other as glorious successes; Fortune seldom observing a mean on either hand. For *Nicomachus* perceiving himself to have fallen into a remediable Error, not knowing what to do, as he returned to *Tarentus*, was met by *Rufinus*, lost great part of his men, and very hardly escaped himself with the Rest; When not being content to defend one City he lost two. For the Locrians likewise being animated with this success, having slain the garrison *Pyræus* left among them, with the governor of it, whose oppression they could no longer endure, betook themselves to the friendship of the Romans. Notwithstanding this Proceess of affairs, the Samnites and other nations were not so far dejected, but that still they resolved to endure the worst that Fortune could bring upon them, encouraged, beside their own innate obduracy, with their Hops of *Pyræus*'s Return, hearing the news of his victories in *Sicily*. For *Pyræus* (that we may relate his actions out of *Italy* also, which were performed in those times and places having influence upon, and being joined with the Roman affairs) having felled things at *Syracuse* and *Leontium*, went about the same time with his Army to *Agigestum*, meeting Messengers by the way with News, that the Carthaginian Garrison was thrust out of the City, and that the *Agigintines* yielded themselves and all they had into his protection; which accordingly at his coming they did. For *Sofistratus* (who had delivered up *Syracuse* to him) together with the City, presented him with eight thousand foot, proper young men, and eight hundred horse, a force nothing inferior to the Epirots *Pyræus* brought with him. Thirty other Cities, which *Sofistratus* had the command of, did by his means submit themselves to the Kings discretion.

These things thus transacted, he sent to *Syracuse* for all sorts of weapons and engines, which were of use in the siege of Cities. For now his design was to assault the Cities under the Carthaginian Jurisdiction, having an army of thirty thousand, besides fifteen hundred horse, and the Elephants he brought over into *Sicily*. The first he took was *Heraclea*, where was a Punick garrison, then *Acona*. After which the *Selinuntians*, *Halicæans*, and *Ægeliens* following his fortune forsook the Carthaginian party, giving an Example to many other Townes in the same quarter of doing the like. The *Erycinæ*, confiding in the number of their Auxiliaries and strength of the place, he was resolved with all his power to assault, having therefore order'd his men, himself armed, coming up toward the walls, Vowed a Vow to *Hercules*, if that day he should manifest himself to the *Græcians* a Warriour worthy of the Race he came of and the office he bore. After the sign was given, and that the defendants, with a cloud of arrows being driven from their Stations, gave way to the placing ladders upon the walls, the King himself first of all men entered into a most noble fight against all opposers, tumbling some down with his shield, slaying others with his sword, and terrifying all with the greatness of his Courage and strength; neither was this fight more glorious to him, then in every consideration prosperous; for without receiving any wound, with great honour he gained the City at that one storm, his souldiers being no less animated by his Example then fearful of his danger, for both which reasons they fought with the greater contention. He then did sacrifice to *Hercules* according to his vow, and for many days exhibited Plays and Shows of several kinds in great Magnificence and Pompe. In this year I find there was a Triumph at Rome over the Lucanians and Brutians before the Nones of *January*. But I wonder to find it ascribed to *C. Iunius*, seeing *Rufinus* his Province was amongst them, and that he took two famous Cities, and that other Authors stile him a Triumphant Man.

Rome being not very secure, considering the progress of *Pyræus* his affairs, was otherwise much terrified with Prodigies and Pestilence; The most horrid Omen was, that the statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus* being smitten with Thunder, the head thereof was broken off and carried quite away, neither could it be found but by the art and care of the South-seyers. The Plague likewise committed great slaughter amongst them, taking away man and beast by a common Murrain; but was most formidable in *Aborsions*, for there was no young ones almost of man or beast which came forth safe and entire, in so much as it was believed the anger of the Gods would consume all living creatures. Which Affliction made the other Consoliship of *Q. Fabius Maximus* *Gurgæ* very famous, wherein he had *C. Genucius Clepsina* for his Colleague. And yet they left not off their war against the Samnites and Lucanians; and two certain arguments there are that they made great slaughter of their enemies, for the same year *Q. Fabius* the Consul Triumphed over the Samnites, Lucanians and Brutians in the *Quintinals*; and those people sent Letters to *Pyræus* and Embassadors, declaring, *They were miserably undone without speedy help; that they could no longer sustain the power of the Romans, but must of necessity prevent the miseries of yielding up themselves.* This thing much inclined *Pyræus* to depart the Island and transport his forces again into *Italy*, seeing also his affairs now to be more difficult in *Sicily*, by reason the affections of men grew cold; and, by the consideration of some injuries received, were turned into hatred against him.

Which his resolution, and the series of ensuing affairs, that they may the better be understood, I have thought good more at large to relate his Actions at the present. When therefore he had possessed himself of *Eryx*, and placed a Garrison in it, he marched to the City of the *Æginæ* which is of a very convenient situation, near the Haven of *Panormus*, and well fenced with works; there being received with the good will of the Citizens, he removed his

Camp

Camp to *Panormus* in self, which received its name from the fair and ample haven which leadeth to it: This he took by force, and having likewise taken a place called *Ephræ*, seated in a pleasant mountain, but upon hard passages, between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, he had now the possession of all the Carthaginian Province, excepting only *Lilybæum*. This City was lately built by the Carthaginians, as an habitation for the Mætanians, whose town *Dionysius* the Tyrant had in the Punick War demolished. Wherefore the Carthaginians, seeing that of all their dominions in *Sicily*, their hopes were confin'd to this only place, resolv'd with their utmost strength to defend it against the preparations they understood *Pyræus* made for the siege of it. Wherefore bringing in thither a considerable strength of Souldiers, with plentiful provision, as likewise ammunition of all sorts (which they had opportunity enough to do, having the command of the seas) they diligently adhibited all care possible to fence it on every side: Especially where it lay open to the land they erected many Forts and Towers, encompassed with large ditches: Their work was the sooner finished, in regard the town being for the most part of it built upon the Rocks of the sea, needed no artificial Bulwarks in those places. Now, though they made great preparations for the War, and had hired many forces, as from other Countries, to join *Ziayllo*; yet they sent Embassadors, promising, *If they could obtain peace upon equal conditions, to assist him with money and ships.* *Pyræus* would hear no mention of money, desisting only to retain those Cities he had taken, seeming willing to allow them the possession of *Lilybæum*. But the Kings friends, and the Sicilian Princes enforming him, *That so long as the Carthaginians held Lilybæum, (as a ladder ready prepared whereby to scale all the rest of Sicily) the Island would never be void of the fear of them; caused him to return answer, That there was but this one condition of peace he would agree to, to wit, That they should clearly quit Sicily, and suffer the sea to be the bounds of either's dominions.* The hopes of peace being thus broken off, he dreweth his forces forthwith toward the City, and Marshalling his army not far from the walls, in such order as those who were tired might (by turns) be relieved by fresh men, he began the assault. But the *Lilybæans* having a sufficient number of souldiers to defend them, and being provided of Engines and Ammunition kept the City safe. For the Carthaginians had brought in so many Catapults and Scorpions that the whole compass of the walls was not able to receive them.

When therefore a shower of all sorts of weapons and darts overwhelmed the Kings Men, slaying many and wounding more, they desisted from their Enterprize. *Pyræus* likewise set himself to work to make Engines of Battery, beside those he brought from *Syracuse*, and digging Mines under ground, he attempted all arts belonging to a siege: But the Carthaginians stoutly resisting, when he had for almost two months wearied himself in vain, and saw that the besieged having free egress and regress at sea, the City could not be taken, he broke up his siege and employ'd his forces other where. For some Greek Cities, besides other heavy oppression, being compelled to pay tribute, implored his assistance against the Mæmetines, living upon the sea coast. *Pyræus* therefore leading his Army in halt, when he had taken and slain some Mæmetines he found gathering Taxes in those places, Encountering their main body proved Conquerour, and took by force and demolish'd many of their Garrison. And hitherto the King by his illustrious performances had obtained great Power and Honour, having beside his other Vertues, with his singular Humanity not only won, but deserved the Love and Affections of the Cities: But this so great Felicity, which one would think so firmly grounded, was in a moment destroy'd, as by that Levity of Mind which was never wanting in this people, and by the Intemperance of his friends, so chiefly by the Kings own fault. Who, being in adversity irreprehensibly good, was puffed up with pride in his prosperity, in which Condition Mens minds are indeed generally found to be weak. When therefore, as we have said, he esteemed a Fleet necessary for the accomplishment of his undertaking, and that though he had many ships, yet they were not well furnish'd with Sea-men, he very much offended the City with a strict Press of Sea-men; being now on a sudden changed, and from his former gentleness proceeding to proud commands, threats and extreme punishments; these things nevertheless were tolerated, as having the pretence of publick good. But, when they saw those very men to be slain, by whose good will and assistance chiefly he had obtained *Sicily*, many people, not by degrees, or interposing delays, but on the sudden changing their minds, revolted from his friendship, and applied themselves (as for every one was most opportune) some to the Carthaginians, some to the Mæmetines. So that cruelty, which when it is alone is always grievous, doth then become utterly intolerable, when being exercised against the well-deserving, it contracteth (beside the hatred properly due to it self) the detestation of an unthankful and perfidious mind. He seemeth to have brought himself to this necessity of governing by violence, being too much over-ruled by the naughty Affections and counsels of his own men, for unto them (being no whit better) did he bestow the riches which were sequestered from the friends and kinsmen of *Agathocles*. The chief Magistracies of Cities he committed to his Pensioners and Captains, not according to the statutes and customs of the Cities, nor for the due time prescribed, but in what manner, and for as long as he pleased. Law suits, and controversies, and the whole administration of publick businesses he assumed to himself, referring many to his Familiars and Favourites, who were hateful for their avarice and luxury, a like intent upon gaining and spending money by wickedness, who being greedy to satisfy their own lust, make no distinction between

Polybius 1. 56
Dionys. apud
Valerium
Dionisi Eclog.Zonaras:
Pleurarch
Pyræus c. 1. 58
Dionysius

Dionysius

Pleurarch
Polybius 1. 8
PleurarchÆsculus Hill;
Sic. Eccl. 1. 1.

Pleurarch

Dion. apud
Valerium

Allevium (for that was the name of it in those days) are Mountainous and Woody places, which by degrees stretching themselves into somewhat more even ground, at length end in a very fair and open plain which is called by the name of the *Taurasine Fields*.

Now *Pyrrhus* beginning his journey from the Lower grounds up to the hills and woods, when his lights failed, was wildered for want of knowledge in the wayes, in so much that (the day breaking) he was discovered from the Roman camp. The Romans being moved at the unexpected approach of the enemy, yet, (because there was no doubt made but fight they must, and their sacrifices now proving more favourable) with the Consul's conduct cheerfully issued, and falling upon the foremost of the enemy, (who were far from the Main body, and not in very good order) drove them backward, killing no small number of men, and taking some Elephants which the enemy left behind. This success encouraged *Curius*, to follow his Fortune and defend into the open field in Battel-array prepared to fight. Neither did the Epirots make any delay. The encounter was very fierce and furious on both sides, but the Romans having had the upper hand in the late skirmish, were much fuller of Courage and hopes. The Epirots giving back, *Pyrrhus* now again fought Refuge from his Elephants, and thereby (one of his own wings flying) he forced one of the Romans Wings to retire, even to their Reserve. There had the Consul placed a strong force (resolving upon this occasion to engage himself) which he commanded, being now fresh, to renew the fight, and beat back the Elephants. Former experience had taught them an averse and ready way to oppose these beasts, that they were sooner diverted by fire than the sword: Against them therefore were provided Iron instruments involved in much Pitch and Tar, which, being set on fire, were darted upon the backs and Towers of the Elephants, and whether they light on the skin of the beasts, or on the wood of the Towers, they stuck fast by reason of their hooked sharp points. These instruments and divers sorts of darts, being flung from the upper ground, drove the Elephants into fury, partly by terror, partly by the pain of their wounds, so that their masters not being able to govern them, they rushed back upon their own battel, filling it with fear and slaughter. The beginning of this Rout is reported to be by a young Elephant, which being wounded in his head, sent forth a querulous noise, at which known voice the Dam was first startled, and the increasing tumult, at length the rest were all in confusion and turned into flight. Very remarkable was this fight, both for the number of the slain and the fruit of the victory. For *Pyrrhus* being hereby utterly overthrown, neither did the rest of *Italy* long hold out, neither, after *Italy*, was any other Nation and King able to stand against them. 'Tis said the King in that Battel had thrice the number of the Romans, even fourscore thousand foot, and six thousand horse, of these they who report the most say, six and thirty thousand were slain, they who report the least, say six and twenty thousand; thirteen hundred were taken prisoners, and eight Elephants. *Pyrrhus* with a few horsemen escaped to *Tarentum*. The Camp of *Pyrrhus* being taken, as it caused admiration, so was it of great use to the Romans. For they heretofore, as other people, ordered their Camp scattering by companies in the manner of Cottages: *Pyrrhus* is held to be the first who rightly measuring and dividing spaces, contained the whole Army within one Trench; and by his example the Romans being assisted, and adding what they thought convenient, attained to that most perfect manner of pitching their Camps which afterwards they used.

This year was very famous, not only for their happy war abroad, but by reason also of Domestic affairs, and the notable severity of their City Discipline. *Q. Fabricius Luscinus*, and *Q. Emilius Papus*, being Consens together, took away from many the Publick horses, and passed by many in calling the Senate. But most remarkable was *Cornelius Rufinus* his note of Infamy, who having been twice Consul and twice Dictator, was ejected the Senate by the Consuls, and this reason given of his Punishment, *That they found in his house the weight of ten pounds in plate to serve at meals*: And in this Condition not only himself but his Family for a long time remained, whereof not any one attained to the highest honours, before *Sylla* the Dictator.

Such was the Parimony of this City in those days, and afterward so great the extravagancy; that it was by the Fathers condemned as an argument of intolerable Luxury, what their children would shortly esteem but a base and contemptible piece of household stuffe. Every mans estate being ceased and valued, the Army was purged by sacrifices; there were ceased two hundred seventy one thousand, two hundred twenty four Citizens. Both Consuls entered the Capitoll in triumph, first *Curius*, whose triumph was the more illustrious, as for the fame of his Exploits, and great joy of his victory, so did it exceed in Pomp and splendour. For heretofore their triumphs being over poor People their neighbours, were set out only with broken armes and Gallick waggons, nor any spoils led but flocks and herds of Cattel. But now there was a worthy show both for the variety of Nations which were led Captive before the Chariot, and for the Beauty and Magnificence of the spoils. Epirots, Theffalians, Macedonians, Apulians, Lucanians, Brutians were led Bound, there were carried Painted Tables, the works of choice and rare Artificers, Gold, Purple, with other beyond *Italy* raretie, and the instrument of the Tarentine Luxury. But the most wonderful and joyful spectacle were the Elephants with their four Towers on their backs, (for the rest were dead of their wounds) This was the first time they were ever seen at *Rome*; the common people called them *Luca-Bulls*, giving them their name from the creature they were hitherto best acquainted with, and their deno-

denomination from the place they first saw them in; within few days after was the other Consul's Triumph nothing so gallant, though his performances were not to be despised; he had overthrown the Samnites and Lucanians, and taken many Townes, but in comparison of *Curius* his Glory the Esteem of these things were not so high. Among the rest who had Rewards bestowed on them for their Courage, he gave to *Sev. Cornelius Merenda* a Crown of Gold out of the spoils, because by his help chiefly a Certain Town of the Samnites was taken. While the Romans thus enjoy'd the comfort of their Victories, the Enemy was in a far different posture. They had been long weary of *Pyrrhus* his Domination, but now after this unhappy fight, their minds were so filled with fear and Indignation that they could take no Rest.

The King having been a long time averse from the Roman Warre, now utterly despairing of the Conquest, thought of nothing more then how to get safely and honourably out of *Italy*. But keeping his Council to himselfe, he encouraged his Associates, *That they should not be cast down by one unlucky Overthrow, that they had not received so much loss by the last fight, as by the former they had caused to the Romans, who notwithstanding could not be persuaded to Peace upon equal Conditions; That now they should imitate the Roman Constancy, and reserve themselves for better fortune and all would yet go well; That there is yet strength sufficient left, whereby to maintain a long Warre; That in Greece he had many Potent Friends, from whom he might certainly expect succour.* Neither were these things incredible, For he had already, especially by *Ptolemy* (who was then King of *Macedon*) been manfully assisted, he being then in great Estimation both among Greeks and Barbarians, being much honour'd by the Etolians (even a most powerful Nation) as also by the Macedonians and the Kings of *Thyrrum*, having obliged some by Courties, others by Fear. Yet all his boasting was more with intent, to retain his Confederates (now ready to revolt) in Fidelity, till the seas were open for his Returne, then to continue the Warre in *Italy*, or that he put any Trust in Foreign Aid. Sending nevertheless his Embassadors to the Kings of *Asia* and *Macedonia*, of some he craved moneys, of others Men, of *Antigonus* (who was then King of *Macedon*) he craved both. With these hopes keeping his associates firme to him (having in the mean time underhand provided all things for his Departure) his Embassadors now returned from *Antigonus*. Assembling therefore his own and the *Italian* Princes, he read unto them not those Letters which now he received, but others which came before from *Antigonus*, promising plentiful Assistance suddenly to be sent; By this Craft having deluded both his own Associates, as also the Romans who garison'd near him, the night following without any hindrance he joyed safe, and made the *Ceranean* Mountains a Promontory of *Epirus*. But that he might seem not dishonourably to have relinquished the war, and ingenerate a beliefe of his Return after he had accomplished the Design he was call'd aside for, he left behind him *Mitho* to defend the Castle of *Tarentum*, and that he might not only by hope of Reward, but by fear of the like Punishment, continue faithfull, he gave him a seat whose cover was made of *Nicias* his skin, whom he had put to death for his Treason against him. Leaving therefore with him a garriſon of souldiers, with the Rest (to wit eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse) he returned into his Kingdom, having been six years absent. At *Rome* not knowing but that *Pyrrhus* would renew the warre, they did at their Assembly choose *M. Curius* Consul again, because he only having had good success against the King, was thought like to carry on the warre with greatest Authority, and best fortune, of the Patricians *Sev. Cornelius Merenda* was chosen, being promoted by his late purchased honour, and the Commendation of his Countrey men, under whose command he was last year; These being made Consul, converted the heat of the warre against the Lucanians, Samnites and Brutians, who defending themselves rather by the Difficulty of Places then by Armes, gave no occasion of any Memorable action like the former. Neither was *Curius* his Glory hereby diminished; every one still judging, that that Valiant *K. Pyrrhus* fled not so much for the overthrow sustain'd, as fearing such a Captain as *Curius* now again coming forth against him. To him therefore was attributed the Glory of having chased *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, and finishing the Warre. In that year which followed *Curius* his Third Consulship, there came Embassadors from the *Alexandrine* Kings with gifts to *Rome*, and in the Consulship of *C. Dors* and *C. Claudius Canina*, *Ptolemy* Philadelphus hearing of *Pyrrhus* his flight, sent to congratulate with the Romans, and to desire to be Esteemed their Friend and Associate. The Romans thought it very honourable that their Friendship was sought by Kings so Potent and farre distant, therefore courteously receiving and enterprising the Embassadors, they agreed to enter League with *Ptolemy*; for the Confirmation whereof, and to return the like Kind office to the Kings, they sent Embassadors to him chosen out of their Principal Men, of the Consulars *Q. Fabius Gerges*, and with him *C. Fabius Pictor*, and *Numerius Fabius Pictor*, and *Q. Ogulnius*. These being gone, the Consuls had good success against the *Italian* People, who fill out of Necessity and Despaire kept up their Armes. The Triumph which *Claudius Canina* made in the *Quirinali* over the *Lucanians*, Samnites and Brutians, is an Argument, that his Actions were of the greater Consequence: But the Joy of all this Prosperity was somewhat diminish'd by *Sexsilia* a Vestall Virgin, who against the Rules of her Order being found guilty of Incest, was thought to provoke the Anger of the Gods.

But appealing the gods by Sacrifices and Ceremonies, they turned the punishment on the head of the delinquent, and buried her alive at the Colline Gate. While the same men were Consuls there were Colonies planted, *Cula* among the Volscians, and in *Lucania* *Paffum*, which the Greeks call *Pofidonia*; this City the Lucanians had taken from the Sybarites, and from them it lately came under the jurisdiction of the Romans. The memory of the year following is more notable, as putting an end not only to the war of the Samnites and others, but of the Tarentines also. *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *S. Carvilius* the second time Consuls, having *Lucania*, *Samnium*, with the Brutians and *Apulians* for their Provinces, did by their wisdom and worthy deeds fulfil the expectation of all men, for indeed this pair of Consuls was on purpose chosen in hope of finishing the War this year. The Samnites being conquered by *Carvilius* the seventy first year after the war first began, did now with greater faithfulness receive the conditions of Peace imposed on them. *Lu. Papirius* with great slaughter having overcome the Brutians and Lucanians, compelled them to sue for peace. But (as it happens in one main war against many neighbouring People, the confines of whose Territories were interchangeably mixed) *Papirius* had to do also with the Samnites, *Carvilius* with the Brutians and Lucanians, and both of them with the Tarentines. Neither were the forces only of the Tarentines roused and put to flight, but their City also recovered into obedience. Which business ought to be the more punctually related, because, besides the Victory of a most famous City, it comprehendeth the death of *Pyrrhus*, the subtility of the Carthaginians, and the first beginning of emulation between them and the Romans.

Pyrrhus, when two years since he failed from *Italy*, left a Garrison in the Castle of *Tarentum*, thereby to beget hopes of his return, which afterward being the more confidently expected by reason of his success in *Macedonia*, did strengthen the minds of the Italians against their present losses. For being a man of a fierce stirring spirit, not able long to rest, he had made war upon *Antigonus*, because he sent him no assistance into *Italy*, and overcoming him in a set battle, had almost driven him out of his Kingdom. Whence the Romans were in perpetual fear lest he should return into *Italy* with a more numerous Army, and renew the war more heavily then before. But his unexpected death did suddenly cut off both his hopes and fears of all men. For being insatiably desirous of encreasing his power, under pretence of relieving *Cleomenis* in his Kingdom of *Sparta* (being then at odds with *Arcus*) he entred *Peloponnesus* with a purpose to keep it in his own hands; and though he did in vain assault their City, yet he afflicted the Lacedaemonians with great calamities: In *Argos*, in the mean time, there being two Factions, *Aristippus* the head of the one called in *Antigonus*, *Aristias* Patron of the other invited *Pyrrhus* to his relief and for the pulling down his adversary. For *Antigonus* was also come into *Peloponnesus* to assist the Lacedaemonians against the common enemy. In the same night at divers Ports were both the Kings forces admitted into the City by the Argives. *Pyrrhus* understanding his men were hand put to it, entred the City himself, and beholding a Braze Statue of a Wolf and a Bull as fighting, was presently possessed with an opinion of his approaching death. For he was informed by an antient Oracle, That that place would prove fatal to him where he should see a Wolf and a Bull fighting; he was therefore resolved to draw back his forces and retreat out of the City. But the Elephants and soldiers coming in his succour, meeting *Helennus* the son of *Pyrrhus*, quite stopped up the passage, so that some striving to go out, some to come in, the enemy likewise fore pressing upon those who gave back, the Argives, Macedonians, Epirots and Lacedaemonians who came along with *Arcus*, some Elephants also, all crowding and being crowded one by another in narrow streets, caused great fear and tumult amongst them.

Pyrrhus in the midst of all, every where endeavouring to protect his own, and beat back the enemy (giving advice, crying out with his voice and lifting up his hand) was by a certain young man of *Argos* lightly wounded with a spear. This young man's mother a poor old woman (sitting among others upon the house top to behold the fight) when she saw *Pyrrhus* in fury and violence setting upon him who wounded him, being astonished at her son's danger, suddenly snatched up a Tile, and with both her hands flung it down on the Kings head. So miserable and void of honour was *Pyrrhus*'s death, then whom that Age brought not forth any man more worthy, either for Courage of Mind, Soundness in Counsel or Skill in Marshal affairs, besides many other endowments both of Soul and Body. But by his Ambition he destroyed the fruit of all his Labours, and defaced the Ornaments of his Virtue; he would have been much more happy if contented with his own fortune; and certainly the most potent Prince living had he used as much Wisdom and Circumspection in keeping what he got, as did Valour and Industry in the acquiring.

This news, being brought into *Italy*, did diversely, according to their several Affections, cause joy in some Cities, and sorrow in others. Other People who were at their own disposal, bought their Peace of the Romans upon what terms they could. But the Garrison of the Epirots, and *Milo* governor of the Castle restrained the Tarentines from using their Liberty. Between whom, by degrees from lighter injuries and Reproaches, at length brake out open Enmity; so that the Tarentines being on each hand pressed with great Difficulties, having the Romans their Enemies without the walls, and the Epirots within, sent Embassadors to crave succour from *Carthage*. The Carthaginians, who possessed great part of *Sicily* and wished the

Coast-Towns of *Italy* rather in their own hands than the Romans, readily came with a mighty Navy, pretending only to call out *Milo*, but relolving, if they gained *Tarentum*, to maintain it against the Romans. When therefore *L. Papirius* the Consul was also come, *Tarentum* was shut up on all sides, the Romans beleaguering that part of the City and Castle by land, the Carthaginians besieging the same Castle by sea. The Romans, in this state of affairs, being no less solicitous lest the Carthaginians should take the Castle then that themselves should loose it, subtilly attempting all means of victory, treated with *Milo* by Convenient Messengers, That if by his means they obtained *Tarentum*, they would suffer himself, with all his Men, safely to depart with bag and baggage. *Milo*, sending nothing at present more convenient for him, deals with the Tarentines. That joining Counsels together they might deliberate on their Common safety: and at length persuades them To send himself Embassador to *Papirius*, diligently to conclude on Articles for all their Benefits. As they had willingly hereunto assented out of weariness of Cares and dangers: *Milo* accordingly, being gone to the Consul, with whom he had secretly contrived his Designe, brings back pretty faire conditions, and a most certain hope of making an agreement not to be repented of. The Credulous Tarentines hereupon with much security and confidence lay aside all care and Circumspection, giving *Milo* opportunity of delivering not only the Castle, but also the City it selfe up to the Romans. The Carthaginians no whit contented with this Event, nevertheless pretending, *Themselves friends to the Romans*, and that the only cause of their coming was to Expel *Milo*, hoisted sails and returned. Some Authors affirm that the Romans forwarned the Carthaginians, That if they intermeddled in the Tarentine affairs, they would make a breach of the League, and that they not only lighted this admonition, but sent Auxiliaries to stand in Battel against them; upon which account chiefly the War brake forth between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*; though the Carthaginians, willing to cover their fault by Perjury, took Oath, That they did nothing with evil or deceitful intent. As I will not deny but that some such passage might happen between the Generals, or that the people commonly discuse so, while the Romans brooked not the others presence, and the Carthaginian endeavoured to keep close their design; so I think there afterwards arose more probable causes of that War, in that it brake not out on the sudden. And that it was occasioned chiefly upon the Mamertines account, while the League was entire between the Romans and Carthaginians.

The Consuls returning home, were received with the joy and salutes of all, and triumphed in great Pompe, with much Goodwill of the People. In the mean time *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and the others who were sent to *Alexandria*, relate in Senate the Result of their Embassy, That they were received and Entertained with all kind of Hospitality and Benevolence, that great and Magnificent gifts were sent to them at their first arrival, but much greater at their departure, that they thought it to become the Roman dignity and abstinence, modestly to refuse the first, that the other, which were by all means to be received, they had, before they did any other business, added to the publick Treasury; that at *Alexandria*, when being invited to publick feasts, they had Crowns of Gold sent them according to custom, they did for luck's sake receive them, but in the night time put them upon the King's Statues. The Senate wonderfully rejoicing, both at the Success of their Journey, and the Gravity of the Embassadors, giving them thanks, That they had by their Continence rendered the Roman Manners venerable to Foreign Nations, commanded the gifts they had conveyed into the Treasury to be restored them. The people likewise decreed the like, saying, The Commonwealth would be excellently well managed if the base means of growing rich by Publick employments were taken away: And the Quæstors, according to command, willingly restoring the money, the Embassadors worthy of the reward of their Abstinence, did with as much credit receive the Egyptian gifts as they had refused them. *Q. Fabius*, who was prime man in the Embassy, was, I believe, in this consideration also preferred before so many Egregious men, and chosen Prince of the Senate by *M. Curius* and *L. Papirius* the Censors, being now, by reason of the Nobility of his Family, his Fathers Merits, two Consulships, and as many Triumphs, inferior to none in Honour. The same men being Consuls, *M. C. Curius* the Censor was at coast, out of the enemies spoils, to bring the water of the River *Anien* to Rome: So much scornful to encrease his private wealth by them, that being on a time by some ill-willers taxed of having perverted the publick money, producing a piece of wood which he was wont to use in sacrifice, took Oath, That of all the enemies plunder, he never brought nothing else into his house. He was a man indeed of high defects, as for the greatness of his Exploits, so for his many Illustrious examples in other Virtues; as we shall by the by manifest, by relating some of his Actions and Sayings. For I count it not unworthy or unbeseeming the Office of an Historian, to recount those things whereby those who are hereafter to undertake the management of publick affairs may be no less instructed to the attaining Felicity by Virtue, then by Military counsels and performances. In the Sabine War (when there was such plenty of spoils that *Fabius* the writer of the History, thinketh the Romans then to have had the first taste of Riches) *Curius*, claiming nothing of so rich a victory, but the conscience and fame of it, continued in his former poverty and hardiness of life.

For when the Grounds of the Enemy were appropriated to the Common wealth, he distributed to every private Person but forty Acres by the Man: And the Senate allotting him a greater portion, he being contented with the same Measure he had meted to others, said, He

Plutarch
in Appian.
Frontinus lxxv.
4. 3
Plinius v. 8
Plutarch
Cato de viris
illust.
Cicero Cato
Plutarch
Cato Major

was no good Citizen who would not be satisfied with as much as others were. This was afterward the Carian Cottage among the Sabines, where when the Samnites (being lately overcome) found him frying of Carrots, and presented him with a vast summe of Gold, I had rather, sayes he, *eat these out of my Earthen platters, and rule over those who are rich in gold.* Near this place *Cato* the Elder having a Farm, went often thither, and contemplating in his mind the poore Tenement and Little Ground, which so Eminent a Man after three Triumphs, tilled with his own hands, together with the Temperance and abstinence of his Life, did thereby provoke himself, out of the Emulation of his vertue, to the like Confrancy and simplicity of Manners. And truly there needed such men to lay the foundations of a future Empire so firm, as it might bear the weight of the superstructure, and not only resist the forms of the Enemy from a broad, but scarcely and with much adoe be ruined by its own inbred Vices.



BOOK V.



THE most potent enemy of *Rome* being now after many battels vanquished, and peace settled throughout all *Italy*, The Senators entred into Consultation how to make a good use of their Victories. They concluded to fine all Nations who had born Arms against them; the loss of part of their Territories, taking a more severe revenge of the Tarentines, by how much the more wantonly and intemperately they had offended; they were therefore commanded to resign up all their Arms and Ships, their Walls were demolished, a Tribute imposed upon the City, and nothing granted them but Peace and Liberty. There was now nothing of an old score more to be intended, then to punish the Treachery of that Legion, which circumventing the Rhegians by craft, had now for ten years possessed their City. They foreseeing that the Roman affairs proceeding so prosperously, their wickedness would not passe unrevenge, had very diligently taken care for whatsoever belonged to strengthen the City, and provided all things for their own defence, being very conscious that what is obtained by cunning and violence, cannot but by the fame arts be maintained. Besides their own innate Fierceness, they much confided in the friendship of the Mamertines, and were puffed up with their success against the Carthaginians and *Pyrhus*, whereby they had sufficiently made experiment of the strength of their City, and the courage of their own minds, having quickly repulsed the enemies from the siege. They forced therefore to such an height of Rebellion, that daring to take *Proton*, which was by some betrayed to them, they flew the Roman Garrison and demolished the City. Wherefore *L. Genucius* the Consul, who was that year Collegue with *C. Quinctilius*, had commission to execute vengeance upon them, and the Rebels being confined within the Walls, the City was besieged. But while they strongly resisted with their own and the Mamertine forces, the Consul having sustained some inconveniences, and become in want of necessary provisions, was assisted with Corn and men by *Hiero*, who was at that time Prince of *Syracusa*. For he, being offended with the Mamertines did likewise hate their associates of *Rhegium*; he was likewise moved by the encrease of the Roman power, to prebudge them to future benefits, as occasion should serve.

The City being at length forced to yield, the Mamertines were by the Consul dismissed upon certaine Covenants, the Runaways and thieves, many whereof had fled thither as to a sanctu-

ry, were put to death: The Legionary souldiers were carried to *Rome* that the Senate might passe Judgement upon them. Herein was shewed a notable Example of publick severity, for the Senate decreed, first, *They should all be secured in prison, and afterward, be led to Execution:* And when *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, Tribune of the People interceded for them, declaring, *They ought not to take away the Lives of so many Citizens, contrary to the Law and Customs of their Forefathers.* The Senators perishing in their Resolution neglected the clamours of the Tribune, and Justice was accordingly executed upon the guilty. But left by so severe an act they might contract an odium, and the sorrow of the vulgar people be aggravated if such a multitude should at one time be put to death, they did every day execute fifty, first scourging, then beheading them. Moreover it was ordered that neither their Bodies should be buried, nor any Mourning made for their Death. *Decius Fabellus* (who had lived unto that day, after the Loss of his sight, that he might die with the more griefe) took away his own life in prison. Following the greatest number of Anhours I have reported the whole Legion, even foure thousand men, to have been beheaded in the Market-place at *Rome*; but I think it more probable what is related by *Polybius*, That but three hundred of that Legion came alive into the Romans power; that the rest, at the taking of the City, desperately fighting, chose rather to be slain, as well knowing that after such heinous villainies, nothing could be expected upon surrender, but more torments and a cruel ignominious death. The City of *Rhegium* with all its former Rights, Laws, and Liberties was restored to the ancient inhabitants, as many as could any where be found or enquired out.

This act of Justice did much increase the Reputation of the City of *Rome*, and thereby was gained no lesse Love from all the Italians and neighbouring People, then their armes had caused fear. In the Consulship of *C. Genucius*, and *Cn. Cornelius* there was war with the *Sarmines*, a people of *Umbria*, inhabiting the *Apennine* Mountains: By what reason provoked, or in what hopes trusting, they now opposed the Formidable power of the Romans (those writings which are remaining making no mention) I am not able to Divine; Likewise the whole Proceedings of the war are utterly lost, and of the memory of these things, nothing else is come to our knowledge, but that *Cn. Cornelius* Triumphed over the *Sarmines*. 'Tis reported there was a most sharp winter in these Consul time, in so much that the Sap being chill'd Trees withered, That *Tiber* was covered over with deep Ice, and that the Cattel perished for want of Fodder; so great and vehement was the coldness of the air, that monstrous hills of snow lay unmeltd in the Market place for forty dayes together. The thing being unusual in that Climat, and by many look'd upon as a Prodige, perplexed mens minds with wonderful terror, their fear being not long after much encreased, when *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Pictor* being Consuls, many strange unheard of sights were seen, and many more reported. At *Rome* the Temple of *Salus* with part of the walls was smitten with thunder and lightning; three Wolves before day brought a carcass half eaten into the City, and being themselves feared by the noise of men, left it in the market-place torn into pieces limb from limb.

At *Fo-mi* the walls were laid to be often struck and cast down with thunderbolts; and news was brought that in the *Calenian* fields, the earth opened, and fire suddenly brake out, which flaming for three whole daies together, burnt five acres of ground to ashes, in so much that not only all the fruits on that place were blasted, but even the Trees died at the very Roots. These things caused more feare then misery at *Rome*. No great matter ensued, but that a War was made against the *Picentians*, which being the next year finished, added likewise that province to the Roman Jurisdictions. Now in the City began the Coining silver, (their wealth being encreased by their victories) whereas before Brasse only was used in all Exchanges; but then pennies and half pennies were made of silver, which went for ten, and five pounds of brasse; there were likewise lesser pieces which being esteemed at two pound and an halfe of brasse, were from their value called, *Seleretier*. It was called, *Amona*, because it was coined in the Temple of *Juno*, to whom that Name was given, by reason she did *Movere*, that is, admonish the Romans when in the War of *Pyrhus* and the Tarentines they Consulted about their wants, That money would not be wanting to those, who observed Justice and prosecuted wars. The Consuls *C. Gallus* and *C. Fabius* went forth to apprehend *Lutius* the Samnite, who having been Hostage at *Rome* had privily escaped, and now possessing a certain Cattle, committed Plunder and Pillage round about, stirring up the minds of his Countrymen to Rebellion, when they were scarce well composed by the late peace.

But he with the forces he had gather'd (being for the most part unarmed) could not long resist: The greatest difficulty and danger was in the Province of the *Carcines* (a part of *Samnium* near the *Frentanes*) where the Romans assaulted a well fenced place, the Receiptacle of *Lollius* his spoils, and from great hopes falling into as great fear, did at length obtain the Victory. Some of the Garrison upon condition of Pardon, let the Romans into the walls in a bright Moon-thiny night, and the Townsmen mustering themselves together upon the tumult, when they first began to fight a great drift of snow fell and took away their sight: This accident was a great help to the *Carcines* against the Romans, who were ignorant of the Passages, in so much that they were in very great danger, and now ready to give back and retreat (which in the dark could not have been done without much loss) when on a sudden the snow ceased and the Moon shone out again, and then being freed from blind fear, they did by their courage make way to

Frontinus lxxv.
4. 1
Appian apud
Polyb.
Liv. 18. 12
Polyb. 1. 2
Appian
Zonaras
Livie 31. 37.

483

Columna Ca-
pitoline.
Zonaras
Aug. de Civ.
Dil 3. 17

484

Orosius 4. 4.

Eutropius b. 2
Livie Epi. 15
Zonaras

Vlin. 33. 3

Quintus in
Livie 31. 37.

Polyb. 1.

Zonaras
Livie Epi. 15
Polybius 1. 7

Zonaras
Orosius 4. 3
482

Zonaras.

Liv. Epi. 15
Zonaras
Orosius

Val. Maximum
6.6.5

hopes, in others fear.

For they who by violence and injury to their neighbours enlarged their own power, feared the Romans would prove an hindrance to their proceedings, the others contrarywise looking on them as a Succour, vent to them from heaven against the Oppression of their adversaries. The Apollonians were the first, who sending Embassadors to Rome craved their friendship; their Citie is feated threefore furlongs from the sea, being built by the Corinthians and Corycraens, having a very commodious haven, where the neerest passage is from *Bundusum* into Greece. The Illyrians and Macedonians are adjacent to them, so that against strong and Covetous neighbours they had much ado to preserve their own liberty. The message was wonderful welcome and with much Humanity received by the Romans, not so much for the wealth of the Citie which was but small, as for Future hopes in that they thought a way laid open and occasion given them of greater designs hereafter: Insomuch that very severe punishment was inflicted on certain noble young men who upon a quarrel arising had stricken the Embassadors. *Scipio* *Fabius* was not protected either by the Dignity of his office, for he was then *Adile* or the greatness of his Extraction, but was delivered up to the Apollonians for his offence. *Cn. Aprenius* who was likewise *Adile*, was given up for the same crime, the Senate decreed, they should by

In this fight I suppose *Decius Mus* to have had the Command; for he might happily have been *Fabius* his Lieutenant, and after his death be chief in managing the War till a successor was sent. And hence I conjecture it comes to passe that some negligent Historians have ascribed to *Decius Mus* both the beginning and finishing of this War. *Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. Al.* *Aut. de viris illust. c.36*
Blasio and *C. Marcius* were created Censors that year, and this last having before born the same *Capitolina*
Office, was from this his Magistracy called *Conservator*. The moderation of this *Marcius* was very remarkable, who being invested with Power which he fought not after, assembled the people together, and in a grave speech did them, *That they had twice intrusted that Office to the same man, whereas their forefathers did in this very confederation limit the time of it, because the power was too Great.* Hereupon a Law was made, *That the same man should not be made Censor the second time.* The same year the number of the *Questors* was encreased; in former times there were but four, two for the City, and two to assist the *Consuls* abroad in the Wars. But after-
Marmoræ *Val. Maximus* *4.1.3* *Plat. Consil. 1 Livie Epl. 15* ward

1. *Corin.* c. 1
2. *Epist.* 15

Tacitus 11.12.6 ward their Taxes and Customs encreasing with the Commonwealth, there was a necessity of doubling the number. *Appian* *Claudius* who in the time of his Magistracy was surnamed *Candax*, and *M. Fulvius* were Consuls the year ensuing, which was very memorable, in that then first began the war between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*. Then first brake out Hostilities between two most potent Cities, which after many years, after many bloody overthrows given and received, could not at length be ended without the utter ruine and destruction of one of them.

But, before we enter upon the History of the War, it will be necessary to relate something of former times concerning *Carthage*; for in the ensuing Narrative many things will occur, hard to be understood and judged of, unless both the Original and encrease of that City be first known.



BOOK VI.



THAT *Carthage* was built by the Tyrians of *Phœnicia* (besides the constant agreement of old Histories) the perpetual friendship of those Cities while they flourished, as also the manifest likeness both of their Language and Manners doth clearly testify. 'Tis reported that *Elisa* (who was likewise called *Dido*) the daughter of *Agnor* the son of *Belus*, flying out of her Country (by reason of the hatred she bore to her brother *Pigmalion* for the unjust slaughter of her husband *Sichæus*) entred that Creek of *Africa*, and possessed that *Peninsula* where *Carthage* was afterward built; her small beginnings promising little

hopes of so great power and wealth as afterwards was obtained: For 'tis believed *Dido* purchased no more ground then might be compassed with the hide of a Bull or Ox, which being cut out into very slender thongs contained a larger space, then the feller did imagine, and it was sufficient whereon to Erect a Cattle, which from thence is thought to be called *Byssa*. Afterward seeing (many placing their habitation near them for Traffick sake) they began to look like a City, and that the Africans were willing to entertain among them men so rich and very gentle and quiet, they hearkened to the counsel sent from *Utica* (which was also a Colonie of the Tyrians) which advised them, *After their example to build a City*. So it was agreed, That the Africans should afford them ground, and that the *Phœnicians* in recompence thereof should pay a yearly Tribute.

The work being finished, *Dido* gave it a name in her own Language, *Carthadas*; the Greeks called it *Carthada*, and the Romans by an error in Pronunciation, *Carthago*. This City having Loving Neighbours, an Indulgent people, and what was above all, a Wife Queen, did in a short time wonderfully increase. These things seeme to have been acted some seventy years before the foundation of *Rome*; for about so ancient a Circumstance Authors do not very well agree. But as *Elisa* her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable. But as *Elisa* her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable. But as *Elisa* her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable. But as *Elisa* her life was notable for variety of Chances, so was her death very remarkable.

Cato apud *Solin.*
הרשה ברך
Berneggerum
ad *Justinum*
16.6.9
Justinus

Pile of wood to be erected before her intended marriage, whereon to sacrifice to the Infernal gods in behalf of her husband *Sichæus*; And after many Sacrifices offered, she did at length ascend the pile, and killed her self with a sword brought with her, her love to her Husband and Subjects exceeding the care of her own health. The Carthaginians returned her what honour they could, and while the Commonwealth flourished, worshipped her as a Goddess, raising a Temple in the place where the lived, calling her *Dido*, which in their language signifies a *Virago*.

When after her death no man was thought worthy to succeed her in the Kingdom, the City began to be governed by the Mixed Power of Nobles and Commons. The Name of Kings still remained, but they were like the Lacedæmonian Kings; but that the honour was not to any Certain families annexed, but conferred on any Prime Man who exceeded others in Virtue and Riches. These had the management of Wars abroad (wherefore the Romans called them Pretours and Dictators, comparing their power with the usage of their own Commonwealth) at home they were Princes of all publick Consultations, with their advice the affairs of the City were ordered: Things of higher concernment were referred to the people, their sentence decided all controversie between the Kings and Senators: They also had authority to alter the Laws made by the Kings and Council, if they seemed contrary to the good of the Publick, which any man had Liberty to question. Which too great power of the Commons, being augmented to an intolerable height, by flattering Parasites and Orators, did in after time infinitely wound and obstruct the Carthaginian affairs. Moreover in the Senate there were thirty of the more Antient appointed as a supreme Council, and these had greatest authority with all Men. There was likewise a Superintendant of Manners, invested with the same power as the Roman Censors, to maintain publick Decency and Discipline. In process of time, after many victories, their greatness being encreased, they chose a greater Number of Commanders for the War: Among which *Mago*, the most Egregious both in courage and fortune, having left behind him two sonnes well educated and instructed in the art of Warre, and they also to their more numerous offspring, as it were by hand, delivering the same skill and knowledge, it was thought fit by some means to curb the too great power of that Family; to this purpose an hundred men were constituted to passe sentence upon the Generals themselves: Their power was very formidable, as for the largeness of their Commission, so for the continuance, which was during life, whereas even the Kings now, were not so long a time but yearly created, whom at home they commonly called *Suffetes*, that is to say, Judges, much like to the Roman Consul. But when the Centumvirs or hundred men behaved themselves with much insolence, *Hanniball* by a Law reduced them into Order, it being decreed, *That the Judges should yearly be chosen, and that no man should continue in office two yeares together*. Their gods and holy Rites they brought most from *Tyrras*, some they did afterwards add. *Juno* they chiefly adored, and *Aesculapius* not a little, in whose honour they erected a Magnificent Temple in the City, *Apollo's* house was likewise very rich, covered with plate of Gold, wherein was a famous statue which after the Ruine of *Carthage* was carried to *Rome* and placed in the great Shew-place called *Circus Maximus*. But to *Hercules* at *Tyrras* they every year sent a ship, with great care well trimmed, with the Tithes of their yearly fruits, and spoiles gotten in War.

From the same Founders also they derived another most horrid Rite, to offer an humane sacrifice once a year to *Saturne*, whom they called *Belus*; the Relicks of which Barbarous Cruelty could not be quite abolished by the Destruction of the City. The other Manners and Customes of the City were more civilized by their conveniency of Commerce and Traffick, to which being by nature, and Education from their Forefathers much addicted, they did apply all their studies and Counsels. Hence by an unavoidable mischief the Love of Riches corrupted their Courts of Justice, made Vertue a servant to money, inflamed the Peoples minds with Covetousness, and infected them with a sordid custom of Cheating and Lying, forcing the Commonwealth wholly to give it self up to these arts. Inomuch as it came to passe that as little Faith was had in Carthaginian Contracts and Covenants, so the chiefest part of the publick Treach consisted in ships, their Infantry the main support and pillar of all Empires, was had in no Request, their Horfe in very little: As often as they waged War by Land, they made use of Mercenaries, who had no true Love to the Commonwealth, whose faith was to be bought with money, their discord troublefome, and their conspiracies pernicious. Which error was so Capital, that before the utter destruction of the City, no other enemy but those did ever bring them so near to final ruine.

Neither did a lesser crop of misery spring from this, That their Magistrates and Publick Officers did by mutual connivance exercise Extortion and Purloin the state without punishment; so that 'tis the lesse to be wondered, that a war arising between these two Cities, the Romans proved conquerors, when as the Senators in all hard times added their wealth to the publick flock, and the Carthaginians made a gain of the Commonwealth. But these vices grew up together with the City, so that at first being weak and little they were prey well born withal, afterward for a while the greatness of their Empire, and the singular virtue of their Commanders made them the lesse sensible, by whose means chiefly, I find, was both obtained and established the happiness that ever attended *Carthage*. Their first beginning in Arms was against the Africans, requiring Tribute for the ground the City was built on; neither could they extort that right out of their hands but by many battels: hereby they enlarged their Empire, and the best planted part of *Africa* was reduced into subjection to them. Their command of the seas gave them

Silvius Italic.
4.3
Servius Fulgentius in Virg.
Æneid. 1. 344
Aristot. Polit.
2.11
Aristotle
Polyb. 6. 49
Livius. 30. 6
Corneilius Nepos.
Amilcar. c. 3
Justin. 19. 1
Aristotle
Cornet. Nepos
מלכות
Liv. 30. 7
Livius 33. 32
Virgil. b. 1
Strabo. b. 7
Appian. Punick
Plutarch
Flaminio. c. 1
Polyb. legat.
114.1
Diodorus
30. 14
Justin. 18. 2
Hieron. in Isai.
c. 46
Plin. 36. 5. 37
Eriennianus
Comment. in
Curia. 3. 17
Arist. Politic.
Cicero contra
Rullium. 2. 35
Polyb. 6. 49
Polyb. 6. 67
Polyb. 1. 65
Justinus 19. 1
Justin. 19. 1

Interpretation, with grief and sickness cast down, when the next day among other horses he eyed that his son rode upon in the Field. conjecturing thereby his death, he resolutely pulling the cloaths and plasters off his wounds made way to his own death. The Mamertines, understanding their overthrow, grew full of despair, and were now ready to present their humble supplication to the Conquerors, when an unexpected accident prevented them. It happened that at the same time Hannibal, the Carthaginian Pretor, was in the Liparian Islands, which are adjacent to Sicily. He having intelligence of Hiere's Victory, fearing lest (the Mamertines being utterly vanquished) the Syraculan power would grow too great for the Carthaginians, came suddenly over under pretence of congratulating with Hiere for his Victory; and hindering him from directly marching to Messana, did himself make first entrance, and when the Mamertines were now ready to yield, did not only possess them with hopes of retaining their liberty, but left a strong Garrison of his own soldiers amongst them. Hiere understanding himself by this craft deluded, & being not sufficiently prepared for a siege, made now more difficult, returned to Syracuse, where being received by all with very great joy, he was by a universal acclamation saluted King, which Title he afterward retained with the consent both of the Citizens and others of the Island without.

When Hiere was retreated, the Mamertines having a little space of refusing confidence, began to deliberate upon their present condition, but were divided into two Factions, some thought it not to be disputed, 'But that they should commit themselves to the protection of the Carthaginians, which as for many other reasons it was convenient, so having admitted their Garrison, 'twas little less than necessary. On the other side 'twas said, 'The Carthaginians were no less enemies to the Mamertines than Hiere, that without doubt their purpose of defending the City was not out of good will, but desire of Dominion; That of a long time they had aspired to the Empire of Sicily, neither were cast down from their bold hopes by loss of Armies and Navies, no not by wars in Africa, and fear of their own state at home; That therefore without exception they must prove Vassals if they commit themselves to those who have so strong a Navy, and possess the greatest part of Sicily itself. That 'tis therefore no way expedient to desire aid from the Carthaginians, a covetous, unfaithful people, who will lay heavier burdens upon them than they could fear from the Syraculans. If the Punick Garrison came only with intent to preserve the City from Hiere, they may now upon fair terms be dismissed having done the work: But if they have some other clandestine design, it behooveth them with the greater care to prevent the danger of their deceitful friendship. That they should rather implore assistance from the Romans, as a people invincible, of unquestionable faith and sincerity, who will have neither occasion nor opportunity of keeping Messana under their jurisdiction, as having not a foot of ground in Sicily nor any use of sea affairs, and consequently taking no care therein. That they would be abundantly content to keep Italy secure from Hiere and the Carthaginians, having made Messana strong as an obstacle to their further proceedings. That therefore they should continue to rely upon the Roman faith rather than any other Nation; that indeed they could neither with honesty or any convenience change their former counsels, having already sent Embassadors and obtained hope of succour and relief. For the Mamertines before their last battle with Hiere, beginning then to distrust in their own strength had craved assistance of the Romans as their Kinsmen. And the people being persuaded by the Consuls who were desirous of employment in the Wars, had decreed that aid should be sent to them; but the Senate out of shame to be counted authors of the business, did defer it. For they who had lately so severely punished their own Legion for the wicked surprize of Rhegium, if they should now assist the Mamertines, who had by the like treachery obtained the mastery of Messana, they saw they should clearly loose the reputation of their Justice and Fidelity, which by their former act they had acquired. But now having heard of the Mamertines overthrow, and not doubting but if they were forsaken by the Romans, they would apply themselves to the Carthaginians, with one consent they ordained to send them relief. For in the Senate many had before inclined to this opinion, as foreseeing that otherwise Messana quickly, and not long after all Sicily would come under the Carthaginian power, which if it were once come to passe, they should be forced to fight with the Carthaginians for their own possessions in Italy.

For this danger would prove unavoidable, as well by reason of the insatiable desire of Rule in those who are potent, as by the convenient situation of the places. For Italy, proceeding in a long tract between the two seas from the Ligurians and Venetians, to the Brutians, is there divided from Sicily by a very narrow Channel. For there is no doubt made but that these Regions in old times were a continent, afterward divided by the sea, whether the grounds being low were easily overflowed, or whether some earthquake or strength of the Tides cut off the Islands. From hence many think that Town to be called Rhegium, because thence which are broken, are by some such word nominated in the Greek Tongue. 'Tis therefore very credible that the first inhabitants of Sicily came out of Italy, as may be conjectured by the very name. For the Opici are said to have built a Citie on the adverse shore over against Italy, which because it was situate in a Creek of the sea bearing the figure of a Sythe, they called it, I believe, Sicilia, which the Grecians afterward coming, called Zancle, both those words in the several Languages signifying a Sythe. From thence, as often it happens, the name was derived to the whole Island, Which was by many called both Zancle and Sicilia.

This

This Island far excelleth all others in the Mediterranean Sea, both in extent of ground, and fruitfulness of Soile, yielding abundance of Oyl and Wine and Corn of the best, adorned with many, and those very great Cities, even to wonder, and if you consider the Commodities of the Havens, and situation of the whole Island, there is scarce to be found in the world a place more fit for the chief seat of an Empire: For, being near adjacent to Italy, on the contrary part it looketh toward Africa, on another side lyeth Sardinia, and on each it hath Peloponnesus divided from Græcia by the Ionian sea: On every hand the voyage is short, and the passage easy for ships whether bound outward or homeward. And truly, though other reasons were alleged, yet the only cause of the War between the Carthaginians and Romans, was, without doubt, the great desire each of them had to be Masters of this Island. The Romans found fault, That the Carthaginians contrary to the league had assisted the Tarentines; the Carthaginians on the other side charged them, for having entered into Confederacy with Hiere against them. But to so great a power were now both these Cities advanced, that it could not be avoided, but that at some time or other for some cause they must needs find occasion to fall out. For as Trees planted at no great distance, for a while do not much hinder one the other, but being grown to some bignesse beare one the other of Juice and nourishment from the earth, and at full growth entrepinding both root and branches mutually destroy one the other: So rising Empires cannot long be at Amity and friendship, but, swallowing up what is interjacent between each others Dominions, desire to try the superiority between themselves, neither being able to put a limit to their own ambition, or to enlarge their Territories without removing all Opponents.

To these causes may be added the great power the Community had in each City, together with their earnest desire of undertaking the War. In Carthage the vulgar sort did much prevail, and now in the increase of their City, growing rich by many Commodities, were willing for gains sake to have war upon war. The condition of the Roman people was not much different, for having in the former wars sustained damage in their estates, they hoped by the riches of Sicily to recompense themselves, and therefore, according to that power they had lately extorted from the Senate, did approve and confirm their sentence who periwaded the war. Herby Appian the Consul being commissioned (whereas otherwise the major part of the Senate had assented, overpowring the votes of those who stood to old Rules) without delay sendeth Claudius a Tribune of soldiers beforehand with some few ships, to observe an opportunity, and if any were offered, to waste over into Sicily. When he was come to Rhegium, not daring to hazard his ships because he saw the seas obstructed with a greater fleet of Carthaginians, he entered into a Fishermen's vessel and crossed over to Messana; there disquitting with the Mamertines as the present occasion required, being not able to overcome the contradiction of the Carthaginians, he returned without having done his business. But awhile after understanding there was a dissention at Messana, some pleading against the Roman assistance, the greater part bearing ill will to the Carthaginian Garrison, he again crossed the sea, and among other things to the present purpose told them, His coming was only to set the City at liberty, which when he had effected he would immediately return. The Carthaginians answered, The Romans need not trouble themselves for the liberty of a City which was under their jurisdiction, the Carthaginians had already sent of their good will to declare that the Mamertines should not be compelled to be subject to the Syraculans: That therefore he might depart, or else give some other reason of his being at Messana. Claudius denied, The City was free so long as a Foreign Garrison continued therein contrary to their pleasure.

To this when no man returned any answer, the Carthaginians out of pride, the Mamertines for fear holding their peace, he cunningly and readily proceeded, 'Tis plain, saith he, by this your general silence, that the Carthaginians cause is unjust, and that the Mamertines are desirous of liberty, otherwise neither would the one forbear to justify their own Right, and the others, if they consented with the Carthaginians, having no cause to dissemble, would freely and openly speak their minds. At this there arising a kind of a noise in the assembly, many praising his speech as true, and indeed agreeing with their inward thoughts; he (thinking he had, for the present, sufficiently moved the Mamertines and tried the disposition of their minds) went back to Rhegium. And not long after, having made ready his ships, he attempted to passe over, but being much inferior to the Carthaginian Commanders, both in number of vessels, and skill in sea affairs, and being beaten back by the violence of the Waves, in a sudden storm arising, he returned to his port, having lost some ships, and hardly saving the Rest. But being nothing terrified with this misadventure, he new trimmed his ships, resolving upon a better opportunity once more to make tryal of Fortune: When behold messengers came from Hanno (Governour of the Mamertine Garrison, and Guardian of the seas) bringing with them all the ships and men which the Carthaginians had taken in the former fray: Hanno's design herein was to call the blame of the breach of Covenants upon the Romans, he therefore also complained, That they had by force attempted to sail in those seas which were in the possession of the Carthaginians, and furthermore perwaded them to have a great care of preserving peace and maintaining the league.

But hearing that Claudius would not admit of any conditions unless they would withdraw their forces out of Messana, and that again he endeavoured to cross the sea, he vaunted, That he would not suffer the Romans so much as to wash their hands in that sea. Nevertheless he could not

When therefore they were come out of their works, the fortune of the fight changed with the place, and a great number of them were slain, some fled into the Camp, others as they had convenience into the Cities round about; neither durst they any more stir out of their *Polybian* Camp as long as *Claudius* was at *Mellana*. The Consul, considering the nature of the place *Zonaras* and difficulty of its situation, thought it no wisdom to make a second assault, and feeling his time

time to be spent in visit therabouts, leaving a strong Garrison at *Messana*. Invaded the Territories of the Syracusans and their Confederates; and having without opposition wasted the Grounds, he conceived such Confidence, that he marched up with his army even to *Syracuse* itself. Where the Battle was very doubtful, and at one time the Consul was in great danger, and had certainly been surrounded and taken, had he not suddenly bethought himself and sent to *Hiero*, to treat on Conditions of peace. *Hiero* likewise sent a friend of his to consult about the business, and the discourse being on purpose drawn out in length, the Consul had time to bring his men into a place of greater security: The Syracusans likewise following the same example, had many treaties of peace with the Romans, and indeed an agreement had been made, but that *Hiero* was unwilling to be the author thereof. In these affairs the greater part of the year was spent; then the Consul returned to *Messana*, where leaving home forces to protect the Mamertines, with the rest of his men he crossed over to *Rhegium*: From thence he went to *Rome* to his Triumph which he made, over the Carthaginians and *Hiero* King of *Sicily*, with great joy of the People as being the first over a Foreign Nation. This was the first of the Romans designs by sea, and such was the success of their undertakings in *Sicily*. But these things and the actions of following times are much corrupted by the ambition of writers, the chiefe whereof, *Philinus Agrigentinus*, and *Fabius Pictor*, the one thriving to advance the Carthaginians Glory, the other the Romans, they both neglect their duty, and the truth of History: Whose *Levity Polybins* deservedly reprehends. For if even in private causes it be held an accused Crime to circumvent any one by false Testimony, the author of an history is certainly to be esteemed more foully perfidious if he corrupt the acts of Princes and Commonwealths with falsehood: He ought to value truth more then any earthly Commodity or his own life, and the less deserve pardon in that he cannot allow to so much as any faire pretence for his Lyes, for if he durst not for some causes freely speak all he knew, he might certainly without danger have held his Tongue. While *Claudius* in *Sicily* vanquished *Hiero* and the Carthaginians, *M. Fulvius* the other Consul bringeth the Volturnian siege to an Issue, having to deal with men who by despair were hardened and made valiant against all violence, he at length tameth them by famine. Upon delivery of the City, he died with exquisite torments put to death thus unthankful and insolent crew of Libertines; the City it self he demolished, the other Volturnians who had not put off the faith of servants, and reverence toward their masters, he distributed into several feats round about.

This war was likewise thought worthy of a Triumph, which the Consul made in the Calends of *November*, as over the Volscians. While the same Consuls were in office a Lustration was performed by the Censors, *Cn. Cornelius* and *C. Marcus*, and there were registered the names of two hundred ninety two thousand, two hundred twenty and four Citizens: a very great and almost incredible number to one who shall consider how many were lost in the wars, which hardly ever ceased since the foundation of the City; and how many were also swallowed up by the Pestilence and Malignant diseases as raging as the war it self. But indeed the Commonwealth was made invincible and not to be overcome by any calamity or slaughter whatsoever, by the wise advice of *Romulus* (which was constantly observed by posterity) in daily admitting new people into their City, inasmuch that neither all the losses received by *Pyrrhus*, nor their many shipwrecks in the first Punic war, nor the fights of *Thraimenes* and *Cannae* in the second, were able to much afflict it, but that still the did rise more cheerful, free and valiant out of all her troubles.

But in *Greece* the *Lacedæmonians* who were also very famous for their Discipline and Valour in war, not at any whit inferior to the Romans, because they forbade strangers to conhabit with them, were not long able to uphold their Dominion, nor long after to maintain their Freedom when in the *Leuctrian* battel they lost not much more then a thousand men, their Empire presently fell to the ground; and at *Salamis* with the losse of not quite six thousand, their Liberty was taken away. But the *Achæans*, inhabitants of the fame *Peloponnesus*, admitting feyny neighbours into equal priviledges with themselves, did constitute a very fair and flourishing Commonwealth, and likely to have continued, had not some few of them, to their own and their Countries destruction, madly provoked the Romans, whose power then was grown formidable to all people. Such divers events are necessarily consequent to divers institutions: For as in nature it is agreeable, that those bodies who are to a competent measure fully refreshed with wholemeat food, should be stronger and longer lived then those who content with their own natural ingenic moisture despise all nourishment from without: so it stands to reason, that those Cities should better flourish, who admit into themselves and make their own what in any other place they find to be excellent, then those, who by a foolish arrogance, despising whatsoever growth not in their own soil, deprive themselves of many good assistants in obtaining and preserving their power and sovereignty.

This year gave a beginning to a cruel custom, which afterward was frequently and most intemperately usurped. That the blood of man should become a public spectacle of pleasure, being profusely shed for the sake of any mean and wanton spectator. The authors of this barbarous custom were *M. and D. Junius Brutus*, who by a strange kind of piety, intending to honour the Ashes of their dead father, did with great favour of the Citizens exhibit a Fencing-Shew. But this injury to mankind was most severely revenged by a Pestilence, which all this

In place of Livie's Sixteenth Book

and the next year did furiously rage. Concerning which when they had consulted the books of the Sybils, 'twas found the anger of the gods was the cause thereof. There arising therefore a suspicion that their Religious affairs were not rightly handled, the Priests by diligent observation and inquisition, found that many Chapells and Temples were converted into the use of private men, and that *Capparonia*, a Vestal Nun, was guilty of Incest; she prevented her doom by hanging her self, but he who had corrupted her, together with those servants who were privy to the fact, were executed according to Law. The holy places were redeemed out of the hands of private hands to their wonted use. So having cleared the City in matters of Religion, the Fathers applied their minds again to the care of the Commonwealth; and because *Envidia* being appeased, there was no commotion in *Italy*, they ordered both the new Consuls to be sent into *Sicily* with their Legions: the Consuls were *M. Valerius Maximus* the eldest son of *Marcus*, who in the time of his office was called *Messalla*, and *M. Officius Crassus*, C. F. M. N. These having safely transported their forces were attended with the same good fortune. For when after their taking the City of the *Adranates* by storm they had laid siege unto *Cantupria*, there came Embassadors to them from the *Alacines*, offering to deliver up their town, and their

[illegible]

own courage, and not to any fecility of the place they Zonaras
 After these and other exploits of no greater moment, winter now approaching, the Confuls re-
 difpofing feveral Garrifons in convenient places, returned into *Italy* and fo to *Rome* with the re- Fefli Capituli
 fide of their Armies. There was a Triumph decreed to *M. Valerius* (whole fucceffe and
 pains had been moft remarkable) over the *Carchaginians* and *Hiero*, which was performed the
 fixteenth of the Calends of *April*. Among the Spoils was brought a Clock, which is therefore
 taken notice of, becaufe it was the firft which was feen at *Rome*; it was taken at *Catina*, and by Valerius

Polybina

ZONATAS

Silene b

Entropies:

Polybins

Livie

16
ZENAPCO

Capitol

Liv.Epi

Europi

Suidas
Paul

πόλις.
Taciua

•

Dionys.

plus

49

Plutarch Glcome

Justin

Livie
Vol. 16

4.2.7

Polybium

In all these affairs they were much assisted by the Sicilians, who lately had made friendship with them, of whom together with the Romans there were an hundred thousand. They brought provisions as far as *Erebus*, from whence (it being not far off) the Romans fetched it to their Campe. Whereby they had very great plenty of all Necessaries. At this stay the siege continued for almost five months, neither much prevailing over the other (for they attempted nothing but light skirmishes) till at length the Cartaginians began to leave the work off. For a great number of men, little left than fifty thousand warriors, having been so long shut up in one town, had spent almost all their corn, and saw no likelihood of procuring more, the Romans guarding all the passages, so that they were much afflicted both with their present misery.

Hannö, though he saw a necessity of fighting contrary to his expectation, stoutly entering into battle, maintained it doubtful till the day was almost spent. But the Romans, having on purpose well refreshed their bodies and prepared them to fight, were not so much troubled with heat, thirst and Labour as were the Carthaginians, who, before the battle, being weary with fasting and standing all day, the longer they fought, were the less able to resist by reason of the weakness of their Bodies. At length the Mercenary souldiers who stood in the front were no longer able to endure the brunt, and did not only give back themselves, but falling in disorderly upon the Elephants and other Regiments behind, routed the whole battel and caused them to fly before the enemy who so hotly charged them. Things were managed with the same successe in the other place, for *Hannibal*, issuing out to fight, was beaten back with the greater losse, and forced into the City again. The Carthaginian Camp was taken, three Elephants wounded, thirty slain, eleven came alive into the Romans hands: The men had the same fortune, for of so great an Army very few escaped with safety. Left them, were afflicted with very great terror and despair: When *Hannibal* following the best counsel his ill fortune had left him, observing that the Romans, what with weariness of their late fight, and joy of their Victory, kept not their guards so strickt as heretofore, about the third watch of the night went out of the Town with his Mercenaries; and having crossed the Trenches filled up with boats stuffed with

• Polybim

' Zonitidae

Polybim

2- *Frontinus* *grac*

Zonaras
Diodori Eclog
b.23
Orosius 4. 7
Polybius.
Zonaras

1. *Po'ebim*

Zonaras
Polybius
Diodorus

Orosius

Diodorus

Zonaras

492
Eutropius b. 2

Zonaras

Polybius

Frontinus lib. 3

Zonaras

Frontinus

Diodorus

Frontinus

Frontinus de
Aquis ductibus

Zonaras

Cicero de Officiis

Cornel. Nepos

Amilcar c. 1.

Polybius 1. 10

Zonaras

Polybius

draw (which he had beforehand prepared for this purpose) he was a good way on his journey before the Romans, at break of day perceiving what was in hand, surpris'd part of the hindmost Troops; Hannibal with the rest betook himself into places of security. The Agrigentines seeing themselves forsaken by the Carthaginians, either out of anger, or to curry favour with the Conqueror, slew many of those who remained in the City. The Town was not therefore saved from destruction, above five and twenty thousand Free-men were sold into slavery.

In this manner was Agrigentum taken, in the seventh month after it had been first besieged, to the great profit and glory of the Romans, but with the expence of much blood, for of the Consul's Army and his Auxiliaries, there perished by several means above thirty thousand during this siege, for which cause, and by reason winter now approaching, nothing of moment could be undertaken, they returned to Messana. These Commanders going to Rome in hope of Triumph, the next year L. Valerius, M. F. M. N. Flaccus, and T. Otacilius, C. F. M. N. of Crassus being made Consuls went into Sicily. The Carthaginians having set forth a great Navy as to the plunder and wasting of Italy, thought thereby to divert the Consuls from the care of Sicily, but they having sufficient guard upon the coasts to repel the invaders, did nevertheless Sicily, where they received many towns which yielded themselves to their prospects over into Sicily, being terrified by the late example of the Agrigentine overthrow. The Carthaginians in the mean time made no resistance, for besides their late ill success they were vexed with the sedition of their Mercenaries, the Gauls being chief in the Mutiny for want of many months pay; for the punishment of whom, Hanno devised this stratagem, first soothing them with fair speeches he desired them, *At present for a while to be quiet, telling them, He was in certain hopes of suddenly surprizing a very rich Town, by the plunder whereof the Gauls should be sufficiently satisfied, both for their pay, as also for the forbearance of it.* Having by this means at present appeased them, and moreover received thanks, he takes a convenient time to treat with his Treasurer, (who was most faithful to him) *That he would, as a Runegado, sit over to Otacilius the Consul, under pretence of having procured his Accounts, and inform him, That next night he might circumvent four thousand Gauls, who would come to Entella to take it with the help of some Traitors within.*

The Consul though he gave not much Credit to a Runegado, yet thinking it a business not to be neglected, did send a Choice Brigade of soldiers upon the design, the Gauls came accordingly as they had been deceived by Hanno, and the Romans suddenly arising out of ambush to receive them, there was between them a very fierce and cruel fight, wherein every one of the Gauls were slain and because they died not unrevenged, Hanno was doubly pleased, both that he was rid of his insolent Mutineers, and that he had cunningly punished them to the no little loss of the enemy. At Rome, in the mean time, Minucius the Pretor propounded in the Senate, the bringing of the water of the River Anio to the City, which work M. Curius the Consul had designed out of the enemies spoils, but several impediments arising, the business for nine years deferred, was now again consulted about; and two men appointed as supervisors, Curius and Fulvius Flaccus, but Curius dying within five days, the Glory of finishing the work was attributed to Fulvius alone. About the same time Hamilcar came from Carthage into Sicily as succour to Hanno: For the Carthaginians, when Hanno returned after his overthrow, received him with Ignominy, fined him in his six thousand pieces of Gold and removed him from his Government. Some Authors being deceived by the likeness of Names, have delivered, that this Amilcar was Father of Hannibal, but the Father of Hannibal came into War against the Romans; but not rightly, for Hamilcar the Father of Hannibal came into Sicily with command, being but a young man, at the latter end of this War, but his great fame prevailed, that the acts of another less known Amilcar were ascribed to Amilcar Barca the most Noble and Egregious of that Name. Hamilcar therefore the successor of Hanno leading the Romans far stronger than himself in their land army, durst not assault any In-Land Cities, nor descend out of the Mountains and difficult places into the Campagna: but having a strong Navy whereby he was doubtless Master of the seas, made diligent use of those his Forces, and, having sent Hannibal again to plunder the Coasts of Italy, himself failing about the Sicilian shore, easily recovered many Port Townes which had joyned themselves with the Romans. Whereby it came to passe, that the Romans easily taking and defending the In-land places, the Carthaginians the Maritime, the Fears and hopes were on both sides very equal, and it was hard to Judge to which of these two Nations the Victory of the whole War would incline.

BOOK



BOOK VII.



OUR years were now expired since the Carthaginian war began, neither had the Romans any cause to complain either of their own courage or fortune; for they were Victors in every battle, both over Carthaginians and Syraculans as often as they durst encounter: They had taken many rich Cities by storm, and others upon Articles submitted themselves, but as long as they waged war in an Island, they could not at their pleasure send provision and recruits when need required. And the Carthaginian ships with free and unexpected arrival being themselves secure, did not only molest and vex the Sicilian Cities upon the shore, but

likewise wasted the coasts of Italy, both to the loss of the Roman Empire, and likewise to their disgrace; whereas the African shore was clear and free from the enemies invasion. The Senate therefore and people of Rome diligently consulting upon the matter, did resolve to prepare a Fleet, and fight the Carthaginians not only by land, as hitherto they had done, but to try their fortune at sea also. This was the very first serious thought the Romans had concerning sea affairs, which they accomplished with as much Courage and good Fortune, as they had conceived it with Wisdom and Resolution: Inomuch as the Empire of the whole world might well be judged due to the Romans, who being willing by sea to encounter a people most skillful in sea affairs, wanted neither Boldness to attempt it, nor Diligence to manage it, nor Constancy effectually to perform it. For the Romans to that day being so utterly ignorant of sea affairs, that there was not a man amongst them who ever had seen one, neither any one Man of War of their own, or any Carpenter who knew how to build one, yet having with great confidence undertaken the design, they did in a very short time both learn to sail and venture to fight and overcome those people who for many ages had had experience in sea affairs.

The care of building the ships was committed to Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. N. Scipio Aſina, Orosius. and C. Duilius, who had newly entered the Consulship. They had one Carthaginian ship of five Oars, which Claudius took with his foot army (at what time he was studying to passe into Sicily) while in heat of fight it came too near the shore and was grounded upon the sands in a shallow place. The Consuls ordered the whole Navy to be built after that Pattern, and so diligently prosecuted the work, that in threecore days after the timber was felled, they had threecore ships standing at Anchor. But the Consuls hastened their expedition no less by their wit, then by their Industry. For, (being neither willing to hazard to fight with men unskilful at the oar, nor yet to freighten the time allotted them for action in training up and exercising men on purpose) they contrived a device, which though it may at first seem ridiculous, yet in the use and event proved exceeding Commendable. That, while the ships were in building, their Men should sit on shore and there be taught their office how to Rowe. For being placed in the same order as they were to observe in the ships, and a Boatswaine being set in the midst of them, they were commanded, at his word given, to move their Oars, and again to forbear, even as if they were sailing.

By this exercising themselves in fancy only they were so improved, that when the ships were ready, after a few days real paines-taking, the Consuls were willing to trust themselves and

Polybius.

437
Aſina de viſiti
lib. 1. c. 37
Plinius 1. 6. 39
Elium 2. 2

Zonaras
PolybiusDionys.
Dionys.
Polybius

Livie Epit. 17.

Zonaras

Strabo

Orfius 47

Polyb.

Varrus 2.2.

Florus.
Polyb.Frontinus
Strabo 2.3.
Polyb.Pl. Maximus
7.2.7. etc.

and the safety of all their Legions to their care. When lots were cast for the Provinces, the Land Army fell to C. Duilius, the Fleet to Cn. Cornelius; who, taking along with him fifteen ships, sailed before hand to *Misfana*, to make preparation for the coming of the Fleet, which he ordered suddenly to follow him: but before it came, he fell into the hands of the Enemy, which came to pass by the cunning of *Zoodis*, *Hannibal's* Vice-Admiral, and his own Credulity, giving credit to some Liparans, who were suborned by the Enemy, to put him in hopes of taking the City of *Lipara* by Treachery. There being circumvented by the Carthaginian ships, he nevertheless resolved to encounter them, and seek his safety by fighting: but that *Bodas* by another fraud, trained him and his Colonels into his own ship, under pretence of Treating on Conditions of Peace. They were no sooner come but clapt up in chains, the others being hereby terrified did without blows yield themselves up. *Bodas* gaining all the Vessels, took the Prisoners to *Carthage*. Soon after the Carthaginian Commander committed the like fault to his greater shame, in that the fresh example of the Consul's incognitancy did not learn him to be more circumspect. He had understood that the Roman Navy sailing by the Italian shore, was putting forth to sea, and that they could not now be farre off. Desiring therefore, as near as might be, to observe it, that he might accurately know the number of their ships, their swiftness, and in what fashion and plight their new made Vessels were in, he sailed forward with fifty ships, not foreseeing any danger, his ships being confusedly mixed without any order, as when they ride in Harbour or any safe place: At the turning therefore of a certain Promontory, suddenly falling into the Roman Fleet, which came prepared and sailing in good order; he was vanquished before he could prepare himself to fight, and having lost the greater part of his Navy, himself likewise being in great danger, he very hardly escaped with the rest. The Victorious Navy, understanding *Cornelius* his misshap, sent Messengers to C. Duilius to give him notice of their approach, and prepared themselves for fight, having intelligence that the other Carthaginian ships were not farre off. There while they diligently considered the inconvenience of their own Vessels, that they were rudely made, and farre inferior to the Carthaginians in swiftness, it came into the mind of a certain ingenious man to invent an Engine, whereby to lay hold and keep fast the Enemies ships; which Engine they afterward called a *Raven*, or *Crow*; the fashion of it was this. There was a straight round piece of Timber, four ells long, some nine inches Diameter, having at the end thereof a pulley or windlass, to which, being fixed on the foredeck, there was fitted a bridge, six ells broad, and four feet long, made of planks fastned together with iron nails. In this Engine there was left a long hole whereby it might be fitted to the piece of Timber, by the space of four ells, even the whole length of the Timber. The other part of the bridge or ladder, which was not inferted in the Timber, being of two ells long, was so fastned by hinges, that it might be pulled up, or let fall; to the end of the bridge was affixed a strong sharp piece of iron, with a ring at it's head, whereto a rope being tied, through the pulley of the timber, it might be drawn down into the Foredeck; Then as they lifted, by the Rope they could draw it up, or let it fall down, with its sharp piece of iron laying hold on and keeping fast whatsoever it fell upon. In the mean time the Consul C. Duilius, committing his foot Army to the Charge of his Colonels, came to the Navy, and understanding that the Enemies spoiled the Region of *Mylæ*, sailed with his whole fleet to that shore.

The Carthaginians were glad of this, assuredly promising themselves victory over Inland-men, altogether unskillfull in sea affairs; whereby they became an example, That no Enemy whatsoever ought to be despised, as to cause one to remit ordinary discipline, and grow secure. *Hannibal* the Admirall, who had conveyed his Forces out of *Aggrigentum*, was in a Vessell of seven oares on a side, which formerly belonged to King *Pyrrhus*, the other ships followed him: not as to a fight, in any distinct order, but, as every one thought fit, making hast to their despicable Enemy. But when approaching nearer, they saw the Engines hanging at the foredecks of the Roman ships, wondering at the novelty of the business, they paused a while, at length the most Courageous men laughing at the rude invention of an unskillfull Enemy, the foremost ships with all the violence that might be flew upon them. Then the Crows being let down into what ships soever they light, so pierced the planks thereof that they held them fast against their wills. The Roman souldiers, if the ships were fastned side to side, did on every part leap in and assault the Enemy; if they were joynd only in the foredecks, they went two by two over the bridge annexed to the timber, with so much the more facility, because on each side of the bridge a little fence knee high, made their passage safer, and their footing more secure: They who went foremost, holding their bucklers before, defended their faces from the Enemies darts, those who followed held their shields down to the little fence, so guarding their sides, and entering the Enemies ships; so that the fight was not performed with the Beakes of ships, but with swords and hands, like to a set Barrell. The Romans therefore excelling in strength and Courage, had an easy victory over men lightly armed, and trusting more in the nimbleness of their ships, then in their hands; They quickly forced thirty Carthaginian ships, among which the Admirall's frigate was taken, but *Hannibal* leaping out of his ship, when it was now taken, into a Cock-boat escaped Captivity, and sending a truly friend in post-haste to *Carthage*, to prevent the News of his Overthrow, did thereby cunningly decline that Capital punishment which otherwise had attended him. His friend entering the Senate, as if all things had been well,

well, asked their Advice, whether they thought it fit that the Roman Navy should be fought withal? and every one unannimously agreeing, That there was no scruple to be made, and that the business should not be deferred; he told them, 'Tis already done, and we are beaten; whereupon, no body daring to accuse the Fact, wherof every one in his own Person would have been Author, *Hannibal* escaped the sentence of Death, but was deprived of his Admirallship. The rest of the Carthaginian ships, (for the greater part was left) after the Flight of the Admirall, were very much troubled and doubtful in Council what to do; they were ashamed to fly having received no harm, the Enemy not so much as prefling upon them; on the other side to set upon the Roman ships, they were afraid, by reason of their Engines; At length falling round about, and finding on every side the foredecks of the ships opposed against them, with those formidable Engines, having used all the art they could, they despairing of the victory went their way.

'Tis reported that fourteen Carthaginian ships were sunk in that fight, one and thirty taken, with seven thousand men, three thousand having been slain. With this success did C. Duilius fight with the Carthaginians near the *Liparans Islands*, where the Romans got much prey, but much more ample Glory and Renown. The Conflict taking charge again of his Land Army, Marched to *Segesta*, and delivered it from danger, it having been brought even to the utmost extremity by the Carthaginians; after that he took *Macella* by storme, *Hannibal* never daring to encounter with him: and so having confirmed the minds of the Affiliated Cities, Summer being past, he returned to *Rome*: After his departure the Carthaginian affairs began again to prosper. For first the Romans after seven months continuance were faine to raise their liege of *Antisthratus*, having lost many men before it. When afterward a Diffension arose between the Romans and their Auxiliaries, and that the Affiliates encamped themselves apart between *Paropus* and *Therma*: *Hannibal* thought fit to make use of this their madnes, and falling on them unawares flew four thousand of them; and it wanted little but that the whole Roman Army had likewise been involved in the same overthrow.

Then again many Townes were taken by *Hannibal*, some by force, some by Treachery: which though it was no good newes at *Rome*, yet the loss was counted small in respect of their Navall Victory. For the Roman courage having already approved it self invincible by Land, they had great cause to rejoice, that by this Fight they had gained reputation of strength by sea also. Whereupon wonderfully encouraging themselves as to the whole Warre, they judged the Author of this their New Glory worthy also of new Honour, Duilius therefore was the first who ever made a Navall Triumph, which was on the Intercalary Calends over the Sicilians and the Carthaginian Navy. They likewise bore with him, when, not content with this Honour: he did without all precedent assume another to himselfe, that returning from supper, a light Torch was carried before him while the Minstrells Sang; A Beaked Pillar likewise was by decree of the Senate erected in the Market-place, of white *Parian* Marble, which is yet to be seen (but many of the Letters worn out with Age) containing the Number of ships taken and drowned, the Summ and Weight of the Money taken. There were taken of Gold three thousand seven hundred pieces, of silver above an hundred thousand, of heavy Bras seven score hundred thousand pounds. The Triumph being accomplished, Duilius called an Assembly, wherein L. Cornelius, L. J. Cn. N. Scipio and C. Aquilius M. F. C. N. were chosen Consuls. The Senate ordered their Provinces to be *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*. The Admirall had permission, if he thought it for the Publick good, to touch upon *Nardania* and *Corfica*. This Charge happening to L. Cornelius, having prepared his ships he sailed away.

This was the first Roman expedition into *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; the Islands are so near adjoining that they seem but one and the same, yet much unlike, as in the temper of the Air and Soil, foine the Dispositions of the inhabitants. *Sardinia* as bearing the shape of a mans footing, was by the Ancients called *Ichnusa* and *Sandalotis*, afterwards 'tis said, That *Sardus* the son of *Hercules* of *Lybia* much frequenting the Island, gave it the name it is now known by. Old Fables affirm that the Grecians came into those places with *Ariftea*, and after the Trojan war the Trojans. For extent of ground and fruitfulness of soil, it yieldeth not much to the biggest and best Islands of those seas. It breeds excellent catel, very fruitful it is of the best Corn, rich in Metals, especially Silver. But the air is not so wholesome, inofum as foreign Nations commended not so much its Fertility as they dispraised its Pefilient air; for in Summer it is sickly, especially in the most fruitful places. It produceth likewise an Herb, much like the Bee Flower, of very violent Poyson, being eaten it distracteth the mind, and forcibly attracting the Nerves distordeth the lips as in laughter: the juice of it is mortal, unless after vomiting you drink good food of milk and honeyed water: the present force of the disease is so remedied, the other incommodities thereof are cured by the same means as other Convulsions of the Nerves.

Likewise there is a very little creature called *Salpuga*, a kind of Pismire, which is deadly to those who unawares sit upon it, it is so much the more dangerous, because hardly to be seen or taken notice of by those who are ignorant of its nature. The Sardinians being a Nation mixed of divers sorts of Barbarians, when they are left to their own liberty, chuse rather to live by robbery and plunder, then by husbandry: They are armed with a Target and short Sword, but

Zonaras

Auctor de viris
Ilust. 138.

Zonaras

Eutropius b. 2.

Orfius 4.7.

Florus 2.2.

Zonaras.

Polybius.

Diodor.

Eclog. 33.

Polybius.

Diodor.

Eutropius b. 2.

Tacitus 2.49.

Colum. Triumpb

Cicero Cato

c. 13.

Livie. Epit.

Plinius 34.5.2

Sextus Empir.

Pighis annalis

494.

Saul. Hist. 2.2

Plin. 3.7.

Silius. b. 1.2.

Saul. Fragm.

Pausan. b. 10.

Socian apud

Hist. Anim.

16.34.

Solinus c. 10.

Pomp. Mela. 3.7

Strab. lib. 11.

Plinius 10.12.

Martial. in

Dioscor. 4.14.

Solinus

Plin. 29.4.

Lucan 8. 837.

Strabo.

Brell.

offilianus
Clavian de
bel. Gildonio
Eustachio
Dion. regij.
Sallust. Hist. 1.1
Sordus

Brest-plates they few together the out skins of their Rams, which they call *Mufmone*, beating not wooll as others, but in stead thereof hair like Goats. Their chiefest City is *Carali*, looking towards *Africa* and from thence built, with a very fair Haven. *Coscia* is not to be compared with *Sardinia* either for largeness of Territorie, or for Riches, yet is thought to be the third in bigness of all those Islands. The inhabitants derive the name from one *Corla* a woman, out of whose Head a Bull crossed over into this Island from *Liguria*; the Greeks called it *Cyrnus*. It is Mountainous and Rugged, in many places almost impassible; and the people like to the earth are very rough, without ordinary civility, as untractable as the wild beasts. When they are taken prisoners they hardly grow gentle, but either out of Impatience of labour and servitude kill themselves, or by their contumacy and stubbornness are troublesome to their masters.

Plinie 16.16
Lycus apud
Albionem h.
Narian.
Capella
Diodorus
5.13
Seneca Conf. ad
Helvium c.8

The Island is plentiful in Honey, but it is of a bitter taste, much like the flower of Box, which tree in great number groweth there; yet it is very wholesome, and many think they Coriscans to be therefore long-lived, because they ordinarily use that Honey. Their Towns are not very populous, yet there is above thirty of them, the principal whereof are *Aleria* a Colony of the Phocians, and *Nicaea* of the Etrurians. The Air is here very troublesome, and therefore the fairs rough. The Carthaginians therefore had long wars with these nations, and obtained the dominion of both Islands, except places inaccessible. But because wild and rude men were easier to be vanquished then tamed, they brought themselves of many means whereby to keep them under, they likewise corrupted all the fruits of the Island, and under pain of death prohibited the Natives to sow or plant any such thing, that they might be forced to fetch all necessities from *Africa*, till at length grown somewhat more gentle they learned with patience to bear the yoke.

Arifonic
origi. Saupia
orig. ad
orig.

To these Islands at this time did *Cn. Cornelius* bear his course, and first in *Coscia* stormed the City *Aleria*, after which without much labour or danger he took the rest. From thence as he sailed towards *Sardinia*, he met the enemies Fleet, which he presently put to flight before they came to grapple. After this he went to *Olbia*, where seeing many Carthaginian ships in the Haven, and thinking himself not strong enough in foot to storm a City so well situated, and defended by a great multitude, for the present he omitted the business, and sailed home for a recruit of men.

Erin. ad Flor.
2.1.16
Zenarus.

About the same time a servile Commotion, in the Citie, which was in the beginning happily suppressed, did both afflict the Commonwealth with great fear, and likewise secure it. Many out of the new conquered Nations, were pressed for sea service, whereof there were then four thousand in *Rome*, most of them Samnites; these men abhorring the sea, did secretly become their own Condition and so far exasperated one another that they were resolved to burn the Citie and plunder it: They had already drawn in above three thousand accomplices into the conspiracy, which daily gathered more strength, when *Erinus Potellius*, Commander of the Auxiliaries, did by his wisdom prevent all danger. For he feigning himself engaged in the same faction, was made privie to all their Contrivances, he was acquainted with the number of them, nay, with the nation, and name of every particular person in the conspiracy; he knew the place and the time where and when they intended to act any thing. He now wanted nothing to the accomplishment of his own private design, but only to discover theirs to the Senate, but thither he could not find no opportunitie of going, because the Samnites would never suffer him to walk alone; at length having devised this trick, he perswaded them, That when the Senate next met, they should come by bands into the market-place, and complain that they were cheated in the Measure of their Corn, that then they should have occasion offered of executing their Purplot, or at least understand of what mind and opinion the Fathers will be in upon such sudden motions and stirrs. And to gaine the more Credit in the business, he went along with them, manifesting himself not only a Companion in the Tumult, but the Author and Ringleader of it. Whereupon being called into the Senate he discovered to them the danger of the secret Plot and cause of his own dissimulation. The Fathers, taking no notice of what they knew, sent Messengers with good words to pacifie the Rout, and command them home, assuring them with all, That the Senate would take order for Redress of their Grievance, and that every one should enjoy his Right. The Conspirators, thinking their Designs was still kept close, went their way: The night following every Master bound his servants, whom according to *Potellius* his Information, he knew guilty of the treason, the Samnites also were most of them seized upon their Quarters. Either the care of this or some other business, or fickleness was an hindrance to *C. Florus*, that he did not goe into it so fast as ordinary, whereby *Hamilcar* after his last Victorie had time much to encrease the Carthaginian Power there. For having taken *Camarina* and *Enna* by Treachery, he fortified *Drépanus*, where was a very fair Haven, and enlarged it in forme of a Town, bringing the Erycinnes thither to Dwell, whose Citie, left it should be servicable to the Romans he totally demolished, excepting the Temple of *Venus*. After this he reduced many other places under his power either by deceit or by force, and was in a likelihood of conquering all *Sicilie*, but that *Florus*, for this reason not daring in winter to forsake the Island, tarried to oppresse him. The other Consul had an Easier Task with the Sardinians and Carthaginians at *Olbia*; whether being returned with encrease of strength, he found *Hanno* there, who after the removal of *Hannibal* was made Admiral. The batel wax-

Diodori Eclog.
h. 23

Zenarus

Origini 4.7

ing vehemently hot, *Hanno* courageously fighting, seeing his own party worsted, rushed in to the thickest of the Enemies and was there slain: After which the Town yielded it self. The Consul much graced the fame of his Victory by his singular humanity toward the Enemy. For he took care to have the Body of *Hanno* to be conveyed out of his Cabbin to Burial, and made a large Funeral for him, laying aside hatred after Death, and rightly judging that virtue is to be honoured even in an enemy. Then not suffering the Terror of his late Victorie to grow stale and be forgotten, he took many other Cities of *Sardinia*, furthering his Courage with Counsells and stratagems. For he used in the night time to land some choice bands not far off those townes he meant to assault, who conveniently placing themselves in Ambush lay quiet, till the Consul coming to the walls and giving an Alarm, had under pretence of Flight drawn the Townsmen a good way out of their works, then they in Ambush hastily arising took the Citie void of Defendants: By this wile he obtained many places, and so prosecuted his Atchevements, that the Carthaginian armies had no abiding place either in *Sardinia* or *Coscia*. For which cause, at his Return, there was no doubt made, but a most ample Triumph decreed him, which he made over the Carthaginians, *Sardinia* and *Coscia* the fifth of the Ides of *March*, having brought great store of plunder out of those Islands and many thousands of Captives. But in *Sicily* *C. Florus* besieged *Mysistratus*, which was attempted in vain, neither could it be gained till the new Consul *A. Attilius A.F.C.N.* came thither; For to him was allotted *Sicily* for his Province, the Navy was committed to his Colleague *C. Sulpicius Q. F. Q. N. Pauculus*. They understanding that *Panormus* was the Carthaginians winter Quarter, marched thither with all their Forces, and, ordering their Men, presented Battel to the Enemy but no man coming out against them, they went thence to *Hippana*, which Citie in their journey they formed and presently maltreated. Thence *Attilius* marched to *Mysistratus*, which being stoutly defended, at length the Garrison soldiers, being wearied with the cries and Lamentations of women and Children, forsook it. The Carthaginians went out in the night time, at break of day the Townsmen opened the Gates. But the Romans bearing too much in mind the Inconmodities they had endured in the siege thereof, slew every one they met without distinction of age or sex, till *A. Attilius* the Consul caused proclamation to be made, That both *Plunkers* and *Prisoners* should belong to those who took them. Then at length Comedownes overcame Cruelty, and the rest of the Citizens were saved and made Captive: The Citie was plundered and demolished. The Army being thence led towards *Camarina*, fell into the great danger, for want of knowledge in the Country. For the Carthaginian General meeting them had first possessed the higher places, and as it were besieged the Romans rashly entered into a disadvantageous vallie, every one thought they saw before their Eyes the very picture of the *Chacidon* overthrow, but the wisdom and Valour of *M. Calpurnius Flamma* a Colonel in the army, in their utmost point of despair did relieve them. For he following the Example of *P. Decius*, who being a Colonel in *Saminum* had done the like, taking three hundred soldiers along with him, went up to possess a certaine Hillock, not out of hope to escape, but both he and his soldiers being animated with the Love of honour, and desire of saving the whole army. 'Tis said when he had brought them thither, he thus spake unto them, *Let us die, fellow Soldiers, and by our death deliver the Romans now round besiged*. And so it came to passe, for while the enemy converted themselves wholly upon these men, they being relieved to die, did so long maintain a sharp fight with the greater number, that the Consul had time to explicate himself out of that unhappy place. The Carthaginians having slain those who did indeed on purpose offer up themselves (putting no hope in their ambush which was now discovered), departed. The fortune of *Calpurnius* was next to a Miracle, for he being found among the heaps of his own and the enemies dead bodies, was the only man had breath left in him; and being carried *Orosius* 4.8 away and diligently fomented (among many wounds having not one mortal) he recovered, and afterward did great and faithful service to the Commonwealth, and proved of great terror to the enemy. If he had among the Grecians performed such a deed of Valor, they would not have known how to have bestowed rewards, or have decreed Monuments enough to his Honor: *M. Caro* apud *Agellium*. *Plinie* 22.6. *Frontinus*. *Agellius*: he was in, made his error an argument of shame, and his danger of watchfulness and circumspection. Therefore with the greater courage and care he proceeds to the assault of the City, and being not able to prevail against it without Engines of battery, he borrowed some of *Hiero*. With them he brake down the walls, and reduced *Camarina* into his power, the Citizens for the most part he sold for slaves. Thence he marched to *Enna*, and had that by treachery delivered to him, the Garrison soldiers were part of them slain by the Romans after they were entered, the rest fled away and becooke themselves to places possessed by their own party. *Sittana* was obtained not by craft but courage, the defendants being driven back and the City stormed. Some smaller Towns in that part of *Sicily* made no delay, but forthwith sent messengers with promise of submission. The Consul placing Garrisons in all places convenient, marched into the *Agrieginus* Territories, and by treachery had the Cattle *Camicus* delivered to him. *Florus* 22. Where-

Val. Maximus.

Silius h.6

Frontinus

1.9 & 1.10

Florus 2.2

Agell. Capitol.

Europius h.2

Zenarus

Diodorus

495.

Polybius 1.24.

Zenarus

Diodorus

Zenarus

Agellius 3.7.

Frontinus Hist.

2.1.10.

Silius Ept. 17.

Author de vitis

Illust. c.19.

M. Caro apud

Agellium.

Plinie 22.6.

Frontinus.

Agellius:

Diodorus

Polybius 1.24.

Diodorus.

Polybius.

Zenarus.

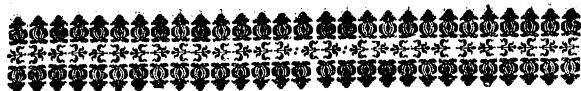
Zenarus.

Florus 22.

Whereupon the Garrison of *Erbesus* being disheartened, forsook the Town. So *Erbesus* came again into the Romans hands. The Consul Encouraged with this success, and thinking that many of the Liparæans favoured him, advanced with his Army to their City. But there he had not the like Fortune. For *Hamilius* having intelligence of the Romans Design, privately entered *Lipara*, and diligently expected the time of Action. The Romans being ignorant of this, boldly and unawily coming up to the walls, were by a sudden fall of the Carthaginians beaten back. Many were wounded in that Conflict, and no small number slain. In the mean time *C. Sulpicius* the Consul had many encounters with the Enemy in *Sardinia*, and all prosperous. And his mind was so erected, that he made bold to sail toward *Africa*.

The Carthaginians by no means enduring any such Attempt, once more made *Hannibal* Admirall, who since his flight out of *Sicily* had continued at *Carthage*, along with him they sent their best Sea Commanders, with Order, *To chase the Enemies Navy from their Country*. He puts to Sea with a resolution to fight, but a Tempest prevented the Encounter, which being very violent on both Navies, drove them against their wills into more calme places: Both Admiralls turned into *Sardinian* Ports. There lying at Anchor, *Sulpicius* places to draw the Carthaginians out to sea, suborned some, under pretence of Runnagates, to persuade *Hannibal*, that the Romans were again sailing to *Africa*. He being deluded by this Craft, suddenly setting sail, before he was aware, met with the Consul who in a convenient place waited for him: Many Carthaginian ships were sunk, before they knew what they were about, the Consul's stratagem being much favour'd, by a Mist opportunely arising: At length understanding what was the matter, the other ships went some back into the Haven, others drove themselves on shore, where the men landing themselves, most of the Vessels were taken empty: *Hannibal* despairing to recover the Port, betook himself to the Swiftness, where, in a sedition, being apprehended by the Carthaginians, who had fled out of the same fight, he was by them Crucified, saying, *that his Folly and Rashness was the cause of their Overthrow*. But this Victory of the Romans was an occasion of some loss to them afterwards. For being freed from fear of the Carthaginian Navy, while they boldly and securely waited the Grounds, they were suddenly routed by an unexpected incursion of Sardinians and Carthaginians, one *Hanno* being Commander. *C. Duilius* was this year Censor, and built the Temple of *Janus* Pro-consul over the Carthaginians, the fourth of the Nones of October, the other of *C. Sulpicius* the Consul over the Carthaginians and Sardinians, the third of the Nones. When *C. Attilius*, *M. F. M. N. Regulus*, and *Cn. Cornelius*, *L. F. Cn. N. Blasio* again were Consuls, the Senate ordered Sacrifices to be made for avoiding the Omen of some Prodiges. In the *Alban* Mount, and other places, and in the City it selfe many stones fell as Haile: 'Twas thought fit to Solemnize the *Lutine Festival*, and in order to that, a Dictator was created, *Q. Ogulnius*, *L. F. A. N. Gallus*. The Master of Horse was *M. Latorius*, *M. F. M. N. Tiberianus*, *C. Attilius*, the Admirall having failed to *Tyndarides* in *Sicily*, when he espied the Carthaginian Navy passing by, out of order, suddenly resolved to set upon it; and commanding the other ships to follow, hastily sets forward with ten, which were Ready, and with all speed both of sail and Oare endeavours to overtake the Carthaginians, still before him. *Hamilius*, a very considerable Commander, was in that Fleet, who seeing but few ships near him, others scarce yet out of the Haven, the greater part still at Anchor, steering back, circumvented *Attilius* and his ships with his whole Navy, nine of them he sunk presently, not able to maintain fight with so great a Number. The Admirals Frigate being better manned, and the Mariners encouraged by the presence of the Consul, brake out from amongst them by main strength and saved it selfe. For the other Roman Vessels were now come up, by whose help the Fortune of the Battell was changed. Eight of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, ten with all their men taken; the rest retired to the *Liparæan* Islands. These things were done at Sea. The Land Forces were not so quick at their Work, having in vain assaulted the City *Lipara*. But with all hostility they spoiled the open Fields; the same Calamity also attended the Land *Melitus*, not farre distant. For their Exploits *C. Atilius* the Consul made a Naval Triumph over the Carthaginians of *Sicily* the fourteenth of the Calends of *February*. The Romans were then in a very joyfull state and Condition, being Victorious not only at Land, but at sea also; And did now begin to Consul not only of the Conquest of *Sicily* and the Neighbouring Islands, which they thought sure enough their own, but of invading *Africa* also, and bring the Terror of the War to the Gates of *Carthage* it selfe.

BOOK



BOOK VIII.



Afterwards *L. Manlius*, *A. F. P. N.* commonly called *Longus*, did enter upon the Consulship, and *L. Cadius*, *Q. F. Q. N.* after whose death, *M. Atilius*, *M. F. L. N. Regulus*, who had been sometimes Consul, succeeded in his Office. Then only in this year *Africa*, which hitherto had been free from any miseries by an Enemy, began to be sensible of a war, when the Romans had made an invasion therein, after they had in a great Sea fight gained the Victory over the Carthaginians fleet; which exploits, as they were achieved, we shall in this Book set forth, and both the one and the other fortune of that same *Regulus*, and his end not suitable to the gallantry of the man: The year before when the Carthaginians, *C. Attilius* being Consul, did so strive to get the best in a Sea-conflict, that when they had lost many ships, they first gave over fighting, yet because they had sunk some certain of the Roman Vessels, they would not take themselves to have been of lesser reputation. On the other part, the Romans did judge that event as an undoubted Victory. So it was that the vast multitude on both sides did bend their mindes with greatest emulation to the study of Sea-Affaires. And therefore the Consuls being charged to remove the warre into *Africa*, when they were come to the Coast of *Sicily* on the right hand beyond *Pachinus*, to take in the Foot Forces, they having al-
so some Forts near the Hill *Ennomus*, they failed forward. And about the same time *Hamilius* General of the Carthaginians, and *Hanno* the Admirall, being Commanders of a Fleet of three hundred and sixty ships, having passed by *Lilybaeum* in *Carthage*, and then *Heraclea* *Aminas*, in that bay they consult of calling Anchor, observing the motions of the Romans, and if they durst bend towards *Africa*, they were in a posture to stop their course; which when the Consuls were informed of, they with good advice make all things ready for either chance, that they might not be to seek for Counsell, whether they were to engage in a Sea-conflict, or draw some whither for safety: therefore committing the ships to some of the stoutest Souldiers, they make four Squadrons, as so many parts of the whole fleet; the choicest men they set in the first Squadron, the two next Squadrons they place in their order, in the Reare-guard they put their chiefest men for strength, the Triarii, these forces they dispose of in such array, that each ship did carry 300 rowers, and six score Souldiers. So the Muster-Roll in the whole Navy did amount to an hundred and forty thousand men.

The Carthaginians did somewhat exceed thit number, leading more souldiers than an hundred and fifty thousand. And indeed the Consuls did scarce esteem of any other sort of souldiers in comparison of their own. There was so much the more consulting, when it did appear, they must needs fight in the deep Ocean; where the swiftness of the ships, and the skill of the Pilots are of much advantage, to the fit ordering the front of the battell aray against that danger; finally they consider of placing the whole Fleet Aray. They set two Gallies wherein the Consuls themselves were carried, very even in the Van, to both those Gallies they joyn on this side the first Squadron, on that side the second in a long continued row; the ships being placed in such manner, that the fore gallies of them all were turned outwards, and

From the fountain of the City.

497. Capitoline Temple.

Polib. 1. 1. Orisul. 4. 3. Polib.

the Gallies did move almost joyned together, the ships next to those did keep from each other more apart, and so consequently the space left between the opposite ships did grow wider according to their being set in order. So when the form of the Van in manner of a wedge was shaped, with small distance between the first ships, and with great spaces between the last, then did they cable the third Squadron to advance, which bearing that open space between the two first ships, did meet by their order, exhibit a triangular form of the whole array; behind this, at the third Squadrons back, the long boats were drawn by a Barge with Cables to pull with, reaching to the ships of the *Triarii* souldiers. The *Triarii* the souldiers fet in the Rear-ward, did so inviron the former, the ships being stretched out into a half circle, that from each Wing they did appear; So the whole body with a deep hollow front, the hindmost parts being firmly solid, did resemble the snout of a ship, not less able to receive a violent assault, then fit to give one.

But the Carthaginian Captains having intelligence by their Scouts of the approach of the Roman fleet, when they considered, the passage to their City was not difficult, the common force were nothing manly, the bordering Neighbours inconstant, and very prone to follow their fidelity, they conclude to go out to meet them: being resolved first to try all that might be, rather then they would suffer, that the Roman Vessels should have a safe Voyage into Africa. Therefore they betake them to ships, encouraging their men in short, *That they would undertake the fight with minds firmly set, and cheerfull, well remembering they were to fight, not only touching things present, but in reference to all things, which each one held precious at home; and with their own good hope, and that of their fellow Seamen, they launch forth out of the Harbour; nor was the Romans fleet far distant, therefore not far from Hecale they give the shock against each other with equal Routings.* The Carthaginian Captains did so provide, that *Hanno* should charge on the Right Wing, (but it was he that had been unfortunate at *Agrienum*) *Hamilcar* should be Commander over the rest, And they also divide their ships into four Squadrons, having observed the array which the Romans had made use of; Of these, that which was the left Wing of the whole array being crooked like a bow, did make towards the shore, the rest were extended in their plain order, and turned upon the first Squadron of the Enemies ships. Hereupon the Right Wing in which there were very swift Vessels with snouts and five oares in a feat, *Hanno* did stretch it out all he could towards the main Ocean, being ready to surround the Enemy, if the skirmish should begin at any other part. And the Consuls not staying long did venture themselves with their two Squadrons into the midst of the Carthaginian ships; *Hamilcar* that he might break the array of the Romans did charge his souldiers, when the Conflict began, they should presently take their flight, which being done, and the Romans eagerly pursuing them, the Carthaginians indeed had no hurt by their flying, in regard their ships were swift; but the array of the Romans, as *Hamilcar* wished, and had foreseen, was rent asunder, when yet the *Triarii*, and the third Squadron did keep their places, which, when he saw it performed, he suddenly gives a sign out of his own ship, that their fore-cables being run'd, they should encounter those that did pursue them: the fight was doubtfull, the Carthaginians excelling in swiftness, and in skill for Navigation. The Romans being farre transcendent in the stoutness of their souldiers. Therefore so long as the fight rather of the ships, then of the men, did last, the Carthaginians had the better clearly: But when they began to fight hand to hand, the ships being fastned close with grappling irons, then the Victory did certainly incline towards the Roman party: When the souldier full of confidence through his hand-strokes, and fighting before the Consuls, did strive to approve his valour to them with a more notable endeavour: while the skirmish was so managed in that part, *Hanno* with the Right Wing, which hitherto he kept unmoved, made a fierce assault, being carried by the tide amongst the ships of the *Triarii*, and did create them much trouble some work, when they were brought to great distress. At the same time almost, the Left Wing also of the Carthaginians, the first posture being changed, and with a front made even, does assail with dangerous breaks the third Squadron of the Romans, which drew their long boats by a Barge. The Romans having slipped their Cables, did prepare themselves for resistance; Here also they shew much Gallantry: So in three places, there do happen even just so many Sea-fights, far distant from each other.

When they had fought so hard, the Victory long enough inclining to either side, at last it changed, as needs it must, where there is fierce bickering in sundry places at once, with equal force and vehemency, that the selfe-same part which is first routed, should cause the whole Victory. For when *Hamilcar* was utterly unable any longer to withstand the Violence of his Enemies, his single flight did immediately disperse even the whole fleet of the Carthaginian. For *L. Manlius* one of the Consuls, being very much busied about bringing together the ships that were taken, and chaining them to his own, *M. Regulus* flying the fight to begin afresh in another place, he made haste to relieve his own side, taking to him the ships of the second Squadron, all that escaped out of the former fight safe and unshattered; The *Triarii* did soon perceive that relief, and recollecting their Spirits, which had even failed them in extremity of Danger, they began to oppose their Enemies with great undauntedness. *Hanno*, when he saw that both those before him made stout resistance, and that himselfe was so over-charged on the Rear with fresh supplies, hosing up sail he did his best to avoid his approaching overthrow. And when *L. Man-*

Zonaras
Polyb. l. 7.

Zonaras
Polyb. l. 18.

thus amidst these tryalls beheld the third Squadron of the Romans to be enforced towards land by the Carthaginians Left Wing, he steer'd that way, and *M. Regulus* overtook him unawares, who had even now set the long boats and the *Triarii* out of harmes reach. So the state of things is soon quite changed, and they are surrounded very close, who but just before had hemmed the Romans in. Whom indeed being strangely encompassed, and in a manner straightly besieged, they might ere this have utterly destroyed, unless not daring to go near them for fear of the iron raven-beaks they were wont to grapple with, they gave the Consuls time enough, that themselves being safe they might even secure their own side, and the Carthaginians, that were environ'd by a sudden surprisall, had leisure to take, as with a net, fifty ships, and all that were therein, so the other few stealing away by the very shore side did make their escape.

This Sea-conflict as well in regard of various ill accidents, and the eagerness of the encounter, as also for the number of ships lost on both sides, was of fair remark. Of the Carthaginian ships sixty and three were taken, above thirty were sunk. The Conquering Romans lost four and twenty by reason of foul weather, but not one of them did fall into the hands of the Enemy.

When this victory was over, returning to *Messana* they allotted certaine daies to mend their ships, and refresh their men, and to take in store of new provision. Amongst which *Hamilcar* when he would not yield by any means, the Romans should go to Africa, but wanted strength to stop their march, he betook himself to stratagems, and fought, by sending *Hanno* to them to sue for peace, to prolong the time, till the arrivall of the forces which he lookt the Carthaginians would send him. *Hanno* when he made his addresse to the Consuls, and heard the exclamations of the people, that the same decree ought to pass against him, which five years before the Carthaginians had design'd against *Cornelius Afrina* then Consul, he shifted off the threatened mischief with a subtil answer, *Verily if ye shall do so (saies he) ye shall not be better at all then the very Africans;* and presently the Consuls well relented what he said, commanding those to be silent that had voted him to chains, and there was a voice heard well beeming the gravity of the Roman flock; *O Hanno, the faithfull dealing of our City does grieve from that fear.* It was in vain to move for peace because the Carthaginian did not deal sincerely, and the Consuls did rather aim at Victory then at Peace. Therefore they had no mind to defer any longer their intended voyage to Africa; Neither did the Carthaginian Commanders crosse the design, though they engaged to each other, not to endure the enemy should march without disturbance, but to incite him from sundry quarters, and to bar his passage. But *Hanno* making halt to fortify *Carthage* beforehand, *Hamilcar* not daring to attempt ought, carries at *Hecale*. The Romans ships made a safe voyage free both from enemies and from tempests. And there wanted not some that did strangely abominate any travelling far by sea, and the enemies coast, and the very name of Africa. *Mammius*, an Officer among the souldiers, did first begin to speak ill of government, but *Regulus* was so incensed against him, that he threatened him that scourges and the axe should be his lot, unless he would submit. So at length the Consul was obeyed, and the nearer and the greater fear did expel the dread of travelling by sea. The Promontory is called *Hermium* which from the bosome of *Carthage* does stretch very far into the Sicilian sea. That coast was first found out by the Roman ships, then after a little stay while the whole fleet came up together, the Consuls having passed by the coast of Africa, they arrived at the Citie *Clupea*. Here the souldiers are exposed to hazard, and when the ships were put into harbor, there was a Trench drawn round for the more security. The Citie because it refused to surrender, was besieged, and presently through the timorousness of the Citizens it being either yielded or deserted (for 'tis reported either way) it was reduced to the obedience of the Romans.

But the Carthaginians though they did endure things truly harsh, and very strange, yet they rejoiced at their weal, that they fared somewhat better then they expected: for when they heard what issue the Sea-fight had, they were sore afraid, least presently the conquering forces would have been drawn even against *Carthage* it self. Therefore re-assuming some courage after their former fright, they were fully bent to make what strength they could to defend their City and the Suburbs thereof. Mean while the Consuls having sent messengers to *Rome* which would acquaint the Senators what exploits had been achieved already, and should beseech their advice touching new attempts, they make *Clupea* a Garrison, that they might make use of that seat of war. And having set a guard to defend the City and field adjoining, they march into a great way forward with all their other forces, they utterly waste a very fruitful Country, which from the dayes of *Agathocles* had not seen the sword of an enemy; they destroy many goodly Villages, they force away whole droves of cattel, moreover they lead away by force above twenty thousand men, no man daring to gainsay; they also take many Towns by storm or by surrender, wherein they apprehend several Revolters, and set free many Roman Captives, that were taken in the late wars, amongst whom I believe even *Cn. Cornelius* to have been, that was chosen Consul again after two years were expired. While things are thus acted, they that were sent to *Rome* by the Consuls, return with Orders from the Senate. One of them was commanded to quarter in *Africa*, with such considerable forces as they held needful to be kept there. The other was requited to bring back the rest of the fleet, and the residue of the army

Zonaras
Polyb. l. 18.

Val. Max. 6.6

Zonaras
Polyb. l. 18.

Florus. 2.3

Polyb. l. 18.

Zonaras
Polyb. l. 18.

Zonaras

Polyb. l. 18.

Zodaras
Polybius
Zonaras
Oronius 4. 8.
Capitulum
Columna
In the Year
From the founda-
tion of the
City 498.

to Rome. So Winter now drawing near, *M. Regulus* continued there with almost fifteen thousand foot, five hundred horsemen, and with forty ships, which remained of the Fleet being richly laden with Captives, and other booty *L. Manlius* having safely passed by the Coasts of Sicily, he carried back to Rome. I find he led along with him to Rome twenty seven thousand Captives, and the Navall Triumph over the Carthaginians was ordain'd for him. Afterwards *Ser. Fulvius*, *M. F. M. N. Patinus* the more noble, and *M. Aemilius*, *M. F. L. N. Pat.* were made Consuls.

The Government of Sicily and the Command of the Fleet are committed to the charge of those two: They were not minded to call back *Regulus* from amidst his Victories, while he went on prosperously in Africa; and he was ordered by the Proconsul to manage the War there. That decree of the Senate no one did worse resent, than he himself, for whose honour it was made. Therefore in his Letters to the Senate he made that his grievance, and set it as the main ground of his suit, that another might succeed him in his Office, upon the death of his Bailiff (he undertook to manure a piece of ground of seven Acres, which his Master had in *Papinia*) having gained an opportunity, he thence delivered up his Commission, and left his charge; wherefore he must needs depart, least in his absence, when his ground lay untill'd, his wife and children should want bread. And the Senate did ordain, that *M. Regulus* his ground should be dress'd at the Publick charge, that what damage he had sustain'd should be made good, and fair provision should be made for his wife and children. Such good orders were then us'd!

But when I read of or relate these things and the like, I cannot chafe but recollect with my self, which is the more lasting recompence for virtue, a reward by Coin, or by commendation, by pounds, or by praise. *M. Regulus* his renowne does endure many ages after his death; the wealth of others hath perishing with their Masters, and oftentimes before them: In the mean season the Carthaginians having chosen two Generalls at home, *Adrubal*, *Hanno's* sonne, and *Hasdr*, they sent also for *Hamilcar* their third Commander in chief to come out of Sicily. Who with five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse came in all haste from *Heraclea* to Carthage. These having call'd a Councell do decree, that the Army should not be kept within Walls, as the manner heretofore had been, neither should the Roman souldiers be permitted to do what they list'd without any punishment. So when they were encouraged to wage War, the Army was drawn out.

In the mean time *M. Regulus* did march to all places near adjoining, through which the River *Bagrada* does slide, subduing all before him, not far from which the Romans that held certain Castles, were smitten with a sudden perillence, and lost many, and were fore amazed. A water-Serpent of huge bigness did fall upon the souldiers, and they being much affrighted and resisting all in vain, the Serpent did swallow down many of them with his wide yawning jaws, others he bru'd to pieces with his furious windings, and with the strokes of his tail, some again he poyson'd to death with the blasting of his pestiferous breath, and he made so much ado for *M. Regulus*, that with all his forces he must fight with the Serpent for the possession of the River, which when it was done with the loss of many souldiers, and the Dragon could neither be overcome, nor wounded, he with his extream hard crueltie easily repelling, what ever darts they did throw at him, they must make use of Engines, and without great Guns and Mortar-pieces, like a well fenced Tower, the Enemy is not to be overthrow'n: After several hurlings that were made in vain, a great stone being cast, did break his back-bone all to shivers, and did dissolve the vigorous violence of the formidable Monster. And the buffiness was effected with so much difficulty, and with so great terror to Horse and Foot, that the souldiers did averre they had rather oppose Carthage it selfe, than such another Monster. And the Camp could stay there no longer, but must thin the infected waters, and all the Country round about, which was blasted with the contagious stink of his lying there. This was some shame to the pride of men, which are wont to think very fondly, that they can Conquer all things. Truly when *M. Regulus* was Generall, that had been Conquerour by Sea and Land, one single Serpent when he was alive, did hold the whole Roman Army in plet, and being killed, he made the Army draw off. And therefore the Proconsul did hold it no immodesty to send the spoils even of this very Enemy to Rome, and to acknowledge with a publick Monument the greatness of his own fear, and his rejoicing at the victory.

For he took order the skin of the beast should be taken off and carried to Rome, which is reported to have been an hundred and twenty foot long, and being hang'd up in a certain Temple to have lasted even till the Wars at *Numantia*. When the Camp was remov'd from *Bagrada*, the Consul commanded the Army towards the City *Adis*, all Towns and Castles being won and demolish'd that lay in their road.

But to *Adis*, which was hard to take, there was a certain way of laying siege by the help of warlike engines. To the crossing of which, when the Carthaginian Captains did speedily make haste they laye down on a certain hill, but full of wood and full of other impediments that was very near the Roman Camp. *M. Regulus* having well considered the nature of the place, and what manner of enemies he had to deal with, when he saw their foot were not comparable to his, but that they put much confidence in their Elephants and horsemen, but such forces being very formidable in open fields by the inequality of the places would not be come at, and would be made very useless; he wisely taking some advantage by the folly of his enemies, before they could perceive and correct their error, determines to fall upon them in their own Tents. Wherefore

fore encouraging his souldiers, and diligently observing what reason did suggest, he goes out of his Camp before the dawning of the day, and does cause his army to advance towards the hill directly opposite, where the Carthaginians had pitch'd their Tents. First of all, the audacious confidence of the Romans did even amaze the Carthaginians, which being far less in number did set upon such a vast army even in their own trenches, from a low place, and of great disadvantage. Then they were in the greater confusion even in this respect, because the horsemen and Elephants, from which they did hope for most assistance, were not only of no advantage, but did extremely hinder and disturb them, and the very time did augment their trembling, that the Romans did set upon them unawares, and most of them, as yet, being fast asleep, therefore many of them are put to the sword even in their beds, the others stragling in their amazed flight, and not knowing where to hide themselves, were taken by parties set on purpose to way-lay them.

Nevertheless the Carthaginians Mercenary souldiers, the Spaniards and the French, being instantly in a good posture, and fighting Courageously on the other side of their bulwark it was doubtful a great while which would get the upper hand. The former hope even now being put to the run, the whole Roman army had been overthrow'n, if the horse from another quarter that were commanded to wheele about had not in the very nick of time charged the enemy on the reare that were pursuing those which fled. Then they also which a little before had deserted their station might now be rallied up and encouraged to fight afresh. So the enemy being set upon on both sides, when he had for a long time with much gallantry made resistance, he was constrained to cry quarter. When the Carthaginians saw what was done, immediately they fling themselves out of their Scences, and fall to running with all the speed they could make, and indeed the Elephants and the horsemen when once they came into plains they could retreat well enough and safely too. The Conquerors having pursued the infantry somewhat far, they turn back at length to throw down their fortifications. In this Battle there were seventeen thousand of the Carthaginians that were slain, five thousand are reported to be taken prisoners, and eighteen Elephants. The success of this battle did purchase the Romans much friendship not only from all the Countries round about, but even from people that were most remote. And in few dayes about fourscore walled towns vowed fidelity to the Romans. Whereas upon the Carthaginians that were greatly straitned before, and which was built twelve miles from *Carthage*, least it suffer what ever they did there to be kept secret from the enemy, then being a fair prospect both to the very City it selfe, and to the sea hard by.

And the terrible dread of their war with the Romans did not only dance round the Carthaginians, but the Numidians also, out of an old grudge being flirred up by a fresh opportunity, took up arms, and by spoiling and firing the Carthaginian towns, brought more terror and misery upon them, than the Romans did. And the Boores from all parts flying for refuge to the City, did cause not only a huge dread, but also a great dearth, when such a multitude of people did devour a world of provision, and the avarice of the owners did conceal the plenty as yet in store, who gaping greedily for gain by that Common Calamity were full of hope the price of victuals would raise daily according to the decrease of their most necessary food. Whereupon it followed, the Embassy of *Marcus Regulus* was hearken'd to with greater heed, who aiming at the honor of finishing the war, and fearing lest some one that might succeed him with a new commission from Rome should prevent him, he moves the Carthaginians to Conditions for peace. To that purpose some of the prime Senators are sent unto him; but when they saw strange harsh conditions offer'd, and their business at a stand, they took their leave of *M. Regulus*, who was verily perswaded he had Victory by the hand. Sicily forsooth, and all *Sardinia* were commanded to yield, to send freely home what Romans they had taken, to ransom their own men, to bear the whole charge of the war, and to pay besides a pension by the year. They had other impositions, full as burthenome as these. That they should be confederates with the Romans for offence and defence; that they should fly but one great ship; But the Romans they should assist with fifty galleys well appointed as oft as they should be required. The Embassadors being transported with wonder at such Articles, and that *Regulus* might grant his vanquish'd suppliants more milde conditions, he made this answer, *Men must either conquer or crutch to those that subdue them.* By the return of which words the Carthaginians were much incensed, though they had often made suite for peace, yet they are fully bent, rather to endure the worst that could happen than to embrace those Conditions, which they held no other than the bondage and servitude of their Citie.

In that state of affairs certain ships which were sent to waite some souldiers into Greece, did return when they had gathered up no small body of Mercenary souldiers; Among these there was one *Xanthippus*, by race a *Lacedaemonian*, who did couple the noble exercise of warfare with the discipline of his Country, wherein he had been well trained up from his youth. He sufficiently understanding what feats had been done already, and having insight enough into the other furniture of the Carthaginian forces, of the Elephants and Horsemen, he made bold to speak a proud word openly, that the Carthaginians were not subdued by the Romans, but by themselves, by the weakness of their Commanders, that knew not the duty of their places. This humor being soon dispeird, when *Xanthippus* was call'd before the Magistrates, he does produce such

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such evident reasons of that his judgement, that scarce ought to be more manifest; he shews them that in all their expeditions, in making their Fort, in joining Battell, it was their manner still to pick out places utterly unfit, if they would listen to his advice, he does assure them not onely of safety, but also of Victory. When severall of the Chief Citizens do approve of his judgement, and the very Commanders also themselves, and with besteming modestly preferring the welfare of their Country before his single opinion, they agree and ordain that the guidance of his Army should be committed to a foreigner; *Xanthippus* having undertook his charge, dayly drawing his souldiers out of the City, he does accustom the field Forces to observe and change their ranks, and intantly to do what they are commanded; and the confidence of better success does fill the souldiers with admiration of him, the whole City being cherished even in desperation, is raised up to expect joyfull things to come. When the Commanders behold this Universal Cheerfulness, they also taking heart thereby, resolve to give the Enemy another charge, and encouraging their souldiers, as opportunely did require, they march out against the Romans, even with almost twelve thousand Foot, with four hundred horse, and well nigh as many Elephants; that thing alone did perplex the Romans, that they saw the Carthaginians make their incursions through the plain fields, having changed their first design, avoiding all steep and craggy places: But being puffed up with pride through their constant felicity, they let at nought the souldiers that were wont to vanquish, and *Graculus* their Leader. And *Regulus* was not corrupted with that flattering poyson of fortune waiting on him. When he well considered that he had routed the Sea Forces of the Carthaginians, and the foot Souldiers too, that he had taken almost two hundred Townes, two hundred thousand men, and that *Carthage* being fore distressed, might be enforced to surrender, he denied them peace when they sued for it on reasonable termes, and wrote to *Rome*, that the very Gates of *Carthage* which he had begun did tremble at him. So also moderation hath often deferred great Spirits in prosperity, then constancy in adversity: But the Carthaginians having pitched their tents in a plain field, *M. Regulus* whose chief strength was in his infantry and thither he could not be followed but over Mountainous and steep difficult places, thinking it all one to his Valour where he fought, he was not afraid to trust himself in the Camp, even to the greater vanishing of his confidence, passing over the river that was in the midst, and distant from the Enemy even two hundred thousand paces. *Xanthippus* perceiving the indifference of the Roman Leader, did avouch this would be the very time, wherein he would performe what he had promised the Carthaginians, for he had got the Romans even tired with long Marching, where his heart could wish them; he nothing doubted the Victory would be certainly his own; the time also did seem most commodious for the fight, because the day now drawing towards the evening, the Africans knowing well all places thereabout, if they should be overcome, they might make their escape the better in the night, or if they should conquer, the night would not hinder the pursuit of the Victory. Therefore the Carthaginians consulting what was to be done, *Xanthippus* calling for the help of Gods and Men, that they might not lose such a singular opportunity, he did earnestly persuade his men to undertake the Battell, so much the easier, because the souldiers themselves crying out to *Xanthippus*, they did of their own accord with unfeigned cheerfulness desire to encounter with the Enemy, therefore the charge of the main affair is granted to the *Spartan*, he draws out the Army, and does exercise them after this manner. A four square body of 8000 Carthaginians, which were the prime Chosen men of all their foot, was set for a reserve; before this body, a convenient space being left between, the Elephants are set in order, being drawn up as broad as that square body, on either Wing the Horse are placed, behind them on the Right Wing, stands the main body of hired souldiers. The Army being led in such array, he commanded the skirmishers, that having thrown their darts, they should stand in open order for the advantage of their own side, and when their main body should joyn with the Enemy, they should violently break out again from the Wings, and should on a sudden furiously flanke the Romans, when they were charging the opposite reserve. On the contrary part *Regulus* having well drawn up his Army, when he saw the Elephants in the Front of the Carthaginians, he soon takes advice, he brings his souldiers lightly armed to the Van, he sets the well Compact foot Companies in the Reserve, the Horse are drawn up in the Wings, the Army is firme in respect of depth, but much narrower then before; so that the chief danger being feared from the Enemies Elephants and Horsemen, they did indeed take a right course against the Elephants, but being in an open and Champain Country, there was room sufficient for the Horse to surround, the whole Army being so close compacted. The Fight was began by the Elephants, which *Xanthippus* commanded to be led against the opposite Regiments, and the Romans making a great shout, set forward to meet them. The Horse were likewise engaged in both Wings; but there the Romans being much inferior in Number, and not able to resist the Enemies charge, fled away. But the Foot which were of the Left Wing, (whether it were to avoid the Elephants, or that thereby they thought the more easily to obtain the Victory) charged the Mercenaries, and putting them to flight, purified them to their very Camp. The rest of the foot had an harder task against the Elephants, by whose vast bodies their ranks were disordered, themselves trodden under foot, and whole Companies like a falling house, struck down to the ground, yet the very thickness of the Battell hindered them from breaking through; till at last they were distressed on all parts, for the Flanks and Rear were galled by the Horse, the foremost who made a shift to break through the Elephants, were slain by the Enemy

Enemy standing yet Entire, and the light armed men flying in upon them. There was no less execution done in the Flight, the Elephants and *Numidian* Horse pursuing them in an open plain place. *Regulus* with almost five hundred souldiers was taken alive by the Enemy; of the whole Army there escaped but about two thousand (who had charged and put to flight the Mercenaries) who beyond all Hope, by their halt, got safe into *Clupes*; of the Romans and their Associates were slain about thirty thousand. Of the Carthaginians there were not many wanting beside eight hundred of the Mercenaries, who had fought against the Left Wing of the Enemy. When the Army returned to *Carthage* after so great a Victory, carrying the Roman General Prisoner, a multitude of Citizens came out to meet them, others standing in the streets, or in their houses, beheld the spectacle with wonderfull Pleasure, which they durst lately scarce hope for; their minds being not capable to believe so great an Happiness attending them: For being of late so near despair, giving not onely their Country, but very City for lost, they durst scarce believe to great a Change, though they saw it with their eyes. But they took most special notice of the Generals, every ones eye and thought being settled on them, looking sometimes on *Xanthippus*, sometimes on *Regulus*, Extolling the greatness of their own Commander, by the Elimination they had of the other. He must of necessity be a gallant Man who hath overcome so great a General, so fortunate a Warrior, a proud Conquerour, an implacable Enemy, the Terror and Plague of *Carthage*, now of a sudden bereaved of a numerous Army, having lost his ancient Fame and Liberty together. Their Admiration was increased by the habit and Garbe of the Man, who under a small body, and none of the best looks, carried a large and a virtuous mind. For this Exploit *Xanthippus* had much glory, and withall as much envy, to avoid which he used as much art in finishing the Warre, for whereas he might justly expect an everlasting reward of his good service at *Carthage*, yet he resolved to leave those doubtful hopes and fall of Treachery, and return home, before other mens affections, or his own fortune were altered. For this is for the most part the disposition of men, that openly they profess the love of their Country, but really study their own private good; as long as their City being in safety, they can obtain and quietly enjoy Honour and Riches, they pretend mighty love to their Country: But where there is danger left they should bestow the same benefits on others for their egregious merits, they had rather want a man who doeth good to the Common-wealth, than have him in the least way hinder their private commodity: As long as they think themselves able to equal others, their envy is hidden and more remis, but when they see themselves farre exceeded, and that Honour duly given to others which they desired for themselves, then what they were not able by virtue to obtain, they seek it by Calumnies and Criminations. So that the best men have ordinarily most Enemies and are most subject to Treachery; But a Native of the Country hath some remedy against this Evil in his Friends and kindred: A stranger being void of all help and assistance increaseth the Malice of degenerate mindes by his being easy to be hurt, in that he is more exposed to Treasons, and may without any great labour or danger be offended, affronted and undone. That *Xanthippus* apprehended and considered these things, the sequel doth evidently demonstrate, 'Tis reported he was drowned by some sent after him from the Carthaginians, who after so great a benefit received, hated the Author of it, who being once dead, they thought it would quickly be forgot that their Country was preserved by a Foreigner.

Others deny *Xanthippus* thus to have perished, yet confess the Treachery of the Carthaginians, who at his Departure allotted him an old ship, full of Leakes, fairly pitched over as if it had been found, but that he discovering the Cheat, went aboard on another ship and escaped the danger. About the same time they committed another fact of no less Treachery, but much danger. About the time that they perished thereby. The Mercenaries in somewhat a more cruel, by reason of the number that perished together. The Mercenaries were put into tumultuous manner claiming a Reward of their pains taken, and happy Valour, were put into some other place they should have their Desire: But the Captains of the ships who had such private Order, landed them and left them in a Barren Land, where being destitute of all help from man, without food, without ships, having famine on one side, and the Sea on the other, they pined away and perished; a fowl and horrid kind of Death. Others referre this Fact to former times, when there was warre between the Syracusans and Carthaginians, and that the Island was thereupon called *Offshore*, or the *Bonie* Land, it lieth in the main Sea beyond *Lipara* Westward. And if thus they served their do nothing disagree with the Carthaginians usual Cruelty. And if thus they served their Friends and Associates, it is no wonder, they were more then ordinarily severe against their Enemies. Other Prisoners indeed were somewhat well used, for they likewise had many Cives. But against *M. Regulus* Captives at *Rome*, for whom they intended to make an Exchange. But against him all manner of they could neither cover nor moderate their Anger, but vexed and afflicted him all manner of ways; they allowed him food which was neither pleasant to the Palate, nor strengthening to the body, but which with much ado was a slight nourishment served to produce his Miserable life. But more grievous were the Contumelies and Reproaches daily heaped upon him, amongst the rest, they would frequently on a sudden introduce an Elephant, to fright him with the noise and ugly shape of it, not suffering him to rest neither in Mind or body, and being thus miserably handled, and brought low, they cast him into the common Gaole.

When these things were heard at *Rome*, the City was filled not only with great grief but with fear also; for they mistrusted least the Carthaginians, provoked with the sense of their own calamities, and encouraged by this victory, should recompense them in the like kind, and dare to come even to the walls of *Rome* to inflict on them the same mischiefs themselves had suffered. The Senate therefore commanded the Consuls, *To strengthen Italy as diligently as might be with sufficient Garrisons, themselves with a vast Navy to sail into Sicily, and thence if they thought fit into Africa, to divert the Carthaginians from any expedition into Italy.* But the Carthaginians in the first place made it their care to reduce those Cities which the Romans had possessed, to punish those Africans who had revolted from them, and by strength of arms to vanquish those who persisted in rebellion. *Clepea* was indeed by the Romans stoutly defended, but in *Numidia*, and over the other Africans (though their war was great) their victory was easy.

In the mean time, understanding that a great Fleet was preparing in *Italy*, they left the siege of *Orica* which they had commenced, trimmed up the old ships, built new ones, and audaciously endeavour'd to prevent the Romans from landing on the shore. The Consuls used such incredible diligence, that by the beginning of Summer they had three hundred and fifty ships ready fitted and laden, with which sailing to *Sicily*, when they found all things safe there, and no danger, but that they were full of expectations and fears, they left Garrisons where most need was, and with the rest of their army landed towards *Africa*. But being by a tempest forced upon *Calura* (an Island between *Africa* and *Sicily*, near the Promontory of *Lilybæum*) they waited the grounds there, took a City of the same name, and plac'd a Garrison in it. Then they set forward to the Promontory of *Hermæum*, which being in the mid-way between *Carthage* and *Clepea*, shutteth in one side of the Carthaginian Gulf. At this place the Carthaginian Navy met them, and a very sharp fight was enter'd on both sides, when help came to the Romans from *Clepea*, which totally inclin'd the victory, being before doubtful. An hundred and four of the Carthaginian ships were sunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thousand soldiers lost; on the Roman side eleven hundred men were lost, and nine ships. The fleet then sail'd to *Orica*, where they landed their men, and pitched their Camp near the City. The Carthaginians likewise brought their forces thither under the conduct of *Hanno*, where in a land fight they were overcome with the loss of above nine thousand men. There were some Noble men taken prisoners, whom the Consuls reserved whereby to redeem *M. Regulus* and others who were in the like condition. They then consulted on present affairs, and conceived great hopes they might keep *Africa* in possession: Nevertheless the country round about being plunder'd and spoiled, they, fearing a famine, thought fit to return into *Sicily*, together with those Romans who had defended *Clepea*. They carried away very vast and rich spoils, which had been laid up in *Clepea* in the time of *Regulus*'s prosperity, and much increased by late victories. They had a safe Voyage into *Sicily*, and sufficiently fortunate had been the Consuls if they would have set a bounds to their happiness. But because in their return to *Italy* they thought by the by to take some Port towns of *Sicily*, not regarding the ship-masters counsel (who advised them, *Not to sail in such dangerous and rough seas against the coast of Africa, nor Orica and the Dry Star were rising*) they suffered such shipwreck by tempest as hath hardly been heard of, of three hundred and four ships, scarce four score, having cast out all their lading, were saved; much about the same number of horse-boats and other sorts of vessels were lost, inasmuch as the whole shore even from the coast of *Canaria* (where the storm began) to *Pachynus*, was filled with the Corps of dead men, and bodies, and pieces of broken ships. In this their hard distress the humanity of King *Hiero* was no small comfort to them, who bountifully entertain'd them, furnishing them with cloaths and victuals, and tackling for their ships, and conducted them safe to *Messana*. But the Carthaginians made no delay to take advantage of this their misfortune, they presently regained the Island and City of *Calura*; and forthwith crossing over into *Sicily* besieged *Agrygentum* under the command of *Carthago*, and no relief coming, they took it and demolished it: A great multitude of persons were here slain and taken prisoners, the others, who escap'd through the midlands into the territories of *Syracuse*, plac'd themselves in a Village near the Temple of *Jupiter Olympus*. Neither were they out of hopes of recovering the whole Island, but that the Romans ally'd as confirm'd and strengthen'd themselves against present fears, hearing what diligence was used in preparing a new Navy; for the Consuls were to intent upon the work, that with wonderful speed, in the space of three months, an hundred and twenty ships were built. With these *Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cn. Scipio Africanus*, and *A. Atilius A. F. Cn. Calpurnius* being Consuls again, having made a new levy of Rout soldiers, were commended with the first opportunity to set to sea. This *Cn. Cornelius* was a great example of the Inconstancy of Fortune, and of Patience in Adversity; for having seven years ago, when he was Consul, been circumvented by the craft of the Carthaginians, and suffer'd captivity, imprisonment and chains, and whatsoever misery is incident to mankind, he now resum'd not only the other Ornaments of his degree, but likewise the Consular Dignity with so much the more joy, by how much the sadder misfortune he had been before bereav'd of them.

The Consuls having arriv'd at *Messana*, and joyn'd to themselves what ships they found there, being chiefly the Relicks of the last shipwreck, sail'd with two hundred and fifty ships to

to the mouth of the River *Himera*, and took by treachery the Town of *Cephaladium*, some eighteen miles distant upon the same shore: From *Lepanum* (for thither they had steer'd their course) they departed without effecting their purpose, being not able to take it on the sudden, and *Carthago* having sent thither supplies in case of a siege. Being not thereby discourag'd from farther attempts, they happily accomplished another design of greater moment. They directed their course to *Panormus*, the principal City of the Carthaginian jurisdiction, and possessing the Haven, sat down under the very Walls, and the Panormitans refusing to yield, they encompass'd the City with a Ditch and Bulwark. The nature of the ground favour'd their intencments, yielding plenty of materials and wood for their works, which being finish'd, they began the assault, and battered down with their Engines a Tower by the sea side, and the soldiers entering by the breach, with great slaughter of the enemy, took the outward City, which was call'd *New Panormus*; the old City did not long hold out, for a great number flying thence out of the new City, bringing along with them more terror than provisions, they were dejected with consideration of their present danger, and fearing sudden scarcity, sent messengers to the Consuls with proposals to yield up all but their bodies; the Consuls knowing the wants of the beleag'd, accepted not the conditions unless they would redeem themselves at a certain price. Every head was valued at two *Mine*, fourteen thousand persons were ransom'd, the rest, being thirteen thousand were sold together with the plunder. This Victory was very glorious, of great and sudden concernment, for hereupon many Towns on that coast, some also far distant, call'd out the Carthaginian Garrisons and submitted themselves to the Romans. The Jetines began, and their example was followed by the Soluntines, Petrinæ, Tyndartians and others. Affairs being thus transacted, and a Garrison left at *Panormus*, the Consul return'd to *Messana* and so to *Rome*. The Carthaginians lying in wait for them at their return, surpris'd some ships of Burthen with many in them.

At *Rome* there was two Naval Triumphs made immediately one after another, by the former year Consuls (whose command was prorogued) over the Coſſutians and Carthaginians; *Serv. Fulvius* triumphed the thirteenth of the Calends of *February*, and *M. Atilius* the day after. The five hundred year after the foundation of the City a fruitless expedition was made into *Africa*. *Cn. Servilius Cn. F. Cn. Capio*, and *Cn. Sempronius Ti. F. Ti. N. Bleſus* 500 being Consuls, cross'd over into *Sicily*, where having in vain attempt'd *Lilybæum*, they directed their course to *Africa* with two hundred and three score ships; and sailing along the coast and sometimes landing, they took many Towns and got great plunder. They effected nothing of greater moment, being hindred of entering into the most convenient Towns by the Carthaginians who every where met them with very good courage, having recovered whatsoever *M. Regulus* had possess'd, and punish'd the revoltors. For *Hamilcar*, having ranged through *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, had reduced and quitted all that tract, imposing a fine of a thousand Talents of silver, and twenty thousand Oxen, and punishing the prime men who were thought to favour the Romans, three thousand whereof were crucifix'd. But the enemies encounter was not so formidable to the Romans as their own ignorance in the places, and their dangers in the sea; for failing to *Meninx*, an Island of the *Lophagi*, near unto the lesser *Syrtis*, they struck upon shallow places, the Tide going out, and were detain'd till the ships being emptied of their burthens, were by the Tide coming in again relieved from extreme danger. Having therefore escap'd to great a distresse, and fearing those dangerous places, without delay they sail'd away as if they fled, not that no less a calamity attend'd them then what they had avoid'd. To *Panormus* indeed they return'd very safe, but in their Voyage to *Italy*, as they sail'd about the Promontory of *Pulcinurus*, which reacheth out into the sea from the Lucanian Mountains, a terrible storm arising sunk above three score great ships, together with many horse-boats and vessels of Burthen. The City being exceedingly griev'd at the loss, as if the very winds and water deny'd the Romans the Sovereignty of the sea, the Senate decreed that their Navy should consist but of three score ships, for the guard of *Italy* and transportation of provisions to their Army in *Sicily*. Nevertheless this misfortune hindred not one of the Consuls *C. Sempronius* from his Triumph over the Carthaginians on the Calends of April, ten days after *C. Cornelius* Proconsul had made the like Triumph. There were Censors that year created at *Rome*, but *L. Posthumius L. F. L. N. Argilus* (who was likewise then Pretor) dying in his Office, the other Censor *D. Junius D. F. D. N. Pera* did also lay down his Office.

The next Summer *C. Aurelius L. F. Cn. Cotta*, and *P. Servilius C. F. Cn. N. Geminus* being Consuls, cross'd over into *Sicily*, and amongst other Towns took *Himera* (upon the River *Himera*) but void of Inhabitants, whom in the night time the Carthaginians had carry'd away. Yet it was a great advantage to have the possession of so considerable a place, and hereby the Romans wip'd away that disgrace they had heretofore receiv'd at this City, for they had failed of their expectation of taking this City (named likewise *Therma*) by the covetousness of their soldiers. [For a certain Captive within the City, to whom was committed the custody of one of the Gates, that he might thereby recover his liberty, did upon an appointed night give admittance to the Roman Soldiers, who were sent to take possession of the City. When the chief of them were enter'd, they desiring to ingross the richest spoils unto themselves, gave the order, *To have the Gates shut again and no more men to be let in.* Whereupon the Thermitas receiving an Alarme took arms, and the Romans by reason of their small number not able to resist

refist, and having no relief from their Friends, whom they had shut out, were rewarded according to their Folly, being very man of them slain.] *Himera* being thus reduced into the Roman Power, *C. Aurelius* the Consul thinketh of besieging *Lipara*, which had been so often vainly attempted, And in order thereunto gathereth together the choicest souldiers they had in all *Sicily*, and borrowing ships of *Hieraportus* transporteth them into the *Liparaean* Island. From whence having occasion to return to *Messana*, to consult the Entrails of Sacrifices, he deputed his Lieutenant in the siege his Kinsman *P. Aurelius Pseudula* (some say *Q. Cassius* a Colonel) with order, diligently to defend the Works, but otherwise not to fight at all: But he, not observing the Consuls advice, and thinking it would much redound to his Credit, to take *Lipara* in his absence, made an Assault upon the City, and that to his Cost; for, not being able to Master it, he lost many men, and by a fallly out of the Town had one of his Forts set on fire, having also much ado to defend his Camp. But upon the return of *Aurelius*, Fortune wheeling about, there was a very great slaughter made at the taking of the City, after which he proceeded to the punishment of the Colonel, whom he commanded to be beaten with stripes, and take pay among the common souldiers; a very remarkable severity, whereof he made some other proofes in the time of his Consulship. When *Lipara* was taken, an Immunity was granted to the Posterity of *Timasibius* (once Governour of these places) that they should for ever be free from all Taxes and Tribute; wherein the Romans manifested the constancy of their Thankfulness, not to be outworn by time; because when the Pirates of *Lipara* had taken a Golden Cup, which they had sent to *Apollis* of *Delphos*, *Timasibius* called both it, and the Embassadors who conveyed it, to be safely conducted into *Greece*, and the Men back again to *Rome*.

The Romans afterward besieging *Ereba* a very strong Castle, with forty thousand foot, and a thousand Horse, were neither able to take it, neither durst they fight with the Carthaginians: For since the misfortune of *M. Regulus*, the Romans stood so much in fear of the Elephants that they always avoided Battell. Oftentimes within the Territories of *Lilybaeum*, and often in the *Selinuntian* fields, they have stood in Battell-array about halfe a mile from the Enemy, yet durst neither venture according to their wonted Courage, to begin the Charge, or defend into plain and open ground, but still kept themselves in craggy and difficult places. The Carthaginians hereupon erecting their Spirits, (seeing they now had Confidence in their land Army, and knew the Romans had had greater losses by tempests at Sea, then themselves by unluckie fights, especially having intelligence of the Senates Resolution to set out no more Navies) conceived hopes of recovering *Sicily*, if they did but send good store of land and sea-forces thither. But their main impediment was want of Money, the late continuall Warres having exhausted their Old store, and consumed their new raised Taxes. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Ptolemy* King of Egypt, to borrow two thousand Talents of Money. The King being loath to offend either them, or the Romans (being both in League with him) offered himself as a Mediator of Peace between them: But notwithstanding all opportunities he denied the Carthaginians Request, saying, *He would willingly help a Friend against an Enemy, but thought it not fit to assist one Friend against another*. About the same time at *Rome* *Tib. Coruncanius* was the first of the Plebeians who was created Chief Priest. The same year also Censors were created, because the Duties of that Office could not last year be performed, one of the Censors dying, and the other laying down his Commission, *M. Valerius M.F. M.N. Maximus Messalla*, and *P. Sempronius P.F. P.N. Sulpus* made the seven and thirtieth Lustration. Two hundred ninety-seven thousand, seven hundred ninety seven Citizens were rated. This was a sad and severe Censurship, for in taking a view of the Senate, Thirteen were degraded, four hundred young Knights had their horses taken away, and made common stipendiarie souldiers. This came to pass by the Complaint of *C. Aurelius* the Consul, who informed the Censors, *That in Sicily, when need required, being commanded to their Duty, they had refused to obey*. The Consul, not content with this Revenge for their contempt of Discipline, prevailed likewise with the Senate to keep back their Pay. And truly as times then went, the consideration of his severity and strictness of Discipline, as well as his exploits performed, was occasion of his Triumph made over the Carthaginians and Sicilians upon the Ides of April. The next year was fuller of Threats, then action: For great preparations being made on both sides, and each standing in some fear of the other, the whole summer passed away without any considerable thing done. *L. Caecilius L.F. C.N. Metellus*, and *C. Furius C.F. C.N. Pacilius*, being Consuls, transporting their Legions over into *Sicily*, neither themselves much provoked the Enemy, or were provoked by them, though *Ardubal* a new Carthaginian General was lately come thither with two hundred ships, an hundred and forty Elephants, and twenty thousand Horse and Foot. This business caused the Senate to enter into Consultation of preparing another Navy; for the Publick Treasures began to be exhausted by protracting the Warre, and since the Misfortune of *M. Regulus*, the Legions degenerated from their wonted Valour, and though all things should succeed prosperously at Land, yet 'twas manifest, the Carthaginians could not be kept off *Sicily*, so long as they had the sovereignty of the Seas. Refusing therefore their former resolutions, they began to put confidence again in their ships, and with all care to trimme the old, and build new ones. In the mean time *L. Metellus* being left at *Panormus*, *C. Furius* returned to *Rome*, to the chusing of the new Consul, who were *C. Atilius M.F. M.N. Regulus*, and

and *L. Manlius A.F. P.N. Vulso*, to these was committed the charge of preparing the Navy 503
and men for the ships; *L. Metellus* was continued in his Command, with Commission to manage 504
the War in *Sicily* as Proconsul.

Ardubal understanding that one of the Romans Generals was absent with half their forces, and computing with himself, that though the Armies had long stood in Battell-array one against the other, the Romans had out of fear declined fight, being now no longer able to bear the complaints of his own souldiers who accused him of cowardize, he drew all his forces out of *Lilybaeum*, and after a long and difficult march through the *Selinuntian* Territories, he invaded those of *Panormus* and there pitched his Camp. It fortuned, that the Proconsul, with the remainder of the Roman strength was then at *Panormus* to guard their Associates, now harvest grew on, in reaping and carrying in their grain. He, having intelligence that some of the enemies spies lay secretly at *Panormus*, commanded every man in the City to meet together in an Assembly, then giving order they should examine one another, and question those who were least known, *What they were, or what business they had* at *Panormus*, found out the spies and seized on them. By them he understood the enemies designs, and observing there was more rashness then good counsel in their expedition, pretended great fear, and kept himself within the walls of the City, that he might increase their foolish confidence. Whereupon *Ardubal* growing bolder, advanced his forces, spoiling and burning all the corn in the fields, and marching up even to the walls of the City. The Proconsul regarded neither the loss sustained nor the disgrace thence redounding, foreseeing that if he did a little longer forbear, the Carthaginians would sufficiently satisfy him for both with good life. Above all, he thought good to expect till they crossed the River *Orethrus*, which runneth on the South side of the Town, and then he had contrived a sure and sudden Victory. To effect this, as all other things were ordered to figure his fear, so he placed but few souldiers upon the walls, desiring that the enemy should not understand either the courage or number of his men. This counsel succeeded according to his expectation, both the enemy by his confidence and fortune by a sudden chance furthering the design: For *Ardubal* Forded the River with his Foot, Horse and Elephants, and planted his Camp close under the walls of the City, with so much contempt of the enemies Cowardize, that he pitched his Tents without any works of defence about them, thinking there was no need of ditch or bulwark.

Thither the Suters and Merchants bringing great plenty of Corne and Wine, the Mercenaries drank stoutly, and elevating their voices according to their several dialects, in much noise and confusion gave good notice of their present temper, that they were not very sober. Then did the Proconsul think the fittest time to send those his men who were ready armed to provoke the enemy to fight, and it succeeded so happily, that still sending out by degrees fresh supplies, *Ardubal's* whole Army at length came out of the Camp. *L. Caecilius* the Proconsul placeth part of the light armed men before the Trench, giving order, *If the Elephants approached to sling their darts at them, and if they found themselves sore pressed to retire into the Trench, and thence come out again to a fresh charge*. The mean Artificers and common rout he commanded to carry darts and weapons, and sling them over the wall that the light armed men should not want plenty of them. Himself with his companies completely armed, stood in Rank and File within the gate over against the enemies right Wing. They who were already engaged sometimes being overpowered in number retreated in good order, sometimes being assisted by supplies from the Town did maintain the fight. When the Rectors of the Elephants desiring in emulation to seem Authors of the Victory as well as *Ardubal*, and advancing with their beasts, beat back those who opposed them, and rashly pressing upon them (as they retired toward the City) came up even to the Trench. But then a shower of Arrows flying from the walls, and fresh light armed men assaulting them with Spears and Darts, the Elephants being wounded began to rage, and balking themselves which way sooner armed and pained them, turned upon their own men, trampled under foot, routed and disorder'd whole companies of armed men.

Whereupon the Proconsul crying, *This is the time of the long look for Victory*, issued out, and being fresh and in good rank had an easie victory over the confused multitude of the enemy; there was a great slaughter made both in the field and in the pursuit, their calamity being increased by a sudden chance which one would have thought of advantage to them: For about the same time the Carthaginian Navy appearing at shore, the whole multitude trembling and blind with fear, promiscuously ran thither as to the only refuge, in which hardly burly mauls were trodden under feet by the Elephants; many venturing to swim, and many too hastily scaling the ships and tumbling down perished in the sea. Neither before this time nor after it, amongst all their prosperous exploits, had the Romans any Victory more glorious; whereby the Romans resumed their former confidence and courage, and the enemy was so disheartened with fear, that they cast off not only all hopes but all thoughts of a land Army so long as that War lasted.

Twenty thousand Carthaginians are said to be slain, six and twenty Elephants were presently taken, and afterward all the rest. For the Proconsul thinking it hard for his ignorant men to catch the beasts being loose and enraged, commanded a Cryer by Proclamation to promise, *Liberty and safety to any prisoner by whose means the Elephants should be taken*; hereby laying

Zonarus

Frontinus
Strategem. 4. 1.
Val Max. 3. 7. 4.
Zonarus

Val. Maximus

Olympus
4. 1. 18.
Livie 5. 18.

Diodorus

Zonarus

Appianus upon
Pulvium.Livie Epitome
18.

Tabula Romae.

Val Maximus.
2. 9. 7.Frontinus
Strategem. 4. 1.
Columna
Capitolina502
Origen 4. 9.
Polybius
Euphrasius

Diodorus

Zonarus

Polybius

Flavius de
rebus Siculis.
Frontinus
Strat. 3. 17

Diodorus

Polybius

Frontinus
Strat. 3. 5Polybius
Diodorus
ZonarusFlorus 2. 5
Origen 5. 9
Zonarus

From.
Stratagem. 1. 7.
Zeno's
Plin. 8. 9.
Zeno's.

Orogus

first hold on those who were most gentle and familiar, by their help they easily brought in the rest. *L. Metellus* sent them all to *Rome*, having invented a pretty way for their transportation, for his ships not being fit for the purpose, he gathered and bound together many Hog-heads, fastening a Rafter between every two that they should neither dash together nor yet part one from the other, then planking them over, spreading earth and dirt upon them, and erecting walls on each side in the form of *Rables*, the Elephants otherwise very fearful of sailing by water, entered them and were safely conveyed to *Rhegium*.

Adruball from this overthrow escaped to *Lilybæum*, but being condemned at *Carthage* while he was absent, and afterward upon his return apprehended, he was accordingly executed. The Carthaginians now considering their Armies were routed, their Elephants taken, all *Sicily* lost except *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, that the Romans having again set out a Navy, were very potent both at land and sea, began to think of Peace, willing to accept of it on any tolerable conditions. Whereupon they remembered *M. Regulus* and the conditions he once propounded to them, and persuaded themselves that by his means they might prevail either for peace or at least for what they next desired, an exchange of prisoners; nothing doubting but that for his own sake he would effectually interpose himself in such a business: For what man can be imagined so obstinate as not to free himself from the miseries of a *Gaule*, and desire to see his dearest relations, and enjoy his Liberty, Country, Dignities and Honours? *M. Regulus* had a wife and children at *Rome*, friends and kindred in the Senate and public offices, a Cousin German now Consul, he is both much beloved by the Senate and people of *Rome* for his former victories, and pined for his afflictions; if therefore he beareth any good will to himself, or findeth any respect from his friends, no man certainly will be more earnest in prosecuting, or is more likely by favour to effect such a design. He accepted the employment, not out of any hope or desire to do himself good, as afterward appeared, but that he might in person the more effectually move the Senate to have a care of the Commonwealth. So being joined with the Carthaginian Embassadors, when he was come to the City, he would not enter the Gates though much entreated by the Romans, alleging, *The Customs of his Country to give Audience to the Embassadors of an enemy without the City*. The Senate being accordingly assembled, he amongst the Carthaginian Embassadors delivered his Message, *That himself also being by the War a servant to the Carthaginians, had command from his Masters to propound chiefly, That the war may be concluded upon what terms should seem fit to both parties, or that at least an exchange of prisoners would be granted*. The Embassadors presently withdrawing, he likewise accompanied them; neither, though he was earnestly solicited, would he be present in the Senate at the debate of the business till the Carthaginians assented to it. Then sitting silent till his opinion was required, he thus expressed himself. *Conscript Fathers, I am still a Roman: my Body indeed, as Fortune would have it, is in the power of the enemies, but my Soul, not subject to Fortune, is still the same. Following therefore the reason of my Soul, which is my own, rather than the inclinations of my Body, which is another's, my advice is, You would neither exchange prisoners nor conclude a peace. For to restore the Captives, while the war continueth is disadvantageous: They have no Commanders in hold but my self who am an old man, you have many, and those young, amongst which are some no way to be despised. And to finish the war, unless upon very ample terms, or without a complete universal Victory, as it becometh not your Wisdom, so it is pernicious to the Commonwealth. I know you meet with many difficulties in managing the war, for no great affairs can be transacted without great pains and cost: But if you rightly consider the state of *Carthage*, you will find all things tending to victory to be much the better on your part. We were indeed once overcome in a great Battle, whether it were my fault or fortunes; but we have so often routed their Armies, that the confidence they had assumed upon my overthrow is now, by the Victory at *Panormus*, pressed down to the utmost despair. They have lost all *Sicily*, except one or two Cities, and in the other Lands their condition is naught. You have a Navy which they dare not encounter, so that in that part of the war we are also superiours. And the losses we have sustained by Tempest hath bereaved you of so much strength as it hath taught you Circumpection. The want of money perhaps is equal on both sides; but the Italians are more obedient to you than are the Africans to the Carthaginians, whom as they never truly loved, so have they of late learnt to hate more perfectly. For not being provoked by any such injury they revolted freely to me, but now since their former malice have walked their Grounds, plundered their Cattel, exacted their Monies and slain their Nobles, what do you think they can more desire, than that a new Army would come from hence into *Africa*? But that your Leavies of men are easy and large, that your Soldiers are valiant, of the same Language, the same Mind, the same Manners, Religion, City and Kindred, I take to be so great an advantage, that if in all things else we were exceeded, this one only thing would be sufficient to balance the war, and make the Victory doubtful on the enemies side, for what help is there in a company of Mercenaries against such a force? and if there were any, the Carthaginians have bereaved themselves of it by their cruelty, and they have made it now as difficult to hire Strangers, as it was before to govern them. *Xanthippus* to whom *Carthage* is indebted for its preservation, having been so ingrately and treacherously used, is sufficient warning to others how they lend their assistance to such a people who know not how to recompence the greatest desert but by the greatest injuries. Nay, the very common and meanest*

Bar-

Barbarians, a Brutish and slavish sort of men, will be deterred by *Cædides* to often exercised upon their Fellowes, who have been sometimes murdered by hangmen, or their fellow Soldiers, sometimes exposed into barren and uninhabited Islands, receiving instead of the pay they have fought for, most inhumane punishments, and horrible deaths. And this Conscript Fathers is my Opinion, that neither Peace is to be made with *Carthage*, nor yet an exchange of Prisoners granted.

This Council displeased not the Senate, if it could have been executed with the safety of him who gave it; but the more he neglected himself for the Common good, the more they pitied him, and manifestly inclined upon any terms whatsoever to restore so Gallant and Generous a Person to his Country. And voices were given out, that *Spring he was now so happily returned from foreign Captivity, he might lawfully return into the City, or be detained there*. The High Priest likewise affirmed, that *he might stay, without incurring the guilt of Perjury*. But he to the Amazement of the Senate it self, with a fierce Spirit, and severe Countenance, proceeded, saying, *Why do ye not resolve this doubt? follow my Advice and regard not me*. Ye in vain attempt that which will be neither pleasing to your selves, nor profitable to the Country, nor honest in me. For suppose, for a while we would be willing and joyful to see me amongst you, when once the short spurt of this affection is vanished, the Benefits of my Return will make me more odious to you, than my absence made me desirable. For my part I am resolved not to live in that City, where after an African Slavery, I cannot maintain the dignity of an honest Citizen, and if I should desire it, my fidelity would hinder it, the remembrance of my sacred Oath would hinder it, and my Reverence of the Gods, by the Invocation of whom I assured the Carthaginians of my return. And should I forswear my self, I fear that Revenge would be taken not only on me, but on your selves, and the whole Roman People also. The Gods, believe me, are no vain things, and will not without Punishment be affronted by the Perjuries and Contempts of Man. If any one be of opinion that in Religion I may be absolved, that the books of the *Augurs* mention expiations of such crimes, and that Attorneys might be made by Ceremonies and Sacrifices for Perjury and Treason, I would have him understand the Majesty of the Gods is more severe, then being offended by Perjury, to be appeased by any Inventions of Men, neither is it agreeable to Reason, that a Guilt contracted by the sins of man, should be washed away with the blood of Beasts. As for my self, I am not ignorant that great and exquisite torments are prepared for me at *Carthage*. But to deceive a trait, I think to be worse then all of them, for this would indeed hurt me, as for the Torments they hurt only something about me. Think not that man miserable who is able to endure misery. Slavery, Reproach, Contempt, Grief, Hunger and Watching, I never yet esteemed evil, but now by a long custom they have left off to be troublesome to me. That they are tolerable, I have learnt by suffering them; and if once they be intended to that degree, as not to be born by Man, Death will quickly free me not only from them, but from all other Calamities. Nothing therefore is to be feared for him who feareth not Death, which is easy at any time to obtain, and cruelly I had inflicted it on my self, but that I thought it the part of a man rather to overcome sorrow then to avoid it. I have spoken these few and confused words, that ye may understand, I am not to be persuaded from my Opinion, and withall that you should not bewail me as an unfortunate and miserable Man: My Resolution is easy and constant: 'Tis my care to return to *Carthage*, what I shall there suffer I leave to the Gods.

'Tis reported that the more effectually to move them he affirmed, that before he was dismissed from *Carthage*, they had given him a gentle Poison, which by slow degrees feeding on his vital spirits, should consume him after the exchange was made. Wonderful was the constancy of this Man, who, rather then twere from the Rule of Honesty, did with more earnestness pursue Commodities, Torments and Death, then others avoid them; a true and profitable Lesson to Posterity. That those men only are prepared to endure any Torments, and are constant in their honest resolutions, who have a sense of their own nobility, and think themselves borne not onely for this world. For certainly *M. Regulus* would not willingly have undergone so great miseries, if he had not thought that after Death there are great Rewards for the Virtuous, and great punishment for evil men. The Senate therefore having made a Decree according to the opinion of *M. Regulus*, he with a settled countenance followed his Sullen and angry Masters, by whom it appeared that they would cruelly revenge the indignity of their repulse upon his Person, informed as many were moved to detain him against his will. Moreover his Wife *Marcia, and his Children making lamentable complaints, the Consuls said, *If he carried they would not deliver him up, neither would they hinder his going*. So he refusing to discourse with his Wife, and avoiding the Embraces and kisses of his little Children, was carried back to *Carthage*, where with cruel torments he was put to death. For cutting off his Eyelids, they kept him awhile in a dark place, then in the heat of the sunshine they suddenly brought him out, and forced him to look up into the sky, at length they put him into a Wooden chest (right over against the Sun) full of nails on the inside, and so narrow that he was forced always to stand upright; if at any time *Val Maximus*, he learnt on one side to ease his weary body, he was pricked and goared with the nails, and so in torment and continual watching yielded up the Ghost.*

This was the end of *M. Atilius Regulus*, much more glorious then his Life, though long led with

Tamili Men:
Thebri in Eu:
irapim.

Eutropius 6. 6

Silius 6. 2

Zeno's.

Tudimus
apud Agell:
um.

Silius 6. 6

Zeno's.

Silius.

Dio. apud

Fulv. Hrsfn.

Horat. car. 3. 5

Epian

public

Liv. Ept. 18.

Autor de viris

Ilus. c. 40

Plin. de Cit.

upon the arising of tempests, the tide being very violent, they rowed away
 But the very fame of the Work did for a time keep the Haven block't up, which very much
 troubled the Cathaginians: that they could now by no means hold intelligence with their
 friends, neither durst any man undertake to visit the Lilibertans and give an account of their
 Condition, till at length one Hannibal firnamed Rhodius ingaged himself to enter the City,
 and having viewed all things, to returne with a faithful Account. The promise pleased the
 Cathaginians: but they had little faith in it: because they knew befide the heapes of rub-
 bish, that the Haven was watched and warded by the Roman ships at Anchor there: But he
 having rigged a private ship he had, failed to one of the Ilands over against Lilibannum, and
 next day having a favourable wind, at ten of the clock in the day time, openly in the face of

[illegible]

Zonitae.
50.
Plin. i.
Diodorus
apud Val.

very smallest with too great severity; himself in matters of, the greatest moment miserably failing, even to madness. For he followed the former Consul, coule which he had so sharply condemned in damning up the Haven, and (what argued greater folly) he rashly and inconsiderately assaulting *Drepanus* lost a very gallant Fleet, no less by his own indiscretion than by the valour of *Adherball*. He persuaded himself and his soldiers, that the enemy not having intelligence of what supplies were come from *Rome*, might be unawares surprised at *Drepanus*; not believing that the Romans had either courage or strength sufficient to provoke them at sea. So that making choice of two hundred and twenty of the best ships with the stoutest Rowers, and most valiant men out of the Legions (for they offered themselves freely as to a flour business and certain prey, *Drepanus* being not above fifteen miles from *Lilybaeum*) he privately left sail about the third Watch, and had in the night time a prosperous Voyage, not being seen by the enemy. But at day break the ships being discovered not far from *Drepanus*, gave an Alarm to *Adherball*, because such a fight was there unusual, inasmuch as no doubt was made but that it was the enemy who approached; the Carthaginians were forced either presently to encounter and enter fight, or to suffer themselves to be surrounded and besieged by the enemy; this latter they resolved against, because, as it would have involved them in much trouble and danger, so it would have been imputed as a crime upon their miscarriage. *Adherball* therefore on a sudden called together his Sea-men, and by a Crier summoning the Mercenaries to an Assembly, in a short but very pithy speech admonished them what hopes there were of victory if they would readily and cheerfully take Arms, and what danger of a siege was imminent if they declined battle. When every man with one consent had agreed to follow his counsel, *Adherball* commending their obedience, forthwith gives order that they should take ship, and observing what course the Admiral steered (wherein himself failed) to follow it. Whereupon he before the rest sailed toward the main fleet, going out of the Haven just under the Rocks hanging over it at the same time when the Roman ships entered on the other side. *P. Clodius* finding the enemy at the white dismayed, or declining fight, as he had hoped, but stoutly prepared to defend themselves, was much troubled, and retreated back with his ships to encounter the enemy in the open seas. But his were in no good order, but as chanced they had outfailed one another, some were entered the Haven, others were making toward it, and some were just in the mouth of it. Whereupon it came to pass, that while they all endeavour'd to make a sudden return, they dashed one against another, and struck their Oars together, till being got out of the Haven as well as they could, because they wanted time, they ranged themselves in Battel-array just under the shore.

The Consul, who had failed in the Rere before, now changing his Station, came before all and placed himself in the left Wing; but the Carthaginians failing by the enemies left Wing with five Beaked ships, tacked about facing the Romans, and had the open sea on his back, other ships as they came he commanded to place themselves at a convenient distance, and when all were order'd according to his mind he fetch forward against the enemy. And now sign of Battel being given from both the Admirals they fiercely encounter on all sides, at first with equal hopes, but afterward to the Carthaginians better fortune. For though they had the lesser number of ships, to wit, but ninety armed; in other respects they did exceed, for their ships were better and their water-men more skilful; they had likewise made choice of a most convenient place of fight, for as often as they were hard put to it they had free egress into the open sea, where they could easily by their swiftness avoid the enemy, or if he long pursued them, return and encompass him. But the Romans being so near the shore had not the like convenience, they could neither fall into the main nor with safety well retire, but as often as the enemy pressed upon them, they either stuck in the sands or endangered themselves upon the shore. Being therefore unable to break through the enemy by force and charge him in the Rere, by reason of the slowness of their ships and unskilfulness of the Rowers, and being cooped up in a narrow place not able from the Stern to help their fellows who were in danger, they were beaten to the Carthaginians little loss.

To these difficulties was added another cause of despair from their Religion, and they thought themselves worsted by the anger of the gods, because the Consul undertook to fight contrary to the indication of the Birds, adding likewise a fear to his neglect; for because the Chickens did not eat, he commanded them to be sung into the sea, that they might drink though they would not feed. This occurrence made the soldiers more slack and faint-hearted, fighting, as they thought, with the ill will of the gods. But the author of all this calamity, when he saw lost every thing else, he wanted neither wit nor boldness to preserve himself; for when he saw his ships in such numbers sunk and taken, he slipped away between the shore and the enemy with thirty ships which stood next him. And that he might safely arrive to his Army at *Lilybaeum*, being to sail by some of the Carthaginians Guards, he adorned his ships in token of Victory. The Carthaginians therefore imagining the Consul had been victorious, and that his other ships would suddenly follow, suffered him safely to pass by, being themselves much terrified and dejected. The enemy took all the ships the Consul left behind, even ninety and three, together with the Soldiers and Rowers, except only those who striking upon the shore, cast themselves on land and fled. But in the fight a great number were sunk; for *Clodius* brought above two hundred from *Lilybaeum*. This great victory cost the Carthaginians very little, for they lost

not a man, much less a ship, and very few are said to be wounded; of the Romans eight thousand men were slain, and twenty thousand taken.

About the same time likewise the Carthaginians took some ships laden with Corn from *Pachynus*, and carried them to *Drepanus*, and carrying provisions into *Lilybaeum* from the Territories of *Drepanus*, did plentifully relieve the besieged with accommodation of all sorts. Neither here did this year's fortune make a stop, but afflicted the Romans with another great calamity, whereby they lost not only the present possession of the seas, but all hopes of regaining it. For the other Consul *L. Junius* coming out of *Italy* with many ships of burthen, laden with Corn for the Army, and fifty beaked ships arrived at *Messana*, where he met with a great number of other Vessels, from the Army, and other parts of *Sicily*. Joining himself with these, he made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty long ships, almost eight hundred ships of burthen, and saileth to *Syracuse*. Being arrived thither, he sendeth the *Quintus* before with part of the Navy to *Lilybaeum*; himself remaineth at *Syracuse*, expecting those others from *Messana*, who were not able to overtake him, and taking in grain which his Midland friends brought down to the sea side. In the mean time *Adherball* having sent the Roman ships and Captives to *Carthago* (Fortune and Glory putting him forward to action) delivered thirty ships more to *Carthago*, who had brought seventy, with as many ships of Burthen from Africa, and sent him to drive out the Roman ships from the Haven of *Lilybaeum*, or to fire or sink them. He at break of the day entering the Haven with great Terror, some ships he boarded, and others he fired; in the mean time *Himilco* Governour of the City, made a sally with the Mercenaries upon those Romans who went to defend the ships, which caused great fear in the Camp. In fine *Carthago* having destroyed not very many, carried away five, and directed his Course to *Horacae*. Lying there in wait to obstruct the Romans Voyage to *Lilybaeum*, he heareth news of a considerable Navy of all kinds of ships sailing by.

He therefore joining other Commanders with himself, made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty good ships, confiding in which strength, and animated by former success, he presently maketh out of the Haven to meet the Enemy. By the shore of *Agus* the Navys came in sight one of the other, but the Roman Quæstors fearing a disadvantageous encounter, diverted their course to *Phintades*, a Town in League with the Romans; at *Phintades* there is no Haven, only the rocks running out into the sea afford a pretty safe riding for ships. Here the Romans landing, prepared themselves for the Enemies coming, having brought English of offence out of the Town, and placed them on the shore for safeguard of the ships. The Carthaginians at first resolved to have besieged the Enemy, thinking that out of fear they would have fled into the Town, and have left their ships for a Prey. But when the Romans stood stoutly to their own defence, and that they found the fight full of danger, likewise not much trusting in a place somewhat inconvenient for the ships they desired; and having taken a few Vessels laden with provision they sailed to the River *Halycus*, not far distant, there they healed their wounded men, observing the motion of the Enemy. Other Writers following, I believe, *Philinus*, affirm, that the Romans sustained greater loss; that the Quæstors being daunted at the first sight of the Enemy, in their flight to *Phintades* left behind their ships of Burthen, and all other Vessels but men of Warre, that in the fight fifty round Vessels, and therefore long ships were sunk, and thirteen *Triplis* and *Quadrifid* that then were made unfit for service.

Not long after the Carthaginians still abiding at the River *Halycus*, *L. Junius* the Consul, having done his business at *Syracuse*, sailing toward *Lilybaeum*, about the Promontory of *Pachynus*, was discovered by some of *Carthago*'s ships, who thereupon with all speed makes out to meet him (being ignorant of all passages at *Phintades*) that he might fight him as far from *Quæstor*'s Navy as might be, lest they should come in for his succour. The Consul seeing the Enemy make up toward him, not daring to fight, nor being able to avoid them, drives his ships into a rough and troublesome creek, near *Camerina*, a greater fear overcoming this lesser, lest his whole Army should fall into the Enemies Power. *Carthago* not daring to venture into the same place, takes up his station at a certain Promontory, from whence he might equally intend himself against either Navy. A while after, when the Winds blew high, the Carthaginian shipmasters (skilful in such Affairs) foreseeing a tempest, persuaded *Carthago* to forsake that station, and flee to *Pachynus*, and so the Carthaginians, but not without great pains, avoided the force of the Tempest. But both the Roman Navys utterly perished upon the Rocks, inasmuch that of the whole shipwrack there remained not a piece of board of any use, excepting only two ships, wherein the Consul with the small remainder of his men arrived at *Lilybaeum*. All the ships of provision were lost, and above an hundred long ships; but part of the Armie was saved, leaping into the sea and swimming to shore. The Senate, who had lately called home *P. Clodius* the Consul, for his miscarriage in *Sicily*, hearing also of *Junius* his misfortune, gave over all confidence in the seas, resolving nevertheless with all their strength and Council to prosecute the Warre by land. They thought good to continue the siege of *Lilybaeum*; appointing certain men to take care of conveying necessary accommodations in good season, to the Army there. Though the Carthaginians were Malters at sea, yet they were encouraged, in that at land they were superior, and that almost all *Sicily* was either under their power, or in League with them: But they were not pleased with their Consuls this year, neither did they think that things would succeed prosperously under the Consuls

Orosius 4.10.
Diodorus

Polyb. 1.55

Diodorus

Polyb.

Diodorus

Polyb.

Diod.

Polyb.

Diod.

Polyb.

Diod.

Polyb.

Diodorus

Polyb.

Diod.

Polyb. 1. 56.

Diod.

Polyb.

Orosius 4.

Polyb.

Diod.

Eusebius 2.

Livy Ept. 19

Polyb.

cont.

Polyb. 1. 49

Diodorus

1. 55

Polyb.

1. 46

Polyb. 1. 49

Diodorus 1. 1

Polyb. 1. 56

Eusebius 2

Cicero de natura deorum

2. 3

Florus 2. 2. 59

Val. Max. 1. 4. 5

Sueton. Tiber.

C. 2

Polyb.

Frontinus

Strab. 12. 1

Polyb. 1. 51

Eusebius

Diodorus

24. 1

not

Cicero de nat.
deor. 2. 3.

Livie Epitom.

Sueton in Ti-
ber.Fasti Capitoli-
ni.

Polyb. 1. 52.

Cicero de nat.
deor. 2. 3.

Val. Max. 8. 1. 4.

Livie Epitom.

Fasti Capitoli-
ni.

Plin. 7. 43.

Dion. 36.

Zonaras.

Polyb. 1. 55.

Dion. 34. 1.

Polyb.

Dion.

Zonaras.

Cicero de nat.
deor. 2. 3.

Livie Epitom.

Antist.

Augustin de Civ.
dei.

Plin. 7. 5. 1.

Fasti Capitoli-
ni.

Zonaras.

Dion. 33. 69.

24. apud vellei.

Orig. 4. 1.

Polyb. 1. 56.

Apian. apud

Fulv. Iustin.

Barclay's ad-
vance.

command, because they had profaned the Rites of Religion; for 'tis said that *L. Junius* did likewise set aside neglecting the Indication of the Birds. They fled therefore to a new and unusual Refuge, and created a Dictator to go into *Sicily*, whereas, before this time, never any one being empowered, had led an Army out of *Italy*. The Insolence of *P. Clodius* the Consul was then very notable, and almost incredible; For being commanded by the Senate to nominate a Dictator, he named *M. Claudius Glycias*, who was either his Scribe, or one of his Sergeants; as if he had not sufficiently offended his Countrey, by what losses he had brought upon it, unless he had likewise abused the Majesty of the Empire with such a scoffe. Whereupon the whole Senate being justly incensed against him, he was forced to resign up his Office, and was referred to the censure of the People. What Authors *Cicero* had read, report he was condemned, but others have observed, that when no Question was to be made but that the People would condemn him, he escaped by a sudden chance, a storm then arising which dispersed the Assembly; And it seeming hereby that the Gods interposed themselves, they thought not fit to ordain any more meeting for the purpose. But *Glycias* being forced to disclaim his Office, in that the City was affrighted to see a man of mean rank to be in Supreme Dignity, was nevertheless admitted to all spectacles after this time in a Noble Man's Robes. In his room *A. Attilius A. F. C. N. Calatinus* was nominated Dictator, who made *L. Caelius L. F. C. N. Metellus* Master of the Horse, he who had Triumphed over the Carthaginians. These two went indeed into *Sicily*, but performed no very memorable action there.

In the mean time *L. Junius*, much troubled at his cross fortune, and desirous to wipe away the blot of his shipwracke, by some noble Exploit, watching all opportunities of Action, did at length find a way to take *Eryx*, by the Treachery of some within it, whom he had corrupted by gifts and promises. *Eryx* is the highest Hill in *Sicily* except *Mount Etna*, situate between *Panormus* and *Drepanum*, in that part of the Island which lieth towards *Italy*, being more craggy toward *Drepanum*. In the top thereof there is a Plaine whereon standeth the Temple of *Venus*, therefore called *Erycina*, the Richest in all *Sicily*, just under the Top of the Mount, in the midst of the Assent, is a City of the same name, very hard to be approached upon, the way to which with much difficulty is overcome by long and narrow passages from the foot of the Hill; *L. Junius* therefore well understanding the nature of the place, appointeth a strong guard both upon the Ridge of the Mountain, and likewise in the narrow passages below, being very safe himselfe, and having the advantage with much ease to repulse the Enemy. He also encompassed *Erycinallus* with a wall, and strengthened it with a Garrison of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* landing his men there in the night time, stormed that Castle, and took and killed part of the Garrison soldiers, others escaped to *Eryx*.

The other passages concerning *L. Junius* are very doubtfully reported by Historians, some affirm he was taken by *Carthalo* at *Erycinallus*; Others, that he killed himselfe fearing to be condemned for the loss of his Navy. There is no less uncertainty whether the *Secular* sports were celebrated this year, or fourteen years after, when *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus* were Consuls. I think it more probable, they were celebrated this year, the fear conceived from their late overthrow, and hope of better fortune, inviting them thereunto, if their Religion were diligently performed. This was a very fruitful year, inasmuch as twelve pound of oile was sold for an Assis. In the mean time the Dictatorship being expired, or *Attilius* having resigned it up, *C. Aurelius L. F. C. N. Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Q. F. C. N. Geminus* were chosen Consuls. The Consuls were prettie successful in *Sicily*, yet obtained no great Victory, nor reaped any great profit for the Common-wealth. They kept in the Carthaginians of *Lilybaeum* and *Drepanum*, that they could make no large Excursions, nor so often as they had done, and took their Garrisons which were remote from the sea. *Carthalo* having made many attempts against them in vain, resolved at length to waste the *Italian* Coasts, that thereby he might divert the Consuls from *Sicily*; or if they refused to come back to succour their Country, depopulate their grounds, and take Cities. But fortune did not herein favour his designs. For the *Prætor* being sent out with the City-forges for defence of the Countrey, compelled him to return to *Sicily* without effecting his purpose.

Where when the Mercenaries mutinied for want of Pay, he exposed many of them in barren Islands, and sent others to receive their Punishment at *Carthage*. The rest being incensed hereby, began manifestly to revolt, so that a new warre was feared from them: But *Hamilecar* who succeeded *Carthalo*, coming in season, set upon them in the night time, slew some, and drowned others, the remainder submitting themselves, and begging pardon he received into Grace. This is that *Hamilecar* surnamed *Barrac*, one of the best Commanders *Carthage* ever bred, and indeed without compare, but that *Hanniball* was his son. From this time the Warre began to be more difficult on the Romans side; For having suddenly appealed the Mercenaries, he failed to *Italy*, and in very great compals spoiled the *Lærian* and *Bruttian* Territories.

But the Romans having found the faith of *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* very constant toward them, and his merits great, freely remitted unto him that yearly Tribute they had in the former League compounded for, and made a perpetual band of friendship and society with him. In the interim *Hamilecar* being returned out of *Italy* landed in the Panormitan Grounds, and pitched his Camp between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, in a place by nature very strong, it is called *Epirite*, an Hill craggy and full of cliffs on all sides, exalting it self from the circumjacent Region to a very

very great height; The top of it is not sharp, but continueth a plain of above an hundred furlongs, of a very profitable soil for the feeding of Cattel and bearing of Fruits, being open to the winds from sea, and void of all harmful and venomous creatures. Therein is a certain Hillock which supplieth the place of a Tower, from whence may be viewed all the grounds round about. Near it is a very convenient Haven for those that sail from *Drepanum* and *Lilybaeum* to *Italy*, with store of fresh water. There are three ways of ascending this Mount, two from the Land, one from the Sea, but all very difficult and full of obstructions. Here did *Hamilecar* plant his Camp with much confidence having no confederate City near him, and being in the midst of his enemies: But trusting in the strength of the place and his own courage and skill in Marshal affairs, he found the Romans worth enough, and very well settled the Carthaginian affairs, which now began to succeed well at home also. For another Carthaginian General, *Hanno*, who had a great estimation of *Hamilecar's* Virtue, to obtain honour, and employ the Army without the Commonwealth's cost out of the enemies Country, invaded a port of *Lybia* about *Hæmatampylus*, and having obtained the City, sent three thousand Hostages to *Carthage*; yet they did some play of their prosperity. For *L. Caelius L. F. C. N. Metellus* being the second time Consul, and *Num. Fabius M. F. M. N. Butto* being his Colleague, a Navy was built at the charge of private men, which waited the Coast of *Africa*. For though the Senate had again resolved against sending out of a Navy, yet at the Citizens request they gave leave to have one prepared, upon this condition, That they should safely restore those ships which were built at the publick Charge, reserving the prey to themselves; so that a Fleet was set out very considerable, which brought much terror and damage to the Coasts of *Africa* and assaulting Kings; *Hippo*, none of the meanest Cities, they fired the ships of *Hippo* and many buildings. In their return finding the mouth of the Haven chained up, by art and counsel they devised a way to explicate themselves out of present danger, for sailing with all the force they could, when they came near the Chain, all the men retired to the Stern, and for the Fore-Deck being lightened easily waded over the Chain; then suddenly running to the Fore-Decks and depressing them, the Stern likewise slid over, and they had free liberty of sailing, having delivered themselves from imminent danger.

After this escape, they fought with the Carthaginian Navy, and prevailed against them. The Roman Consuls divided their forces, *L. Metellus* besieged *Lilybaeum*, and *Num. Fabius*, *Drepanum*. Not far from *Drepanum*, toward the South, lieth an Island, or rather a Rock, which the Grecians call *Pellus*, we *Columbaria*, which the Consul formed in the night time, and flew the Carthaginian Garrison there. *Hamilecar*, who came to defend *Drepanum*, made no delay, but at break of day set forth to recover the place again, which the Consul observing, being not able to relieve his own men, with his whole strength assaulted *Drepanum*, whereby drawing *Hamilecar* from his design, he kept the land in possession, and afterward made much advantage of it in besieging *Drepanum*, for he dammed up the sea, and joyed it to the Continent; and because the Walls of the City were weakest on that side, he there began his assaults. But the encounters between *Hamilecar*, and these, and the Consuls of the following years, *Polybius* thinks impossible to be described because they were so many, and judgeth it unfit, lest it might give an occasion of the like. For *Hamilecar*, having his Camp at *Epirite* for almost three years together, had almost daily encounters with the Romans, especially when their Camp being before *Panormus* was scarce five furlongs distant from the enemy. For neither did they refrain from skirmishing, having their Armies so near; Neither did they ever come to the trial of a main battel having many hinderances, especially because their forces being equal and their Camps alike strong, they were likewise on each side protected by the vicinity of their Camp, to which the party worsted might quickly retire. Hence it came to pass that as in sight some were always slain, so when the battel declined they had a safe refuge to their Works. But while *Drepanum* was besieged, the Carthaginians Fleet infested not only the *Sicilian* but the *Italian* shores; and *Hamilecar* plundering as far as he could, wasted the *Italian* territories even to *Cuma*. Many of the Romans Citizens being fallen into the Carthaginians power by their incuriosities, and the *Sicilian* fights, the Roman Commanders agreed with the Carthaginians for an exchange of Prisoners, which party received any overplus back, was to give two pound and an half of silver for an head, and the Carthaginians receiving more then the Romans paid down the money accordingly.

I find two Colonies planted in *Italy* this year, one at *Æstum* the other at *Alifum*. There was likewise a Lustration made at *Rome* (being the eighth and thirtieth) by *A. Attilius A. F. C. N. Calatinus*, and *A. Manlius T. F. T. N. Atticus* being Consors; and there were rated two hundred fifty one thousand, two hundred twenty two, whereas in the former Lustration there were found little less then three hundred thousand; so great a number of Citizens were consumed by War and Shipwracks. Nevertheless the *Sicilian* army was duly recruited, the supply being by the Consuls *M. Otavius C. F. M. N. Crassus* (the second time Consul) and *M. Fabius C. F. M. N. Licinus*. These had a very busy and difficult warfare, but not being able to dispossesse *Hamilecar* of his strong holds, they performed nothing memorable. Which happened likewise to the succeeding Consuls for the same reason, as likewise because new Generals *Zonaras*, (being on the sudden every year elected against an old experienced Commander) spent more time in making their preparations, chusing their ground, and insinuating themselves with the soldiery.

Dion. 34.

Polyb. 1. 73.

Zonaras

506

Zonaras

Culverius de

antiqua 2. 5.

Zonaras

Polyb. 1. 59.

Zonaras

Polyb. 1. 66.

Liv. 22. 23.

Zonaras

Valleius 1. 14.

Fasti Capitoli-
ni.

507

Polyb. 1.58.

Diodorus 4.2.

Pellet. 1.4. 8.

Livie Epit. 19.

Ὀλομ.

ἀπαρ.

§10.

Zonaras

Polyb. 1.7.

Polyb. 1.77.

Zonaras.

Polyb. 1.59.

§11.

Livie Epitom.

19.

Tacit. 2.71.5.

Val. Maximus

1.1.13.

Cicero, Phil. 1.

8.

Athen.

1.1.13.

Livie Epitom.

Eusebius b.2.

Diodorus 4.2.

Polyb. 1.59.

Zonaras.

narrower bounds. The Romans (as hath been already declared) had planted a Garrison above the City *Eryx* upon the Top of the Mountaine, another below at the foot of the Hill. The natural strength and situation of the place, with the helpe of these guards, seemed sufficient to secure that City from fear of any surpris. But the boldness and Valour of *Hamilear*, making any thing possible, which he list to undertake, in a very short time reduced it into his Power. For he in the night time, setting forward with his forces, and without noisefcandling thirty furlongs up the Hill, himself marching in the head of the party, surprised the Romans unawares, and having slain great part of those he found in the Towne, he sent the rest to *Drepanum*. From this time the face of things was very strange, and the warfare very hard and severe, for *Hamilear* being now in the midst of two of the Enemies Garrisons, was himself besieged by them below while he besieged those above; both the Romans and the Carthaginians undergoing incredible paynes and danger, did for almost two years next infuene performe the office of most Valiant fouldiers; For the Camps being so neare there passed not a day, nay scarce an hour without alarms and skirmishes, neither party all this while fainting or yielded, neither did Victory or overthrow part them; but still they continued equal and unvanquished, desigining in the mean time to prosecute the Warre at Sea also.

This year a Colonie was planted at *Brundisium*, in the *Salentine* Territories, twenty yeares after that Countrey was subdued by the Romans. About this time *T. Cornicianus*, who was the first High Priest of the *Plebeians*, died in a great old age, and in his place succeeded *L. Caelius Metellus*. The next Consuls were *C. Fundanius C. F. Q. N. Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpicius C. F. Ser. N. Gallus*. By them the war with *Hamilear* was managed in the same manner, and with the same fortune as before, only the Mercenary Gauls, and others who kept Garrison in *Eryx*, being discontented for want of Pay, and other injuries, endeavour'd to betray the City to the Romans, but not being able to effect it, they revolted to the Consuls, and these were the first Forreigners the Romans ever entertained into society of Armes. Notwithstanding this access of strength, they were not able by their Land-forces to finish the War, chiefly by reason of *Hamilears* virtue, who could neither be circumvented by craft, nor vanquished by Force.

Once more therefore they consulted about setting forth another Navy to Sea; For by no other means could the Carthaginians be kept from *Sicily*, unless they were mastered by Sea. And they were much encouraged in their resolution, by reason of their former success, when the Navy was set forth at the cost of private men: But money was wanting, the Treasury being long ago exhausted with the charge of a continuall War. Then did the Noble Roman Spirit seasonably relieve the wants of the Common-wealth; so generous were the Senators, that in a time of publick danger they scorned to spare their private purses, out of which on the sudden more money was raised then the building of a Navy required. Those who were rich did every man undertake to build a *Quinqueme*, setting it forth completely manned and armed; others according to their estates joyned two or three together in the same design, upon this condition, that when the Common-wealth was restored to a better Condition, every man's money should be paid back again. By this means two hundred ships of five Oares on a side were made ready, according to the pattern of that Gally they had taken from *Hannibal Rhodius*. Great was now the expectation of all men, for being put to their last refuge, they resolved with this Navy of Necessity to hazard the Fortune of the whole War. While these things were in doing, *C. Lutatius C. F. C. N. Catulus*, and *A. Posthumus A. F. L. N. Albinus* entered the Consulship. *A. Posthumus* was then Priest of *Mars*, and therefore when he desired to call lots for his Province, *L. Metellus* the High Priest would not suffer him, pronouncing it unlawful for a Priest to depart from the place of his Office, and leave the Ceremonies unperformed, which was likewise allowed of, and agreed upon by succeeding Generations. The Senate likewise at the same time shewed a like Example of defending their Countrey's Religion, for they forbade *C. Lutatius* the Consul to ask counsel at *Preseste*, and manage the Affairs of the Common-wealth by direction of outlandish Auguries. Then intending their minds upon the War (because both the Consuls could not be spared with safety of their Religion, and one seemed not sufficient to bear the whole burthen) they ordained one of the *Prætors* (this being the first year wherein they began to create two) to accompany *C. Lutatius*, and it fell to the Lot of *Q. Valerius Falto*. These gathering together all the Publick and private ships to the number of three hundred, with Ferry-boats, and other Vessells to the number of seven hundred, as soon as Winter was over, sailed to *Sicily*, whether being come, they find both the *Liphetan* and *Drepanitan* Havens open for them; For the Enemy not expecting any Navy from *Italy*, were returned to *Africa* with all their ships. The Consul animated with this prosperous beginning, being by nature full of spirit, hating Idleness, and desirous of Action, besieged *Drepanum*, raising Workes against it; in the mean time not omitting to train up his Sea-fouldiers, daily exercising them (as foreseeing sudden use of them in fight) inasmuch as they who were utterly ignorant of Maritime Affaires and chances, seemed sufficiently prepared for any Encounter.

The City of *Drepanum* being fiercely assaulted both by Sea and land, and now reduced even to the utmost danger, part of their Wall being battered to the ground; It chanced that the Consuls

Confult Valiantly fighting in the head of his men, received a deep wound in his thigh; whereupon his Souldiers troubled at his fall, and running in to him, missed the opportunity of taking the place, when it was even almost in their hands: Before the Confall had recovered the use of his foot, news was brought of a great Carthaginian Navy approaching, to the number of six hundred ships, stored with provision for their Army, with a very great strength of souldiers, and abundance of Armes and Money. *Hanno*, a Carthaginian Noble Man, was Commander in Chief, his chiefe care was to get safe to *Eryx*, ease his ships of their burden, and so manning them with stout Souldiers from *Hamilear*, to return and fight the Roman Navy. His design was well contrived, but prevented by the wisdom and circumspection of *C. Lutatius* the Consul, who knew it would be of great moment to the Victory, to encounter the Carthaginians while their ships were heavy laden, and encumbered with the burthen of their own provisions. Therefore upon the Ides of March, filling his ships with choice souldiers, he saileth to the Islands *Ægates*, over against *Lilybæum*, where he discovereth *Hanno* coming from *Hieronefus*; then encouraging his Sea-men and fouldiers he appointeth next day for the fight: But at break of day he began to doubt, because the wind was arisen favourable to the Carthaginians, and contrary to himselfe. Weighing then the Reasons on both sides, he thought it safer to fight with the winds, and *Hanno* while he was alone, and had his ships laden, then suffer him to pass by to unlade his ships, and bring back into battell the flower of their foot Army, and also *Hamilear* himselfe, who at that time was very formidable. Observing therefore the Enemies ships as they passed by with full sail, he setteth forth out of the Haven, and to encourage his men, cauteh himselfe to be carried into the Admirall-Gally, having not recovered the use of his limbe: signe of battell being given on both sides, *Q. Valerius* performed the Office of General, by reason of *C. Lutatius* his infirmity, not suffering to supply the place. The fight lasted not long before it plainly appeared on which side the Victory inclined; for the Roman ships being light and nimble, did they were likewise in every thing else superiours, being taught by experience to avoid and amend whatsoever heretofore they had found inconvenient, and harmful; Their ships were built after the best fashion, they had carefully laid aside all lumber which was of no use in fight, their Rowers were lusty, and well trained up, and they had a very considerable strength of Legionaries; All these were very great advantages toward the Victory. On the other side, the Carthaginian ships were heavy with burden, their Rowers newly leaved, and their men negligent, as being in security; for they had hoped the Romans would no more have tried their fortune at Sea. Therefore, as it must needs be, where the difference is so great, the Victory was not long in obtaining, the Carthaginians lost an hundred and twenty ships, seventy whereof were taken, with all the men, to the number of ten thousand, the rest upon an happy change of wind in the time of fight, escaped to *Hieronefus*. This was that famous battell at the Islands *Ægates*, as it is chiefly described by *Polybius*.

For other writers affirm, that seventy three ships were taken, an hundred and twenty five sunk, two and thirty thousand men taken prisoners, and thirteen thousand slain, the Prizes taken were very great, not only in Provision and Armes, but in gold and silver also. Of the Roman Navy twelve ships were lost. It is reported that from the beginning of the fight, a fiery meteor was seen in the aire, threatening as it were the Carthaginian Navy with it's point directed against it, prefiguring the event which presently ensued. *Hanno*, with the rest of the ships which escaped out of the Fight, except those which fled to *Lilybæum*, returning to *Carthage*, was put to death for this his Misfortune. *C. Lutatius* the Consul went to the Army before *Lilybæum*, where, while his wound was in curing, he spent his time in taking an account of the ships, and Captives, and ordering how they should be dismissed. Thence he went to *Eryx*, where he fought *Hamilear* with good success, having slain two thousand Carthaginians. The Carthaginians at home understanding what a great Overthrow they had received, yet found that their spirits were great, yet found that they wanted strength and means, to renew and carry on the War. For they were not able, so long as the Romans were Masters at Sea, to supply their Army at *Eryx* with necessary accommodations; and, if that Army miscarried, they knew not where to raise any more fouldiers, or find a General they durst confide in. Being by this Necessity driven into despair, they sent to *Hamilear*, empowering him with full Comission to do what he himselfe should think it or convenient for the Republick: He having hitherto performed the Office of an excellent General, did now no less behave himselfe as a good Citizen. For having duly and seriously considered all arguments on both sides, when he found there was no other means but Peace, whereby to preserve the Common-wealth; he sent Embassadors to the Consul to treat with him thereabout. The mention of Peace was not welcome to the Consul, for being now shortly to lay down his Office, he could not by any means hope for the obtaining of a greater Glory, then that of having finished the War; and to transmit that to his successor which was in his own power to accomplish, and most properly belonged to him, he thought both unseasonable and unadvised: He was the more forward, as being very well conscious of the wants of the Common-wealth, and that he thought it fit his Countrey, after so many yeares continuall labour, should enjoy some rest. Wherefore after a long dispute of Articles on both sides, it was agreed, that the Carthaginians should totally depart *Sicily*, that they should not wage war against Hiero, and the Syracusans; or any of their

Orfius 4.10.

Polyb. 1.54.

Polyb. 1.60.

Livie 2.14.45.

Eusebius 1.

Zonaras 1.

Livie 1.

Polyb. 1.

Eusebius 1.

Val. Max. 1.8.1.

Florus 1.

Polyb. 1.61.

Florus 1.

Polyb. 1.

Diodorus 24.

Eusebius 1.

Orfius 4.10.

Eusebius 1.

Zonaras 1.

Orfius 1.

Zonaras 1.

Orfius 1.

Polyb. 1.

Cornel. Nepos 1.

Hamilear. 1.3.

Polyb. 1.

Cornel. Nepos 1.

Zonaras 1.

Polyb. 1.

Livie 1.

*Appian apud Fulvium Hir-
mum*
*Polyb. 8. 27 &
29*

Associates, that they should forthwith without ransom restore all Captives, and deliver up all Ransomed, that they should in the space of twenty years, by equal portions, pay two thousand two hundred Eubœan Talents of pure silver: That the confederates of each party might live secure and unmolested; That neither party should exercise any command, or make any public building, or raise any soldiers within the other's jurisdiction, nor admit the others associates into friendship and confederacy. 'Twas added, that these Articles were firmly concluded, if the people of Rome would agree thereto.

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But it could by no means be obtained (though the Consul earnestly insisted upon it) that the soldiers within Eryx should resign up their Arms; Hamilcar protesting, That he would rather sacrifice himself and his country to destruction, than yield to such a disgrace: Nevertheless he consented, That every man at his departure thence should pay eighteen pence. Hereupon messengers were sent both by the Consul and the Carthaginians to inform the Senate and People of the Conditions agreed upon. The people did not allow of the peace, but sent ten Delegates to take an exact account of all circumstances, who being returned, they heightened the Conditions, That the Carthaginians should presently lay down a thousand Talents, and within ten years after pay two thousand two hundred, that they should clearly quit not only Sicily, but all other Islands between that and Italy, that they should not fall in a long ship either into Italy or any of the Romans Islands, nor hire any Soldier from thence.

*Zonaras
Liv. Epit. 19
Polyb. 1. 66
Zonaras
Polyb. 1. 64
Polybius 1. 63
Appian apud Fulvium Hir-
mum
Polybius*

The Carthaginians, so they might have peace, refused nothing; Hamilcar, before the Articles were sworn unto, laid down his Command and went to Lilybæum, and from thence to Carthage, having approved himself, without comparison, the most excellent of all their Generals in that War, both in Courage and in Counsel. After this manner was managed and finished the first Carthaginian War, which lasted for four and twenty years with various chances and great losses, but to the greater damage of them who at last proved Victors. For they who have made a particular Account, report about five hundred Carthaginian ships to have been lost, and seven hundred of the Romans, which is a great argument of the Romans Constancy and Resolution, that, not regarding to many losses by fight, or shipwracks sustained, they did yet with patience bear and overcome the power of their Enemy, the frowns of Fortune, the tedious labour and pains, and the poverty of their Treasury.

*512
Fasti Capitol.
Zonaras
Polybius 2. 7
Appian*

After this the Government of C. Lutatius the Consul was prorogued, that he might settle affairs in Sicily; thither likewise was sent his brother one of the new Consuls, Q. Lutatius C. F. C. N. Cerco, whose Colleague was A. Manlius T. F. T. N. These did by their wisdom order the Province, and settled all things in peace and quiet, desisting all controversies and taking away all causes of quarrels and tumults, which after to great motions and alterations were unavoidably remaining. They disarmed all the Sicilians who adhered to Hamilcar, as likewise the Gauls who had revolted from him, furthermore the Gauls were commanded to depart out of the Roman Empire, because, besides other offences, when they were in the Garrison on the top of Mount Eryx, they plundered the Temple of Venus. The Sicilian Cities according to their several abilities were forced to pay Tribute and Custom; and it was made a Province, whither a Pretor was sent to command and govern yearly.

*Eutropius b. 2
Orosius 4. 10
Appian de Civ.
1. 18*

In the mean time Embassadors came from Carthage to intreat, They might redeem their Captives, and by Order from the Senate they were all restored without Ransome, as many as were in Public custody; they who were prisoners to private men were redeemed at a certain rate, the greater part whereof was by command of the Senate paid out of the Treasury. But unlucky accidents at home did much diminish the joy of the Roman people. The River Tiber did this year flow higher than ordinary, and filled all the lower parts of the City with large Pools of Water. Many buildings were by the first force thereof washed to the ground, and others, having their foundation rotted (for the foundation continued many days) after the fall of the water, did much decay.

*Val. Max. 1. 4. 4
Orosius
Val. Max.
Livie 2. 19. 19
Appian
Dionysius 1. 67
Orosius
Plinius 7. 43*

After this there happened a greater calamity by Fire, which suddenly beginning in the night time, and running through many streets of the City, destroyed an incredible multitude of houses and men; and, not content with private harms, consumed all the buildings in the whole Circumference of the Forum. At length it seized upon the Temple of Vesta; but then L. Cassilius the Chief Priest, seeing the Holy things and secret Pledges of the Roman Empire to be in danger, behaved himself worthy of his Office, for he leaped into the midst of the fire without any care of himself, so he might but rescue the Holy things which the Virgins had forsaken and left behind them, which accordingly he performed. Himself having his Arm half burnt and his Eye-sight spoiled, beside the comfort he received from his good act, was eminently rewarded by the people of Rome, who Decreed, That as often as he went to the Senate he should be carried in a Chariot, which from the Foundation of the City was never granted to any man before.

In the mean time Q. Lutatius the Consul, with his brother Catulus and Q. Valerius the Propretor, having settled affairs in Sicily returned home to the City and made each of them

them their Triumph; C. Lutatius Catulus on the fourth of the Nones of October, and Q. Valerius on the day before the Nones of the same month. There was a memorable strife between these two concerning the Triumph of Valerius; for Lutatius his Triumph being without dispute agreed upon, Q. Valerius contending that his pains and labour were equal in the Victory desired the like honour as he had undergone the like care and danger. Catulus on the other side alleged, That the lesser authority should not be equalized with the greater in the distribution of honours.

The question being hotly argued, Q. Valerius challenged Catulus to stand to arbitration, Whether or no the Carthaginian Navy were not overcome by his conduct? Catulus refused not to answer him; whereupon Atilius Calatinus was chosen Arbitrator, who asked Valerius, Whether the Consul's authority or the Pretors ought to have prevailed in case they had differed in their consultation about fighting? and in case their Auguries had been different whether of the two ought to have been followed? To which when Valerius answered, That in both cases the Consul's authority ought to have prevailed above the Pretor's; Calatinus not expecting till Catulus spoke, passed sentence on his side. But Q. Valerius, though he was cast by the judgment of the Arbitrator, did yet obtain liberty to Triumph, his virtue and courage having been very famous in that War. This year C. Aurelius Cotta, and M. Fabius Buteo being Censors, made the nine and thirtieth Lustration. There were numbered two hundred and three thousand Citizens; two Tribes being superadded, the one called Velina the other Quirina, the number of Tribes was made up five and twenty, and so continued. Sicily being now wholly subdued, as much as belonged to the Carthaginians, and peace with them concluded, all things seemed not only quiet but very safe and secure; when behold a sudden war, arising from whence it was least feared, did for a few days astonish all Italy both with the terror and fear of an intestine broil, as likewise with wonder at the speedy dispatch and issue of it.

The Falisci, I know not upon what account, grew so mad as to rise up in arms against the Romans; but the Consuls being sent with the Legions quelled them within six days, and reduced them to subjection. In the former battle, for 'tis reported two were fought, the Victory was doubtful, for their foot prevailed though their horse were routed. But in the latter the victory being on the Romans side complete, caused the Falisci to humble themselves and beg peace, having lost fifteen thousand men: upon their yielding they were fined with the loss of their arms, horse, household stuff, servants and half their Territories. Their City in whose strength they confided was translated from a craggy difficult place into plain open ground. The people of Rome were meditating a more severe revenge, out of anger against a City which had so often rebelled, but restraining their wrath by the advice of Papyrius (who had written the form of submission by the Consul's own command) That the Falisci submitted not to the Power but the Faith of the Romans: And so much did the sacred name of Publick Faith prevail with them all, that they adjudged the conquered party to no severer punishment than was agreed upon. This war gave occasion to have this year ended with the Triumphs of the Consuls; Q. Lutatius Triumphed on the Calends of March over the Falisci, A. Manlius the fourth of the Nones of March.

Faßli Capitoli 417. **Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus** and **C. Licinius P. F. P. N.** The Masters of the Revells were **M. Aemilius M. F. M. N. Sabinus**. In the mean time the Boian Princes, confiding in the multitude of Auxiliaries they had from beyond the Alps, sent to the Consuls demanding, That **Ariminum** with its Territories, which without doubt of right belonged to the Gauls, should be restored them, otherwise a terrible and Desultory War would ensue. The Consuls, having not drawn their forces together, durst not hazard those few they had in the fortune of a Battel, neither could they consent unto the Gauls their demand, they answered therefore, They should send Embassadors to the Senate, to signify their minds. The Gauls accepted of the condition, and a truce was concluded on for some days, while the Embassadors could go and return again. The Ambassadors at Rome received a denial from the Senate, and greater preparations were made for this War, whereof there was afterward no use, inasmuch as Fortune without the expence of Roman blood put an end to it? While the Embassadors returned, the Boians fought a set Battel with their *Transalpine* Auxiliaries, upon this Occasion; The Auxiliaries without the knowledge of the Boian people, had marched as far as **Ariminum**, whence a suspicion arose, that their main Errand was to possess that Territory themselves; the Boians therefore were so enraged, that having slain their Kings **Ates** and **Galatus** as Traitors, they endeavoured by force to expell these strangers out of their Land, whereupon a Battel was fought with much slaughter, and both sides being thereby much weakened, the *Transalpines* returned home, the Boians bought their Peace of the Romans with part of their Grounds. This war being so quickly dispatched, the Consuls went into *Liguria*: where **P. Lentulus**, having in a set Battel Overthrown the Enemy, led his Army through the whole Region, taking Castles, some by forme, some by composition. **C. Licinius** intending to sail over into *Corfica*, not having boats enough to transport his whole Army, sent **M. Claudius Glycias** before, with a Party; who, being vainly arrogant, when he saw that the Corficans were terrified at his coming, without any respect to the Consul by whose direction he was sent, or consideration of his own office and duty, made a league with them, upon certain Conditions, in his own Name; thinking thereby to attain unto himselfe the Glory of having reduced that Island. But the Consul following with the Residue of the Army, forbore not to prosecute them with armes (notwithstanding they alledged in their own behalfe the Claudian Peace) till he brought them into subjection. The Senate to clear the Commonwealth from the Imputation of Breach of Faith, ordered **Glycias** the Author of that dishonourable peace, to be delivered up into the hands of the Corficans; and they refusing to take him, he was put to death in the Common Gaole. This year were Censurs **L. Cornelius L. F. T. N. Lentulus Caudinus** & **Lutatius C. F. C. N. Cereus**, who made no Lustration because **C. Cereus** died in his Censourship. For all **Claudius** was delivered up to the Corficans, and then executed as a Malefactor, yet the Barbarians could not by any means be persuaded, that the Roman war afterward was just against them. Their minds therefore being agrieved with the memory hereof were easily tempted to break out in armes, in imitation of their neighbour Island *Sardinia*. For the Carthaginians by secret promises had incited the Sardinians to Rebellion, who readily entertained the motion, as not too much hating their old Masters, nor loving their new ones.

This news being brought to Rome, filled the City both with fear and indignation, not that they much regarded *Sardinia*, but because they perceived the Carthaginian war would break out again; which because they believed the sooner it was begun would prove the easier, (The Carthaginians having not well recovered themselves since the last war) they resolved to prepare themselves, and commence it as soon as might be. The Carthaginians, willing at that time to endure any thing rather than a Roman war, were hereupon so terrified, that having once and again sent Embassadors in vaine, they did at length fend ten of their Prime Nobility, most humbly entreating, That they might enjoy the Peace they had obtained. Nevertheless they could not receive any mild Answer, till **Hanno** the youngest among the Embassadors, but of an undaunted mind, and a free tongue, replied, If you are promptly determined to deny us that Peace which we have bought, not for a year or two, but for ever, at least restore us our price we gave you, Sicily and Sardinia: In private contracts 'tis no honest man's part, when the bargain is made void, to receive his Commodities back, and not return the money laid down for them. Then the Romans, being ashamed to seem the Authors of an unjust war, dismissed the Embassadors with a better Answer. So one of this years Consuls **C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bullus** (now the second time Consul) remained in Italy, the other, **T. Manlius T. F. T. N.** went according to his lot into *Sardinia*. He, in many places encountering the Enemy with good success, appeased the whole Island, subdued the Sardinians, and triumphed over them the sixth of the Ides of March.

These things being accomplished, and the Roman Armes laid down, as having no Enemy, the Temple of **Janus** was shut, an unusual sight in Rome, and not seen, after the days of **Numa**, for the space of about four hundred and forty years. In which respect I account the City of Rome very unhappy, that being perpetually employ'd in great and difficult labours, could never obtain the fruits thereof. For, whereas no wife man wagheth war but to procure Peace, this City after so many and great warres happily finished, sometimes could not obtain: but never could long keep Peace. For even then new Rumours of War, after a few monthes, were heard of

of, which bereaved them of the sweetness of that Peace, which they had scarce well tasted of. The Sardinians, who had lately been subdued, shake off the yoke, and the Corficans brake out in Rebellion, and the Ligurians raised Tumults, even in Italy it selfe. Therefore **L. Pomponius A. F. A. N. Albinus** and **Sp. Carvilius Sp. F. C. N. Maximus** being Consuls had order to leave new Armies, which being disposed of in three bodies to prevent the enemies from helping one the other, **L. Pomponius** assailed the Ligurians, **Sp. Carvilius** the Corficans, and **P. Cornelius** was designed for *Sardinia*. This Island being of a very unwholsome aire afflicted his Army with the Plague and other diseases, whereby many mortals with the Pretor also himselfe perished. Hereupon the Sardinians grew bold and high, but were soon quelled after the arrival of **Sp. Carvilius** in a great set battel; the Corficans were likewise subdued by him. For which exploits it was decreed he should Triumph, as he did on the Calends of April. In *Liguria* likewise affairs succeeded well by the management of the other Consul with his Army. At *Rome* **Tullia** one of the Vestal Virgins being condemned of Incest which she had basely committed with a slave, flew her self with her own hands. After this **C. Atilius A. F. A. N. Bullus** **A. Pomponius A. F. L. N. Albinus** being Censors, made the fortieth Lustration. 'Tis probable the number of Citizens was this year lesse then heretofore (though I find not the number recorded) because the Censor, in order to the encrease of Citizens, compelled every man to swear, That he would marry for the Procreation of children. This year **Cn. Nevius** a Campanian who had received pay in the Carthaginian war, did first add Fables to his Scenes. In the mean time the Ligurians and Sardinians again rebelling, were allotted Provinces to the new Consuls. **Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus Verrucosus** managed the Ligurian War, **M. Pomponius M. F. M. N. Marbo** the Sardinian; whereas it was reported, That the Carthaginians were the cause of this commotion by private messengers stirring up the Barbarians to Rebellion: There were Embassadors sent to Carthage with very harsh instructions, To require the tribute due, to command them to abstain from all Islands under the Roman jurisdiction, adding threats of war unless they performed what was required at their hands.

The Carthaginians had now since their former calamities gathered strength and courage chiefly by the industry of **Hamilcar**, who did not only reduce those who had revolted in Africa, Velestum, but had further extended the Empire: They had likewise by his conduct acquired great Dominions in Spain. Wherefore they answered the Embassadors roughly enough to all particulars; but when they, according to their instructions, propounded to the Carthaginians a Spear and a Caduceus, offering them their choice of which they pleased, they answered, That they would choose neither, but would accept of which favour the Legates should think fit to leave behind. Henceforward a cruel hatred began to burn between these two people, but neither party being willing as yet to commence the war, they continued in a shew of friendship, rather because they did not fight, then that the peace was firm.

Both the Consuls, returning to Rome and declaring what they had done, obtained leave to Triumph. **Q. Fabius** had slain many Ligurians in battel, and had compelled the rest to contain themselves upon the Alps, and made the skirts of Italy secure from their plundrings. He triumphed over the Ligurians on the Calends of February. Upon the Ides of March afterwards **M. Pomponius** triumphed over the Sardinians, whom he had overcome. Nevertheless the Sardinians did not abstain from War, but being by their losses rather incensed then broken, they renewed the Rebellion with much greater strength. Therefore both the Consuls, **M. Anilius M. F. M. N. Lepidus** and **M. Publius L. F. L. N. Mallius** were sent into *Sardinia*: they gathered together great store of plunder and spoil in that Island, which when they carried over with them into *Corfica* they utterly loſt, the Islanders there taking it from them. At home likewise there were very vehement tumults at this time, for **C. Flaminius** Tribune of the people propounding an Agrarian Law, That the *Picene* and *Gallic* grounds which belonged to the Senones, should be equally divided amongst the people. The Senate opposed it, and not being able to persuade the Tribune by entreaties or threats, at length gave order to the Magistrates to raise an Army for defence of the Commonwealth; **Flaminius** could not yet be drawn from his resolution, obſtinate against all force, and inexorably by intreaties. His father likewise admonished him, To submit himself to the will of the Senate, and not be esteemed an author of sedition. But him, To submit himself in his design, called an Assembly, intending to recite the Law. But then his father **Flaminius** in grief and anger came to the Pulpit, and taking his son by the hand pulled him away.

A wonderful Example was there shewn with what Piety and Reverence all men held esteem of the power of a Father: For he who had condemned the indignation and cruel threats of the whole Senate, now in the heat of war, in the view of all the Roman people, to whom the Constitution of Law would have been most acceptable, suffered himself by the hand of one the only old man to be drawn down from the higher place. The Modesty of the Assembly in this business is not to be forgotten, who though they saw all their hopes frustrated by the Tribune's departure, did not by the least murmur signify their discontent at his fathers action. But the Law was by this means rather deferred then avoided. **C. Carvilius** the other Tribune assailing his Colleague, this as it caused corruption of manners amongst the Commons, so it gave being to that most grievous Gallic war which brake out the eighth year after the division of the grounds.

and other Illyrians who had revolted to the Romans, then *Tentis* began utterly to despair and thought of buying her peace upon any conditions whatsoever. At the beginning of the Spring therefore the sent Embassadors to *Rome*, excusing what was past as being done by the Command of *Agro* whose Acts it was necessary for her to maintain. The Romans granted peace, not to her, who had no proper power of admitting affairs, neither had deserved any favour at her hands, but to *Pinnus* the son of *Agro*, on these conditions, *That he should duly pay what tribute was imposed on him, that he should quit all Illyrium, some few places excepted, that he should not sail beyond Lissus with above two Boats, and those unarmed.* By this peace *Coryceus*, *Pharus*, *Assa*, *Dyrachium* and the *Afintanes* became wholly the Romans; what else was under *Agro* his jurisdiction being left to *Pinnus*. *Tentis* either for shame or by the command of the Romans left off the Government of the Realm, which *Demetrius* undertook under the name of Protector.

Thus being ended the Illyrian Quarrel, and the Limits of the Roman Empire extended even to *Greece*, the Commonwealth on the other hand was perplexed, for the Gauls were ready to rise up in Arms, and the Carthaginians power did mightily increase in *Spain*, which could not be established without great danger to the Romans. *Haderbal* the Son-in-law and successor of *Hamilcar*, having revenged the death of his Father-in-law, did, partly by Arms, but more frequently by his Wisdom and Eloquence, wherein he excelled, reduce many Nations to the Carthaginian subjection; and built another *Carthage* called the *New*, in a Gulf of the sea by a most commodious Haven. But the Gallick affairs being of nearest concernment, hindered for the present their designs against the Carthaginians: They endeavoured therefore to stop the proceedings of the Gauls by leagues and Covenants; They sent likewise Embassadors to *Carthage* and to *Haderbal*, warning them, *To contain themselves beyond the River Iberus, and permit the Sequanians to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own Law.* These things happened in the year when *Sp. Carvilius Sp. F. Cn. N. C. Maximus* and *Q. Fabius Q. N. Maximus* were again Consuls. About the same time *L. Pothumius Proconful* who wintered in *Illyrium*, sent Embassadors from *Coryceus* to the *Ætolians* and *Achiæns*, declaring what he had done, *For what causes the war was undertaken, with what success managed, and upon what conditions finished.* They were kindly entertained, forasmuch as those Nations and all other the *Grecians* did vehemently hate the Illyrians by reason of the continual Piracies exercised by them under *Agro* and *Tentis*.

The Senate hearing this, did allow of what the Proconful had done, and moreover decreed another Embassy in the name of the Commonwealth, to the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*, declaring, *That the people of Rome gave assistance toward them, and their equity toward all men.* Hereby the Romans purchased great good will amongst those people, and the *Corinthians* forthwith decreed this honour to the people of *Rome*, *That they should be Partners in the Illyrian Games*, which was one of the four greatest Solemnities in *Greece*. They were chiefly moved hereunto because the Romans had set at liberty, as *Apollonia* and other *Grecian Cities*, to *Coryceus* likewise, which was a Colony of the *Corinthians*; the *Athenians* also embraced the Roman Society, and decreed, *They should have the liberty of the City of Athens, and of the Eleusinian Mysteries.* In the mean time *Cn. Fulvius Proconful* made a Naval Triumph over the Illyrians on the Calends of *Septuaginta*, and beheaded the Illyrian Nobles whom he led in Triumph. This was the first Triumph over the Illyrians.

The next year *P. Valerius L. F. M. N. Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius M. F. M. N. Regulus* being Consuls, the number of Pretors was doubled, and they thought fit to create four that they might lead some with command into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Amongst these *M. Valerius* was Pretor of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, *C. Flaminius* of *Sicily*. At this time there was very great fear of a Gallick war, for 'twas reported that the Boians and Insubrians consulted not only one with the other, but with the *Transalpine* people, and had hired a great strength of Mercenaries of the *Gætule* people of *Gallia*. They used therefore not only ordinary remedies against this evil, but such as a severe Judge would by no means excuse, but that the love of one Country makes some things pardonable which in themselves are horrid. For when besides other prodigies they were terrified with) they found in the Sybils books, *That the Gauls and Grecians should one day possess the City of Rome*; That they might by craft avert the threats of the Prediction, by the advice of the Priests, they buried alive two Gauls, of each sex one, and likewise two *Grecians* a man and a woman, in the Beef-marlet, that so they possessing part of the City, might seem to have fulfilled the Prophecy. This was done when *M. Valerius M. F. M. N. A. Julia* and *L. Apustius L. F. C. N. Fulvo* were Consuls. This year, amongst other no considerable occurrences, was most of it spent in making preparation for the Gallick War. There was raised a most incredible number both of horse and foot, toward this war all *Italy* in general joining with the Romans. *Q. Fabius* the Illyrian, who was present at the translation of these affairs, reports, *There were in arms eight hundred thousand men.* That the number of the Romans and Campanians amounted to the number of two hundred forty eight thousand and two hundred footmen, and six and twenty thousand and six hundred horsemen. All the other multitude were *Italians*. The *Ætolians* also and *Cenomanians* afforded the Romans the help of twenty thousand men, who by frequent alarms and incursions might compel the neighbouring Boians to tarry to the defence of their own Country, and not join themselves with the other forces of the

the Enemy, because they refused to hearken to Terms of Peace which the Romans propounded. For the *Ætolians* and *Cenomanians* being persuaded to renew friendship with *Rome*, the Insubrians *Arduus* and Boians persisted in Hostility; nevertheless their strength was not great, their Kings not daring to lead out all their armed men: but being forced to leave some at home to defend their Countries, with the rest (to wit, fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse) they began their march through *Etruria* towards *Rome*.

In the mean time *L. Atilius*, *Q. F. Cn. N. Papir*, & *C. Atilius M. F. M. N.* had *Sardinia* and *Ariminum*, with the adjoining Gauls for their Provinces. For the *Sardinians* being aggrieved at the perpetual presence of a Prætor, with his Wives and signs of Authority, did again move Tumults; but *C. Atilius* the Consul from quæsted them without any great difficulty. *L. Atilius* had more to do with the Gauls, having broken through without any difficulty to *Rome*. The Prætor of *Etruria* being not able to hinder their passage, overtook them at a stratagem whereby to entice the Romans out to battle. In the dead of the night they marched with all their Foot to *Fasula*, leaving the Horse behind with instruction at break of day only to show themselves to the Enemy, and presently betake themselves to the Foot Army, where should be reception for them in a convenient Camp, from whence likewise they would on the sudden charge the Romans unwares.

The Romans were hereby deceived, and perished the horse as if they had fled, and about *Fasula* were received by the Enemy, fresh and ready prepared, being themselves weary and void of Council, as in an occurrence not foreseen by them. Their only course was either by flight to defend themselves, or to sell their bloods at a dear rate. But the Gauls exceeding in number, besides other advantages, flew of the Romans six thousand upon the place, and put the rest to flight. The Gauls endeavouring to take a fenced place upon an hill, (whither the greater part of them which fled had betaken themselves) finding their strength to fail with their last night's march, the dayes fight, raised to cure and refresh their bodies, leaving a party of horse to besiege the hill, not doubting to reduce it into their power the next day, either by force or composition. In this very nick of time came *L. Atilius*, rather to be wilhed for, then upon any reasonable ground expected. For upon the first news of the Gauls setting forward, he was sent to *Ariminum*, to defend the Coasts upon the *Adriatick* shore; but hearing their intention was to march to *Rome*, he marched by very great journeys from *Ariminum*; and by good luck came to this very place, and pitched his Camp not farre distant from the Enemy. The Gauls seeing fire in the night time from that part, judging, as was true, that the Roman Army was come, sent out some of their men armed, that they might the easier pass the Enemies Guards. The Consul by them understanding the state of Affairs, without any long deliberation, which the time would not permit, at break of day set forward with his horse to the hill, giving order to the Tribunes to follow him with the Legions. The Gauls likewise were informed by the sentinels that the Romans were come, and entered into council concerning the present affairs. King *Anapostus* advised, that they should not encounter the Enemy, now their soldiers were laden with rich spoils, but to return home, and lay aside their plunder, and then, if occasion were given of fighting, to return empty and nimble. Every one approving the council, they departed before night, taking their journey through *Etruria* by the sea side. *L. Atilius* having taken in those who fled to the hill, and having intelligence of the Enemies march, would not fight him in a set battell, but resolved to follow them, laying hold of what opportunity time should afford.

In this conjuncture of Affairs fortune once more dispensed an unexpected accident. The other Consul *C. Atilius* arriving at *Pisa* from *Sardinia*, and there landing his Army, marched toward *Rome*, along the very lane *Etrurian* thore where the Gauls were returning. Near *Tellamus* a Port of *Etruria*, the Scouts of each Army first met one the other, and the Consul, by some Prisoners who were brought to him, understanding of the Gauls march, and his Colleagues following them, wondered at so unusual a chance, and being confident of Victory, having the Enemy cooped up between two Consular Armies, gave order to the Colonells, *To array the Army, as well as the ground would permit, and lead their Regiments in a square body, and a slow march.* Himself, observing a piece of high ground, opportunely overlooking the way the Gauls must of necessity pass, set forward with a party of horse to prepossesse it. For he made what halt he could to fight the Enemy, being assured, if he were any thing worked, to be relieved by his Colleague, if his undertaking succeeded, to carry away the chief Glory of the Victory. The Gauls seeing a troop of Enemies in the higher grounds, conjecturing it was a party of horse, sent round about in the night time by *Atilius*, sent out likewise some of their own horse, with the assistance of some light armed men, to open the passage. But being informed that the other Consul was come, he was forced to array and marshal his foot, with their faces each way toward the Enemy, having in the middle their backs joined one to the other. For they saw *C. Atilius* before them, and well knew that *L. Atilius* followed them behind. Against *L. Atilius* they placed the *Transalpine* Mercenaries, in the front (whom from their weapons are denominated *Gætules*) behind these, for a reserve, were the Insubrians. Against *Atilius* were opposed the *Tauriscians* and Boians. The Waggon and Carts were placed as a rampire *Liv. 16. 6. 4.* about each Wing: all their plunder, with a sufficient guard, was laid aside upon a neighbouring hill, *Polyb. 11.*

Applian

Polyb. 11.

Applian

Illyr.

Dio

Zonar.

Diodor. 15.

Livie 10. 15.

Polyb. 11.

Livie 16. 4. 6.

Polyb. 11.

Applian Hist.

Polyb. 11.

Livie 10. 6. 4.

525.

Zonar.

Polyb. 11.

Applian Illyr.

Thucyd. 7. 10. 8.

Zonar.

Thucyd. 11. 10. 8.

Liv. 1. 5. 4.

Eutropius 3.

526.

Livie Epit. 10.

Liv. 1. 3. 10. 8.

O. 1.

Livie 1. 11.

Livie 1. 11.

Zonar.

Polyb. 11. 2. 20.

Livie 11. 57. 6.

Livie 1. 11.

Polyb. 11.

527.

Zonar.

Polyb. 11. 2. 20.

Eutropius 3.

Eutropius 3.

Diodor. 15.

Livie 1. 11.

Polyb. 11. 2. 20.

Zonar.

Polyb. 11. 2. 20.

Livie 11. 57.

Polyb. 11. 2. 20.

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hill. The fight was now begun at that hill which *C. Attilius* had possessed, whereby *L. Amilius* conjectured that his Colleague was there, of whose journey he knew nothing certain, only he heard that he was arrived at *Pila*. Taking Council therefore on a sudden he commanded some of his own horse to ride to the plate of fight: Thence the horse on both sides had a very hot encounter, wherein *C. Attilius* the Consul was slain, and his head carried to the Gallick Kings: At length the Romans fighting with all might and main, kept the place, and repulsed the enemy. The Horse-fight being thus managed, the Foot charged each the other. There was to be seen a very terrible encounter, as for the number & strength of both parties, so for the strange ordering of the Battle, for the Gauls being included between two Roman Armies turned their faces on each side to battle; it being very doubtful whether this posture were a greater advantage to them, in that (having to deal with two enemies) they kept their Rear secure, and were of necessity compelled to stand to it having no way to flee; or that it were a greater disadvantage to be hemmed in by two Consular Armies. But the Romans were partly terrified with the very aspect of the men who stood in the front, with stern countenances and vast bodies; partly encouraged not only with the sweetness of praise, but of plunder also; for among the former ranks of the Gauls there was not a man, but glistered with golden bracelets and aine strings.

The fight being begun, the light armed men made a great slaughter of the Enemy, especially where the Gatzatz stood, who in a barbarous ostentation had hung away their garments and fought naked in the front. For the Gallick shields being long and narrow, not able to cover the whole body, they stood like so many marks exposed to the Roman darts: and they fell without revenge, being not able to strike the enemy, not to come to meet with light armed men. Wherefore growing desperate some running rashly upon the enemy were killed with darts before they could come to hand-to-hand, others by degrees retiring backward disordered their own Battle. The Gatzatz being thus vanquished by the light-armed men, the complete armed did on every side charge the Boians, Insubrians, and Tauricans and slew a great number, nevertheless the enemy stood with resolute minds, being in nothing inferior but in their weapons; for neither did their shields defend their bodies, neither did their swords much offend the Romans, for being made only to hack, and hew they had no good points: they were likewise made crooked at the first blow, and unfit for a second, unless they be straightened againe by your foot on the ground. The Romans having already the better, were assured of the victory by the returne of the horse, who, having put the Gallick horse to flight, riding down the hill made an impression upon the flank of the enemy, so much the more terrible as coming from the higher ground. After this manner *Polybius* describeth the Battle of the Gauls in *Britannia*, from whence others with little reason do differ. For who can easily believe, that the Gauls were compelled by a tempest to fly in the night time fearing the anger of the Gods? And that *C. Attilius* setting upon their Rear was slain? That afterward, each party for some dayes kept within their defences, *L. Amilius* fought happily with them, neither are they any more to be credited, who relate this battle as fought, not on the sea Coasts, but, in the Aretine Territories. There is no question made but that forty thousand Gauls were then slain, little lesse than ten thousand taken, with *Celsus* one of their Kings: the other King *Anserius* who was of greater reputation for power and courage, escaping with a small company, in his flight cut the throats of all his kindred and his own also. There was great plunder found, which the Consul caused to be returned to those from whom it was at first taken, every master owning his own goods. Then marching with his own Army and that of *Attilius*, through *Liguria* into the Boians Country he gave it in plunder to his soldiers as a reward of their pains taken, and they in a few dayes being sufficiently laden with spoils, he returned to *Rome*, to the greater joy of all, because the war was formidable. Scarce any man's Triumph was ever so much celebrated with acclamations of the people, being otherwise of itself very gallant and memorable for the glory of his noble performances, so for the number of the Captives and the worth of the spoils. There were many military Ensignes, and abundance of gold Chains and Bracelets, the ornaments of valiant men amongst the Gauls. But all men eyes were chiefly intended upon *Trismegistus* and the other Gallick Princes, whom *Amilius* by way of scorn led girt and armed into the Capitol, as if thereby he took care they should fulfil the vow they had made, *Never to smother their girdles in Belli*, till they had ascended the Capitol. *L. Amilius* made this Triumph over the Gauls on the third of the Nones of March. This year was made the one and fortieth Lustration by the Censors, *Q. Claudius* *Sp. F. C. N. Censor* and *M. Junius* *D. F. B. N. Praetor*. The fear of the Gallick war was over, but the desire of revenge remained, and both the next years Consuls had *Gallia* for their Province; the Consuls were *T. Manlius* *T. F. T. N. Tergestinus* and *Q. Fulvius* *M. F. Q. N. Flaccus* again. The people cheerfully decreed their Armies and whatsoever accommodation belonged to the Commencing or prosecuting a War. For it was hoped, that after so great a victory, they might easily drive away the Gauls from about the Po; if they minded their business. The Consuls being gone with their Armies presently terrified the Boians into submission; their expedition afterwards was not so quick, by reason of the Penitence and so many shows which fell. Others affirm, That these Consuls crossed the Po, and in a set battle overcame the Insubrians, that they flew before and twenty thousand and took five thousand. But I rather follow the authority of *Polybius* in these points.

In the mean time because the Consuls being in a far Country, and were hindered either by action, or by showers, so that they could not return to the general Assembly: *L. Caecilius* *L. F. Fasti Capiti*, *C. Fabius* *M. F. Buto*, by the Assembly, and *Flamininus* *C. F. N.* and *P. Furius* *Sp. F. M. Philus* were made Consuls. These as I think were the first Romans, who making an invasion into the Insubrians Country, crossed the Po with their Army, where the River *Pada* falls into the Po.

This boldness cost them much labour and some blood; for in their passes over the River, and while they pitched their Camps, the enemy fiercely falling in upon them slew a considerable number. The Romans trouble and care upon this News, was mightily increased by many Prophecies related, as that in the *Picennian Territories*, a River ran blood, that in *Etruria* the sky was seen to burn, that at *Arminium* in the night time light appeared, and three Moons were seen at the same time *Caria* was shaken with an Earthquake, and the *Rhodian* Colossus fell down, these things were not thought to concern the Romans at all: Concerning the other Prophecies, the Augurs being asked their advice, answered, that the Consuls were not rightly chosen, whereupon letters were sent after them to recall them back to the City. In the mean time the Gauls having made a Truce, had quitted the Insubrians Country, and afterward having raised Auxiliaries in the Country of the *Centomani*, had again began to infect the grounds lying under the Alps; whereupon the Insubrians enraged with anger, carried into the field the golden ensignes (out of the Temple of *Minerva*) which were called *Immoveable*, because it was not lawful to stir them but in the time of Extremest Necessity; and had now met the Romans with an Army of fifty thousand men, ready to enter battle. At this very time came the letters from the Senate. *C. Flamininus* either guessing at the substance of the letters, or being pre-informed by his friends, perswaded his Colleague, not to open them before battle.

Being resolved to fight, they consulted about their Mercenary Gauls, lest if they were neglected, they might have cause to quarrel; and if admitted to the fight, they might have occasion of doing harm. For they feared their inconstancy, especially fighting against Neighbours and Kinsmen. At last they thought fit to place them on the other side of the River, where the bridges being beaten down, they neither could do any harm to the Romans, nor have opportunity to flee, but to trust in their courage: After a sharp dispute the Romans obtained the Victory, to the greater praise of the *Tribunes* then the Consuls. For *C. Flamininus* had ordered the Battle so near the brink of the River, that there was no space left to receive the Troopes in case they had been forced to Retire; which without doubt would have proved the ruine of the whole Army. But the *Tribunes* having had experience by former battles, that all the Gallick Vow consisteth in the first charge, which is very hot, but short, and if the brunt of it be once borne, there is no more to be feared from them; did divide the spears of the *Triarii* among the first ranks, that with them they might receive the first onset, and afterward flinging them away, draw their Swords when the fight began; the Gallick Swords were presently blunted, and made crooked at the first stroke upon the spears, and while they were busie in making them straight, the Romans advancing with their drawing Rapiers, took from them the use of their Weapons: For this inconvenience is in the Gallick Swords, that being made only to hack, some time is required in lifting up the hand, and preparing for the strokes, which if it be denied, they are of no use: But the Romans thrusting with the point could do their business in a moment, and so pressing forward to the bodies of the enemies, they did securely thrust them into the face and breasts.

Tis reported that nine thousand Gauls were slain, and double the number taken. After the Victory, they spoiled the grounds round about, and gathered much Plunder. Then at length they thought fit to read the Senates letters, the contents whereof *Philus* was ready to obey: But *C. Flamininus* insisted, that this was the envy of some Senators, and not the faith of the *Amplices* whereof there could be no more certain argument, then the Victory they had obtained; he said also he would not return till either the War was finished, or his Magistracy expired: adding moreover, that he would cause the Romans to leave off the foolish observation of a *Augurium*, and Jacobite superstition. Nevertheless *P. Furius* persisting in his resolution, the Army of *Flamininus*, fearing that after his departure they should not be very safe in the enemies Country, perswaded him to tarry for some few dayes, but he did utterly abstain from all actions; *Flamininus* taking in the mean time some Castles, as also a City of no small renown among those people. The spoils he gave to his soldiers, to prepare their minds for his defence in that quarrel he knew would arise between him and the Senate. This City indeed was so moved with indignation, that none went out according to the custome to meet the Consuls, and not only *Flamininus* but for his sake *Philus* also was denied the honour of Triumph. At length *Flamininus* by the peoples favour, entered the City triumphing on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. Many rich spoils were to be seen in that Triumph: Great store of Armes, and chains of gold, out of which *Flamininus* dedicated a Token of Victory to *Jupiter* in the Capitulum, and inverting the Gallicks Vow, who had promised out of the Romans spoils to dedicate a Chain to *Mars*. Afterward the other Consul triumphed over the Gauls, and the Ligurians on the fourth of the Ides of *March*. The Senates ill will being hereby rather intended then overcome, did

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Liv. Epit. 10.

Zonaras.

Polybius. 2.23.

Zonaras

Orosius.

Plutarch. Mar-

c. 4.

Zonaras

Marianus.

Orosius

Plutarch.

Zonaras.

Polybius.

St. 20. b. 5. p.

149.

Livie. 22. 63.

Zonaras

Polybius

Orosius 4. 5.

Plutarch. Mar-

c. 4.

Zonaras

Liv. 22. 63.

Liv. 23. 63.

Plutarch

Zonaras.

Orosius. Capitoli.

St. 23. 14.

Florus. 2. 4. 4.

Colum. Capitoli.

not

Bibulum b. 5.

Polyb. 2. 23.

Polyb. 2. 30.

Zonaras

Polybius

Zonaras

Orosius 4. 13.

Europium 3.

Diderius 15.

Polyb.

Zonaras

Polyb.

Diderius.

Polyb.

Liv. 2. 4. 3.

Zonaras

Florus

F. Fasti Capiti.

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Fasti. Capitoli.

Polyb. 2. 31.

Zonaras

Polyb.

Orosius 4. 13.

Demetrius observing what was done, took as good Counsel as in such a dangerous case could be, for declining the present skirmish, and calling his souldiers together, *Pallant men*, saith he, it appears that our courage is formidable to the enemy, for, betaking themselves to stratagems, they declare little trust in their force of arms. They have made use of the night season to creep into this Island, of which, if I be not deceived in you, they shall possess no more, then what they can cover with their bodies having payed for it with their lives. Only you, my Country-men of *Pharus*, and young men of *Ilyrium*, be mindful of your Country, of your honour, and wake the Romans know, 'twas neither their valour nor our cowardize, which gave them occasion once to Triumph at *Rome* over the Ilyrians. It was not *Fulvius* or *Publius* with all their counsel and strength, but *Tentus* which conquered *Ilyrium* by her rashness and impotence of affections. And to omit other things, ye are not ignorant, that at that time their victory had not been so easie, but that *Tentus* chose to have me rather her enemy then her Protector. But because I firmly trust to you, and the time requires rather deeds then words, I shall say no more. Ye have courage, ye have weapons, ye see the necessity, which is able to make a coward fight, danger is imminent both to your selves, and your City unless by your valour ye repel it. Let us on then and with happy fortune charge these men who are newly crept out of their hiding places: We shall do well enough with those who are landing: if we once overcome these, the others will flee to their ships in greater haste then with their lives.

Having thus for the time encouraged his men, he leads them on to charge those who were possessed of the Hill, and they as diligently ordering themselves sustained his charge, till they, who in the mean time had landed, coming upon his Rear entirely routed his whole body with great slaughter. Some few by flight escaped to the Town, others by blind paths slip away. *Demetrius* who in certain by-places had boates ready prepared for all adventures getting aboard one of them fled to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, by whom being entertained, he did by battery, and Tyrannical advice corrupt the young man's manners, which before were laudable, and likewise was author unto him of the Roman War and many other Calamities. After this fight *Pharus* was taken, and by the Consul's Command plunder'd and demolished. The Ilyrian Affairs being afterward settled to his own liking the Consul now at the end of Summer returned to *Rome* to obtaine his Triumph. In the narration of this War I have likewise chosen to follow *Polybius*, being not ignorant that others attribute the glory of finishing this War to both the Consuls, who having summoned *Demetrius* to appeare before them, did, upon default, War with him in the Island of *Issa* by the same arts as I have related, and then taking *Pharus* by Treachery expelled him out of the Dominions. Concerning whose end likewise they differ from *Polybius*, who lived nearer these times and these places; but those things as being after this time I shall passe by. But the Romans, for King *Pinnus* his sake, whose years declar'd him innocent of these designs, did spare the Ilyrians, and renewed the league with him, with addition of some Articles. *L. Aemilius* made a most glorious Triumph over these people, and I find also that *M. Livius* Triumphed for this War, but most writers mention it not; 'tis likely, because the performances of *L. Paulus*, being the more eminent, did obscure the glory of his Colleague.

More notable a while after was the Judgment and condemnation of the fame *M. Livius*. He and *L. Paulus* being out of Envy accused, That they had not equally distributed the spoils among the souldiers, but had converted many things to other uses, did undergoe the sentence of the people. *L. Paulus* hardly escaped, *M. Livius* was condemned by all the Tribes except only the *Macian*. Which disgrace and indignity he took so heavily, that departing the City, he avoyded all meetings, till the Commonwealt's occasions recalled him to his former course of life. But these things happened in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*. But in the same year when *M. Livius* and *Paulus* were Consuls, one *Archagathus* the son of *Lyfianus* came out of *Peloponessus* to *Rome*, who professing Physick was made free of the City, endowed with all the privileges of a Roman, and had a shop bought for him at the Publick charge in the Acilian street. A thing not so much worthy taking notice of, but that then first was the name of the Medicinal faculty heard of and known at *Rome*; they having to this time preserved their healths by temperance and remedies not bought. In the same Consulship time Colonies were deduced to *Placentia* and *Cremona* in the Gallick Territories; Being none of the least causes of anger which moved the Boians and Insubrians to incline to *Hannibal*, who, now assaulting *Saguntum* with all might, did by the ruins thereof prepare his way to the Roman Wars. But these and other commotions, which in great number, and with no lesse Terror and violence presently afflicted the Romans, will the better be understood by relating foregoing Circumstances.



A Catalogue of those Authors Names on whose Authority this Supplement relieth.

<i>Ælian</i>	<i>Enropius</i>	<i>Pipinus</i>
<i>Agellius</i>	<i>Falsi Capitolini</i>	<i>L. Piso</i>
<i>Amianus Marcellinus</i>	<i>Faxellus</i>	<i>Plinius</i>
<i>L. Ampelius</i>	<i>Festus</i>	<i>Plutarchus</i>
<i>Appianus & ejus Excerpta</i>	<i>Florus</i>	<i>Polybius & ejus Excerpta</i>
<i>Fulvis Ursinus & Henrico</i>	<i>Frontinus</i>	<i>Pomponius Mela</i>
<i>Valerio edia</i>	<i>Gotefridus Viterbiensis</i>	<i>Psalmus</i>
<i>Aristoteles</i>	<i>Herodotus</i>	<i>Quintilianus</i>
<i>Athenius</i>	<i>Hieronymus</i>	<i>Sextus Rufus</i>
<i>Ambrosius de Viris Illustribus</i>	<i>Horatius</i>	<i>Sallustius</i>
<i>Augustinus</i>	<i>Joannes Antiochenus</i>	<i>Seneca</i>
<i>Berneggerus</i>	<i>Joannes Sarisburiensis</i>	<i>Servius</i>
<i>Bongarsius</i>	<i>Julius Higgins</i>	<i>Sigonius</i>
<i>Capitoline Marmora</i>	<i>Julius obsequens</i>	<i>Silius</i>
<i>Cassiodorus</i>	<i>Jus Justinianum</i>	<i>Simnius Capito</i>
<i>Cato</i>	<i>Justinus</i>	<i>Solinus</i>
<i>Cicero</i>	<i>Livius & ejus Epitome</i>	<i>Strabo</i>
<i>Cicero</i>	<i>Lucanus</i>	<i>Suetonius</i>
<i>Claudius</i>	<i>Lycus</i>	<i>Suidas</i>
<i>Cluvius</i>	<i>Macrobinus</i>	<i>Ser. Sulpicius</i>
<i>Cornelius Nepos</i>	<i>Marianns Scotus</i>	<i>Tabula Petres</i>
<i>Curtius</i>	<i>Martianus Capella</i>	<i>Tubero</i>
<i>Dio & ejus Excerpta</i>	<i>Matthias</i>	<i>Tudianus</i>
<i>Diodori Excerpta</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus papyri</i>	<i>Valerius Antius</i>
<i>Dionysii Excerpta</i>	<i>Orestus</i>	<i>Valerius Maximus</i>
<i>Dionysius Periegetes</i>	<i>Otto Freyinger</i>	<i>Varro</i>
<i>Emilius</i>	<i>Ovidius</i>	<i>Vegetius</i>
<i>Etymologici Author</i>	<i>Peanius</i>	<i>Velleius</i>
<i>Eusebius</i>	<i>Pavinius</i>	<i>Virgilius</i>
<i>Eusebius</i>	<i>Paulus Diaconus</i>	<i>Zonaras</i>
	<i>Pausanias</i>	

FINIS.

Polyb. 86

Polyb. apud
PaulumPolyb. 3. 19
Appian. Ilyr.
Livius Ept. 20
PolybiusZonaras
Dio. apud Pa.
Illum.
Zonaras
AppianPolyb. 4. 66
Athen. de viris
Illust. c. 50Infla. 29. 2
Frem. in.
Strabonem 4. 1
Livius 25. 35. 2
Livius 27. 36. 3

Plinius 29. 1

Liv. Ept. 30
Livius 27. 35. 2